

Prayerbook for a German Prince, including prayers by MARTIN LUTHER; CASPAR HUBERINUS, *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes* [Of the Anger and Goodness of God] In German, illuminated manuscript on parchment  
Germany, Bavaria (Nuremberg or Augsburg?), c. 1550 (after 1533)

1 + 85 + 1 leaves (collation i-vii<sup>8</sup> + viii<sup>7</sup> [8-1, before f. 59] + ix-x<sup>8</sup> + xi<sup>6</sup>); modern foliation in pencil, top, outer corner, 1-86 (counting the rear flyleaf); written in one hand, ff. 1-83v, a German *fractura*, specifically a very fine version of the so-called "Theuerdank type," in black and red inks, in one column of 18-20 lines, lines unruled (justification 120 x 85 mm.), with additions in two later sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hands, in black inks, on ff. 84-85v and ff. 86-86v (the rear flyleaf); illuminated full-frame border in the Netherlandish style, with flowers, birds, and insects, and a seascape in the lower frame, f. 1; a total of 97 two- to five-line gold initials on a variety of coloured backgrounds, each accompanied with foliate designs in the margins, some of which bear the heads of dragons and unicorns, all with sundry birds, insects, and occasionally cherubs' heads; full page-length black penwork initial, f. 84; headings in red and one- or two-line initials in red throughout. Contemporary gold-stamped binding, using four binding tools, one of which, a vase of flowers within an oval scrollwork border, is EBDB p002686, attested in the Augsburg workshop of Caspar Horneffer; brown morocco leather, now rather scuffed and damaged, over paste boards; sewn on four cords with blue and yellow endbands (only the top set extant); stitching points for two leather fore-edge clasps, front and rear covers; gilt edges; paper pastedowns, front and rear, kept in a modern (twentieth-century) box. Dimensions: box 215 x 175mm., binding 190 x 150 mm., book block 185 x 145 mm.

The importance of the Bible in the sixteenth century in the prayer life of the laity and as a source of comfort and consolation is embodied in this beautifully written and richly illuminated manuscript probably produced in the milieu of the Glockendon family of painters. Made for a prince or for one who aspired to princely mores, it is medieval in type – a book of prayers accompanied by texts on consolation – but firmly Protestant in content, taking prayers from the works of Martin Luther, and tracts on consolation from the work of the Augsburg reformer Caspar Huberinus.

## PROVENANCE

1. No direct evidence for the original provenance of this manuscript survives. The manuscript is labelled "Reformation Miscellany. Nuremberg? c. 1540-1550" on the spine of the box in which it is held, and both location and date are likely to be reasonably accurate. The secure dates *post quem* are provided, first, by the publication of the first edition of Caspar Huberinus' *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes* in 1529; second, by the institution of the Day of Repentance and Prayer (Buß- und Betttag), for which the prayers at ff. 13-15 are written, in the Protestant calendar for the first time in 1532; third, by the inclusion of collects in the sequence at ff. 16-20v first published by Martin Luther in 1533; and – possibly – fourth, by the first publication of the short text by Luther at ff. 28v-29v in 1548. Given that Luther died in 1546, which means that the composition of the text must have predated its first publication, this final, much later date cannot be accorded significant weight.

The fine illumination stands comparison with the highest quality books produced in Nuremberg and Augsburg in the mid-sixteenth century, not least with the work of the

prodigious Glockendon family in Nuremberg. It is hard to conceive of a book which must postdate c. 1535 having been produced elsewhere than in these two cities, given the rarity of book illumination in southern Germany in the mid-sixteenth century.

The binding stamp used in the centre of the front cover, a vase of flowers within an oval scrollwork frame, can be identified as tool EBDB p002686, and thus with the Augsburg workshop of Caspar Horneffer (fl. 1562-95). Yet the binding on which that tool is identified (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Decis. 145 a-1), contains a book printed in Augsburg in 1603, which places that ascription in doubt. None of the other tools used in the binding of our manuscript could be identified, and there is no monogram (C. H., C. S. or C. H. S.) typical of Horneffer's work. Konrad Haebler noted that, atypically amongst Augsburg bookbinders of the time, Horneffer's stamps were re-used by other binders in the city, or he used stamps already in circulation (or both): see Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel*, vol. 1, pp. 168-70. Our manuscript is likely a case in point of this phenomenon. It is not absolutely certain that the present binding is original: there is some loss of marginal illumination through aggressive trimming, and the fact that the front and rear flyleaves are parchment singletons, glued along narrow stubs onto paper pastedowns, might suggest that the book block was cut out of an original binding (perhaps with the first owner's armorial device?) and then re-bound, though if so, then not much later than c. 1600.

The first text in the manuscript, a confession of sins for a prince, need not necessarily signal that the original commissioner and/or first owner was of formal princely status, just as examples of the late medieval "Mirror of Princes" genre of writing were owned by those who aspired to aristocratic status, not just those who already had it. Ulrich Merkl's study of illuminated manuscripts from this period shows that secular princes and wealthy urban patricians were about equally represented as commissioners (we may, given the Protestant content of this manuscript, discount Catholic religious): see Merkl, *Buchmalerei in Bayern*, pp. 107-109. That the commissioner was located in a town, presumably Nuremberg or Augsburg, is signalled by the prayer at ff. 9-11v, which contains a supplication (f. 10) for "our superiors, emperor, king, princes and lords, and especially for the prince and lord of our country, his councillors, commanders and rulers of this city." ("Allso bitten wir dich auch fur vnseren obern / Kayser / König / Fursten vnnd Herren / vnd furnemlich fur vnsern Landfuersten vnd herren / seine Rätthe vnnd gewaltigen vnd Regenten diser stadt.")

2. Conrad Klermond (1684-1759), industrialist in Burtscheid near Aachen, his signature on the front flyleaf, recto, bottom, outer corner.
3. Hermann Isaak von Aussem (1744-1825), industrialist and landowner in Aachen, noted collector of books and *rara*; his signature on the front flyleaf, recto, top, outer corner; presumably by descent from the above, his grandfather. See Frank Heidermanns' website (under *Online Resources* below) for pertinent genealogy.
4. Cornelius J. Hauck (1893-1967), industrialist in Cincinnati, Ohio, noted collector of rare books; his bookplate on the front pastedown. Library of the Cincinnati Historical

Society, Museum Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, by donation from Cornelius J. Hauck in 1966 (see article by Wendy Moonan in the *New York Times*, 23 June 2006).

## TEXT

### I. Prayerbook for a German Prince

#### Ia.

ff. 1-4v, Confession of Sins for a Prince, with Scriptural Verses of Consolation, rubric, *Bekantnus der sundenn einer Furstlichen Person*, incipit, "Allmechtiger warer ewiger lebendiger Gott, schepffer vnd regierender Herr himmels vnnnd der erden. Des macht vnnnd herrlickeit auch die himel nit begreifen. Ab dem sich billich aller gewallt des gantzen erdtreichs Ja himels vnd der hellenn entsetzen...", rubric (f. 2), *Volgen etliche Trostspruche vff die bekantnus der sundenn*, incipit, "Mathei am ix Capittel. Die gesunden spricht Christus durffenn des Artzts nit / sonder die krancken. Ich bin komen die sunder zur bues zu berueffen / vnd nit die fromenn..."

A confessional formula for a prince, followed by apposite scriptural quotations consoling the princely sinner, starting with Mt. 9, 12-13.

#### Ib.

ff. 5-6, The Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and Apostolic Creed, rubric, *Volgt das gebett der Christglaubigen menschen / das wir vom Christo vnsern herren selbs empfangen haben Mathei vj.*, incipit, "Vnnsere Vatter inn den himelnn Geheiliget werd dein name Dein Reich zukom. Dein will geschehe auff erdenn / wie im himell...", rubric, *Der Ennglisch grus Luce am erstenn Capittel*, incipit (f. 5v), "Gegruesset seiest du begnadte. Der Herr ist mit dir. Du gebenedeite vnder den weibern...", rubric, *Der glaub der Christen / von den Aposteln her vf vns komen.*, incipit, "Ich glaub in Gott Vatter den Allmechtigen / Schopffer himels vnd der erden. Vnd inn Jesum Christum / seinen einigen son vnsern herren..."

#### Ic.

ff. 6-11v, Eucharistic prayers, rubric, *Zum Nachtmal des Herren ein Gebet*, incipit, "Allmechtiger ewiger guetiger Gott vnd Vatter. Du hast vns durch deinen lieben son vnsern herren Jesum Christum / auch seinen heiligen Apostel beuolhenn. vns vor dir in seinem namen zu versambeln...", rubric (f. 9), *Ein ander vnd kurtzer form des Gebets*, incipit, "Barmhertziger Gott himlischer Vatter. Du hast vns gehaissen in deinem vnnnd deines lieben sons vnsern Herren Jesu Christi namen zu versambeln / vnd dich vmb alles / das vns vnd allen menschen nutz vnd (f. 9v) guet sein mag zu bitten..."

#### Id.

ff. 11v-12, Martin Luther, Prayers of thanksgiving at morning and evening, rubric, *Ein dancksagung zu gott*, incipit, "Ich dannck dir mein himlischer Vatter durch Jesum Christum / deinen lieben son / das du mich diese nacht fur allen schaden vnd fahr behuetet hast...", rubric, *Die ander dancksagung*, incipit, "Ich dannck dir mein himlischer Vatter durch Jesum Christum deinen liebenn son. Das du mich diesen tag gnediglich (f. 12) behuetet hast..."

This pair of prayers first appeared in Luther's "Kleiner Katechismus" in 1529, and were widely circulated thereafter; they are edited by Schulz, *Die Gebete Luthers*, nos. 25-26 (p. 146) and, with the full texts, 664-665 (p. 338).

le.

ff. 12-13, Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, in German translation, rubric, *Ein schon andechtigs gebet des Konigs Manasse von Jherusalem / da er gefangen lag zu Babilon.*, incipit, "O Herr allmechtiger Gott. Vnserer vätter Abraham Isaac vnd Jacob vnnd Ires gerechten samens. Der du hymel vnd erden / mit allem das darinnen ist / gemacht hast. Der du das meer mit einem wort deines gebots versiegelt hast..."

The penitential prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, is an apocryphal text usually transmitted as an appendix to 2 Chronicles, in which the prayer is mentioned at 33, 19. It was widely circulated in German translation, included, for example, in the Prayerbook of Michael Weynmar, one of the most successful of the Reformation era: see the Augsburg 1532 edition at J vi, r-v, and the Augsburg 1540 edition at pp. 96-97.

lf.

ff. 13-15, Prayers for the Day of Repentance and Prayer (Buß- und Bettag), rubric, *Volgen nu sieben schoner gebet. Die Gebet / so auff die Bettag gebraucht werden / sein dise vnnd dergleichen*, incipit, "O Allmechtiger herr Gott himlischer Vatter / der du nit lust hast ann der armenn sunnder todt. Lassest sy auch nit gernn verderbenn. Sonder wilt / das sy bekert werden vnd leben..."

This sequence of six prayers (not the seven advertised in the rubric) responds to the requirements of the Day of Repentance and Prayer, first instituted in the Protestant calendar by the emperor Charles V in the year 1532: see the entry in the *Ökumenisches Heiligenlexikon* listed under Online Resources below.

lg.

ff. 15-15v, Penitential prayers, rubric, *Ein andechtig Gebet fur die Sunnde.*, incipit, "O Gott himlischer Vatter / der du durch dy sunde wirst ertzurnet Aber durch die bues vnnd besserung wider versönet. Wir bitten dich / wollest gnediglich ansehen das gebett deiner glaubigen...", rubric, *Ein ander gebett.*, incipit (f. 15v), "O Gott himlischer Vatter / welchs eigenschafft ist / allweg sich zu erbarmen vnd zu vertzeihen. Wir bitten dich / empfahe vnser gebet gnediglich. Also das du vns vnd alle die deinen namen anruffen..."

lh.

f. 15v, Prayer for peace, rubric, *Einn gebet vmb Fride.*, incipit, "O Gott himlischer Vatter / von dem da sind alle heilige begirden / alle gerechte anschlege vnd alle gute werck. Wir bitten dich / verleihe deinen dienern vnd dienerinden friden / welchenn diese welt nit geben kan..."

li.

f. 16, Prayer for the devout understanding of Scripture, rubric, *Ein gebet Zu Gott vmb hertzlichs anbornen vnnd glaubigs auffnuemen seines heiligen worts / vnd vmb gnade demselbigen zu geleben.*, incipit, "Allmechtiger guetiger Gott vnd Vatter. Seitmal all vnser heil daran steet / das wir deines Göttlichen worts warenn verstand haben. So verleihe vns allen / das vnser hertzen von allen weltlichen geschefften gefreiet..."

lj.

ff. 16-20v, Martin Luther and others, Collects for the Church Year and the Saints, rubric, *Auf Liechtmes ein gebet.*, incipit, "Allmechtiger ewiger Gott. Wir bitten hertzlich. Gib vnns / das wir deinen lieben Son (f. 16v) erkennen vnnd preisen / wie der heilig Simeon in leiblich inn die arm genomen vnnd geistlich gesehen vnnd bekent hat..."

This sequence offers prayers for the ecclesiastical calendar, beginning with Candlemas, and followed by prayers for the Visitation of Mary, Christmas (x 2), Christ's Passion (x 3), the Resurrection, the Ascension, Whitsun, and the feasts of the Trinity, St John the Baptist (x 2), St Peter and Paul, and St Stephen. Six of these prayers are collects by Martin Luther, first published in the "Klugsches Gesangbuch" in 1533, and listed here with their numbers as edited by Schulz, *Die Gebete Luthers*: Candlemas (ff. 16-16v), nos. 12 and 309; Christ's Passion, first collect (f. 17v), nos. 13 and 293, reworked; Christ's Passion, third collect (f. 18), nos. 14 and 278; the Resurrection (ff. 18-18v), nos. 15 and 286; Whitsun (f. 19r), nos. 16 and 296, reworked; the Trinity (ff. 19-19v), nos. 17 and 305.

Ik.

ff. 20v-21, Prayer for a funeral, rubric, *Zur begrebnus der liebenn abgestorbenen Christenn.*, incipit, "Allmechtiger Gott vnnd Vatter. Verleihe vnns bey dieser vnnd allen leichenn recht zu erkennen inn was schweren verderblichen sund vnnd vngerechtigkeit wir alle stecken..."

II.

ff. 21-26, Liturgical prayers and other texts: the Athanasian Creed, the "Te Deum", the "Magnificat", the "Benedictus", and the "Song of Hannah", rubric, *Das Simbolum Athanasij welchs er wider die Arrianer gemacht hat.*, incipit, "Wer da will seelig werden / der mues vor allen dingen den rechten Christlichen glauben haben. Der denselbigen nit gantz vnnd rein helt / der wirt on zweifel ewiglich verloren sein...", rubric (f. 23v), *Das Symbolum Augustini vnd Ambrosij.*, incipit, "Gott dich loben wir Herr dich preissenn wir. Dich ewigen Vatter / ehret die gantze welt. Alle Engell / himel vnd alle gewaltigen. Cherubin vnd Seraphin / singen dir laut on vnterlos...", rubric (f. 24), *Das Lobgesang Marie der mueter Gottes.*, incipit (f. 24v), "Mein Seel erhebt den Herren. Vnd mein geist frewet sich Gottes meines Heilands. Dann er hat die nidrigkeit seiner magt angesehen. Siehe von nun an werden mich selig preissen alle kinds kindt...", rubric (f. 24v), *Das Lobgesang Zacharie*, incipit, "Gelobt sey der Herr der Gott Israhell / dann er besucht vnnd erloszt sein volck Vnnd hat vns auffgericht ein horn (f. 25) des heils in dem haus seines dieners Dauids. Als er vor zeiten geredt hat / durch den mundt seiner heiligen Propheten...", rubric (f. 25v), *Das Lobgesang Anne.*, incipit, "Mein hertz ist frolich in dem Herren / mein horn ist erhohet in dem Herren. Mein mundt hat sich weit auffgethann vber meine feinde..."

These liturgical prayers, which are either biblical in origin (like the Song of Hannah, 1 Sm. 2, 1-10) or belong to the earliest Christian centuries (like the Athanasian Creed), represent the continuation of medieval traditions into the Protestant era. All but the Athanasian Creed, which is not really a prayer, are found in the Prayerbook of Michael Weynmar: "Te Deum" (1532: L v, v – L vi, r; 1540: pp. 120-21), "Magnificat" (1532: L iii, v – L iiiii, r; 1540: pp. 117-18), "Benedictus" (1532: not included; 1540: p. 118), and "Song of Hannah" (1532: K vi, r – K vii, r; 1540: pp. 119-20).

II. Book of Consolation (Trostdbuch)

#### IIa.

ff. 26-28v, Scriptural verses of consolation, rubric, *Volgen nu etliche Trostspruche.*, incipit, "Wenn wir nit wissen / wo wir rath vnd hilff nemen sollen / so sehen Herr vnser augen zu dir. Du etc. Allmechtiger Gott / der du vns gnad vnd hilff aus grosser barmhertzigkeit verheissen hast vnd gebotten (f. 26v) das wir dich anrueffen..."

The series of prayers is followed by a set of texts concerning consolation, beginning on f. 26, and consisting in large part of substantial excerpts from Caspar Huberinus' "Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes", interpolated with other, shorter texts. This "Trostbuch" starts with a series of 14 scriptural quotations providing consolation, commencing with Prov. 30, 5.

#### IIb.

ff. 28v-29v, Martin Luther, "Ein schöner tröstlicher Spruch von Gewißheit unserer Seeligkeit", rubric, *Ein schöner tröstlicher Spruch von gewissheit vnser seligkeit*, incipit, "Gott hat vns die verheissung dess Euangelij vnd die seligkeit nit konden hoher / fesster vnd gewisser machen / dann mit dem leiden vnd sterbenn seines eingebornen Sons. Wenn wir nu von hertzen glauben / das er der (f. 29) Son Gottes fur vns gestorben ist / die sunde vnd todt vberwunden hat..."

This short text, first published in Martin Luther's "Vieler schönen Sprüche aus göttlicher Schrift Auslegung" in 1548, entered the Prayerbook tradition and is edited as such by Schulz, *Die Gebete Luthers*, no. 713 (p. 356). How much weight should be placed on the inclusion of this text for the dating of the manuscript as a whole is uncertain: Luther had died in 1546, which means that the composition of the text must predate its first (posthumous) publication, and is known in any case to have adopted prayers into his published works from pre-existent sources (see Schulz, *Die Gebete Luthers*, pp. 15-17).

#### IIc.

ff. 29v-31, Scriptural quotations on prayer, rubric, *Das man one vnderlos betten Vnnd an Gottes hilff nit Zweiffeln solle. Luce am achtzehenden.*, incipit, "Er saget Inen aber ein gleichnis dar uon / das man allzeit betten vnnd nit lass werden solt. Es war ein Richter in einer stat / der forcht sich nit vor Got vnd schewet sich vor keinem menschen..." (Lc 18, 1-18), rubric (f. 30), *Luce am eilfften.*, incipit, "Vnnd er sprach zu inen. Welcher ist vnder euch / der ein freundt hat / vnnd gieng zu im zu mitternacht vnnd spreche zu ime. Lieber freundt / leyhe mir drey brot..." (Lc 11, 5-13), rubric (f. 30v), *Marci am eilfften*, incipit (f. 31), "Darumb sag ich euch. Alles was ir bittet inn ewerm gebet / glaubt nur das irs empfahen werdet so wirts euch werden..." (Mc 11, 24-25).

#### IId.

ff. 31-40, Caspar Huberinus, "Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes", rubric, *Wie sich der mensch der swachheit seines glaubens erinnern / vnd vor Gott beclagen solle.*, incipit, "Siehe Gott nam Im fur ein ausbunt zu einem volck / Dann er greiff mitten herab vnter die gantzen welt Richtet im ein volck zu / vnnd liess sy von den allerfromsten Patriarchen herkomen / von Abraham / Isaac vnnd Jacob...", rubric (f. 33v), *Was fur ein Herr vnnd Hailandt sey.*, incipit, "Darumb willtu aus disem ellennd vnnd iamer komen vnnd dem zorn Gottes entrinnen / so heb es bey leib nit mit deinem thun an / mit deinenn wercken aus disem kercker vnd finsternus wirstu nit komen / du must ein Lucernn haben / die dir heraus leuchte / Das ist das wort Gottes / das heilig Euangelion..."



Caspar Huberinus' treatise *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes*, first published 1529, was amongst the most popular sixteenth-century works on consolation, a topic with a rich medieval tradition. 23 editions were published in High German between 1529 and 1573, with a further 15 in Low German, two in Danish and one in Icelandic translation, all in the same period (see Franz, *Huberinus*, pp. 69-87). Huberinus himself was a close acquaintance of Martin Luther, who had entered the university at Wittenberg in 1522, and after 1525 worked as an associate of Urbanus Rhegius in Augsburg. The work is a dialogue between Christianus and Theodidactus, in which the everyman Christianus is first taken through the content of the Ten Commandments and made aware of his failings, and then engages in a dialogue with Theodidactus through which his faith is strengthened and he finds consolation in Scripture. The first section from the work in this manuscript places an extract from the treatment of the first commandment alongside a second extract from Theodidactus' consolation, which focuses on the significance of Scripture and Christ's promised salvation. In the Augsburg edition of 1532, the earliest available on-line, these correspond to B i, r – B ii, v, and F vi, v – G iii, r.

### Ile.

ff. 40-44, Scriptural verses of consolation, rubric, *Zubeweiung dessen besihe mit vleis den herrlichen Trostspruch zu den Romern am viij capittell.*, incipit, "Was wollen wir dann hiertzu sagen Ist Gott (f. 40v) fur vnns / wer mag wider vnns sein. welcher auch seines aigen sons nit hat verschonet / sonder hat in fur vnns alle dahin gegeben..." (Rm 8, 31-39), rubric (f. 41), *Item Joannes am vij Cap.*, incipit, "Aber am letsten tag des Fests / der am herlichsten war / trat Jesus auff vnnd schrey vnd sprach Wenn da durstet / der kom zu mir vnnd trinck..." (Io 7, 37-39), rubric, *Desgleichen trosts lesenn wir auch bey dem b. Propheten Isaia am lv. capit. da Gott vns die reichen schätz seiner gottlichen gute aufthut vnd vns vmb sonst dieselben zugeben anbeut*, incipit, "Wolan alle / die ir durstig seit / kommet her zum wasser / vnnd die ir nit geltt habt / kombt her / kauft vnnd esset..." (Is 55, 1-3), rubric (f. 41v), *Bues soll man thun / vnnd sich der barmhertzigkeit Gottes durch lebendigen glauben in Christum teilhafftig machen. Ezechie. am xvij.*, incipit, "So sich aber der Gottlos bekeret von allen seinen sunden / die er gethann hat / vnnd helt alle meine recht / vnd thuert recht vnnd woll / so soll er lebenn vnd nit sterbenn..." (Ez 18, 21-23), rubric, *Ein ernstlich gebet / so der b. Propbet Daniel am neunnden Capittel zu Gott fur seine sund vnd des volcks sund in der Babilonischen gefencknus gethan / welchs wir auch auff vnser ellende gefangende Bruder vnd christen in der Turckey richten vnd sambt Inen täglich sprechen sollen.*, incipit, "ACH lieber Herr / du grosser vnnd schrecklicher Gott / der du bund vnnd gnade haltest denenn die dich lieben vnnd deine gebott halten. Wir haben gesundiget vnnd vnrecht gethan / sind Gottlos gewesen vnd abtrinnig wor(f. 42v)den..." (Dn 9, 4-19).

The extracts from Huberinus' treatise are interrupted by a series of four scriptural quotations with consolatory content (Rm 8, 31-39, Io 7, 37-39, Is 55, 1-3, and Ez 18, 21-23), followed by the prayer of Daniel in captivity (Dn 9, 4-19). The rubric in this manuscript invites the reader to say the prayer daily, with a mind to the fate of Christians held captive in the Turkish Empire. It can be found (without this rubric) in the Prayerbook of Michael Weynmar (1532: J ii, r – J iii, r; 1540: pp. 90-91).

### IIf.

ff. 44-58v, Caspar Huberinus, "Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes", rubric, *Von der vatterlichen straff vnnd zuchtigung Gottes.*, incipit, "Im alten Testament / da sind zeitliche verheissung / auch zeitliche straffen versprochen gewesen / wiewol auch vnter denen beiden ewige verheissungen vnd ewige

straffen verborgen sind gewesen. Aber imm newen Testament / da ist allein ewige straff vnd ewige verheissung..."

The second of three blocks with extracts from Huberinus' treatise corresponds in the Augsburg edition of 1532 to H i, v – J ii, v.

IIg.

ff. 59-60, Scriptural verses of consolation, rubric, *Matthei am ix.*, incipit, "Jesus da er das volck sahe / iammert in desselbigen / dann sy waren verschmacht vnnnd zerstreuet / wie die schaffe / die keinen hierten haben. Da sprach er zu seinen Jungern..." (Mt 9, 36-38), rubric, *Ephesern am iiij.*, incipit, "Einem ieglichen aber vnder vnns ist gegeben die gnad nach der mass der gaben Christi. Darumb spricht er: Er ist auffgefahren in die hohe / vnnnd hat das gefencknus gefangen gefuert..." (Eph 4, 7-16).

IIh.

ff. 60-83v, Caspar Huberinus, "Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes", rubric, *Trost wider die sorge zeitlicher narunng. Ein kurtz vnd ernstlich gesprech / im dem ein cleimmutiger Christ sein not / ellend vnnnd sundtlichs lebenn einem Gotsgelertern clagt / vnd rath vnnnd trost von ime begert.*, incipit, "Wie wunderbarlich vnnnd selltzam ist Gott mit den seinen wie wenig rhue habenn sy / werden stets angefochtenn von der sund / todt / teuffel vnd helle / das einem Christen ein langweilige zeitt (f. 60v) hie ist / das er ime nit vnbillich wunscht vnd oft von hertzen begert den todt...", rubric (f. 67v), *Trostung fur die / so kleimuetig seind worden vnd auff ein neues imm zweiffelung fallen wollenn vmb irer sunde willenn. Gotsgelerter.*, incipit, "Stehe des Herren hand ist nit verkurtzt / das er nit helffen kundte / vnd seine ohren sind nit dick worden / das er nit höre. Ich hab nun woll verstanden lieber Christ dein anfechtung / du bist nit allein glaub mir des solches leidet / dann vill andere heiligen auch dessgleichen leiden / als sant Petrus leret...", rubric (f. 69v), *Christ*, incipit, "Du hast mir nun vill ertzelt / wie Christus der sey / welcher sein leib vnnnd leben fur die sunder dar hat geben / sey versmecht verspott / gecrönet / gegeisslet vnnnd gecreuziget wordenn...", rubric (f. 71), *Ob auch noch vergebung der sunden sey / nach dem man widerumb auff ein neues gesundigt hat. Gotsgelerter.*, incipit, "Du muest das Reich Christi lernen erkennen. Dann das genaden Reich Christi ist nit eng gespant / das sein gnad nur ein mal darinnen aus(f. 71v)getheilt werde vnnnd damit auss sey...", rubric (f. 74), *Das furnemst stuck in allem leiden ist / das man Gott ernstlich vmb bilff anrueffe.*, incipit, "Vnnnd dieweil du in dir selbs merckest vnnnd empfindest / das der alt mensch stercker in dir ist / dann der new mensch / vnd fueret das regiment gewaltiglich nach seinem gefallen / so muestu nit feiern / sonder Got den herrn immer zu bitten vnd in ernstlich anrueffen vmb genad...", rubric (f. 76), *Wie der spruch Pauli zu uerstehen sey. Kein abgöttischer noch kein Ehebrecher etc. ererbt das Reich Gottes.*, incipit (f. 76v), "Es ist wol war / es ist ein harter spruch den Paulus fueret / das kein abgöttischer / kein huerer / kein ehbrecher etc. das reich Gottes ererben werde. Dann diser spruch ist hart vnnnd sagt die seligkeit ab / als sey es aus / wann einer ein sunder ist...", rubric (f. 78), *Was der hochst grad des glaubenns seie*, incipit, "Es ist wol war / es gehort ein grosse genade / ein hoher geist vnnnd einn starcker glaub dartzu. Nemlich daz ein ritterlich kempffe vnnnd wider die sunde streitte / damit er nit zu bodem gerent werde vnd vnderlige / das er widerstand kund thun allerley anfechtungen...", rubric (f. 81), *Von der tröstlichen zuesagung des newem Testaments.*, incipit, "Zu letst. Ob dich aber die anfechtung der sunden so hart vberfielenn / vnd dich zu vertzweiffelung treiben wolten. So kanstu derselbigen anfechtung kein grossern widerstandt thun vnd dich bas darinnen trosten / dann wann du zu dem wort Gottes zuflucht hast..."



The third and final block from Huberinus' work corresponds in the Augsburg edition of 1532 to K ii, v – L vii, v (ff. 60-81) and L viii, v – M ii, r (ff. 81-83v). The title ("Troost wider die sorge zeitlicher narung") given to this section in the manuscripts belongs, in fact, to an earlier section of the work, and can be found in the 1532 edition at G iii, r.

### III. Subsequent additions

#### IIIa.

ff. 84-85v, Prayer for recitation on waking, rubric, *Morgen Segen*, incipit, "Im Namen des vatters / des sohns / vnd des heiligen Geistes Amen. Gebenedeyet vnd gelobet seist du. O Himmlischer Vatter / der du an mir armen So grosse Barmhertzigkeit heint inn diesser Nacht erzeiget hast..."

#### IIIb.

ff. 86-86v, Prayer for recitation before sleep, rubric, *Ein abend Gebett so zu sprechen wann man schlaffen gehet*, incipit, "Allmechtiger Barmhertziger guettiger Gott vnd Vatter der du in allweg vnser blodigkeitt so vätterlichen bedenckst vnd die nacht verordnet hast zu ruhe vnszers arbeit..."

The importance of the Bible in the sixteenth century in the prayer life of the laity and as a source of comfort and consolation is embodied in this beautifully written and richly illuminated manuscript copied for an unidentified prince. Lutheran devotion in many ways followed older practices, but the number of biblical passages included here is a new departure. The confessional formula for a prince is followed by scriptural quotations consoling the princely sinner, starting with Matt. 9:12-13. The importance of scripture is even more evident in the *Trostbuch* ("Book of Consolation") that includes scriptural quotations providing consolation, texts by Luther, and extracts from Caspar Huberinus's treatise *Vom Zorn und er Güte Gottes* ("Of the Anger and the Goodness of God"). Huberinus himself was a close acquaintance of Martin Luther, who entered the university at Wittenberg in 1522 and after 1525 worked as an associate of Urbanus Rhegius in Augsburg.

## ILLUSTRATION

(see also above, under Provenance).

The manuscript's profuse illumination (97 pages display finely painted initials and colourful, skilfully executed border motifs, unicorns, birds, flowers, insects, a seascape on the frontispiece) and beautiful calligraphy place it firmly in the tradition of Renaissance manuscript production in the cities of Nuremberg and Augsburg in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, following the Prayerbook of Maximilian I designed by Albrecht Dürer himself. The artist is surely to be sought in the milieu of the Glockendon family, and the illumination is perhaps closest to the late work of Albrecht Glockendon d. Ä. (d. 1545) or the early work of Sebastian Glockendon d. Ä.

For comparable examples, see Merkl, *Buchmalerei in Bayern*: e.g. cat. no. 84, pp. 418-19 with plates 365-66 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 81), a copy of the Epistles in Martin Luther's translation, illuminated by Albrecht Glockendon the Elder (d. 1545) for the count palatine Ottheinrich in 1541, and copied in the "Theuerdank" *fractura*; or cat. no. 79, pp. 411-12 with plates 348 and 350-51 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10013), a copy of the Seven Penitential Psalms, illuminated by the same for count Johann II. von Pfalz-Simmern, c. 1530, and now fully digitized online. The work in this manuscript is, however, not

monogrammed, and without comparison on the basis of the entire illuminated manuscript production of the years 1530-1560 from both Nuremberg and Augsburg, a closer ascription is not possible. For illuminated books of this period from Augsburg, see the exhibition catalogue *Bürgermacht und Bücherpracht*.

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