

The Academic Career of Gervasius Wain, abbot in commendam of Cuissy

Gervasius Wain was born circa 1490. Originally of Memmingen in the diocese of Augsburg, he identified himself with predilection as *Svevus*, a *Schwab*.

Enrolled into the English-German Nation at the University of Paris he became bachelor of Arts under the young, but nevertheless celebrated logician, David Cranston. It was too difficult for the Scottish philosopher to reproduce the right autograph of the last name of Gervasius in the records of the *receptor* for 1507-1508. He simply wrote Vueng¹). Gervasius was promoted along with another future, noted theologian, column of orthodoxy at the University of Ingolstadt, who also distinguished himself with an impressive career — Leonhardus Marstaller, from Nürnberg, diocese of Bamberg. Gervasius was ranked 6th, Leonhardus 8th among 15 bachelors²). Gervasius Wain became licentiate under the receptor Henningus Schulteti during the 1508-1509 academic year, ranked 6th among 30, while his fellow German Leonhardus Marstaller was placed at 27 and Hieronymus Aleander, the celebrated teacher of Greek, occupied the last place³).

Gervasius became incipiens in 1509 under the same receptor⁴). From Paris, he went to Freiburg im Breisgau, where he was immatriculated into the University on August 12, 1511, under the rector Hieronymus Vehus⁵).

¹) «Dominus Gervasius Vueng, diocesis Augustensis, cujus bursa valet ... 9 sol.» : Paris, Sorbonne, Archives, Registre 91 (old number 85) fol. 91 verso. [Henceforth Reg. 91(85)].

²) Reg. 91(85) fol. 91 verso; 92 recto. On Leonhardus Marstaller, *Ibid.*, folios 153 recto-161 verso.

³) *Ibid.*, folio 100 verso, for Gervasius; fol. 101 recto for Leonhardus Marstaller and Hieronymus Aleander.

⁴) *Ibid.*, fol. 101 verso.

⁵) «Gervasius Weim de Memmingen mgr. Parisiens. clericus XII».: H. Mayer, *Die Matrikel der Universität Freiburg im Br. von 1460-1656*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976, p. 198, n° 38.

If he was intulatus into the University of Freiburg only in August 1511, then he could not follow the courses of Eck, as suggested by J.K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology 1500-1536*, Toronto, 1980, p. 431 accepting the opinion of Th. Wiedeman: *Dr. Johann Eck. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Ingolstadt*, Regensburg, 1865, p. 30, because Eck left Freiburg in 1510 for Ingolstadt.

Gervasius Wain, Proctor

In 1513 during the receptorship of Jacobus Spilmanus (1512-1513), he was mentioned as Proctor of the Nation and his *signum manuale* appeared at the end of the accounts of the receptor as consent of approval⁶).

Back in Paris in 1513 he was admitted as hospes of the Sorbonne⁷). He served his Nation as proctor during the *receptoria* of Georgius Lockert (1513-1514);⁸) and Hermannus Lathimatus (1514-1515)⁹). In 1516 he became *socius* of the Sorbonne¹⁰).

At the University of Ingolstadt

By the middle of the year he went to Germany and on June 19, 1516, he was intitulated at the University of Ingolstadt, a fact that hitherto escaped the attention of his biographers. He was immatriculated when Ernestus, duke of Bavaria, «decor and ornament of the entire university», *totius Universitatis decus et ornamentum*, was rector, and Sebastianus Scholnarer, licentiat in Law acted as Viceregens¹¹).

Gervasius had ample opportunity here to confer with his friend Johannes Eck. Gervasius must have held some scholastic disputations at the University of Ingolstadt, because Johannes Eck, in his *Epistola Contra Martini Ludder obtusum propugnatorem* published at Ingolstadt 1519, made clear reference to it. Addressing himself to Gervasius he wrote «you acquired many good friends here thanks to your erudite disputation in Philosophy and Theology you held here [in Ingolstadt]

⁶) «Item pro electione et continuatione procuratoris magistri Gervasii Waim, Menningensis ... octo sol. Paris.»: Reg. 91(85) fol. 139 recto. On fol. 139 verso is read: «Gervasius [*signum manuale*] Waim, ita est, sicut supra scriptum est».

I do not know what Farge meant in his *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 432, when he wrote «his [Gervasius'] signature appears on a receipt issued by Hieronymus Aleander acknowledging the 20 Paris sol., he received from the English-German Nation». On Reg. 91(85) fol. 139 verso, there is indeed mention of 20 sol. payment to Aleander, «Pro capa rectoria magistri Ieronimi [sic] Aleandri ... 20 sol. Paris.» but Gervasius Wain's signature has nothing to do here with «any receipt» of Aleander.

⁷) See Arsenal, Ms. 1020, pp. 332-334, n°. 136.

⁸) Reg. 91(85) fol. 144 recto: «Pro electione magistri Gervasii Wain ... iiij sol. Paris».

⁹) «Pro continuatione M. Gervasii Waim ... 4 sol. Paris.»: *Ibid.*, fol. 147 verso.

¹⁰) Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 432, n°. 471.

¹¹) «Magister Gervasius Waim, Meningensis clericus, Augustensis dioecesis ... nihil», inscribed for June 19, 1516: G. von Pölnitz, *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München*, München, 1937, vol. I, col. 395, line 15.

displaying the force of your spirit, tenacity of your memory and your remarkable erudition»¹²).

Proctor and Receptor

After returning from Ingolstadt to Paris, a busy year awaited Gervasius Wain. Under the *receptor* of Franciscus Ossmanus (1517-1518), he was chosen proctor¹³), and for the same academic year reformatore. He was paid 2 Paris lib. for visiting the colleges¹⁴). The next academic year the honor of being elected receptor fell upon him. On September 20, 1518, Gervasius Wain, bachelor in Sacred Scriptures, fellow of the Sorbonne, succeeding the Dutch Franciscus Ossmanus, was entrusted with the office of the receptor. Twenty-seven masters were present at his election¹⁵).

During his office he listed 7 bachelors of the previous year, who made their payments to him and 6 of the current year, then 16 licentiati.

As receptor he registered 9 *incipientes*, i.e., new masters of Arts, among them the Hungarian Johannes de Narda on first place, followed by Robert Wauchop from Scotland but no listing of the previously licensed

¹²) «Bonos amicos apud nos nactus es plurimos, ob eruditam disputationem in philosophia et Theologia hic habitam: qua ingenii tui vigorem, memorie tenacitatem, ac raram eruditionem abunde monstrasti»: Johannes Eck, *Contra Martini Ludder obtusum propugnatorem Andream Rodolphi Bodenstein, Carlstadium non potentem capere quomodo aliquid sit totum a Deo et non totaliter Eckij*, Ingolstadt, Dec. 3, 1519, fol. A ii recto.

I used the first edition copy from the Library of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, thanks to the cooperation of Professor James J. John, *Ordinarius ibidem, cujus sum Doctor-pater immeritus*.

Second edition in München, Staatsbibliothek, Polem $\frac{1475}{3}$, 4^o.

Br. Moreau attributes the first edition printed at Paris, s.l.n.d. to Pierre Vidoue c. 1520 after the text: *Inventaire chronologique des éditions Parisiennes du XVI^e siècle d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, Paris, 1977 II. p. 592, n° 2321. (Henceforth *Éditions Parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*).

Another copy, besides that of Cornell University is signaled in *N. Union Catalog Pre-1956*, vol. 155, p. 54, col. 3: Williams College, Chapin Library, MA.

¹³) «M. Gervasio Waiim [sic], electo et continuato ... 8 sol. Paris.»: Reg. 91(85) fol. 173 recto.

¹⁴) «Reformatore M. Gervasio Waiim [Wayn] Memmingensi, Suevus, Sacrarum Litterarum baccalaureo optimo merito ... 2 lib. Paris.»: *Ibid.*, fol. 173 recto.

¹⁵) «Veneranda Germanorum Natio apud edem divi Mathurini solemniter congregata elegit sibi in receptorem suum ... magistrum Gervasium Waim, Suevum, Menningensem, Sacre Pagine baccalaureum, socium Sorbonicum»: *Ibid.*, fol. 178 recto. His records are written *Ibid.*, fol. 178 recto-184 verso.

Expenses on the day of his election: «Primo in die electionis: distributiones 27 magistrorum ... 5 lib. 8 sol. Paris.». *Ibid.*, fol. 178 verso.

Hungarian Vincentius Bermethe¹⁶). The year of his *receptoría* was filled with both sadness and joy. Sadness because of the death of seven masters; this must have been a veritable epidemic period. Among the dead was the famous Berchtoldus Rembolt whose obit was listed after the feast of Immaculate Conception, December 8, but before the feast of Charlemagne, January 28, 1519. Twenty-four masters were present at his funeral, with each master receiving a modest 1 sol. retribution¹⁷).

Elected Rector

The good news was that Gervasius Wain was elected to the dignity of rector of the University during his own *receptoría*. He reported the payment of 8 sol. Paris. owed to himself as rector and 10 sol. Par. 6 den. Tur. which he received after the rectorial procession¹⁸). Bulaeus did not list him among the rectors¹⁹). Nevertheless, his election did take place, a fact well known even outside of the city of Paris.

Johannes Eck, in his *Epistola* dedicated to Gervasius, enthusiastically wrote on December 3, 1519, the year of the election, that at Ingolstadt everybody «was exceedingly happy when they heard that you [Gervasius] for your merits, the fertile University of Paris designated you rector»²⁰).

The next academic year of 1520-1521 witnessed Gervasius Wain again as rector for the colleges, an honor which carried 2 Paris lib. of remuneration²¹).

¹⁶) Reg. 91(85) fol. 178 recto-181 recto; Incipientes: *Ibid.*, fol. 181 verso.

¹⁷) «Obitus magistri Berchtoldi. Distributiones 24 magistrorum 1 lb. 4 sol. Paris.»: *Ibid.*, fol. 179 verso.

¹⁸) «Articulus continens jura officiariorum et bedellorum: Pro cappis rectoris: Magistri Gervasii Waim ... 18 sol. Paris. Magistri Nicolai de Fresuille ... 18 sol. Paris. — In processione Gervasii Waim eisdem ... 10 sol. Par. 6 den. Tur.»: *Ibid.*, fol. 184 recto.

In my opinion Gervasius was elected either December 15, 1518 or March 24, 1519. The election of the other two rectors and payment effected for them is recorded by Gervasius. *Ibid.*, fol. 180 verso: Neither were listed by Bulaeus. P. Feret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris, et ses docteurs les plus célèbres*, Paris, 1901, Tome II, p. 69, correctly reported that Gervasius Waim was rector in 1519.

¹⁹) C.E. Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1673, Tomus VI. p. 976, col. 2.

²⁰) «Mirifice itaque letabuntur omnes, cum audirent te pro meritis tuis felicissimi Studii Parrhisiensis Rectorem designatum esse»: Johannes Eck, *Epistola. Contra Martini Ludder obtusum propugnatorem*, fol. Aij recto.

²¹) «Gervasio Waiim [Wayn] baccalaureo Theologo, Reformatori ... 2 lib. Paris.»: Reg. 91(85) fol. 196 recto.

Degrees in Theology

Approaching his doctorate in Theology, Gervasius' prestige was growing in the Sorbonne. In 1521 he was elected prior²²). On March 24, 1522, he became licentiatus in Sacred Theology, ranked 4th among 36, and promoted doctor on June 12, 1522²³). As regent master on June 6, 1523, he requested a date to preside at academic disputations which was granted on June 15, 1523²⁴). He was active at the Faculty and at the Sorbonne until 1532, particularly about the case of annulment of the marriage of Henry VIII with Catherine of Aragon. I will discuss this matter below.

Works and Publications of Gervasius Wain

Gervasius Wain, in cooperation with Guillelmus Manderston and Georgius Lokert, two Scottish members of the English-German Nation, published in 1516 *Questiones et decisiones physicales insignium virorum*, the Commentaries of Albert of Saxony; [Christoph] Thimon and [Johannes] Buridan to the Books of Aristotle²⁵).

An important work appeared from the pen of Gervasius on March 28, 1519, printed in Paris and entitled *Tractatus Noticiarum*²⁶). The definition of the concept of *Noticie* was given by Gervasius at the beginning of his work:

²²) Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 432, n°. 471.

²³) «12 Junii 1522 + M. Gervasius Wain, Sorb.»; Paris, BN. Lat. 5657 A., fol. 35 verso.

²⁴) A. Clerval, *Registre des Procès-Verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, Paris, 1917, p. 355; about Gervasius' activities at the Faculty of Theology, 1523-1532, see Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 432, n°. 471.

²⁵) Full title: «Quaestiones et decisiones physicales insignium virorum: Alberti de Saxonia in Aristotelis Octo libros *Physicorum*, tres libros *De coelo et mundo*, duos libros *De Generatione et corruptione*. Thimonis in quatuor libros *Meteorum Aristotelis*. Buridani in Aristotelis tres libros *De Anima*, librum *De sensu et sensato*, librum *De memoria et reminiscencia*, librum *De somno et vigilia*, librum *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, librum *De juventute et senectute*», Paris: Jodocus Badius and Conradus Resch, 1516 February 13 (New style).

In Paris, I used BN., Réserve R. 554. Br. Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions Parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, II, p. 345, n°. 1245.

See also *Catalogue*, Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. I, p. 506. Another edition, 1518, *Ibid.* Réserve, R. 132 described: Br. Moreau, *Éditions parisiennes*, II, p. 457, n°. 1733. A third edition published in Lyon 1534.

²⁶) The full title: *Tractatus Noticiarum Gervasii Waim, Suaevi, ejusdem Questiones in libros Posteriorum resolutionum Philosophi* ... Noviter impressum per Nicolaum de Pratis, expensis Conradi Resch Alemani, commorantis in vico divi Jacobi «ad signum Scuti Basiliensis» anno Domini 1519, die vero 28 mensis Martii. [Basel: Conrad Resch, 1519]

Noticia est qualitas potentie cognitive aliquid vel aliquid aliter formaliter representans²⁷⁾).

His Master Ludovicus Ber

The Treatise was affectionately dedicated to Ludovicus Ber (Bear), former master of Gervasius at the University of Paris. The *dedicas* began:

To Ludovicus Ber, a native of Basel, Professor of Sacred Letters, greetings... I have confined in you all my hope, outstanding of Theologians, because you had always considered me as your follower and student and I recognized you as protector and guide. I was thinking frequently how can I respond to such kindness as you showed... Therefore, the *Book of Noticiarum*, composed not long ago by me, when I read it again and published it I could not offer it to anyone else more distinguished than yourself... I don't forget that you are a unique and distinguished theologian of our century eminent ornament of our Germany. Consult this little thing and in likewise accept it by a disciple and offered to the preceptor. Farewell splendor of Theologians. Paris. March 28, 1519. Be well²⁸⁾.

I used the copy of München Staatsbibliothek: 2 ad RAR. 1003. Another copy is in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. R. 678(1). See: Moreau, *Editions Parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, II, p. 568, n°. 2221.

Conrad Resch worked in Paris and Basel from 1516 to 1526, in rue Saint Jacques under the sign «Écu de Bâle»: Ph. Renouard — J. Veyrin-Forrer — Br. Moreau, *Répertoire des Imprimeurs Parisiens, Libraires, Fondateurs de caractères et Correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle*, Paris, 1965, p. 368 (Henceforth *Imprimeurs Parisiens*).

For the copy of *Tractatus Noticiarum*, see Paris, *Catalogue, Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome 216, cols. 886-887.

²⁷⁾ *Tractatus Noticiarum*, Paris, 1519, fol. sign. a. 1 recto.

²⁸⁾ «Gervasius Waim, Ludovico Ber, Basiliensi, Sacrarum Litterarum Professori, Salutem.

Cum in Te uno spes omnis nostra olim reposita fuerit (Theologorum clarissime) et Tu me clientem et alumnus, ego Te patronum et doctorem semper agnoverim; cogitavi apud me sepius quoniam genere officii tuis in me tantis meritis respondere possem ... Igitur *Noticiarum* opus superioribus diebus mea cura compositum, cum relegissem, placuit, in ordinem redactum publica luce donare, idque sub tuo nomine eo magis quo neque praestantius quippiam a me offerri ... quod non ignorabamus, te esse Theologum nostri saeculi singulare ornamentum, et nostrae Germaniae praecipuum decus. Tu haec quantulacunque sunt aequi bonique consules, ac perinde accipies, ut a discipulo edita et praepetori data. Vale Theologorum splendor. Parrhisiis quinto Calendas Aprilis Anno Domini 1519. Vale.»

I used the copy of München Staatsbibliothek, *Tractatus Noticiarum*, RAR 1003 fol. + 2 recto. The preface was reproduced also by Johann Georg Schelhorn, «Etwas von Gervasio Waim, einem Doctore Sorbonico», — *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte und Literatur*, Ulm und Leipzig, 1 (1762), pp. 274-276.

Ludovicus Ber (Baer) had an illustrious career at Paris. Born on May 24, 1479²⁹⁾, he began his studies in Paris in the College Sainte-Barbe. Bachelor of Arts during 1497-1498³⁰⁾, under the receptor Paulus Malleolus, he became licentiatius during the next academic year and incipiens³¹⁾.

When Gervasius Wain dedicated his *Tractatus Noticiarum* to Ber in 1519, the latter had been at the University of Basel since 1513.

Sebastianus Roth from Auerbach

The dedicatory preface of the *Tractatus Noticiarum* addressed by Gervasius Wain to his former master, Ludovicus Ber, is followed by an *Epistola* of Sebastianus Roeth (Roth), originally of Auerbach (Aurbach), to Henricus Stromerius, also from Auerbach, to the «most expert physician of the most Reverend Father in Christ, Cardinal Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg»³²⁾. Roeth complimented Gervasius Wain as the outstanding German «Alemanus», from Schwaben

²⁹⁾ H.G. Wackernagel, *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, I. Band. 1460-1529, Basel, 1951, I. p. 316. (Henceforth *Matrikel Basel*).

³⁰⁾ Reg. 91(85), fol. 18 verso; see my former student's Master of Arts in Medieval Studies Dissertation, J.G. McGinley, *Five Years of Accounts (1494-95 through 1498-99) ... of the German Nation at the University of Paris, Notre Dame*, Ind., 1973, p. 92, note 4.

³¹⁾ Reg. 91(85) fol. 28 verso: licentiatius; fol. 29: incipiens.

³²⁾ «Sebastianus Roeth Aurbachius, Alemanus domino Henrico Stromerio Aurbachio, Reverendissimi in christo patris et domini domini Alberti, Maguntinensis Magdeburgensis Archipraesulis, Cardinalis, Medico peritissimo, cognato suo dilectissimo S.P.D. ... Gervasius Waim, praeclarus ille meus Alemanus e Suevia (patria genteque et re militari, et civili prudentia, denique omnibus bonis artibus nobilissima) prognatus annumerandus venit ... Sive enim Mathematicas disciplinas quae sanum certumque iudicium praestant, sive Dialecticen, sive de rebus naturalibus scientiam, sive divinam illam rerum humanarum divinarumque sapientiam Metaphysicen, Theologiam in eo exigas, tanta omnium foecunditate eum pollere invenies, ut non longo labore partas sed congenitas sibi disciplinas existimes ... Ex quibus id laudis perfectionis Parrhisiis doudecim annorum curriculo ... assecutus est, ... in celebratissimo litterarum Gymnasio apud Parrhisiis cunctorum concordii assensu et applausu in summum rei litterarie moderatorem sublatus sit ... Cujus strenuam in litteris operam comprobatur *Commentarium* hoc suum, quo posterioris Analytices libros, obscurissima orationis brevitate ab Aristotele perstrictos, luce meridiana clariores reddidit ... Si me amas Gervasium meum omnium amore «dignissimum simul ama, cole, venerare»: München, Staatsbibliothek RAR 1003, and Paris BN. Rés. R.678(1), fol. + 3 recto.

The text of the *Epistola* of Sebastianus Roeth in the 1519 edition printed in two columns and in Roman script has been edited by J.G. Schelhorn in *Ergötzlichkeiten* as indicated above, pp. 277-285. I gave only a few passages of the *Epistola*, those mostly referring to the intellectual qualities praised by the author and his enthusiasm for the native land of Gervasius Wain.

(Svevia), a noble country abundant in military, civil and all other useful knowledge.

Sebastianus Roeth (Roth) from Auerbach (Aurbach), author of the *Epistola* dated March 28, 1519, from Paris became a noted professor of medicine in Leipzig, and house physician for Prince George of Saxony.

Henricus Stromer (Stromerius), who in 1508 was already bachelor in Medicine and in 1525 dean of the Faculty of Medicine, was the teacher of Sebastianus Roth, friend of Luther and Mosellanus. Stromer made an unforgettable name in history as a rich man in 1530 when he built the «Auerbachs Hof», immortalized by Goethe's *Faust* through the Auerbach's Keller, an attraction to the city of Leipzig even to day³³).

Gervasius Wain had important contacts in Saxony. The fact alone that he knew the house physician of the elector of Saxony and other influential people as Henricus Stromer (Stromerius) from Auerbach, assured him in advance to be succesful in his diplomatic missions to the German princes.

Dispute with Celaya

The *Tractatus Noticiarum* so elegantly complimented by Sebastianus Roth (Roeth), despite being called a very lucid and understandable publication, provoked a vivid literary combat between Gervasius Wain and Johannes Celaya, a Spaniard who taught in the Colleges Sainte-Barbe, Coquerel and Beauvais. Gervasius Wain in his *Tractatus Noticiarum* referred to the Spaniard as a noisy, quarrelsome disputant.

In 1521, Celaya, vehemently attacked Wain in his *Expositio in Libros Posteriorum Aristoteles*. He bluntly reproached Wain because the latter could not claim reputation for himself through his own publication and tried to denigrate Celaya's work. He concluded that to a stupid man one has to answer according to his stupidity: «Responde stulto secun-

³³) In 1497, Sommersemester, immatriculated into the University of Leipzig in the Bavarian Nation as «Hinricus [sic] Stromer de Aurbach»; G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae, Leipzig, 1895, I, p. 49, n°. 26; February 16, 1499, bachelor of Arts, *Ibid.*, II, p. 366, n°. 21; December 28, 1501: «inceptit et determinavit sub magistro Wimpina», as Heynricus Stromer de Awirbach, *Ibid.*, II, p. 384, n°. 13.

In 1508, Sommersemester, acted as rector: «Henricus Stromer de Awrbach ex superiori Bavaria, arcium liberalium magister, medicine baccalaureus, anno domini 1508 secunda feria Paschatis electus in rectorem studii Lipczensis», Erler, *Ibid.*, I, p. 484, n°. 198; See also, H. Helbig, *Die Reformation der Universität Leipzig im 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1953, pp. 33, 44.

dum stultitiam suam». Celaya continued writing that in his own right he could have called Gervasius Wain a jackass and a brute, but he didn't³⁴).

Hurling insults at each other, exchanging injurious words, philosopher offending philosopher, theologian belittling theologian, uncontrolled uncivility was the by-product of this early reformation period. The individual self-defense in the heat of academic disputations and theological discussions frequently overstepped the barriers of civility and ended in academic discourtesy. Words that would be cherished sources of liability suits, claiming financial indemnity today, were accepted as necessary vocabulary, coloring not only church pulpits but also academic chairs.

The University of Paris did not pay any attention to this insignificant dispute between Gervasius and Celaya. The masters were worried about the *Concordate* and the infiltration of Lutheran books.

Friendship with Johannes Eck

The attack of Celaya did not hurt Gervasius in maintaining his friendship with such great men as Johannes Eck and Erasmus.

As mentioned above, in 1519, Eck dedicated his *Epistola contra Martini Obtusum propugnatorem* to the «erudite and famous man Gervasius Wain from Memmingen, Sorbonne theologian at Paris, decor of the country and Germany»³⁵). This pamphlet was an answer to Carlstadt, intended as a follow-up of the June 27 to July 15, 1519 dispute at Leipzig.

During the dispute at Leipzig, Eck stated that each good deed in the

³⁴) «Quidam namque Suevus, nomine Gervasius, cum ex suis operibus ac bene gestis nullum sibi nomen posset comparare ... injuriis suis miserrimis calumniosisque criminationibus candicantes meas [Celaya-s] *Resolutiones* denigrare, quantum potuit, maxime enixus est ... possem equidem jure optimo asinum ac belluam (quod nolim) te vocitare».

The attack and diatribe was reproduced by J. Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*, Paris, 1860, Tome I, pp. 339-341; cf. pp. 118-119; also R.G. Villoslada, *La Universidad de Paris durante los Estudios de Francisco de Vitoria, O.P. (1507-1522)*, Roma, 1938, p. 211, but the entire text cannot be found in Quicherat. H. Elie, «Quelques maîtres ... vers 1500», *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, 18 (1950-1951), pp. 239.

³⁵) «Erudito viro et celebri Gervasio Vaim, Memmingensi, Suevo Theologo et Sorbonico Parrhisino, Germaniae et patriae decori, Eckius S.D.», *Contra Martini Ludder*, Ingolstadt, 1519 (hereafter referred to as *Epistola*). Th. Wiedemann, *Dr. Johann Eck, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Ingolstadt*, Regensburg, 1865, pp. 512-514; E. Iserloh, *Johannes Eck (1486-1543). Scholastiker, Humanist, Kontroverstheologe*, (Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, Heft. N°. 41); Münster/Westf. 1981; for the discussion «totum ... sed non totaliter», see pp. 33-34.

whole (*totum*) originates from God, but he denied that it comes entirely (*totaliter*) from him. While defending the free will, Eck emphasized the necessity of grace.

Immediately following the Leipzig dispute, Carlstadt, published an *Epistola* against the inept and ridiculous opinion of Eck who said in Leipzig, «opus bonum esse a Deo totum sed non totaliter».

Eck's writing, dated December 3, 1519, addressed to Gervasius Wain, was an answer to Carlstadt's attack. Eck congratulated his fellow countryman Gervasius also from «superiori Suevia» that the land which hitherto was famous for its military achievements, now thanks to the singular erudition of Gervasius Wain, obtained the reputation also in the field of humanities, acquired not in an unknown and hidden place, but in the famous and sacred University of Paris³⁶). Eck thanked Gervasius Wain for sending the *Tractatus Noticiarum* and he reciprocated by sending his own Commentaries printed in 1519 to the mystical Theology, *De Mystica Theologia*, of Dionysius, patron of Gallia, to Gervasius³⁷).

In his *Epistola*, Eck frequently in imaginary conversations with Gervasius complained against the manner of disputation of Carlstadt, «who had no or little memory». Bardocucullus Ludderus, as Eck referred to Luther, was much more alive with sharp memory. He was better fitted for battle, except when pressed by adversaries, for he easily angered and sputtered so that one hardly understood what he was saying³⁸).

³⁶) «Congratulor plurimum patriae nostrae Gervasi doctissime, quod non solum rei militaris gloriam, pluribus annis nacta est, quod a tot saeculis maxima bella Germano pedite et maximo Suevo gentilibus nostris, acta sunt et gloriose gesta: et praecipue ex nostra superiori Suevia, unde nati sumus ... sed ob singularem quoque eruditionem tuam ... nonnullum nomen in litteris quoque meretur: non in humili loco, non in abscondito, non sub modio, sed in illo inclyto Parrhisiensi gymnasio, Christiani orbis Athenis» ... *Epistola*, verso of title page.

³⁷) «Tractatum de *Noticiis* ingenii tui monumentum, et lectu dignissimam feturam ... gratissimo animo accepti; ... ego ut gratitudinem aliquam ostenderem ... transmitto Mysticae et negativae Theologiae Sacerrimi Dionysii Galliarum apostoli *Commentarios*»: *Epistola*, fol. Aij recto.

³⁸) «Disputavi itaque tribus septimanis cum illo maledicentissimo monacho et illius propugnatore Andrea Carlstadio, viro quidem minoris eruditionis quam sit Ludderus, sed ad injurias propensior: et qui omnino disputare nesciat»; *Epistola*, fol. Aij recto.

«Carlstadium minus aptum disputationi ... multo aptiorem esse Bardocucullam Ludderum: qui vegetior sit memoria, ingenii acumine et eruditione; vox illi facilis, mores ad disputandum accomodiores: nisi quod dum ab adversario urgetur, aut vergo pungitur, citius excandescit, irascitur et totus furit: ut vix etiam quo loquatur intelligat»; *Ibid.*, fol. Eij recto and verso.

For conclusion, Eck bade farewell to his learned friend and dated his *Epistola* from Ingolstadt on December 3, 1519³⁹).

In all friendships, Gervasius Wain nevertheless wrote to Johannes Eck on July 22, 1527, complaining that the latter suspected him of Lutheran opinion regarding the doctrine of Eucharistia⁴⁰).

Erasmus and Gervasius Wain

Not only Johannes Eck but Erasmus also took Gervasius Wain in friendship. On June 15, 1525, Erasmus wrote a long letter from Basel to Natalis (Noël) Beda (Bédier), the former principal of the College of Montaigu (1504), syndic of the Faculty of Theology, merciless censor of the publications, suspector of heresy⁴¹), concluding it with greetings to Gervasius⁴²). The long letter did not reach Beda but was returned to Erasmus who sent it off again from Basel on August 24, 1525 with an accompanying hand-written note⁴³).

In a letter sent from the College of Montaigu in Paris on September 12, 1525, Natalis Beda assured Erasmus that he had delivered the salutations to Gervasius⁴⁴).

During the spring of 1527, Gervasius, the «bright» theologian, visited the great humanist at Basel, which gave Erasmus great consolation as expressed in a letter dated May 23, 1527, written at Basel and addressed to an unnamed physician (*medicus*)⁴⁵).

In all probability Erasmus referred to Gervasius in his letter of June 22, 1527, sent from Basel to Guillaume Budé, «there is someone if I would

³⁹) «Vale et salve mi Gervasi doctissime: et sacris litteris addiscendis et interpretandis, quod facis, incessanter operam impende. Vale ex Ingolstadio, iij Decembris, anno Virginei Partus M.D. undevigesimo». *Ibid.*, fol. Eiiij recto.

⁴⁰) Fr. Zoepfl, *Das Bistum Augsburg und seine Bischöfe im Reformationsjahrhunderte*, München, 1969, II, p. 80.

⁴¹) M.P. Gilmore, «Valla, Erasme et Bédier: à propos du Nouveau Testament», Colloque International de Tours (XIV^e Stage), *L'Humanisme français au début de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1973, pp. 173-184; Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, pp. 31-36, n^o. 34.

⁴²) «Saluta, si commodum est, Gervasium», P.S. Allen and H.M. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Oxford, 1926, Tom. VI, p. 107, line 825, Letter n^o. 1581. The entire text, pp. 87-107.

⁴³) «Egregie vir, responderam epistolae tua, miseramque Argentoratum, ut illinc transmitteretur ad vos; sed quum nullus inveniretur idoneus, rediit ad nos». Allen, *Ibid.*, VI, p. 147, lines 1-3, Letter n^o. 1596; entire letter, pp. 147-148.

⁴⁴) «Super quo ut per M.N. Gervasium, cui tuas dixi salutes, moneatur curabo», Allen, *Ibid.*, VI, p. 164, lines 22-23, Letter n^o. 1609; entire letter, pp. 163-166.

⁴⁵) «Fuit apud nos Gervasius theologus vere candidus. Cujus colloquium mihi magno fuit consolatio», Allen, *Ibid.*, VII, p. 74, lines 11-12, Letter n^o. 1827; entire letter, pp. 74-75.

name him, you would certainly agree of being bright and sincere»⁴⁶). The affectionate statement of Erasmus was motivated by the loyalty Gervasius Wain manifested towards him when the Faculty of Theology pre-occupied itself with the examination and censure of various publications of Erasmus following the year of 1523.

Gervasius Wain and the Annulment of the Marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine of Aragon

The rather moderate activity of Gervasius Wain within the Faculty of Theology in Paris suddenly flared up when Henry VIII consulted the Faculty of Theology in Paris regarding the annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Henry VIII requested a separation on the grounds that Catherine was his brother's widow and the papal dispensation given on December 25, 1502, was consequently invalid.

To separate the English from the Emperor François I^{er} was ready to go along with the plan of Henry VIII to consult the Faculty of Theology of Paris. Originally, it was Cardinal Thomas Wolsey who suggested to turn to the universities of the continent for theological opinions about the annulment. He asked the French ambassador in England, Jean du Bellay, to inquire about the opinion of the important theologians of France in this matter. Reports were made as early as August 23, 1529, by Jean du Bellay to Anne de Montmorency, connetable of France (1493-1567), one of the principal advisors of François I^{er}⁴⁷).

To obtain favorable comments from the Faculty, two theologians were singled out to conduct negotiations: Guillelmus Petit, the confessor of the King, and Gervasius Wain, already in the diplomatic service of Guillaume du Bellay. When they tried to collect the written statements of those favorable to Henry VIII's request, opposition was formed and led by two Spaniards, Petrus Garay, champion for pleading the case of

⁴⁶) «Unus est, quem si nominem, ipse fateberis esse candidum et syncerum», Allen, *Ibid.*, VII, p. 94, lines 65-66, Letter n°. 1840; also note 65; entire letter, pp. 92-95; M.-M. de la Garanderie, *La correspondance d'Erasmus et de Guillaume Budé*, Paris, 1967, p. 261, note 16.

⁴⁷) «For Wolsey and the King appeared to desire very much that I should go over to France to get the opinions of the learned men there about the divorce, and to discuss it with them showing them the reasons of the opposite party, in order to get from them some good advice and arguments which I might send hither»: J.S. Brewer, e., *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic on the Reign of Henry VIII*, 1876, vol. IV, part 3:1529-1530, p. 2621, n°. 5862. V.L. Bourilly, *Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey (1491-1543)*, Paris, 1905 (new edition), pp. 92-107. (Henceforth Bourilly, *Guillaulme du Bellay*).

Catherine of Aragon, and Alvaro Mososco, recently promoted doctor in Theology (May 27, 1530). They were joined by Natalis Beda, «qui est ung tres dangereux marchand», as Jean du Bellay wrote about him.

Henry VIII, satisfied with the answers received from the Italian universities, became annoyed and complained that «Paris should have done so little to help him», as we learn from a letter from Jean du Bellay addressed to Anne de Montmorency on January 27, 1530. Fortunately, Jean du Bellay received a letter from «Maistre Gervais», saying that François I^{er} busied himself to obtain a favorable decision from the Faculty. The ambassador showed the letter from Gervasius to Henry VIII who read it and «he was rather pleased, and took me into his cabinet where his books are». Henry VIII spent four hours there with Jean du Bellay⁴⁸).

At the home front, on February 1, 1530, the Faculty of Theology at the proposal of Jacobus Berthelemy banned the collecting of *pro* and *contra* opinions from the Masters separately, reasoning that such a practice would cause division within the Faculty⁴⁹). However, on February 4, 1530, apparently in a reversal of its previous February 1 standing, the Faculty concluded that all the signatures should be given to Gervasius Wain⁵⁰).

At the April 1, 1530, session, the Faculty rebuked the Spanish faction notably Petrus Garay for obtaining the favorable opinions for Catherine of Aragon from the hands of Lizet, President of the Parlement⁵¹).

Henry VIII, losing his patience, sent Reginald Pole as his personal ambassador and the Count of Wiltshire, the father of Anne Boleyn, to intercede with François I^{er}.

Meanwhile, Gervasius Wain, in an attempt to display results in recruiting support for the case of Henry VII, secretly went to the

⁴⁸) Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. IV, pt. 3, p. 2757, n^o. 6169.

⁴⁹) «Tunc honorandus magister noster Jacobus Berthelemy proposuit Facultati quod inconveniencia quedam possint oriri in prejudicium veritatis et honoris Facultatis ipsius ex modo qui practicatus fuit et de presenti practicatur colligendo oppiniones diversas et contrarias a magistris nostris separatim, in materia dispensationis per sedem apostolicam, qui, sic agendo, videretur Facultas divisa»: L. Delisle, «Notice sur un Registre des Procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris pendant les années 1505-1533», *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 36 (1899) p. 80 (392) n^o. 108; Bibl. Nat. Nouv. a. Lat. 1782, fol. 230 verso.

⁵⁰) «Conclutis Facultas quod omnia signeta reponerentur in manibus magistri nostri Wayn; et a modo caveant magistri nostri ne sua signeta dent separatim pro tali materia»: Delisle, *Ibid.*, p. 81(393), n^o. 110; N. a. Lat., 1782, fol. 230 verso.

⁵¹) Delisle, *Ibid.*, p. 81(393), n^o. 112; N. a. Lat., 1782, fol. 232 verso.

University of Angers on May 17, 1530, showing a letter from François I^{er} to the University. He successfully pleaded the case of Henry VIII and returned with a satisfactory report from the University⁵²).

On June 12, 1530, an important letter was dispatched to François I^{er} written either by Jean or Guillaume du Bellay, informing the King of the decisive meeting of the Faculty on June 7, 1530. On that day considerable number of non-Paris residents but important doctors of Theology appeared⁵³): Guillaume Petit, bishop of Senlis; the famous abbot of Prémontré (1512-1531), Jacobus de Bachimont⁵⁴), doctor in 1494 († 1531); Johannes Brutel, the last Prémontré abbot of Cuiissy (1530-1533), diocese of Laon, doctor in 1523⁵⁵). Since 1124, the Abbey of Saint Martin de Laon was in the possession of the Canons of Prémontré. Its abbot, Amatus (Aime) de la Fontaine (1530-1545) became doctor in 1518, previously in 1512 he was prior of the College of Prémontrés in Paris⁵⁶). Also present were Simon Postel, doctor in Theology in 1516, Cistercian abbot of Chaalis (Chalis) from 1523-1541⁵⁷); Antonius de Crevant, doctor of Theology in 1524, Benedictine abbot of La Trinité de Vendôme⁵⁸); Michael Hennyer, doctor in 1514, Cluniac Benedictine abbot⁵⁹). These outsiders from the Faculty of Theology, as Du Bellay reported to François I^{er}, were all assembled at the command of the King⁶⁰).

⁵²) «Demain va maistre Gervais secretement à Angers pour faire le pareil pour avoir l'université pour luy» [i.e., Henry VIII]; V.L. Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey (1491-1543)*, Paris, 1905 (new ed.), p. 100; Cf. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, IV, pt. 3, p. 2868, n°. 6389.

⁵³) «There were present the bishop of Senlis, abbots of Prémontré, Chailly, Missy, St. Martin, Laon, Vendôme, Foucambault, and others with several deans, archdeacons, etc., all assembled by your commandment»; Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, IV, pt. 3, p. 2896, n°. 6449.

⁵⁴) Doctor, June 1494, BN Lat. 5657/A, fol. 29 recto: «Jacobus de Bachelnom [Bachimont] Premonstratensis», ranked 7th among 16; see also, L. Goovaerts, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, Bruxelles, 1899, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁵) Formerly abbot of Joyenval; Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 59, n°. 64; N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, Straubing, 1952, Tom. II, p. 498.

⁵⁶) Goovaerts, *Ecrivains de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, pp. 263-264; Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, II, p. 512.

⁵⁷) Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 378, n°. 399; L.J. Lékai, «The College of Saint Bernard in Paris in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries», *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 28 (1972), p. 211.

⁵⁸) Farge, *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125, n°. 126.

⁵⁹) Farge, *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224, n°. 239.

⁶⁰) Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay*, p. 102; 92-107; Brewer, *Letters and Papers. Henry VIII*, VI, p. 3, pp. 2895-2898, n°. 6449; See my note 80.

During this meeting of June 7, 1530, the Faculty deliberated, suggesting several solutions in their written opinions handed over to the beadle of the Faculty. Then suddenly an unidentified doctor grabbed the *rotolus* from the hand of the beadle and tore it up. From June 15 to July 2, we have no documentation on this affair. Apparently the Faculty papers, register of the deliberations, were in the possession of the confessor of the King, Guillaume Petit, and were later sent to François I^{er}.

Finally on July 2, 1530, the Faculty adopted the resolution that divine and natural law were against marrying the widow of one's brother, and in the case of Henry VIII, the Pope should not have given a dispensation. Consequently, the marriage to Catharine of Aragon is «nul de droit». The ruling became controversial and Natalis Beda attempted to delay the sealing of the document but to no avail⁶¹).

The numbers of doctors who voted *pro* and *contra* were given differently in the various available lists. We may say that 57 theologians favored Henry VIII and 52 voted for the position of partisans of Catherine of Aragon⁶²). Among the noted doctors who supported Henry VIII were: Guillaume Petit; Jacobus Bachimont; Johannes Bolu; Gervasius Wain. Among the partisans of Catherine of Aragon were: Johannes Major; Natalis Beda; Hieronymus ab Hangesto; and Petrus de Garay. Among the foreigners were two Spaniards and one Scot for Catherine and two Germans, one of them Gervasius Wain, for Henry VIII.

Diplomatic Missions of Gervasius Wain in Germany

The excellent connections of Gervasius Wain with important academic circles in Germany — with Freiburg im Breisgau where he was enrolled in 1510, with Ingolstadt where he was intitulus in 1519 under Ernest,

⁶¹) «Quod predictae nuptiae cum relictis fratrum decedencium sine liberis sic naturalis jure pariter et divino sunt prohibitae, ut super talibus matrimoniis contractis, sive contrahendis summus Pontifex dispensare non possit»: Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post Incarnationem Verbi usque ad annum 1713 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati*, Paris, 1755, II. p. 100, col. 2.

See also Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay*, p. 103; «The conclusion, of the diviners in the University of Paris in 'your great matter' was 'achieved' according to the King's purpose on Saturday last; but the sealing of the same has been put off, and to this day the King's agents have not been able to obtain it». [Reginald Pole to Henry VIII, July 7, 1530], July 2 in 1530 fell on a Saturday. Brewer, *Letters and Papers. Henry VIII*, vol. IV, pt. 3, p. 2927.

⁶²) J.K. Farge in his *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France. The Faculty of Theology of Paris 1500-1543*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, vol. 32, edited by H.A. Oberman, Leiden, 1985, pp. 146-147, gave a very good list of doctors voting *pro* and *contra*, also valuable statistical information on their social backgrounds.

Duke of Bavaria, with Leipzig where he knew such scholars as the famous Henricus Stromer and Sebastianus Roth, the house doctor of the Elector of Saxony — were noticed early by the diplomats serving François I^{er}.

Gervasius already had a good reputation in being an astute negotiator in February 1528, when Jean du Bellay, then ambassador of France to England, reported to the connetable Anne de Montmorency that Cardinal Wolsey expressed satisfaction that «le Docteur Gervaise» and «le schaussois navigue», both known to him, were to go to Germany⁶³).

On May 27, 1531, abundant Treasury funds were given for Gervasius' trip, contemplated for three months, with extra money for horses and clothing⁶⁴). Very soon Gervasius and the King found that the situation in Germany was more complicated. When Gervasius Wain arrived at the Court of the Duke of Saxony, he had reliable friends in Leipzig: Johannes Stromer and Sebastianus Roeth from the university.

During his visit to Saxony, Gervasius went to Württemberg and there encountered Luther. During the meeting he told Luther that François I^{er} was convinced that «the Protestants do not have a church nor magistrate for marriage and they live promiscuously and everyone does what they want»⁶⁵).

On July 28, 1531, Melancthon wrote to Joachim Camerarius in Nürnberg about Gervasius Waim, whom he depicted as the greatest enemy of the Reformation⁶⁶).

⁶³) Brewer, *Letters and Papers. Henry VIII*, vol. IV, pt. 3, pp. 3138-3139, appendix n°. 149.

⁶⁴) «Dû à Gervais Wain, docteur en Theologie que le roi envoie présentement en Allemagne, vers les ducs de Saxe et de Bavière et le landgrave de Hesse, de 450 livres tournois à titre d'avance, pour trois mois que pourra durer son voyage, et de 150 livres pour se monter de chevaux et d'habillement. Pont de Saint-Cloud, 27 Mai, 1531». *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, vol. II, pp. 40-41, n°. 4042.

⁶⁵) «Es ist hie zu Wittemberg gewest aus Franckreich ein Doctor gesand, der fur uns öffentlich sagt, Das sein König gewis und über gewis were, Das bey uns kein Kirche, kein Oberkeit, kein Ehestand sey, sondern gienge alles unternander wie das Viehe, und thet jederman, was er wolt». «Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel» in D. Martin Luthers, *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 50, Band, Weimar, 1914, p. 195, lines 1.7.

I am giving the Latin text after Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten*, p. 290, note «e». «Fuit hic explorator quidam Gallicus, qui ingenue dixit: Rex meus persuasissimus est de vobis, quod neque religionem, neque politiam, neque conjugium curetis, sed omnia confundatis». Another version in Ch. Schmidt, *Gérard Roussel prédicateur de la reine Marguerite de Navarre*, Strasbourg, 1845, Slatkine Reprint, Genève, 1970, p. 80, note 1: «Fuit Wittembergae Doctor quidam ex Galliis missus, qui nobis palam indicabat, Regi suo certò certius persuasum esse, apud nos nullam esse ecclesiam, nullum magistratum, nullum matrimonium, sed promiscue omnes pecudum more vivere pro arbitrio».

⁶⁶) «Fuit hic quidam Parisiensis doctor Gervasius, homo, ut videtur, inimicissimus

Gervasius Wain was sent a second time to Germany on August 31, 1531, to speed up an alliance among the princes, attempting to mediate between the Bavarian dukes and Ulrich of Württemberg, who was ousted from the duchy in 1521⁶⁷).

During the third mission of Gervasius Wain to Germany the French ambassadors successfully negotiated the signing of the treaties of Scheyern on May 26, 1532, near München, in the Monastery of Scheyern, between the Elector of Saxony, Landgrave of Hesse, Dukes of Bavaria, and François I^{er}.

On December 13, 1532, Gervasius again received 100 écus soleil for several trips he had made to Germany⁶⁸).

By the beginning of 1533, the treaties of Saalfeld and Scheyern went up into smoke. Gervasius was ordered to leave Paris on February 7, 1533, to tighten the alliance between the princes. Payment was ordered for him on February 6, 1533⁶⁹). During 1533, Gervasius Wain constantly received money from the Treasury.

By July 1533, Gervasius spent 270 days during his two trips to Germany; for *per diem* he received 7 livres⁷⁰). The Treasury also gave a breakdown of the amount of remuneration received by Gervasius.

On November 16, 1533, he was ordered again to depart for Germany assisting Guillaume du Bellay to meet with the princes and negotiate support for the claims of Christophe and Ulrich of Württemberg for recuperation of the territories seized by Ferdinand⁷¹).

nostrae causae», C.G. Bretschneider, ed., *Corpus reformatorum*, Halle/Saxony, 1835, col. 517, n^o. 997.

⁶⁷) «Mandement au Trésorier de l'Épargne de payer 800 livres tournois à Gervais Wain, pour un voyage qu'il va faire de Fontainebleau, Allemagne vers les ducs de Saxe, Bavière et landgrave de Hesse, pour leur porter des lettres, remplir une mission et résider quelque temps en ces pays. Fontainebleau, 31 Août 1531»: *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, Tome VI, p. 267, n^o. 20257. Original BN. Pièces orig. Wain. Vol. 3043, p. 2.

⁶⁸) «Mandement à Jean Laguerre de payer à Maître Gervais Wain 100 écus soleil des vacations et journées qui lui son dues de plusieurs voyages par lui faicts en Allemagne pour les affaires secrètes du roi. Paris, 13 decembre 1532»: *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, II, p. 260, n^o. 5123.

⁶⁹) «Mandement au Trésorier de l'Épargne de payer à Gervais Wain, docteur en Théologie, 700 livres tournois tant pour ce qui lui reste du de ses voyages en Allemagne que pour celui qu'il y va faire. Paris, 6 février, 1533»: *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, Tome II, p. 309, n^o. 5342; cf. BN. Ms. fr. 15628, n^o. 430.

⁷⁰) Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay*, p. 145, n^o. 2.

⁷¹) «Mandement au Trésorier de l'Épargne de bailler à Guillaume du Bellay. Sr. de Langey, gentilhomme de la chambre du roi, 675 livres tournois à remettre à Gervais Wain, pour accompagner ledit de Langey dans une mission dont le roi l'a chargé auprès de certains princes Allemands, ses alliés. Avignon, 16 Novembre, 1533»: *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, Tome II, p. 562, n^o. 6498.

On January 20, 1534, François I^{er} concluded a treaty with Philippe of Hesse who promised to declare war on Ferdinand of Austria. In 1534, Gervasius Wain, at that time abbot *in commendam* of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Cuissy, was given a considerable amount of secret funds to distribute according to the instructions of the King⁷²).

Gervasius must have left Paris towards March 21, 1534, after receiving 420 livres Tournois for a 60-day stay in Germany. However, negotiations were not going too well for François I^{er}. Although the Landgrave occupied Württemberg and restored Ulrich to power, on June 29, 1534, he concluded a peace treaty with Ferdinand of Austria. France suffered a diplomatic defeat. On August 20, 1534, Gervasius Wain along with Etienne Laigue were sent as envoys to the Landgrave of Hesse. By the middle of October 1534, the ambassadors encountered considerable difficulties to dispel various calumnies directed against François I^{er} in Germany.

Meanwhile, in France, after the «affaire des placards», when Protestants put up placards on October 18, 1534, on public places attacking the celebration of Mass by the Catholics, many young German students were imprisoned in Paris. They were later liberated through the intercession of Jean du Bellay, bishop of Paris⁷³).

The last mention of Gervasius Wain, in connection with his diplomatic service, was on February 7, 1536, when he was given 675 livres for his activities as ambassador of the King to Germany⁷⁴).

Gervasius Wain, Abbot in commendam of the Praemonstratensian Abbey of Cuissy

The king most generously remunerated his German theologian for his many diplomatic trips to Germany. Besides his trip expenses being reimbursed, Gervasius received 300 livres Tournois yearly stipend. In

⁷²) Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay*, pp. 166-172. In 1534, no month or day, he received funds: «A Gervais Wain, abbé de Cuissy, et au Sr. de Beauvais [Étienne de Laigue] la somme de 6,750 livres tournois pour porter en divers lieux d'Allemagne et distribuer à certains personnages suivant les instructions du roi qui ne veut nommer lesdits personnages, ni specifier les motifs, ladite somme à prendre au Louvre, sur le même quartier d'Avril»: *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, Tome VII, p. 795, n°. 29122.

⁷³) Bourrilly, *Guillaume du Bellay*, p. 189.

⁷⁴) «Mandement au Trésorier de l'Épargne de payer 675 livres à Gervais Wain, abbé du Cussy [sic] et ambassadeur du roi en Allemagne, en duction de ce qui devra lui être donné pour l'exercice de sa charge. Lyon, 7 Février 1535»: *Catalogue. Actes François I^{er}*, Tome II, p. 173, n°. 8295; cf. BN. Ms. Clairambault, 1215, fol. 74 recto.

addition, he was appointed in 1533 abbot *in commendam* of the Praemonstratensian Abbey of Cuissy.

Gervasius was already abbot *in commendam* of Cuissy on the Aisne, diocese of Laon in 1533, and not in 1534, as generally accepted. In an agreement, dated July 30, 1533, between Gervasius Wain and the Fellows of the Sorbonne, in a contract when Gervasius rented a house in rue de Fouarre, he was already referred to as abbot «commendataire»:

venerable et scientifique personne Maistre Gervais Waim, aussi docteur Regent en ladicté Faculté de Théologie en ladicté Université et *Abbé Commandataire* de l'église et abbaye de Cussy [sic] diocèse de Laon ... Penultime jour de Juillet l'an mil cinq cents xxxiii⁷⁵).

Around 1540, after litigation with Ludovicus Millet, archdeacon of Meaux, Gervasius obtained also the Benedictine abbey of Josaphat, founded 1117, located north of Chartres, named after the valley of Josaphat in Jerusalem.

Gervasius Wain died on December 14, 1554. The text of his Epitaph reads:

Gervasius Wain, Germanus, doctor Theologus regius in superiori Germania legatus, abbas commendatarius, hujus coenobii. Natus annos 63. Obiit 14. Decembris, Anno 1554⁷⁶).

The chronicler of the Sorbonne appropriately summed up his personality: He was provided with all the blessing of the body, soul and fortune, and he was noted for every ornament of sciences and virtues⁷⁷).

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⁷⁵) Paris, Archives Nationales MM. 285, fol. 110 verso-111 recto. *Gallia Christiana*, Tome IX, col. 679, n°. 42 has 1535. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, II, p. 498, accepted the date of 1535 of the *Gallia Christiana*. Farge, *Paris Doctors of Theology*, p. 435, correctly gives 1533 after the above mentioned Sorbonne contract.

⁷⁶) *Gallia Christiana*, VIII, col. 1284, n. 35.

⁷⁷) «Vir corporis animique et fortunae bonis locupletatus et in omnibus scientiae ac virtutum ornamentis praedictus»: Arsenal, Ms. 1021, p. 202; See also, Arsenal, Ms. 1020, pp. 332-334, n. 136.