

THE *DEVOTIO MODERNA* IN TRIER

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Among the various reform movements within the Roman Catholic Church in the fifteenth century the *Devotio Moderna*, or "New Devotion," must be given a place of outstanding importance. The beginnings of the movement take us to that part of the Low Countries which bordered on ancient Westphalia and was known as the Yssel Valley. In this region there appeared in the latter half of the fourteenth century a remarkable religious personality, Gerard Groote by name. After an early life of comparative religious indifference he entered the Carthusian monastery near Arnhem in 1377, spent two years in rigid asceticism and in contemplation, was ordained as deacon, and in 1380 entered upon a brief but very successful career as revival preacher. He died in 1384.

Out of Groote's stern preaching there came a large group of mystics and educators, mostly belonging to the Brethren of the Common Life and the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim. While both of these branches are included in the term "New Devotion," it was the Brethren of the Common Life who, in their living a community life without binding vows, approached best the ideals of Groote. During the first half of the fifteenth century the Brethren founded several important houses in northern Germany from Münster in the west as far as Prussia in the east. They were consistently interested in teaching and so conducted schools in connection with their establishments. It was in Magdeburg in 1497-1498 that Martin Luther attended a Brethren-school. Later in life he spoke well of the Brethren, and in the serious difficulties which they encountered in the

city of Herford because of the Reformation, he intervened decisively on their behalf.

The second half of the fifteenth century witnessed a notable expansion of the Brethren of the Common Life in those lands and territories known collectively as Upper Germany. This development centered largely in the leadership and labors of the distinguished preacher and theologian, Gabriel Biel of Spires, sometimes called "the last of the scholastics."¹

Before he joined the Brethren of the Common Life sometime in 1468, Biel had already been active on their behalf. Thus as vicar general of the archbishop of Mainz, he was instrumental in 1463 in founding the Brethren-house Marienthal, near Geisenheim, the first colony of the *Devotio Moderna* in the Upper Rhenish lands.² Two years later he aided in establishing the Brethren-house in Königstein in Taunus.³ No sooner had he joined the Brethren in 1468 than he was made prior of the recently founded Brethren-house St. Mark's in Butzbach.⁴ These various activities of Biel on behalf of the Brethren earned for him the title of "first inceptor of the Brethren of the Common Life in Upper Germany."⁵

¹ On Biel's theological contribution see: H. Hermelink, *Die theologische Fakultät in Tübingen vor der Reformation 1477-1534* (Tübingen, 1906); J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537*, I (Stuttgart, 1927), 153-172; *ibid.*, II (Stuttgart, 1929), 56-64; G. Feckes, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Gabriel Biels* (Münster, 1925); F. X. Linsenmann, "Gabriel Biel, der letzte Scholastiker, und der Nominalismus," *Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift*, XLVII (1865), 601-676; and G. Plitt, *Gabriel Biel als Prediger* (Erlangen, 1879).

² This we learn from the *Memory Book* of the Brethren-house Wolf on the Moselle, which in an entry under the year 1504 states that not only did Biel persuade the archbishop of Mainz to help found the house but that he also selected the first rector, Brother Benedict of the Cologne house, generally called Benedict of Helmstadt, to come to Marienthal in order to establish the Brethren in Upper Germany. *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 30r.

³ He was present in Cologne when Henry Tulpeto, a member of the Cologne house, was appointed rector in Königstein, and he witnessed officially to the documents incident to this occasion.

⁴ He ruled as prior 1468-1477.

⁵ *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 20r.

But greater honors awaited the well-known prior. In 1477 Count Eberhard the Bearded of Württemberg invited the Brethren to enter his territories, and Gabriel Biel became therewith the trusted leader of the *Devotio Moderna* in the Count's domain. The several houses of the Brethren which were founded in Württemberg joined the other houses in Upper Germany in a General Chapter which met annually for the consideration of common policies and problems.⁶ In this organization Gabriel Biel was no doubt an important leader.⁷ In 1484 he was made professor of theology in the University of Tübingen, a position he held until 1492 when he became prior of the Brethren-house St. Peter's in Schönbuch. His distinguished career ended at St. Peter's in 1495.⁸

Of the eleven houses which eventually composed the General Chapter of Canons of the Common Life in Upper Germany, two were situated geographically on the extreme western periphery. They were the house Wolf on the Moselle and its adjunct St. German in Trier.⁹ It is with the history of the last named institution that the present study is particularly concerned.

⁶ There were houses in Dachsenhausen, Dettingen, Herrenberg, Schönbuch, Tübingen, and Urach. The history of the houses, except St. Peter's in Schönbuch, has been told by Otto Meyer, *Die Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens in Württemberg 1477-1517* (Stuttgart, 1913).

⁷ He functioned as prior of the house St. Amandus in Urach from 1479 to 1484.

⁸ *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 20v.

⁹ Neither of these houses has to date received adequate treatment. The sources on the house Wolf repose chiefly in the State Archives in Coblenz: the *Memory Book* is numbered Abt. 701, Ms. 92, and an incomplete translation of it into German is numbered Abt. 701, Ms. 93. The archives also possess, Abt. 223-Kloster Wolf, the extant financial annals of the house. In the Parish archives in Wolf are sixteen original documents, being mostly records of sales or purchases from 1478 to 1544. The writer also found in the Bavarian State Archives, Munich, nine hitherto unused documents of a similar nature. They are listed as Stift Wolf, No's 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 55. Numbers 36 and 37 are the long-forgotten records of deeding the Brethren the church in Wolf with its altars, hence they belong to the founding documents.

Sometime in 1476 Frederick, Count Palatine, and Christopher his brother, Margrave of Baden, both Lords of Sponheim,¹⁰ petitioned Pope Sixtus IV¹¹ to transform the church of the Blessed Mary in Wolf into a "collegiatam ecclesiam cum numero sacerdotum et clericorum ac communi mensa et dormitorio ad instar ecclesiarum collegiorum sive domorum Vallis sancte Marie prope Geysenheym et sancte Marie in Konungsteyn ac sancti Marci in Butzbach . . ." ¹² Further they asked the Pope to grant the new house all the privileges given the Brethren by Pope Paul II,¹³ and finally they requested that the sacred offices of worship be conducted according to the customs observed in the archdiocese of Trier.

Papal approval followed on May 1, 1477.¹⁴ It granted what the noble patrons had requested and added further that the new chapter must be a member of the general union of Brethren-chapters, consisting at this time of the houses in Marienthal, Königstein and Butzbach. It also gave its approval of the proposed chapter in Wolf and appointed Benedict of Helmstadt, prior of Marienthal, and Gabriel Biel, prior of Butzbach, as its representatives to accept the new chapter on behalf of the Marienthal house and the general union of Upper Rhenish houses, and to effect its organization into a Brethren-house.¹⁵ The mandate given the two priors shows that Marienthal had taken a leading interest in the new project and hence was considered as the mother-house.

Among articles on the house Wolf may be mentioned Hans Vogt in *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, XV (Düsseldorf, 1935), Pt. I, pp. 383-389 and Chr. Stramberg, *Der rheinische Antiquarius*, XVII (Coblenz, 1861), Pt. II, pp. 289-295.

¹⁰ As Counts of Sponheim they were protectors and patrons of the church in Wolf.

¹¹ Sixtus IV (1471-1484).

¹² *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 2v.

¹³ Paul II (1464-1471) had restated the privileges of the Brethren which were first granted them by Pope Eugene IV in 1436.

¹⁴ Original unknown. Copy in *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 3v-5v.

¹⁵ *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 74.

More than a year elapsed, however, before the founding could be consummated. Then on July 3, 1478, in the presence of Count Frederick and Margrave Christopher, neighboring church dignitaries, and the two representatives of the general union, the ceremonies took place.¹⁶ On behalf of the General Chapter of Canons of the Common Life in Upper Germany, as the general union of houses was now called,¹⁷ Gabriel Biel received the keys of the Church of Our Dear Lady in Wolf from Count Frederick. The election of a prior followed immediately in the sacristy of the church, and the choice fell upon Philip Sartor of Wissenau, a member of the Marienthal house. Gabriel Biel at once inducted the new prior into his office, whereupon Count Frederick reaffirmed in festive speech the privileges of the house. The ceremonies ended with the new prior celebrating Holy Mass.¹⁸

Prior Philip came from Marienthal. So did the brothers who first lived in the house. Among these the priest John Bingen and the novice Christian Dahlen are mentioned. Whoever they were, they soon returned to Marienthal, except Christian Dahlen, because they were unwilling to endure the hardships of the new house.

Indeed, the struggle with poverty characterized the larger part of the history of this house. Several factors over which the Brethren had little control contributed to this condition. The location, magnificent so far as scenic beauty was concerned, was somewhat isolated and inaccessible. The neighborhood was poor, and so the Brethren could never receive large gifts or endowments. Furthermore, the founders and patrons never supported the house as actively as was the

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 3v. The papal representative throughout the various acts connected with the transfer was Abbot John of St. Martins Monastery in Sponheim.

¹⁷ In 1478 the following houses were members: St. Mark's in Butzbach, the Blessed Mary in Königstein, the Blessed Mary in Marienthal, St. Amandus' in Urach. It seems that St. Mary's in Wolf was not admitted until 1484.

¹⁸ Wolf *Memory Book*, fol. 8r.-10r.

case in most other Brethren establishments. Duke Frederick died in 1480 without leaving the house any legacy.¹⁹ His younger brother Louis even refused to give up his rights in one of the altars in the church, and not until 1489 did the Brethren actually get control of the altar.²⁰ Finally, the Brethren never became so intimately identified with the community as they were in their other houses. The villagers were hostile to them on many occasions and were never friendly. No other Brethren-house had to struggle for its existence more constantly than did St. Mary's in Wolf.²¹

It was while the Brethren in Wolf were engaged in one of their gallant struggles for existence that an opportunity came in 1499 for them to extend their sphere of influence. They were invited to open a new house in Trier, one of the important religious centers in Germany.²²

¹⁹ His widow, who died in 1486, left the house fifty florins for an annual mass for the repose of her and her husband's soul. Wolf *Memory Book*, fol. 14v.

²⁰ They received it from Caspar and Alexander, sons of Louis who must have died earlier. Wolf *Memory Book*, fol. 18v.

²¹ The *Memory Book* tells repeatedly of these struggles which at times brought the house to the verge of starvation and desolation. Thus in 1481 the chapter in Cologne sent three of its members to Wolf to help save the house from extinction. Fol. 11r.

²² There exist but few sources on this house. The various documents issued by the archbishop's chancery are found in the archiepiscopal registers for Trier, now in the State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 1C, No's 17 and 21. A few of these were used by N. v. Hontheim in his *Historia Trevirensis Diplomatica et Pragmatica* (Trier, 1750), II, 461, 462 and in the same volume, "Saeculum XV, Pars IX," pp. 325, 326. Some additional excerpts from sources are found in J. H. Wyttenbach and F. M. Müller, *Gesta Trevirorum integra Lectionis Varietate et Animadversionibus Illustrata*, vol. II, "Additamenta," pp. 30-34. This work in three volumes (Trier, 1836-1839) gives a history of Trier from its mythological beginnings to 1794 A.D. The Wolf *Memory Book* contains some records of the Brethren in Trier, but it has never been used before. The original of the archbishop's order dissolving the house in 1569 is in the State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 198, No. 7.

The history of the house has never been written fully. N. v. Hontheim's brief account was in Latin, as were the references to the house made by Jacob Melbaum in *Sylva Academica* (Trier, 1657), pp. 177, 178, and by J. H. Wyttenbach and F. M. Müller (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-34).

Trier was a city of churches and religious establishments. One of these churches with its adjoining buildings had been taken over in the thirteenth century by the nuns of St. German near Trier.²³ They were known as the "white ladies" and belonged to the Cistercian order.²⁴ Little or nothing is now known of their activities in Trier. By the latter half of the fifteenth century their number had so diminished that but two remained. This situation led the archbishop of Trier, John II von Baden (1456-1503), to dissolve the house in 1477, and in so doing he turned the establishment over to the custodianship of the abbot of St. Matthew's in Trier. The abbot was enjoined to look after the services in the church as far as the income of the house permitted and also to provide the two remaining nuns with their livelihood. The abbot did so liberally and the nuns could end their days in comfort.²⁵

Twenty-two years later the Brethren of the Common Life were called to occupy St. German.²⁶ This was due in part to the efforts of Landolph von Enschringen, chancellor to the archbishop of Trier. This learned and pious churchman

F. Tobias Müller referred to the house briefly in his *Schicksale der Trierischen Gotteshäuser seit 1794*, pp. 182-192. This work, never published, is found in the author's manuscript in the Trier City Library, Hs. 1406-125. However, Müller was quoted almost verbatim by Dr. Lager in *Die Kirchen und klösterlichen Genossenschaften Triers* (Trier, n.d.), pp. 90-95. This work is something of a tourists' guide to the past history of the numerous churches in Trier.

²³ It was Henry II van Vinzingen, Archbishop of Trier (1260-1286), who moved the nuns from the village of St. Medhard where their house had been known as "St. German zum Hund." The patron saint, St. German, was Bishop of Auxerre in the early part of the fifth century.

²⁴ They have consistently been called Benedictines but this is an error. They were Cistercians.

²⁵ The document is found in the State Archives, Coblenz. Abt. 1C, No. 17, Doc. 848. It was dated March 20, 1477. On August 18, 1477, the abbot arranged for the future support of the nuns.

²⁶ H. Bunjes in *Die kirchlichen Denkmäler der Stadt Trier* (Düsseldorf, 1938), p. 88, is not exact in saying that in 1477 Archbishop John II v. Baden gave St. German to the "Goldenen Priestern, einer Genossenschaft von Weltgeistlichen nach der Regel des hl. Augustinus, den Vorläufern der Jesuiten in Erziehung und Unterricht der Jugend."

believed that the city of Trier would benefit if a higher school were established to serve as an adjunct to the University of Trier. His successful efforts are told as follows:

Denique summa diligentia elaboravit apud praedictum D. Johannem Archiepiscopum et Reverendum D. Anthonium Abbatem conventumque S. Matthiae, quo amuerent huic rei fructuosissimae felicissimaeque, exauditusque est pro sua reverentia. Mutatur hinc coenibium in collegium Instituti illic religiosi viri, quos vulgo aureos sacerdotes apellirant, nimirum ob exactam communem obedientiarum laudabilemque vitam; qui cum sint seculares (nulli enim regulae subjecti) decentissimum gerunt habitum religiosae conversatione aptissimum, quos maliciosi nonnulli insectando cuculligeros nominant. Insuper memoratus Archiantistes Johannes dedit illis una cum coenobio proventus et reditus, licet exigui sint, ut sequentia onera portent; laudem divinam accumulent, perpetuo ludum literarium teneant.²⁷

But the wise and energetic chancellor was not alone responsible for inviting the Brethren to Trier. The *Wolf Memory Book* informs us that another pious churchman had advised the chancellor in the matter. He was the priest Stephen, altarist in Bernkastel and confessor to the nuns in Vilizen.²⁸ Stephen, who was one of the best benefactors that the Brethren in Wolf ever had, undoubtedly knew about the deep interest of the Brethren of the Common Life in educating young men, and so when Chancellor Landolph conceived the idea of founding a new school in Trier, he proposed the Brethren in Wolf as the educators.²⁹

They were probably approached early in 1499 about

²⁷ Hontheim, *op. cit.*, II, 462. Actually Hontheim is quoting from the account of Weihbischof Johannes Enen in *Epitome alias Medulla Gestorum Trevirensis*, fol. 60v.

²⁸ The *Memory Book* devotes one folio to him (fol. 32r. and v.) and asserts that the Brethren had received "more favors from him than it was possible to believe." When he died in 1505 he was buried in the chapter church behind the altar of the "glorious Virgin."

²⁹ The *Memory Book*, fol. 32v, describes his interest in St. German thus: "Fuit etiam causa institutionis domus sancti Germani apud cancellarium doctorem Landolphum laborando. Ita dilexit puerorum profectum et studiosos fovit semper. Et cum Treverim venerat Semper accessit pueros monendo et exhortando paupertatem illius domus non sprevit pecuniam accommodatam in testamento suo remisit..."

coming to Trier, for on May 11 "frater Petrus Sprendelinck missus fuit ad Sueviam propter domum sancti Germani incipiendum."³⁰ Although our source does not so state, Brother Peter was undoubtedly to lay the matter before the annual session of the General Chapter of the Brethren-houses in Upper Germany, which in that particular year was held in Württemberg.³¹

The *Wolf Memory Book* fails to inform us about the attitude of the General Chapter. That it was favorable we learn, however, from the official authorization for the new house issued by Archbishop John II on October 1, 1499. The archbishop created St. German to be a chapter of canons and clerics of the Common Life "consensu . . . honorabilibus et devotis prepositis et capitulis canonicorum, presbiterorum et clericorum Germanie superioris in communi vivencium . . .", and he transferred to the new chapter all the privileges, rights and incomes which the cenobium might have had in the past and might acquire in the future.³²

Archbishop John having authorized the founding of the house, the abbot of St. Matthews on October 9 turned over St. German to the Brethren.³³ Finally, the archbishop in a supplementary order defined further their duties and privileges as follows:

Johannes dei gratia sancte Treverensis ecclesie Archiepiscopus, sacri Romani imperii per Galliam et regnum Arelatense Archicancellarius ac princeps elector, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Ut si nuper cenobium seu monasterium sancti Germani intra muros civitatis nostre Treverensis situm, et honorabilibus et devotis nobis prepositis et capitulis canonicorum, presbiterorum et clericorum Germanie superioris in communi viventium univerimus et donaverimus uti in nostris desuper traditis litteris plene contine-

³⁰ *Wolf Memory Book*, fol. 22. Brother Peter as vice-rector represented the rector, who was too ill to attend.

³¹ Probably in Urach.

³² Found in the archiepiscopal registers, State Archives, Coblenz. Abt. 1C. No. 17, Doc. 1634. It was issued from the castle of Ehrenbreitstein.

³³ State Archives, Coblenz. Abt. 1C., No. 21, Doc. 336. St. Matthew's in Trier belonged to the Benedictine Order.

tur.³⁴ Quia tamen in eisdem nonnulla necessaria seu oportuna sunt amissa seu obscure posita, nos per presentes eadem supplentes seu declarantes memoratum monasterium in collegium seu collegiatam ecclesiam canonicorum huiusmodi erigimus, itaque perpetuo ibi sint prepositus et capitulum huiusmodi canonicorum qui talem canonicam vitam rite observent, cultum divinum decenter peragant habeantque inter se eos, qui sciant et valeant scolam saltem litterariis seu eruditi sermonis preesse ac pueris et adolescentibus in eodem sermone bonisque disciplinis, artibus et moribus instituere et docere. Qui quoque scholas huiusmodi secundum ordinationes a nobis aut successoribus nostris de pro tempore prepositi et capituli predictae ecclesie sancti Germani consilio, rationabiliter fiendas apud eandem ecclesiam bene et diligenter teneant, regant et exerceant, scholaresque suos, ut prefertur, instituant et doceant sub mercede seu salario competenti possint; quoque intra muros supradicti monasterii sancte Germani septa et scholarum huiusmodi, sive intra eadem septa, sive extra; intra tamen civitatem nostram Treverensem commorantium atque domesticorum suorum eis confiteri volentium confessiones audire eosque a peccatis et excessibus confessis absolvere ac ipsis penitentias salutare pro modo culparum iniungere eciam in casibus nobis et successoribus nostris iure aut consuetudine reservatis, nec non eucharistie et extreme unctionis sacramenta (que in ecclesia sua cum debita veneratione habere et tribuere)³⁵ poterunt . . .³⁶

The opening of the new house followed on November 10 in the presence of the priors of Marienthal, Königstein, Butzbach, and Wolf.³⁷ Abbot Anthonius of St. Matthew's presented the keys of St. German to Andrew of Kassel, prior of Wolf, who accepted the house conditionally as an adjunct of his own to see "if the Brethren could maintain themselves there."³⁸ This was an unusual reservation, but the Brethren in Wolf were obviously concerned over their ability to operate a school in Trier from both the standpoint

³⁴ That is, the authorization of October 1, 1499.

³⁵ The reading is uncertain but seems to indicate "tribuere."

³⁶ Dated October 30, 1499 from Ehrenbreitstein. Found in State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 1C., No. 21, Doc. 337; also in Wytttenbach and Müller, *op. cit.*, vol. II, "Additamenta," pp. 31, 32.

³⁷ They were Benedict of Marienthal, Anthonius of Königstein, John Boccoldi of Butzbach, and Andrew of Wolf. Wolf *Memory Book*, fol. 22v.

³⁸ The house was accepted as a "Filiale domus nostre in Wolff ad probandum an fratres possent persistere." *Ibid.*

of adequately trained personnel and of limited resources.³⁹

Four Brethren had been selected from various houses in Upper Germany to start the new chapter.⁴⁰ From the very beginning they were challenged by poverty and disease.⁴¹ The house had practically no furnishings. There was but one bed, and something of a friendly strife arose among the brothers on the first night of their sojourn as to which one of them should occupy it. Finally, they placed the mattress on the floor and all used it for a pillow while their bodies rested on the floor.⁴² They lacked utensils and books; their wine was sour and the climate unfriendly. Sickness entered the house and the undertaking seemed doomed to failure.

Certainly the early history of the house is one of many tribulations. The Brethren's presence in Trier was not desired by many, and their occupation as teachers aroused the fear and animosity of the university. In 1502 the pest raged in the city, and Rector Ingerman requested the mother-house in

³⁹ St. German could not accept gifts in its own name nor receive new members. There are hints in the *Memory Book* that these prohibitions were not always respected. Thus on one occasion the house kept sixty gold florins (probably a direct gift) against the express wish of both the mother-house and the General Chapter (fol. 49r).

⁴⁰ They were Ingerman of Elten from the house in Herrenberg, Württemberg, Peter Sprendeling from Wolf, Conrad Stockard from Marienthal, and Robert of Cologne from Butzbach. Of these Ingerman was made rector. He is called a "notabilis et doctus vir." Peter Sprendeling was the oldest member (fol. 22v.). These four are mentioned again on fol. 39v. as the original members of the house. Robert of Cologne is mentioned as coming from St. Mark's in Butzbach on a conditional basis; if St. German "progressum habere non posset," he would return to Butzbach. In 1503, he was made a canon of St. German at the request of St. Mark's, indicating that the former was then considered as permanently established (fol. 25v.).

⁴¹ ". . . in magna paupertate vixerunt multis diebus et infirmi, ut frequenter propter inconsuetum aerem et vini acerbiteriam et paupertatem." And again: "Propter quod pauper ista domus istis pauperioribus subveniendo plures impensas habuit in libris, utensilibus, vino et cetera. *Memory Book*, fol. 22v.

⁴² Peter Sprendeling argued that Ingerman as rector should use the bed, and Ingerman insisted that Peter as the oldest member of the group should. *Ibid.*

Wolf that his group of Brothers might move there temporarily to escape the plague.⁴³

But no obstacles could thwart the Brethren. Soon they became known in Trier as the "golden priests," and their school was called the "Gymnasium of the golden priests."⁴⁴ They took advantage of the facilities of the university to improve their own training. Thus, Rector Ingerman received the degree of Master of Arts in 1503, not without difficulty, for he had been "plurimum a magistris molestatus cum magna difficultate quamquam doctissimus fuerit."⁴⁵ In the same year Robert of Cologne sang "primitias ad sanctum Germanum," his first mass "in statu nostro."⁴⁶ Peter Milling joined the group in this year. Eventually he became prior in Wolf and one of the authors of the *Memory Book*.⁴⁷

Archbishop John II, who had established St. German as a preparatory school for the university, was obliged repeatedly to rally to the support of his foundation during these early years. The university looked upon the small poorly equipped school with disdain.⁴⁸ Its prior was abused and its students persecuted. This led the archbishop to elaborate further the privileges and duties of the Brethren in Trier. In a pronouncement dated August 13, 1501, he provided for more stable and larger incomes to the chapter,⁴⁹ and in the following year he defined further the relationship between St. German and the university in the following terms:

⁴³ Fol. 25r.

⁴⁴ Hontheim, *op. cit.*, II, 325, 326.

⁴⁵ *Memory Book*, fol. 25v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* I understand this to mean that Robert of Cologne was now a permanent member of the house. See *supra*, note 40.

⁴⁷ *Memory Book*, fol. 25v.

⁴⁸ Among the professors of the university, one, Henry Irlen, had in 1483 quarrelled with the Brethren in Wolf over his alleged right in one of the altars in the chapter church. He lost the dispute, but if he was still active in Trier in 1499, it is easy to understand why he for one might have disliked the Brethren in St. German.

⁴⁹ Copy in State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 1C., No. 21, Doc. 338; also Wytttenbach and Müller, *op. cit.*, vol. II, "Additamenta," p. 32.

Volumus et ordinamus ut eiusdem domos seu status et quarumcumque religionum seu professionum monachi, regulares canonici seu fratres, quicum debita licentia apud dictos canonicos et clericos presertim studii artium causa, commemorabuntur seu stabunt, postquam in universitate studii nostri generalis Treverensi immatriculati (ut solet) fuerint, (quo minus evagentur) iidem possint scolasticus actus et exercitia seu lectiones quaslibet, sive formales, sive materiales, seu quovis alio nomine nominentur; pro assequendis baccalaureatu et magisterio in artibus requisitas a magistris in artibus in dicta nostra universitate promotis, aut saltem ibidem receptis, audire sicque complere, ac si in collegiis, domibus, bursis sive lectoriis dicte universitatis audivissent et compleissent, desuperque in dicta universitate in baccalaureos et magistros promoveri, dummodo alias idonei fuerint, disputationibus tamen, responsionibus, tentaminibus, examinibus licentiis et promotionibus aliis que requisitis (ut moris est) fiendis et saluis. Idem ordinamus et volumus observari quo ad baccalaureatum in artibus in quattuor scolaribus secularibus, qui ibidem in tempore sic commoranti fuerint.⁵⁰

Such specific pronouncements would, it seems, have sufficed to make clear the position of the Brethren in Trier. However, when Jacob von Baden succeeded to the archbishopric in 1503, he found it necessary to reaffirm in detail the actions of his predecessor.⁵¹ He even admonished the university in an order dated March 14, 1504, to live in concord with the Brethren.

Ersamen, lieben, andechtigen und getrewen. Uns langt ahn, dass ir unser mittell, so wir unser gantzer Universitaeten hiebevör überschickt haben, zuschen uch und den brüderen zu sant German nit achtend, auch die obgемelte brüder mit iren studenten in publicis actibus nit wült leiden, das uns fast befrembt, dan unsere mittell zu uffbringung und wolfahrt unser Universitaeten betracht und gemacht syn: ist darumb nochmals unser ernstlicher befelche, dass ir sulche mittell ungelegt halten, und die brüder zu sant German unverhindert der gebruchen laissent, dass uns uber uch deshalben keyn clage nie geschiehet: daran dot ir unser meinong. Datum in unserem schloss Landshoit uber Berncastell uf fritag nach dem sontag Judica, anno 1504 more Trevirensis.⁵²

⁵⁰ State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 1C., No. 21, Doc. 339; also in Jacob Melbaum, *Sylva Academica sive De Antiquitate Urbis et Academiae Trevirorum* (Trier, 1657), Cap. XXIX.

⁵¹ These pronouncements repeat almost verbatim those of John II in 1499 and 1501. State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 1C., No. 21, Doc's 340, 341.

⁵² In Hontheim, *op. cit.*, vol., II, Doc. 903 entitled: "Concordia inter

In 1506, the house suffered a serious loss in the death of its rector, Ingerman Ruten of Elten. For seven years he had ruled St. German under difficult conditions, but at his death the house was permanently established. Rector Ingerman was no stranger to learning, for he held the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Theology. Peter Mulling, who had sat under his instruction for four years and who had been promoted by him in his Bachelor's candidacy, describes the labors and tribulations of the first rector of St. German in terms of a sympathetic disciple and scholar:

Habuit contrarios omnes magistros et studentes non tamen suo merito qui et publicas et secretas paraverunt eidem insidias et scriptis virum iustum et mansuetum dehonestaverunt. Audivi ego Petrus Millingis et sepe interfui tunc in disputationibus tunc promotionibus suis, dum enim scientie et honestate resistere non poterant iniuriis attentaverunt. Vixit profesto ut agnus innocens Christus inter lupos cuius sepius lacrimas vidi emanere oculis, multa sustinuit pro novella plantatione domus sancti Germani.⁵³

Ingerman's successor was John of Cleves. He had entered the Brethren-house in Marienthal and had then transferred to the Brethren in Herrenberg. He brought with him to St. German two other Brothers, the priest Wendal from Herrenberg and the cook, Peter Wissenau from the house in Königstein.⁵⁴

Universitatem Treverensem et Fratres S. Germani." Given in summary in the *Temporale Jacobi Marchionis Badensis*, State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 1C., No. 21, Doc. 344, but there it is dated May 4, 1504 from Ehrenbreitstein. Wytttenbach and Müller (*op. cit.*, II, 32) say: "Jacobi diplomata data sunt ex arce Erenbreitstein 14 Maji 1504." Actually, it seems that there were two archiepiscopal pronouncements on the same matter: one on March 14 to the university and one on May 4 to the Brethren in St. German confirming the earlier document.

⁵³ Wolf *Memory Book*, fol. 39v. That Rector Ingerman had difficulty with the university is reflected also in an entry in the *Memory Book* (fol. 25v.) on the occasion of his receiving the Master of Arts in the summer of 1503: "Accipit magisterii gradum in Treveri plurimum a magistris molestatus, cum magna difficultate, quamquam doctissimus fuerit."

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 39v. Of the priest Wendal nothing further is known, but Peter Wissenau had entered the house Wolf years earlier and then transferred to Königstein.

And with this entry the *Wolf Memory Book* becomes sketchy concerning St. German. We do learn from it that Peter Mulling became a canon of the house in 1507, and that he was ordained a priest in the same year in the presence of relatives, friends, and a gathering of Brethren. It was a significant occasion for the house, and among the gifts, honoring the young priest, were ten alba from the prior of Marienthal.⁵⁵

Both the new rector and Peter Mulling attended the university, and in 1508 both were successful candidates for the Master of Arts degree.⁵⁶ How long they continued with the house is not known. In the last entry in the *Memory Book*, dealing with St. German in 1522, a Brother Michael is called "pater domus sancti Germani." He retained 60 gold florins for his house in defiance of both the General Chapter and the house Wolf where the cash actually belonged.⁵⁷ As for Peter Mulling, we meet him in 1534 as prior of Wolf on the Moselle, but he may have been elected to that office years earlier.⁵⁸

And now the house virtually disappears from the records. It is probable that the Brethren in St. German achieved their real success during the decades 1530 to 1550. A contemporary annalist, Caspar Bruschi, writing about 1550, knew about the school and praised the Brethren who were teaching philosophy and theology "magna cum laude." He also knew the rector, whom he calls John of Innsbruck, Master of Arts and an "egregie doctus vir."⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 41v., 42r. Eventually Peter Mulling became prior of the house Wolf. He may have been the last prior, for he is mentioned as late as 1554 in the Wolf parish sources.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 43v.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 49r.

⁵⁸ That he was prior in 1535 is established from sources in the Wolf Parish House.

⁵⁹ Caspar Bruschi, *Monasteria Germaniae*, Cent. I, p. 124. Bruschi writes "Joannes Oenipotontanus," which should be "Oenipontanus." John of Innsbruck is also mentioned in a business transaction dated Feb. 6, 1540, where he promises to pay 75 gulden to Peter and Marie Myrtin for two and one half maldra corn. He is called "Probst" of St. German in this, the only known document of its kind from this house. Original in State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 198, No. 6.

Within two decades after Casper Brusck had praised them so freely, the Brethren-house had disappeared. We know the document which ended the teaching career of John Hertzig, the last rector. Concerning him Archbishop Jacob III von Eltz (1569-1581) stipulated:

Wir Jacob . . . thun khund unnd bekennen hiemit offentlich, Nachdem der Ersam unnd Geistlich, unser liber andechtiger Joannes Hertzig, Pater im Fraterhaus oder Closter tzu Sanct German inn unser Stadt Trier, uns ietzt bemelt Closter inn Emfengungh das es sampt dem Orden gantz unnd gar abgengich, also dasz das *Pedagogium* onder demselbenn Orden, sonderlich dieweill er nunmehr desselbenn Ordens allein ist, des orts nit weither erhalten werden khann, unserer Universität daselbst tzu Trier tzu nutz unnd gutem eingeraumbt unnd zugestellt; dass wir demnach gedachtem Joanni Hertzig gewesenen Pater daselbst tzu Sanct German gnediglichen tzugesagt unnd versprochen, unnd thun solichs inn crafft disz Brieffs für uns und unser Nachkhomen; dass wir Ime tzu einer ergetzungh tzwey fuder weins Jerlich im Herbst sein lebenslang aus dem mehrbemeltem Closter tzu Sanct German tzugehörigen weingarten tzu Cunts liefern unnd volgen lassen, unnd Ime daran einigen Intrag tzu thun nit gestatten wullen. Und dass tzu orkhundt habenn Wir unser Insigel an diesen Brief thun hangen, Der Geben ist Auf unserm Schloss Erenbreitstein den 16 Tagh des Monats Maii Inn denn Iarenn unsers Herrnn Thausenth Funfhundertt Sechzigh unnd Neun.⁶⁰

The circumstances surrounding the disappearance of the last house of the Brethren of the Common Life in Upper Germany are reasonably clear. The dissolution in 1560 of the mother-house in Wolf had robbed St. German not only of financial but also of moral support. And beyond such factors, we must recognize that the age of the *Devotio Moderna* was past. The quiet, contemplative, pacific type of devotion which it represented, was not suited to cope with the spiritual turbulence of the times. In 1559 Caspar Olevian had created much religious uncertainty in Trier by his attempt to introduce the Reformation. Where could the archbishop find a force capable of checking the threatening heresy?

⁶⁰ Original in State Archives, Coblenz, Abt. 198, No. 7. Subsequently the terms of the archiepiscopal contract were altered slightly but not so as to change its spirit. See also V. Conzemius, *Jakob von Eltz Erzbischof von Trier 1561-1581* (Wiesbaden, 1956) p. 74.

Not with the Brethren of the Common Life, many of whom had gone over to the Lutheran movement in Upper Germany. Already in 1560 Archbishop John von der Layen (1558-1562) had, with sure instinct, invited the Jesuits to enter Trier. On February 9, 1561, they opened a school with twenty-four pupils. The new institution prospered and became the ancestor of the Latin Gymnasium of Trier.⁶¹ The Brethren-School of St. German cannot be linked up with the Jesuit institution, but it may properly be considered as the first attempt to provide a preparatory school in Trier for the university.⁶²

⁶¹ See P. J. Maier, *Geschichte des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Trier* (Trier, 1884). In 1570 the Jesuits took over the monastery of the Minorites, who were in turn told to occupy St. German and did so under protest.

⁶² Maier, *op. cit.*, p. 1, says that St. German "ist als die Vorgängerin des späteren Gymnasiums anzusehen, hängt aber weiterhin mit dessen Geschichte nicht zusammen."