Henry VIII and British Library, Royal MS. 2 A. XVI: Marginalia in King Henry's Psalter

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Introduction

The book which Henry VIII most heavily annotated is the manuscript Psalter, British Library, Royal MS. 2 A. XVI. It was written by, and probably decorated by, Jean Maillart (or Mallard).[1] The British Library catalogue date is c. 1540-1541.[2] The annotations have been studied and commented upon,[3] and a digital version of the manuscript is available on-line.[4]

This note records and comments on one previously overlooked feature -- the omission of numerous verses from Psalm 77.[5] It also records the findings of a more detailed comparison

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1 Inscribed 'Johannes Mallardus regius orator, et a calamo / Regi Angliae, et Francie Fidei deffensori invictis[simo]' (Jean Maillart, royal orator: from his pen to the most invincible king of England and France, and defender of the faith) (f. 2r). Maillart, a French poet at the court of Francis I and then at the court of Henry VIII, mentioned as the 'orator in the French tongue' in the king's household accounts 1539-41 (see James P. Carley, *King Henry's Prayer Book, with a Commentary by J. P. Carley* (London, 2009), p. xlvii), www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8719&CollID=16&NStart=20116.

2 John King however suggests an earlier date. 'This manuscript was presumably written prior to the opening of the Reformation Parliament in 1534, because a miniature for Psalm 82 (Vulg. Ps. 81) portrays God wearing a papal tiara, a symbolic headpiece that would have constituted an insult to the king following his break with Rome (fol. 98v). Henry might have inscribed his marginalia at any point after he received this gift.' (*Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton, 1989), p. 76, n. 11). However Professor James Carley (personal communication) observes that it represents a standard depiction of God the Father, the tiara symbolizing the Trinity rather than the papacy.

3 Carley, *King Henry's Prayer Book*; Andrea Clarke, 'Henry VIII and Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium', Colloquia Maruliana*, xx (2011), pp. 167-75; Michael Hathaway, 'Marginalia by Henry VIII in his Copy of *The Bokes of Salomon',Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, iv (1965), pp. 166-70; John King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*.

4 www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_2_a_xvi_fs001r#

5 The comprehensive note (copied below) on the British Library site, for instance, does not record this omission: 'c.1540-1541, The manuscript includes a Psalter with three Canticles, known as the Psalter of Henry VIII. The text is preceded by the dedicatory letter by Jean Mallard (ff. 1v-2v), who wrote and probably illuminated the manuscript, incipit: 'Regium istud Davidis'. Mallard's other works include Royal MS. 7 D. XIII and Royal MS. 20 B. XII. In the manuscript Henry VIII is depicted as king David and Jean Mallard compares him to David in the dedicatory letter preceding the Psalter. As indicated by the many marginal notes added in the King's own hand, the volume became Henry VIII's personal copy of the Psalms. Decoration: 8 miniatures in colours and gold: the royal coat of arms, at the beginning of Mallard's dedicatory letter (f. 1v), and at the beginning of Psalms: f. 3, Henry VIII as David reading in his bedchamber (Psalm 1); f. 30r, David and Goliath (Psalm 26); f. 48r, battle scene (Psalm 38); f. 63v, Henry VIII and his court jester William Sommers (Psalm 52); f. 79r, Henry as David kneeling in prayer among ruins (Psalm 68); f. 98v, Musicians (Psalm 80); f. 118r, Angels singing (Psalm 97) (Psalm 109 does not have a miniature). Large initials in colours and gold containing flowers, birds, fruits, and insects, at the beginning of other Psalms. Smaller initials in gold on red, blue, brown, or black grounds, or in black on gold grounds, at the beginning of verses. Line-fillers in gold and colours'.

of the manuscript against the British Library copy of the Psalter printed by Edwarde Whytchurch (London, [1542?])[6] which also has annotations which follow those made by Henry VIII in the manuscript.

1. The Missing Verses

Royal MS. 2 A. XVI follows the Vulgate text.[7] However, I have discovered that numerous verses of Psalm 77 (78) simply do not appear in the manuscript. In contemporary translations these missing verses are 56 to 66. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 95v, jumps from verse 55 to verse 67:

55 et habitare fecit in tabernaculis eorum tribus Israhel
67 et reppulit tabernaculum Ioseph et tribum Effrem non elegit (fig. 1).

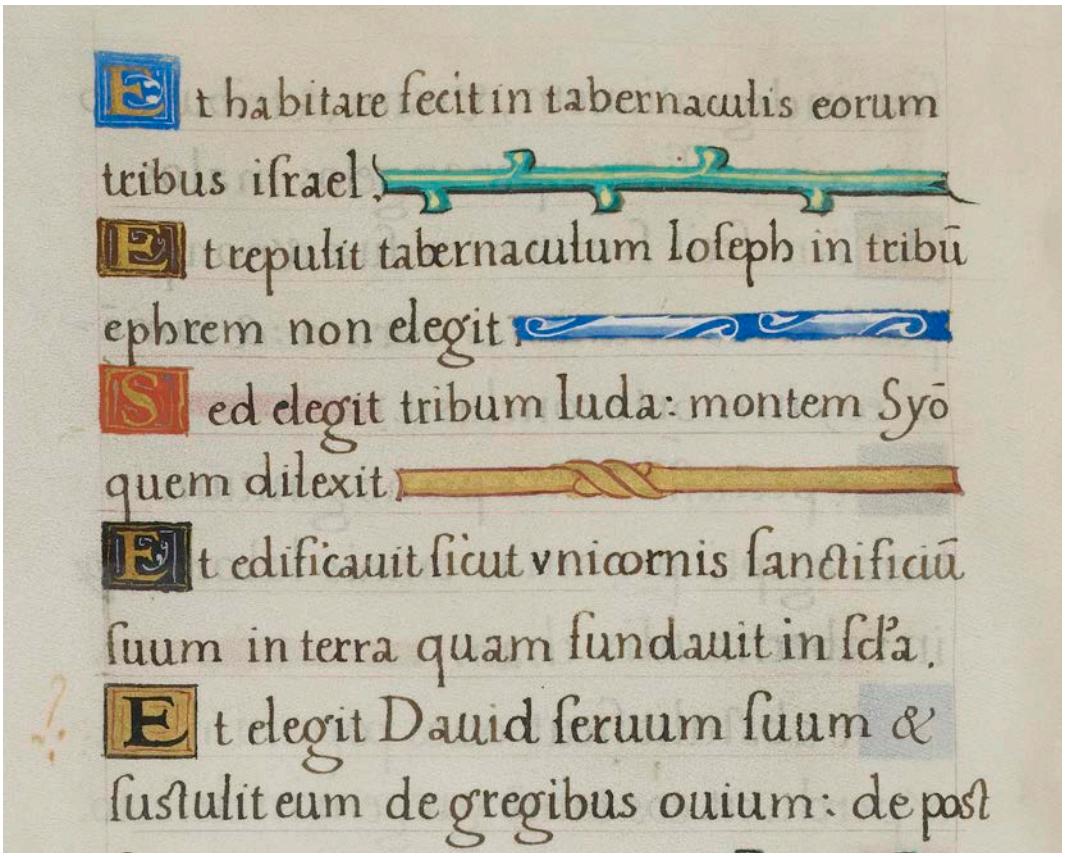
Et habitare fecit in tabernaculis eorum
tribus israel
Et repulit tabernaculum Ioseph in tribū
ephrem non elegit
Sed elegit tribum Iuda: montem Syō
quem dilexit
Et edificauit sicut vnicornis sanctificiū
suum in terra quam fundauit in sd'a.
Et elegit Dauid seruum suum &
sustulit eum de gregibus ouium: de post

Fig. 1. British Library, Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 95v.

6 *The Psalter of Dauid in english truly translated out of Latyn. Euery Psalme hauynge his argument before ... Wherevnto is annexed in thende certayne godly prayers thoroweoute the whole yere, cōmenly called collettes*. ([London]: By Edwarde Whytchurch, [1542?]), C.25.b.4.(2.).

7 Carley, op. cit., p. 61. 'The text is that of the Vulgate -- it is a Gallican Psalter -- the Psalms are numbered 1 to 150. After the last Psalm come the three Great Canticles; the Magnificat, the Nunc Dimittis and the Canticle of Zechariah, also known as Benedictus'.

Thus verses 56 to 66 are omitted:

55 et habitare fecit in tabernaculis eorum tribus Israhel
56 et temptaverunt et exacerbaverunt Deum excelsum et testimonia eius non custodierunt
57 et averterunt se et non servaverunt pactum quemadmodum patres eorum conversi sunt in arcum pravum
58 et in ira concitaverunt eum in collibus suis et in sculptilibus suis ad aemulationem eum provocaverunt
59 audivit Deus et sprevit et ad nihilum redegit valde Israhel
60 et reppulit tabernaculum Selo tabernaculum suum ubi habitavit in hominibus
61 et tradidit in captivitatem virtutem eorum et pulchritudinem eorum in manus inimici
62 et conclusit in gladio populum suum et hereditatem suam sprevit
63 iuvenes eorum comedit ignis et virgines eorum non sunt lamentatae
64 sacerdotes eorum in gladio ceciderunt et viduae eorum non plorabuntur
65 et excitatus est tamquam dormiens Dominus tamquam potens crapulatus a vino
66 et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora obprobrium sempiternum dedit illis
67 et reppulit tabernaculum Ioseph et tribum Effrem non elegit

In the New International Version (UK):

55 He drove out nations before them
and allotted their lands to them as an inheritance;
he settled the tribes of Israel in their homes.

56 But they put God to the test
and rebelled against the Most High;
they did not keep his statutes.
57 Like their ancestors they were disloyal and faithless,
as unreliable as a faulty bow.
58 They angered him with their high places;
they aroused his jealousy with their idols.
59 When God heard them, he was furious;
he rejected Israel completely.
60 He abandoned the tabernacle of Shiloh,
the tent he had set up among humans.
61 He sent the ark of his might into captivity,
his splendour into the hands of the enemy.
62 He gave his people over to the sword;
he was furious with his inheritance.
63 Fire consumed their young men,
and their young women had no wedding songs;
64 their priests were put to the sword,
and their widows could not weep.

65 Then the Lord awoke as from sleep,
as a warrior wakes from the stupor of wine.
66 He beat back his enemies;
he put them to everlasting shame.
67 Then he rejected the tents of Joseph,
he did not choose the tribe of Ephraim; (Psalm 78).

There is no evidence that Henry noticed the missing verses when he read the manuscript, nor am I aware that the omissions have ever been noticed up to now.

There is evidence about these verses from another manuscript, Anne Boleyn's Psalter, held at the Wormsley Library. It is in French and does not follow the Vulgate numeration, which is perhaps a sign of Lutheran influence. All the missing verses are present.

Henry's Psalter shows a symbol of three red crayon or pencil dots surmounted by a question mark ('tadpoles' hereafter) to the left of the last line 'Et elegit David ...' (And he chose David ...). (Henry readily identified himself with David). The tadpole has been enhanced to the left. These marks are distinctive of Henry's annotations and will be discussed more fully below.

There is evidence that Henry had access to the missing verses. Later in this article Royal MS. 2 A. XVI will be compared to the Psalter printed by Edwarde Whytchurch at London, [1542?] (henceforth *Whytchurch*).[8] *Whytchurch* also has annotations which follow those made by Henry VIII in the manuscript. It does not use the numeration of the Vulgate, so it is Psalm 78 which is relevant here. Here are the relevant verses from Psalm 78 in *Whytchurch*:

> And he brought them to his holye place, even to the hyll whych he challenged with his right hand. He caste out thereof the gentyles before theyr faces, and lymited unto them theyr heritage and made the trybes of Israel to dwell in theyr tabernacles. Notwithstandyng, yet they tempted and prouoked the hygh God and kept not hys testymonies. They turned theyrselves from hym, and delte unfaythfully agaynste hym euen as dyd theyr fathers, they were writhen back lyke a bowe. They angered God wyth theyr worshyppe in hye places & kindled his wrathe w theyr Jwls. God hearde them and was sore moued, and greously he reiected and reproued Israel. He forsoke hys habitacyon in Silo, euen the tabernacle in whych he dwelleth among men. He suffered hys gloriouse myghty seate to be taken and his beautefull house to be brough unto the handes of hys adversaryes. He betoke his people altogyther in y swerde hys yre brente so sore agaynst his heritage. Fyre devoured theyr yonge chyldren, and theyr yonge chyldren, and theyr vyrgynes loste the floure of theyr mariages. Theyr sacrifices were smitten downe w swerd and theyr wyues hadde no laisser to mourne lyke wydowes. And the Lord awaked, as though he had slept and werke up wyth great noyse from slombre, as a man that had surfeted with wyne. And smyteth hys enemys in the nether partes & made them to be a perpetual opprobye. Notwythstandyng all thys, yet he refused and reiected the tabernacle of Joseph, and the tribe of Ephraim he wolde not chose. But he chose the trybe of Juda even the hyll of Syon his owne well beloved. And he bylded thereupon hys temple lyke palaces. (f. 62v)

It is possible that the omission was a scribal error. However the content of the missing verses gives ground for believing that the omission was purposeful. Mallard was politically aware and adept at tailoring his work to his client's expected likes and dislikes. The omission of the verses does not cause any interruption to the sense. Indeed the flow of thought is smooth. The verses which remain are reassuring, which is in contrast to the omitted verses. The missing verses are a 'State of the Nation' report. The State of the Nation is dire. The inhabitants are rebellious. The religious practices are unacceptable. The surrounding nations are threatening. The religious hierarchy is corrupt. Men are burned with fire. Women mourn.

All of the above resemble events of the time. Among those events the following, which concern individuals and groups across the religious and social spectrum, may be cited. First, Anne of Cleves's marriage to Henry VIII was dissolved on 9 July 1540 with all its international implications. Secondly Thomas Cromwell was executed on 28 July 1540. Thirdly Thomas Abel (or Abell) was executed on 30 July 1540. His book *Invicta veritas: An answere, that by no maner of lawe it may be lawfull for ... Kinge Henry the Aught to be divorsid ...*, (Luneberge [i.e. Antwerp : M. de Keyser], 1532) had not only angered Henry but had been annotated by him. His copy is currently in Lambeth Palace Library, Main Collection SR1, [ZZ]1532.4.01. Fourthly in the early 1540s Thomas Cranmer, who had been consecrated Archbishop in March 1533, was

[8] See n. 6.

presiding over a volatile politico-religious situation. Dissent had been suppressed in the main since 1535 but was latent. It was in 1535 that Henry, with Cranmer's active support, had dealt a two-edged blow to dissent. One suppressed group was the traditionalists who had opposed the divorce of Catharine of Aragon. This group is typified by the case of the so-called Maid of Kent also known as Sister Elizabeth Barton. She was a visionary who became increasingly opposed to the divorce. She paid for her outspoken beliefs by being hanged at Tyburn on 20 April 1534 together with five supporters, including four priests. The other group is typified by John Frith, a colleague of William Tyndale. Frith was burned at the stake on 4 July 1533 at Smithfield. The essence of Henry's argument with Frith was over the real presence in the bread and wine. In a letter to Nicholas Hawkins about Frith Thomas Cranmer wrote: 'His said opinion is of such nature, that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of Œcolampadius'.[9]

Graven Images

We now consider one of Henry's preoccupations. This was the dissolution of the monasteries and the associated role of 'graven images' or 'idols'. Henry had pointedly annotated one mention of 'graven images' (sculptilia) in Psalm 96 (97):

> [7] confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia qui gloriantur in simulacris suis (Vulgate)
> All who worship images are put to shame, those who boast in idols – (NIV (UK))

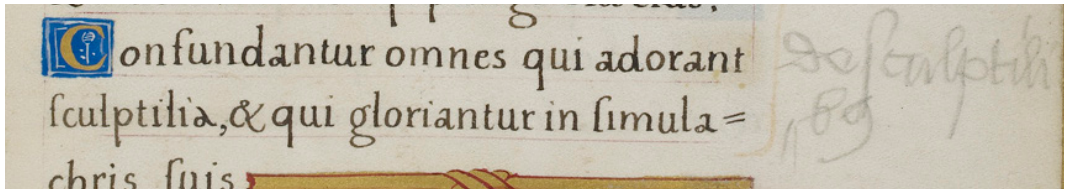

Fig. 2. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 117r.

Henry was however deprived[10] of marking another reference to 'graven images' because it is in the fourth verse omitted from Psalm 77 (78).

> [58] et in ira concitaverunt eum in collibus suis et in **sculptilibus** suis ad aemulationem eum provocaverunt (Vulgate)
>
> They angered him with their high places; they aroused his jealousy with their idols. (NIV (UK))
>
> In the personal French Psalter of Anne Boleyn the relevant part of Psalm 78 reads:
>
> ... in their high places and they moved him to wrath in their graven images ...

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[9] BL, Harley MS. 6148, f. 25r. Cited by Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer – A Life* (New Haven, 1996), p. 101.

[10] Notwithstanding Henry's access to the printed version, B.L. C.25.b.4.(2.), which has:'They angered God wyth theyr worshyppe in hye places & kindled his wrathe w theyr Jwls (idols)'.

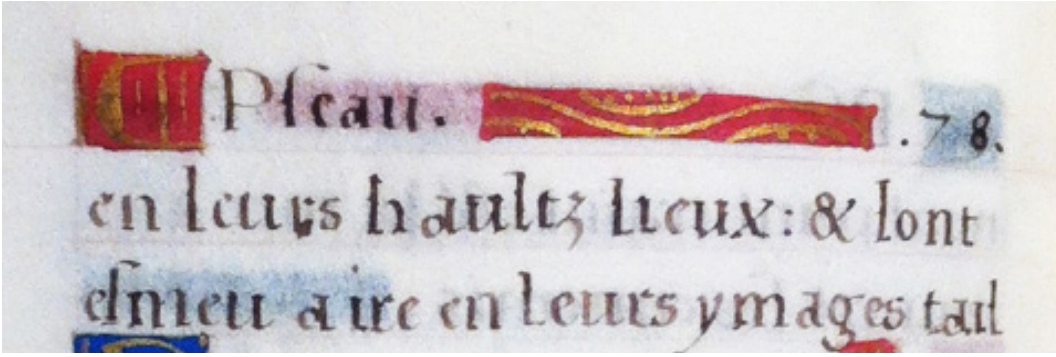

Fig. 3. Psalter of Anne Boleyn. Image courtesy of Wormsley Library.

There is therefore abundant evidence that in Henry's circle the omission of those verses from Psalm 77 (78) was exceptional. If Mallard had purposefully omitted the verses from Psalm 77 (78) he had deprived Henry of a further opportunity to find scriptural support for his reforming policies. Such an omission would not have pleased Henry.

2 Henry's Tools, Marks, Care / Respect for the text, Revisits

2.1 Tools

Henry used the following:
a. Ink
b. Graphite
c. Black Graphite
d. Red Crayon or Pencil.

This section also records the findings of a more detailed comparison of the manuscript against the British Library copy of *Whytchurch*. The marks in *Whytchurch* are in red ink. The significance of the numerous differences between Royal MS. 2 A. XVI and *Whytchurch* is discussed below, 2.3 Revisits.

In addition there are stray traces of red ink in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI. (See f. 100v, f. 101r and f. 105r below).

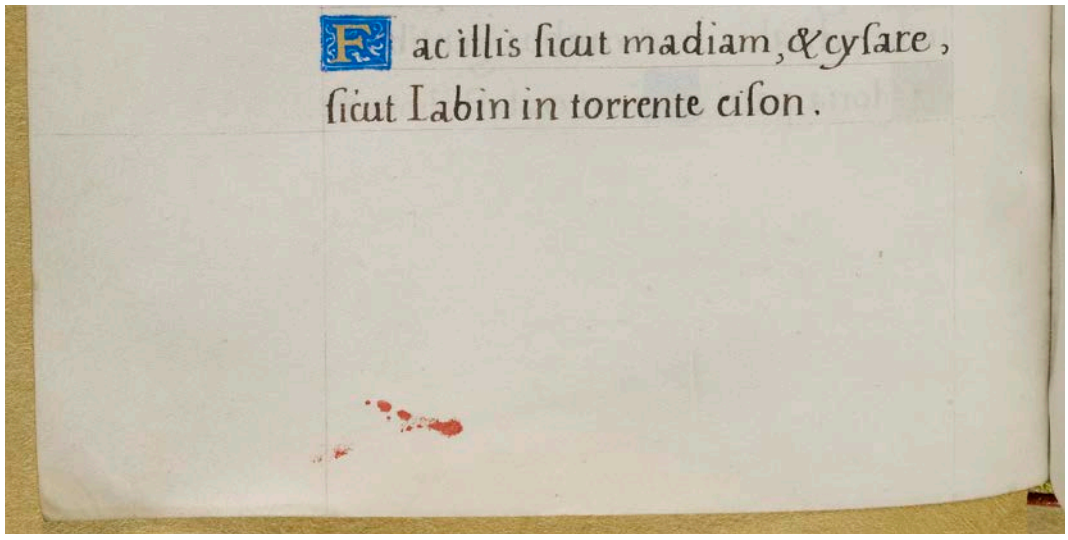

Fig. 4. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 100v.

The following page has picked up the ink:

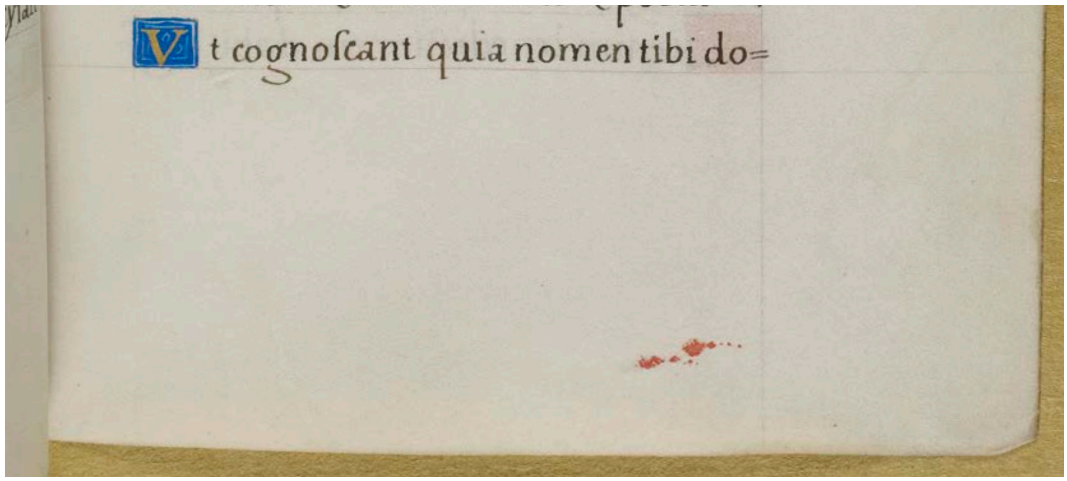

Fig. 5. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 101r.

Similarly a few pages later the same ink has been spilled:

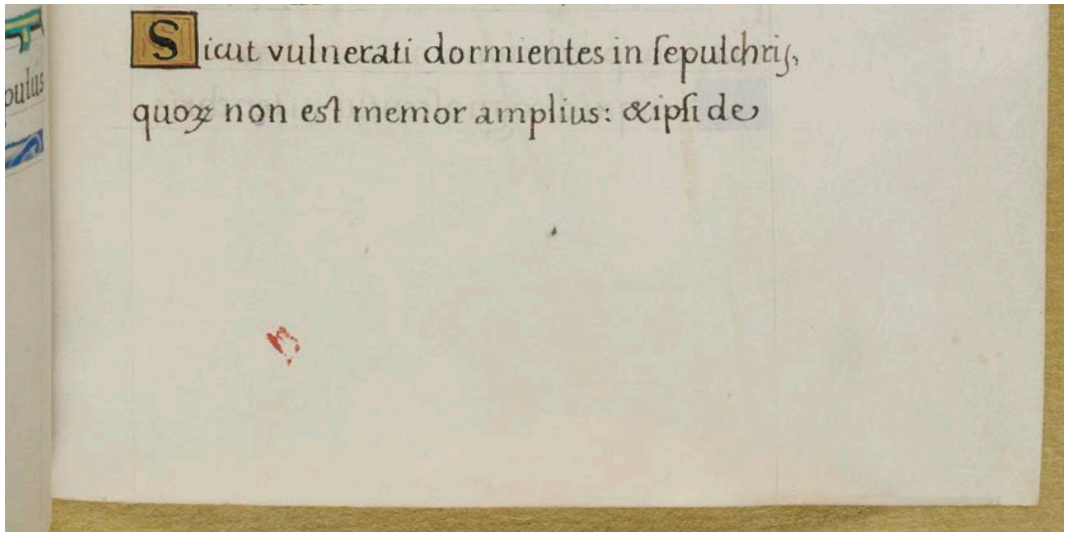

Fig. 6. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 105r.

In this case the ink has seeped through the vellum as may be seen below:

Fig. 7. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 105v.

It is now suggested that those stray traces may well have occurred inadvertently as the markings were copied from Royal MS. 2 A. XVI into *Whytchurch*. Furthermore it is now also suggested that it was Henry himself who copied the markings and who spilled the red ink. Evidence for this is the marked similarity of the only manicule in *Whytchurch* to those other manicules (shown below) attributed to Henry. Here is the manicule from *Whytchurch*:

Fig. 8. *Whytchurch*, f. aiir. C.25.b.4 (2).

2.2 The Marks

The manuscript has a dedicatory letter by Mallard (unmarked), 150 Psalms (no annotations after Psalm 111 (112) f. 139v and three Canticles (no annotations). Up to Psalm 111 (112) f. 139v only twelve pages are unmarked.[11] After that none are marked. Some pages have been annotated more than once.

In Royal MS. 2 A. XVI Henry used the following annotations:

a. **Comments in the margin**. The significance and distribution of these is considered below, under Revisits.

b. **Underlinings**. These are rare. One in graphite is at 117v:

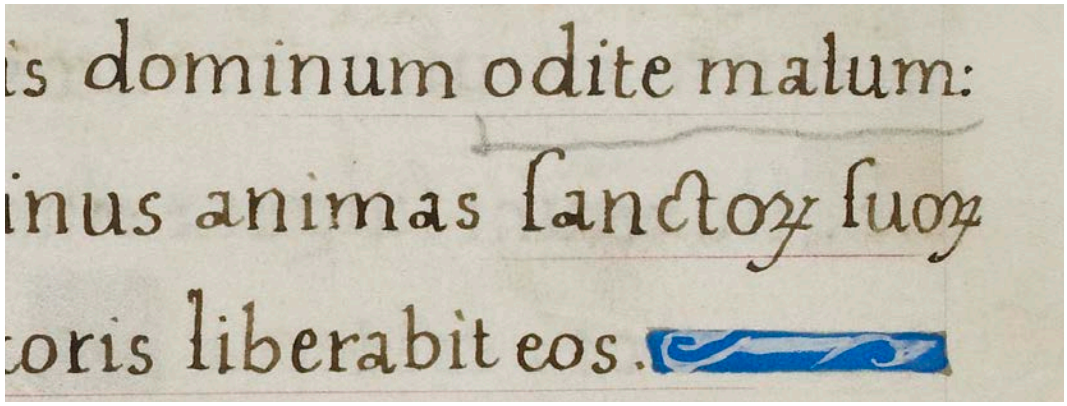

Fig. 9. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 117v.

c. **Hands (manicules).**

One in graphite is at f. 76v:

Fig. 10. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 76v.

[11] Unmarked pages are: 18v, 48r, 79r, 79v, 81r, 84v, 96r, 109r, 121r, 125r, 125v and 138r.

One in red crayon or pencil is at f. 96v:

Fig. 11. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 96v.

The precision is notable. Henry had used the same sign in his copy of Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium*, 1529. For instance at page 412 there is the same manicule:

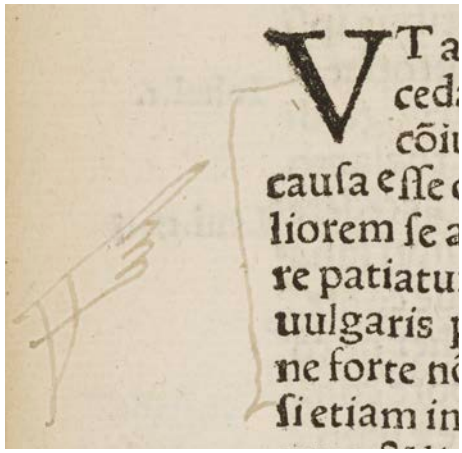

Fig. 12. Marulić, *Evangelistarium* (1529), p. 412. 843.k.13.[12]

[12] Andrea Clarke, 'Henry VIII and Marko Marulić's *Evangelistarium', Colloquia Maruliana*, xx (2011), 167-75, fig. 28.

The similarity to the one and only manicule in *Whytchurch* has been noted above. (For fuller consideration see below 2.3 Revisits.)
d. **Vertical lines (brackets)** are abundant.
e. **Three dots surmounted by a question mark shape** ('tadpoles' hereafter). Some are clearly and confidently inserted. Others are more shaky and a few have been enhanced, as at f. 98r:

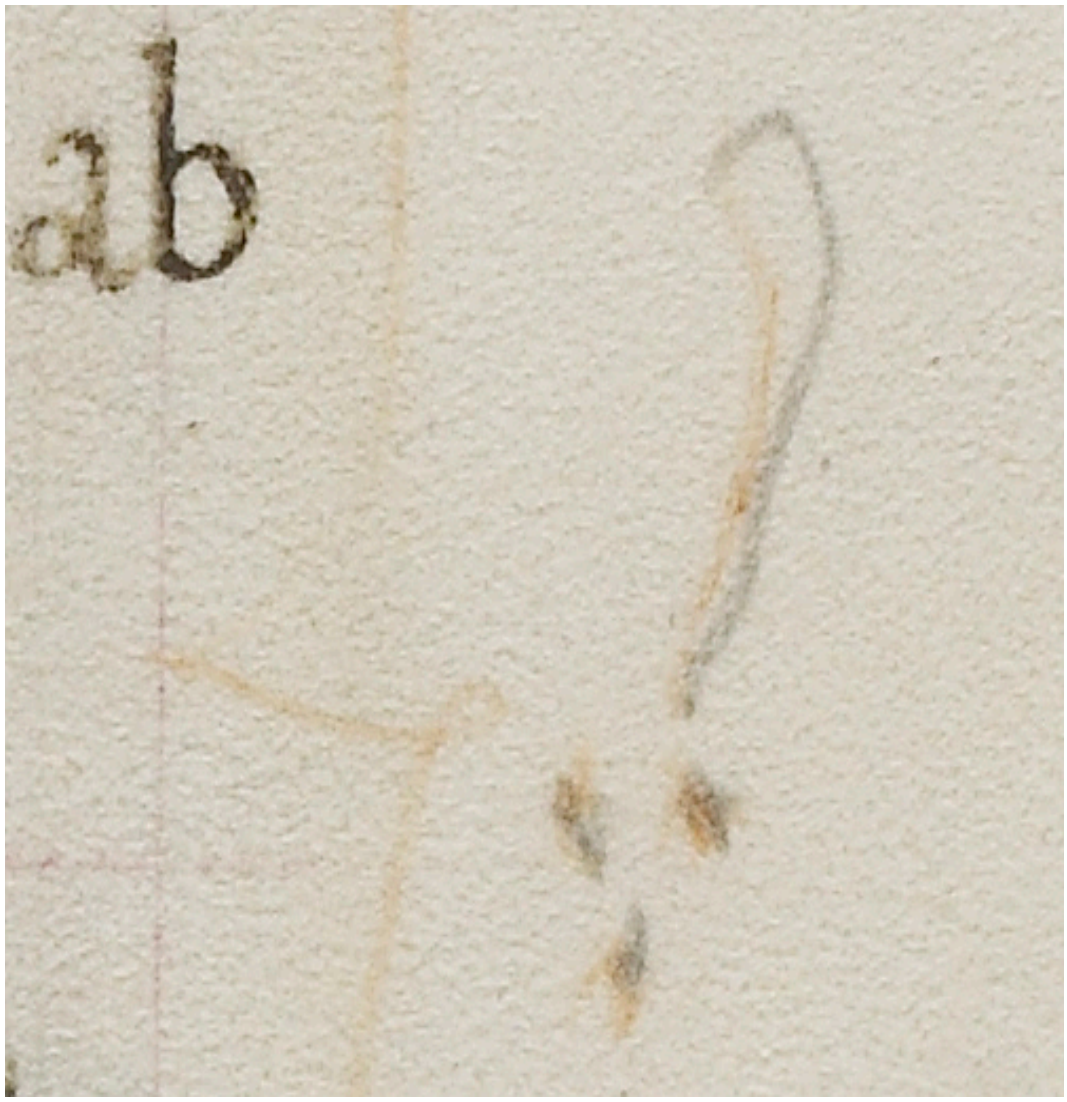

Fig. 13. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 98r.

In this case the graphite is later than the red crayon or pencil. The order of the annotations is considered below under Revisits.

f. **Writing in**, or correcting of the text itself. This is rare. In one place (f. 97v) there is a scribal error:

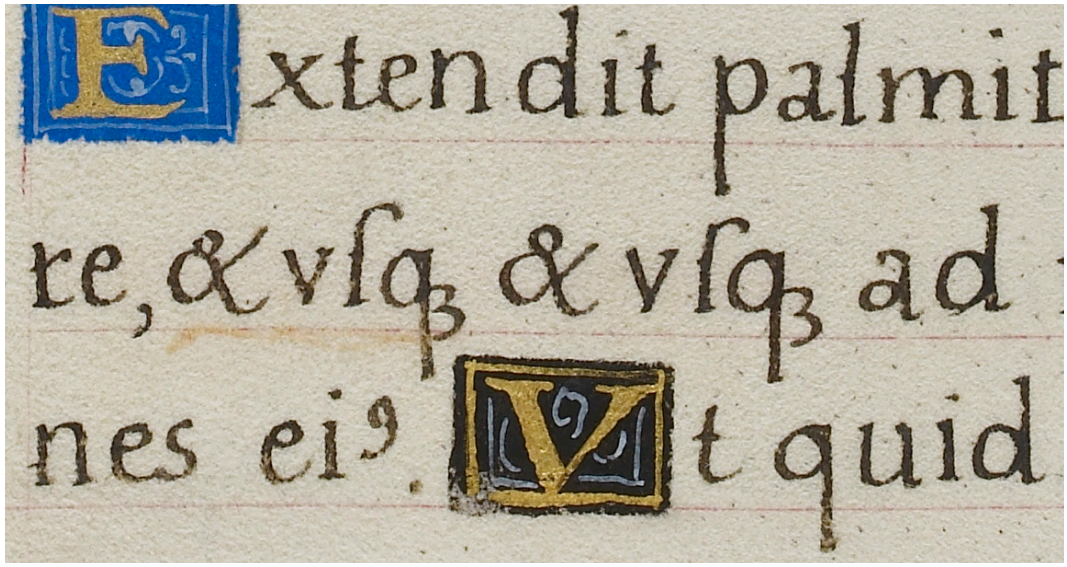

Fig. 14. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 97v.

The first '& usque' has been underlined, possibly by Henry. Similarly there is the added letter 'Q' at f. 116r:

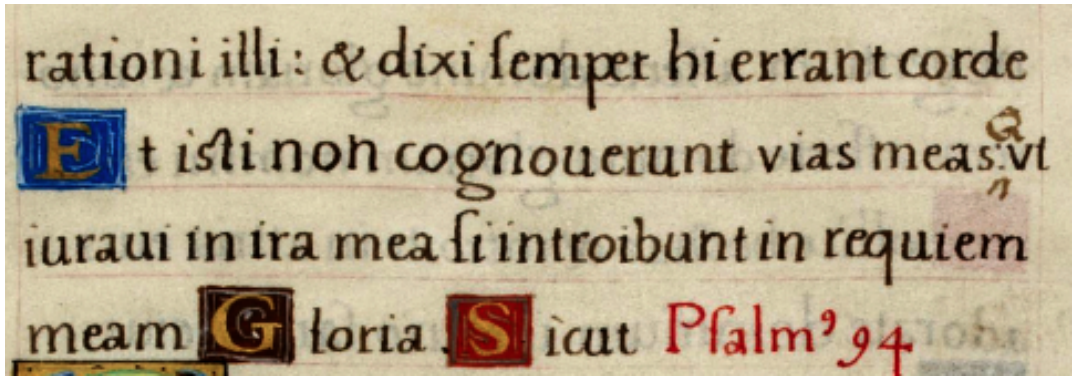

Fig. 15. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 116r.

> [11] et isti non cognoverunt vias meas ut iuravi in ira mea si intrabunt in requiem meam (Vulgate)
>
> So I declared on oath in my anger,
> 'They shall never enter my rest.' (NIV (UK))

Presumably Henry was echoing the quotation. Henry was well able to reflect that sentiment.

g. **A distinctive marker sign 'n'**. These are numerous. The last annotations are to Psalm 111 (112) f. 139v. Those last annotations are brackets, an underlining, a marginal comment (*de peccatore*; about sinners) and the 'n' sign:

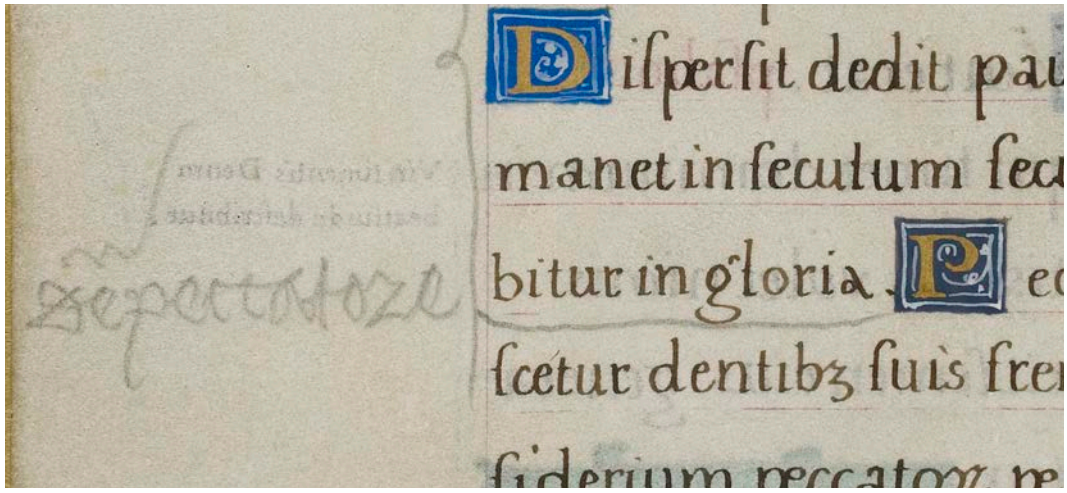

Fig. 16. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 139v.

Some of these 'n' signs were copied into the British Library copy of *Whytchurch*. Some were not copied. The significance of the differences is considered below, 2.3 Revisits.

By way of example of a heavily marked page consider f. 92r. This is a page of the Psalm referred to above with the omitted verses. Folio 92r has ink marginal comments on the right, one with the distinctive marker sign 'n'; two ink brackets on the right; one red crayon or pencil bracket on the left; one red crayon or pencil ink 'tadpole' on the left.

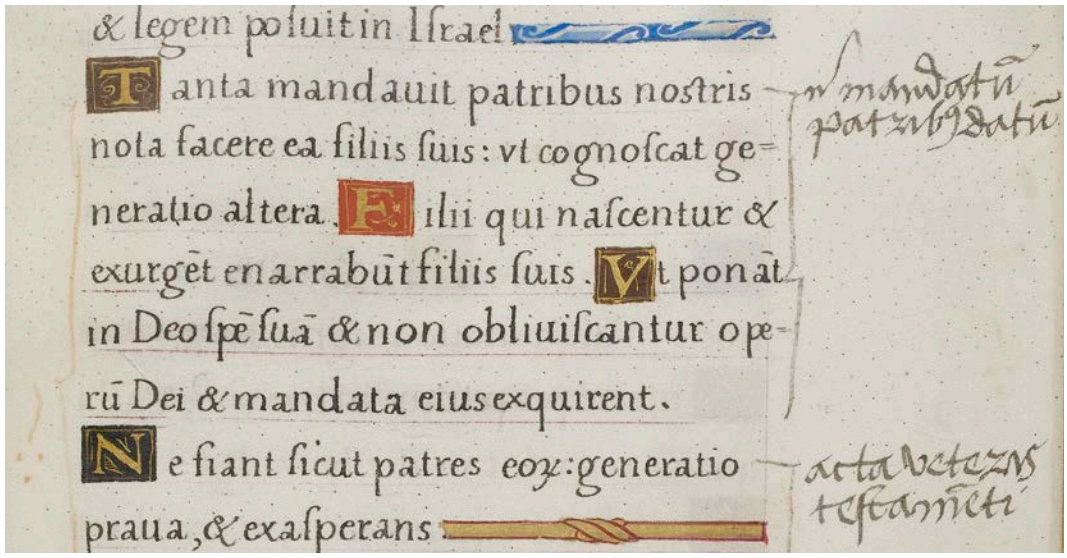

Fig. 17. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 92r.

This page is one of the most heavily annotated. It is probably no coincidence that the tenor and the matter of the Psalm had a natural appeal to Henry as king. The opening verses of Psalm 77 (78) are:

> Give ear, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth.
> I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old (KJV)

Henry annotated those opening verses with his familiar 'tadpole' (fig. 18).

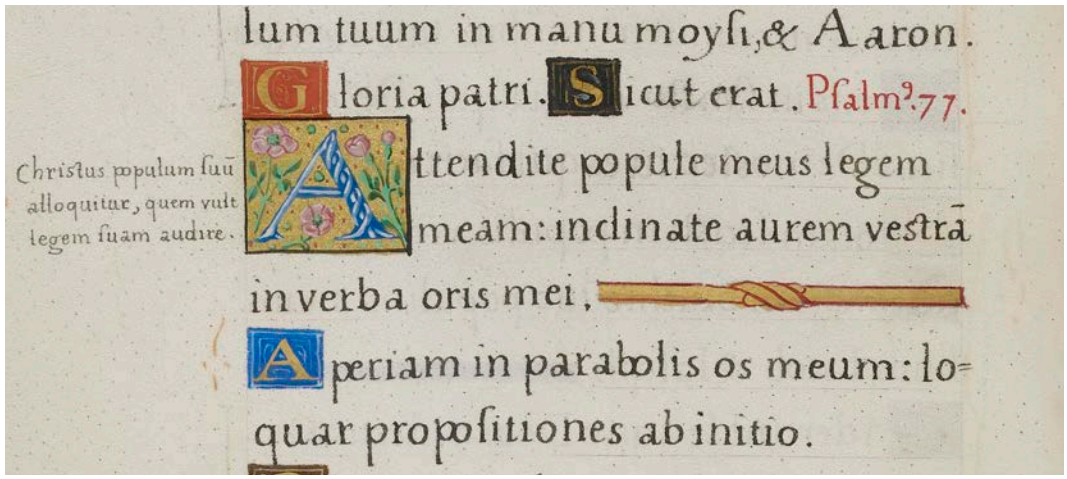

Fig. 18. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 91v.

Psalms such as 77 (78) had evident appeal to Henry as king. By way of contrast the seven Penitential Psalms should be considered. They are 6, 31 (32), 37 (38), 50 (51), 101 (102), 129 (130) and 142 (143). It has been noted above that up to Psalm 111 (112) f. 139v only 12 pages are unmarked.[13] The most commonly used marks were 'tadpoles' and vertical brackets in the margins. The five Penitential Psalms which Henry read are all marked with 'tadpoles' and vertical brackets in the margins. However there are striking differences when the three other markings used by Henry are considered. There are no 'n' signs; there are no 'bene' markings; there are no comments in the margins. The striking lack of those signs may be shown by comparing the number of those markings in five Penitential Psalms against their immediate neighbours. In the bar chart below the Psalms which precede the Penitential Psalms are column PRE, the Penitential Psalms are column PEN and the Psalms which follow the Penitential Psalms are column POST.

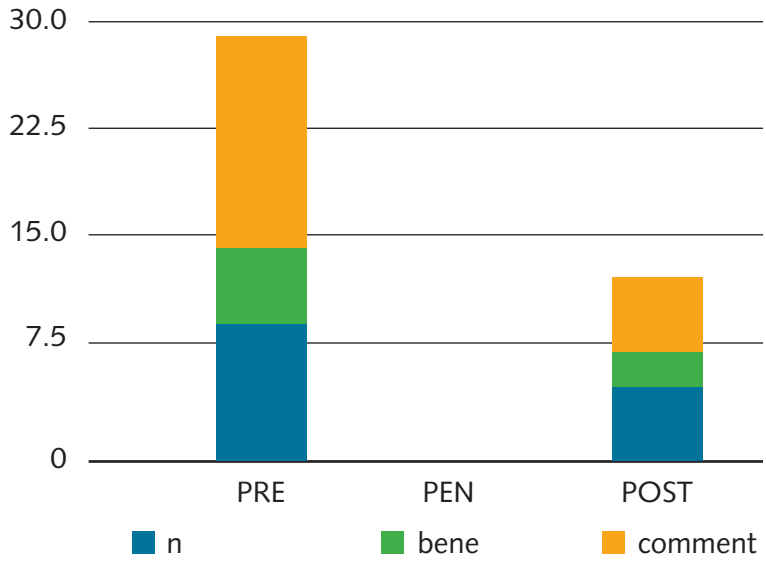

Fig. 19. Graph.

[13] Unmarked pages are: 18v, 48r, 79r, 79v, 81r, 84v, 96r, 109r, 121r, 125r, 125v and 138r.

One conclusion is that the Penitential Psalms were of less appeal to Henry than other Psalms. Another conclusion is that 'tadpoles' and vertical brackets in the margins, being markings which Henry used freely, signified less than 'n', 'bene' and marginal comments.

2.3 Care / Respect for the text

It has been noted above that Henry drew manicules. The precision with which he drew is evident. For instance even the fingernail of the index finger is drawn. In the same way the vertical brackets in the margins have been drawn with care. For instance the line has been carefully drawn so as to avoid the overflowing text at f. 129r:

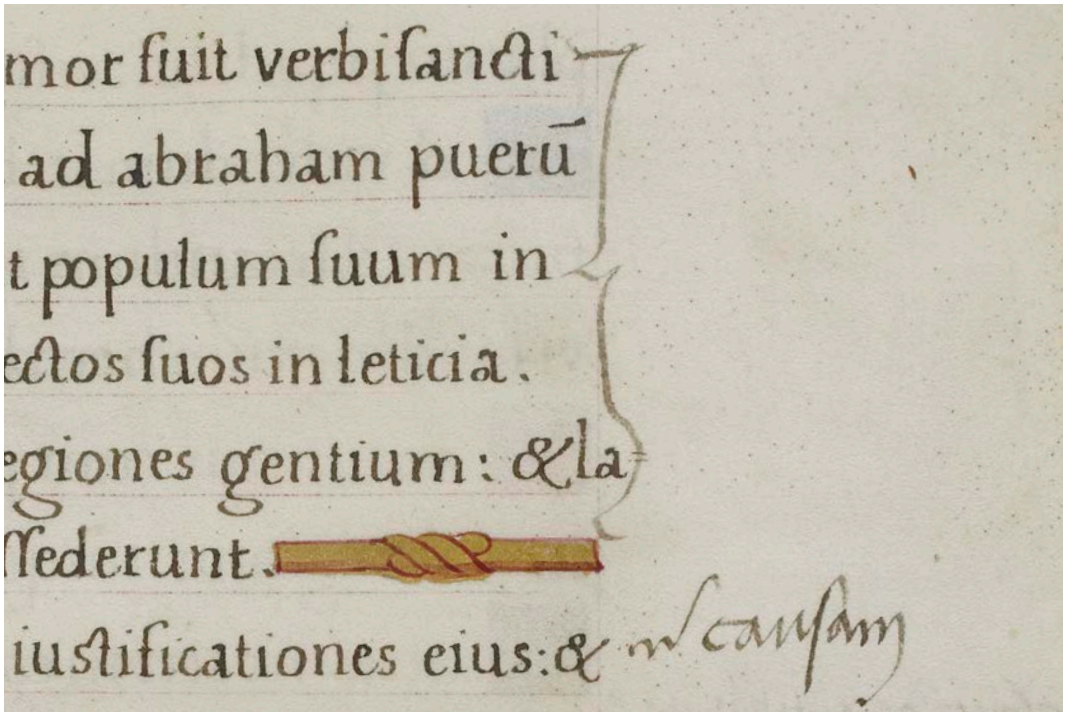

Fig. 20. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 129r.

2.4 Revisits (including Henry's changing concerns, Omissions and Gaps)

First evidence of order of marking

It has been noted above that not all the marks in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI were copied into *Whytchurch*. Most notably, whereas there are two manicules in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, in *Whytchurch* there is only one.

The manicule in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI at f. 76v, Psalm 67, is in graphite (see above 2.2.c Hands (manicules)) and is copied into Whytchurch at f. 84v, Psalm 68. The manicule in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI at f. 96v, Psalm 78, is in red crayon or pencil (see above 2.2.c Hands (manicules)) and is not copied into *Whytchurch*.

It will be assumed in the following discussion that *Whytchurch* correctly copied the existing markings from Royal MS. 2 A. XVI. It will be shown below that Henry visited and revisited the manuscript.

The first conclusion from the manicules is that *Whytchurch* is a valuable record of a mid-stage of the markings which Henry made to the manuscript. Secondly the fact that the manicule in red crayon or pencil does not appear in *Whytchurch* is the first evidence that at least one graphite marking in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI was made before one red crayon or pencil marking.

Second evidence of order of marking

Reference to the example of the tadpole above from f. 98r (see above 2.2.e Vertical lines (brackets)) shows graphite and red crayon or pencil. Closer examination shows that in this case the red crayon or pencil is under the graphite, so in this case the graphite is the later. This is opposite to the first evidence given above. It indicates that, on these occasions, the text was marked with graphite, revisited with red crayon or pencil and visited again with graphite.

Third evidence of order of marking

The marginal 'n bene' in ink at the base of f. 6r below has clearly been inserted before the graphite. The fact that on that occasion ink precedes graphite does not prove that all ink markings are earlier than all graphite markings. So these three items of evidence show that the order, in at least these cases was ink then graphite then red crayon or pencil then graphite.

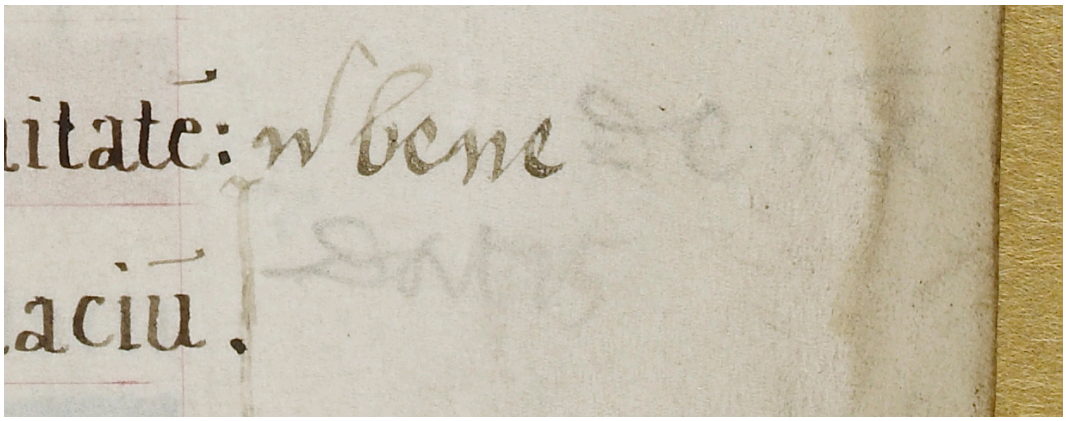

Fig. 21. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 6r.

Fourth evidence of order of marking

Based on the assumption that Whytchurch correctly records the existing markings in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI the first overall conclusion is that the differences occur, in the main, between Psalms 77 and 105.

Most of the markings which are in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI between Psalms 78 and 103 but which do not appear in *Whytchurch* are in graphite. A few are in red crayon or pencil. One such red crayon or pencil item is the manicule shown above, f. 96v, Psalm 78 (fig. 11). This shows that when Henry revisited the manuscript he used graphite again and red crayon or pencil again.

Royal MS. 2 A. XVI Psalm 78 to 103 correspond to Psalm 79 to 104 in *Whytchurch*, hereafter the 'Gap Psalms'. Before considering the 'Gap Psalms' one of the matters which continued to attract Henry's attention should be noted. This is the question of the monasteries and occurs outside of the 'Gap Psalms'. As is well known Henry determinedly suppressed religious houses with most of the acts being between 1536 and 1540. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI not only reflects this concern of Henry's but it is likely that the material in the Psalms was used by Henry to justify his acts. Certainly marginal comments by Henry in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI support this claim.

There is uncertainty as to whether Henry's acts against the religious houses were for 'spiritual' reasons or for financial reasons. The mentions of 'sculptilia' (graven images) has been noted above. This concern falls under the 'spiritual' category. A prime example of the financial category is the attitude to the poor and needy. Without doubt Henry had an ongoing concern to find justification for suppressing the religious houses. He was covetous of their wealth and was aware that they had acquired it at the expense of the poor. So it is with a view to finding ammunition against the religious houses that Henry annotated f. 51r Psalm 40 (41) verse 1, in ink, with *de curam habentibus in egenum et pauperem* (concerning those having care of the needy and the poor). It is to be noted that Henry was not expressing care for the needy and the poor.

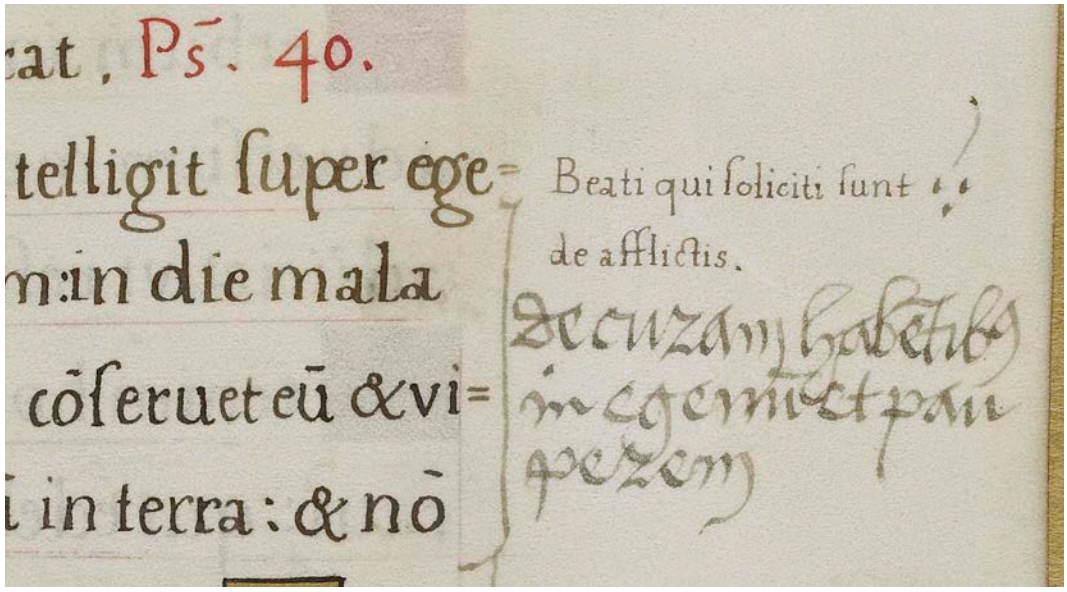

Fig. 22. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 51r.

This ink insertion is in *Whytchurch*.

The following insertion, which is in graphite, is not in Whytchurch and is therefore later than the ink insertion above:

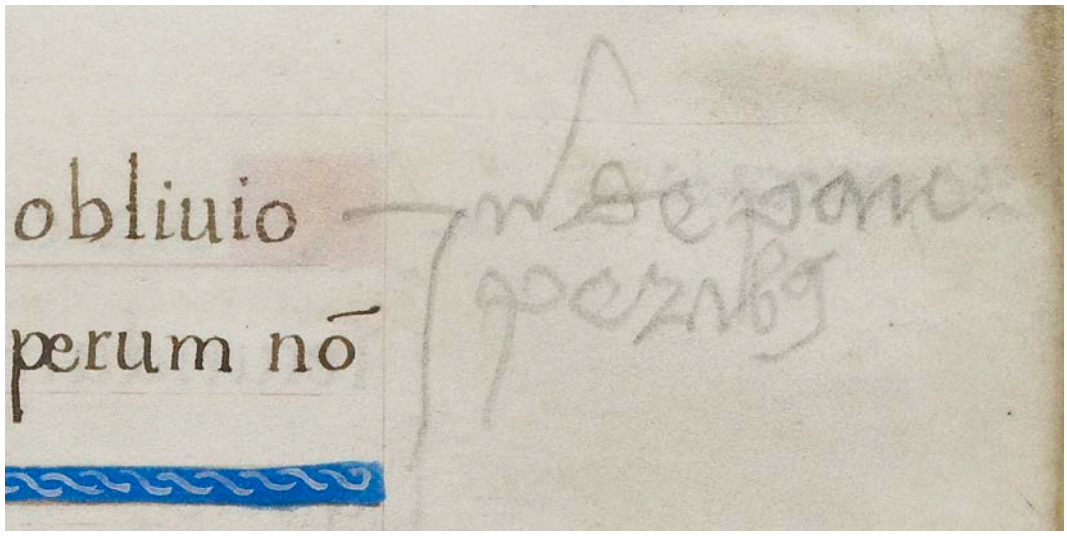

Fig. 23. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 11r: Psalm 9 (9) verse 19.

In all of the 'Gap Psalms' there is only one item in *Whytchurch*. This shows that those Psalms received scant attention from Henry prior to the copying into *Whytchurch*. The sole item is '*de adoratione*' in red crayon or pencil in Royal MS. 2 A. XVI Psalm 78:

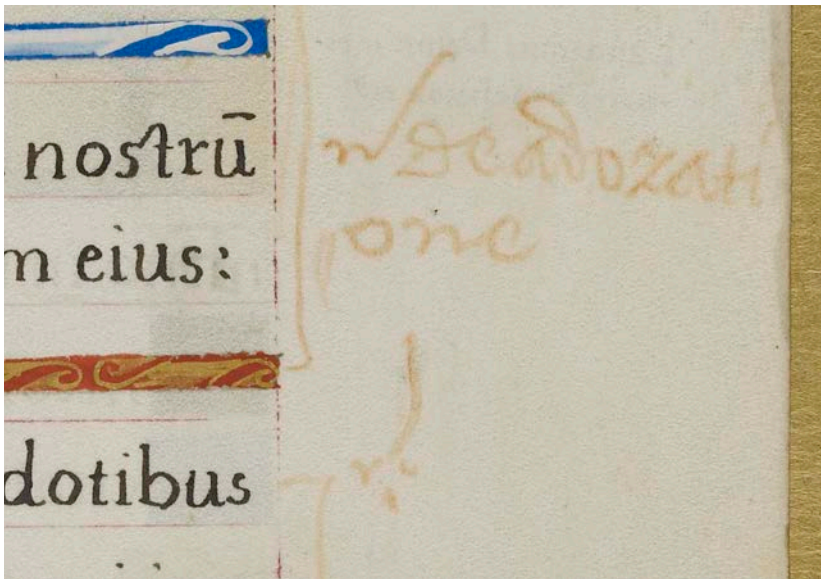

Fig. 24. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 119r.

An admittedly subjective view of the writing and the lack of clarity of the tadpole above is that the mood of the writer is less assured than the firm and confident mood shown in the ink comments as sampled above.

By way of noting Henry's changing (aging?) perspective the graphite comment on one of the 'Gap Psalms', Psalm 87, should be noted:

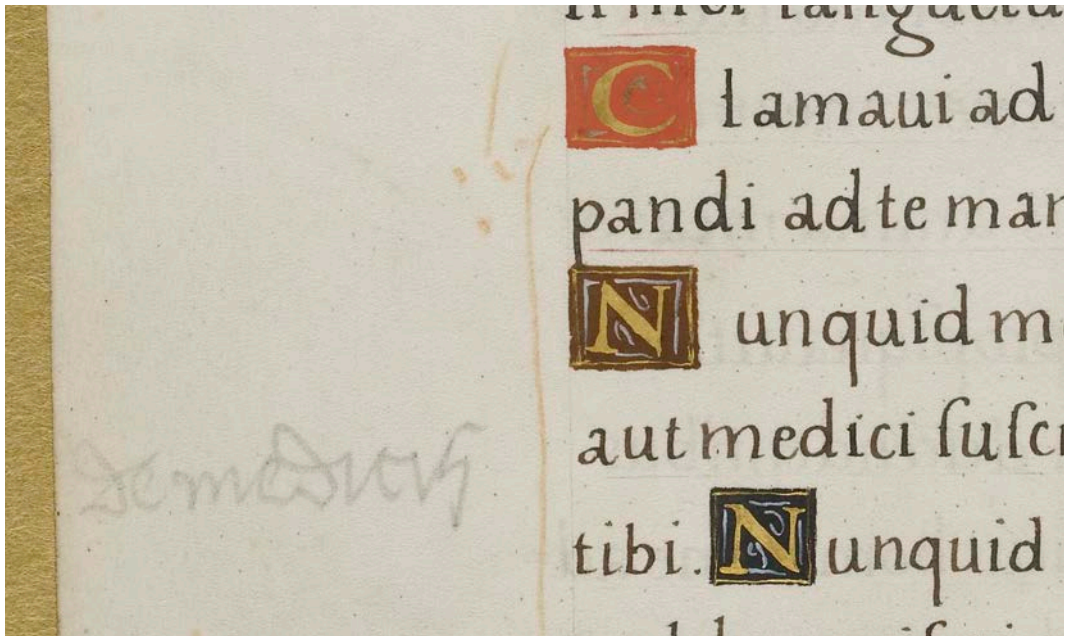

Fig. 25. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 105v.

This comment '*de medicis*' (on physicians) is to Psalm 87 (88). The verse which had attracted Henry's attention was:

> 11 numquid mortuis facies mirabilia aut medici suscitabunt et confitebuntur tibi
>
> 11 Will you show wonders to the dead or shall physicians raise to life and give praise to you?

Further support for this suggestion that Henry was increasingly aware of his mortality is from another of the 'Gap Psalms' - 94 (95) with comments in graphite '*de confessione*' (on confession)

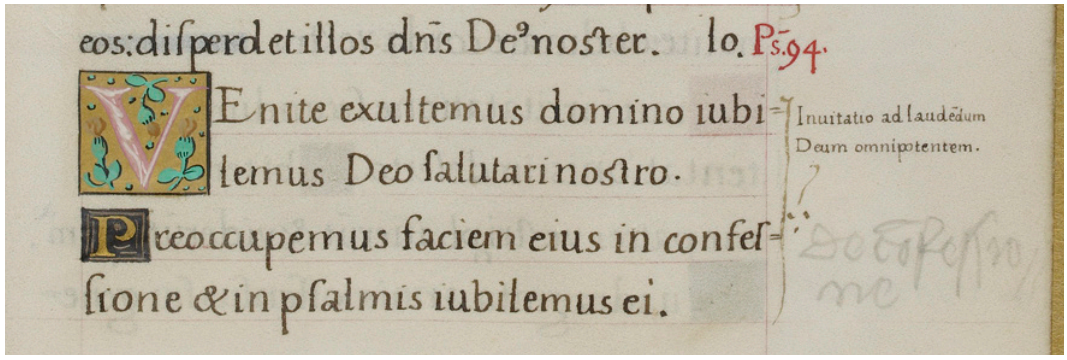
eos: disperdet illos dns Deꝰ noster. Io. Ps. 94.
Venite exultemus domino iubi-
lemus Deo salutari nostro.
Praeoccupemus faciem eius in confes-
sione & in psalmis iubilemus ei.
Inuitatio ad laudandum
Deum omnipotentem.

Fig. 26. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 115r.

and, on the following page '*tempus*' (time)

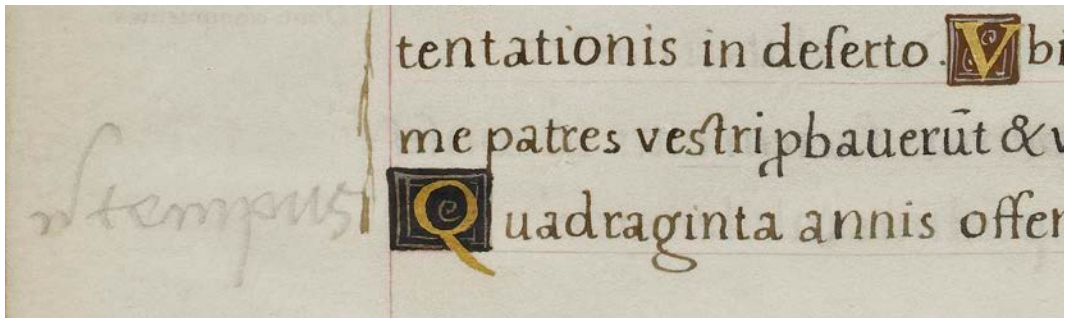
tentationis in deserto. Vbi
me patres vestri pbauerũt &
Quadraginta annis offer
n tempus

Fig. 27. Royal MS. 2 A. XVI, f. 115v.

It may be noted in passing that the '*n tempus*' is opposite *Quadraginta annis* (forty years). Henry was forty in 1531. He was fifty at the suggested time of Royal MS. 2 A. XVI. He died in 1547.

3 Conclusions

The discovery that verses had been omitted from Psalm 77 (78) is a direct result of access to the on-line images. Similarly the ability to enhance images has enabled research to be carried out which was not available to previous researchers. Access to the images has enabled the writer to peer, as it were, ever more personally over the shoulder of Henry VIII. His working methods, his changing interests and perhaps even his changing physical state have also been revealed.[14]

[14] I would like to record my sincere thanks to: Professor James P. Carley, F.R.S.C. for his enduring encouragement and helpful restraint on my occasional but unsustainable ideas, assisted by the good guidance of the Library Staff at Lambeth Palace, especially Mr Hugh Cahill; Dr Andrea Clarke of the Manuscripts Room, British Library, who made special arrangements for access to the facsimile of Royal MS. 2 A. XVI; Dr Karen Limper-Herz, Curator, Printed Heritage Collections, British Library, who helpfully arranged for and supervised access to *Whytchurch* for me to image a watermark and to image the only manicule in that book.