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"Silence Visible"

Carthusian Devotional Reading and Meditative Practice

That frame of social being, which so long
Had bodied forth the ghostliness of things
In silence visible and perpetual calm.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH
on the Grande Chartreuse,
The Prelude (1850), VI.427–29

The Carthusian wilderness is no place to expect pageantry, whether visual or verbal. Even more than other monastic orders, medieval Carthusians eschewed devotional pomp and spectacle, only rarely coming together even in liturgical celebration. These monks were hermits in religious life, and each one lived out an austere and almost completely solitary existence in his individual cell. Yet surprisingly, the imaginative life of the Carthusians, as reflected in their private devotional texts and images, provides some of the community that their vows of solitude renounce, and even some of the pageantry that their outward rites reject. Private devotional performances in the cell substituted for the sights and sounds of communal worship, and Carthusian performative reading in the Middle Ages often operated as a personal analogue to collective liturgical events. The monks' own metaphors show that they understood this compensatory function of their private activities; they understood reading and writing as communal pursuits, for instance, and created the textual society of the charterhouse explicitly to take the place of any bodily one. Moreover, visual images of several kinds were used by Carthusians both for private purposes and for ostentatious display. Carthusian devotional images and texts repeatedly represent communities both monastic and heavenly, constructing their solitary readers and viewers according to their place in those communities. Both books and art work to negotiate the complicated divide between private and public prayer in the charterhouse, a divide bridged by the paradox of private performances in late-medieval Carthusian reading. Even though such pageantry might seem to be at odds with the austerity of the cell, the

performative reading of devotional imagetexts was a fundamental part of medieval Carthusian life.

This chapter explores the complex relations between private and public experience that distinguish the late-medieval English charterhouse, the devotional community in which Additional 37049 was probably both produced and consumed. The subject of medieval Carthusian spirituality is vast, and my treatment of it here necessarily selective, but some features of Carthusian life prove crucial to understanding this miscellany: both the constitutive qualities that established Carthusian identity at the foundation of the order, and those historical circumstances particular to late-medieval English charter monks. The late-medieval Carthusian environment differed from the textual communities established by lay people, and even by other monastic orders, in ways that put specific pressures on the construction of Additional 37049 and had significant results for its material form. The manuscript's monastic milieu also bears on the history of its reception: because the environment of the charterhouse determined the literary experience of its original maker and probable audience, that environment carries considerable hermeneutic consequence. Through an examination of both Carthusian books and Carthusian art, this chapter asks how we might understand any public or performative aspect of lives so quiet and inward. Surprisingly, it is their alliances with public spectacle that transform the imagetexts in Additional 37049 into instruments of the spiritual imagination for Carthusian hermits.

Nor do the miscellany's charterhouse origins mean that its brand of performative reading had no consequence for late-medieval readers who were not Carthusian. The Carthusian community was enormously influential in late-medieval England, and the ways in which these monks specifically engaged their communities beyond the charterhouse walls is equally important to understanding the performative aspects of the texts and images in Additional 37049. Although wilderness life was never widespread in actuality—the total number of Carthusian monks in England was always small—a Carthusian brand of wilderness reading was eagerly embraced by spiritually ambitious lay people. As a result, the bookish pageantry of the charterhouse also shaped lay spirituality. The devotional performances of these most private of late-medieval readers suggest a need to reconsider the mechanisms of private devotional reading in the population at large.

BACKGROUNDS: THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER

The short poem "At þe begynyng of þe chartirhows god dyd schewe" (fol. 22r–v) relates part of the story surrounding the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse.[1] The monastery, and the order, were established in 1084 by

St. Bruno and six companions: the monks Landuin, Stephen de Bourg, Stephen de Die, and Hugh "the Chaplain"; and two laymen, Andrew and Guarin.[2] As legend has it, the saint was inspired by the miraculous resurrection of the Parisian doctor Raymond Diocres, who rose three times from his funeral bier to warn of the horrors of hell.[3] Hoping to lead a more devout life (and tiring of ecclesiastical corruption), Bruno and his followers then sought counsel from St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble. Hugh was able to advise them, as the poem tells, in accordance with a divinely inspired vision:

> At þe begynyng of þe chartirhows god dyd schewe
> To þe byschop of gracionapolitane, saynt hewe,
> Seuen sternes goyng in wildernes to þat place
> Wher now þe ordir of þe chartirhows abydyng has.
> And when þes sternes at þat place had bene
> At þe bischop's fete, þai felle al bedene;
> And aftyr þis visione þe sothe for to saye,
> þe doctor Bruno and sex felows, withouten delay,
> Come to þis holy bischop, cownsel to take,
> To lyf solytary in wildernes, and þis warld to forsake
> And at his feete mekly downe þai al felle,
> Praying hym of informacioun and his cownsell to telle.
> (1–12)

Both stars and men fall "at þe bischop's fete," and Hugh quickly draws an analogy between the seven heavenly stars he witnessed going into the wilderness, and the seven petitioners who wish for his guidance. He advises them to pursue the life of solitary contemplation they long for, and he directs them to the remote Alpine site upon which they eventually build.[4]

Like almost every item in the manuscript, this Carthusian history takes its form in both texts and images; the narrative is communicated not only by the short poem, but also by a series of five pictures—four preceding the text (fol. 22r; pl. II), and one in the margin (fol. 22v; fig. 2.1). In the first image St. Hugh, both mitred and nimbed, sits on his episcopal throne, dreaming about the seven stars. These fall to the ground, dividing the visionary bishop in the visual syntax of the picture from Bruno, in a doctor's cap, and his six companions. In the next scene, Hugh relates the dream to the seven who kneel, now, in front of him. He then directs the group to a wilderness place, the desolation of which is indicated by a forest. Finally, the new Carthusian monks, arrayed in their distinctive white robes, enter the monastery they have built, while the bishop presides—whether metaphorically or literally is unclear—in the background. This foundation story was often told pictorially in the late Middle Ages, adorning the

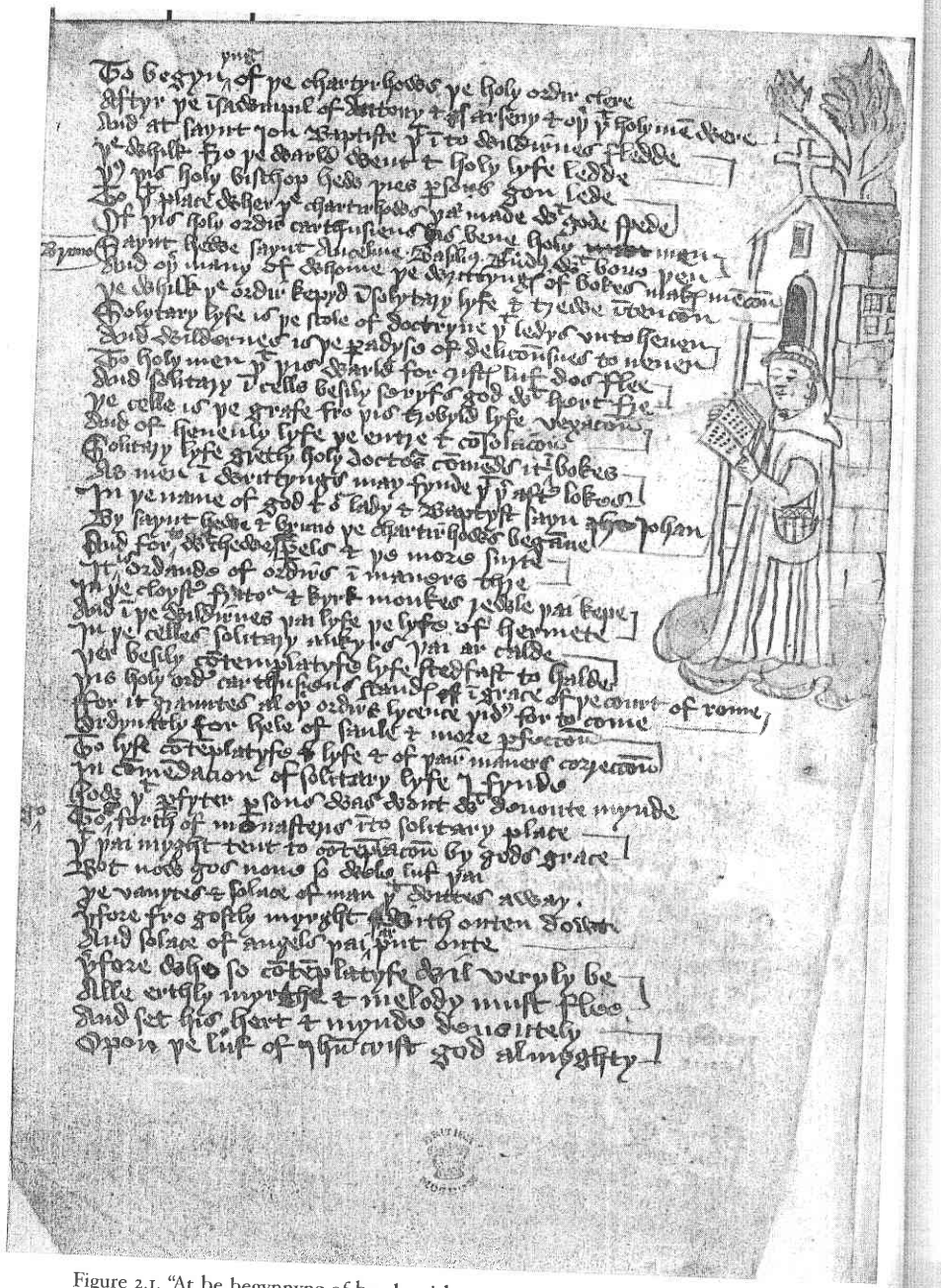

Figure 2.1. "At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhows god did schewe." Carthusian monk reading. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 22v. By permission of the British Library.

walls of charterhouse churches, refectories, and cloisters. Although the fourteenth-century paintings in the Paris charterhouse no longer survive, there are traces of fifteenth-century cycles remaining in charterhouses at both Basel and Cologne.[5] One of the earliest complete sequences known is found in a layman's prayerbook, completed c. 1408–9 by the Limbourg brothers for the *Belles Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry. The *Belles Heures* cycle includes eight scenes: Diocres expounding the Scriptures (fol. 94), Diocres crying out from his bier (fol. 94v), the burial of Diocres (fol. 95), Bruno's departure for the wilderness (fol. 95v; see fig. 2.6), St. Hugh's dream (fol. 96), St. Hugh's audience with Bruno and his companions (fol. 96v), the new monks entering the Grande Chartreuse (fol. 97), and a view of the Grande Chartreuse itself (fol. 97v).[6] These images are aristocratic and grand, but a similar pictorial narrative made its way, in the form of a woodblock print, into a book as practical and as widely disseminated as the 1510 Basel edition of the Carthusian *Statutes* (fig. 2.2).[7] An extensive late-medieval visual tradition, expressed both in monumental and in less monumental forms, surrounds the founding of the Grande Chartreuse and the saintly life of its founder, Bruno. These images offer useful historical perspective on the importance of the foundation story, revealing how fifteenth-century monks imagined their origins, and conceived of themselves by that means. The four narrative images in the English miscellany, even though they are not derived precisely from any other series, form a part of this tradition of Carthusian self-representation.

The foundation narrative as represented in Additional 37049 articulates many aspects of the Carthusian calling that are essential for a reading of the manuscript. The first of these is the importance of solitude; Bruno and his companions seek "to lyf solytary in wildernes" from the very inception of the order, and the story of the order's establishment is the story of their withdrawal from the world. As the poem explains,

> Solytary lyfe is þe scole of doctryne þat ledys vnto heuen,
> And wildernes is þe paradyse of deliciousnes to neuen
> To holy men þat þis warld for cristes luf dos flee,
> And solitary in cells besily seryfs God with hert fre.
> þe celle is þe grafe fro þis trobyld lyfe vexacioun,
> And of heuenly lyfe þe entre and consolacioun.
> (27–32)

The author advocates the solitary life as the highest and most effective route to salvation; the spiritually "busy" solitary in his cell is closer to paradise than are people vexed by worldly concerns, since the cell offers both death to the tribulations of earthly life, and entry into the joys of heaven.

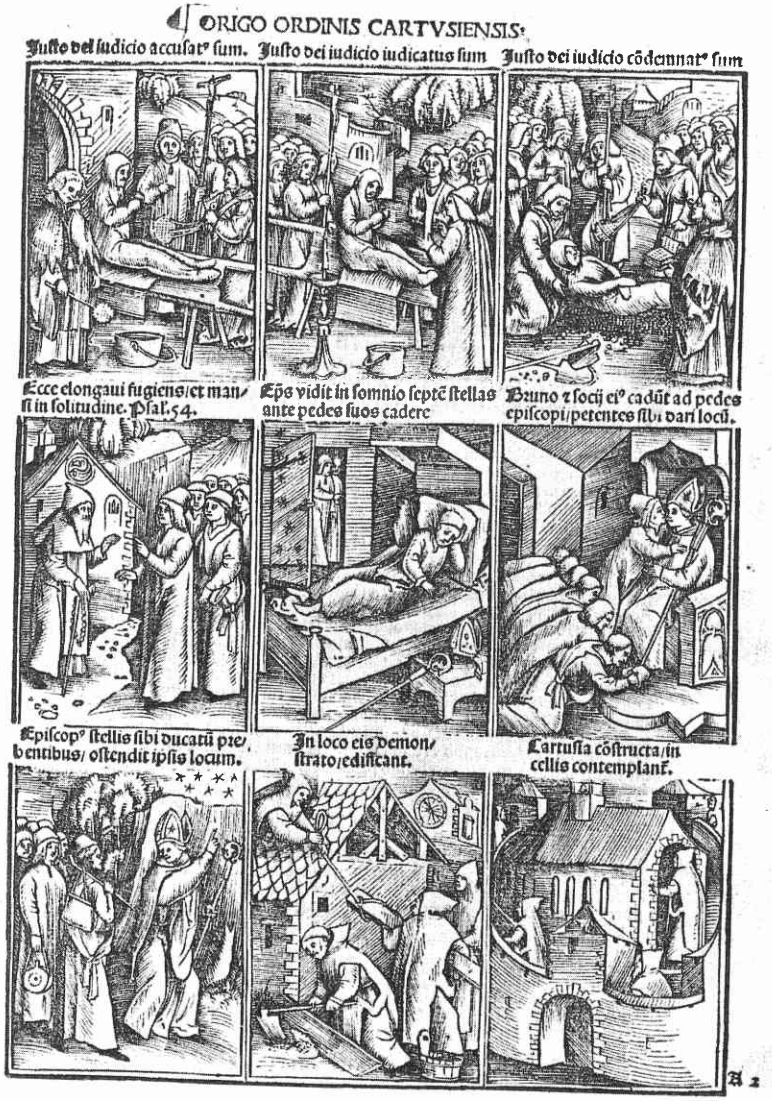

Figure 2.2. Frontispiece narrating the foundation of the Carthusian Order. *Statutes Ordinis Cartusiensis* (Bâle, 1510). By permission of the British Library (704.h.21, frontispiece).

This fundamental commitment to contemplation in seclusion has been a defining characteristic of Carthusian houses since their origin.

The Middle English foundation poem insists repeatedly upon the primacy of isolation in the Carthusian vocation. The early holy men who fled to the desert—St. Anthony, St. Arsenius, and St. John the Baptist—are explicitly cited as "þe insawmpil" that medieval hermit-monks should follow (18). The author gestures vaguely toward the recommendations of textual authorities to support his celebration of the solitary life:

> Solitary lyfe gretly holy doctours commends it in bokes,
> As men in writtyngs may fynde þat þer after lokes.
> (33–34)

And, again:

> In commendacion of solitary lyfe I fynde
> How þat perfyter persons was wont with deuote mynde
> To go forth of monasteris into solitary place,
> þat þai myght tent to contemplacioun by gods grace.
> (47–50)

Both the eremitic and the cenobitic ideals had Christian precedents, of course, but the founders of the Chartreuse chose to model themselves after the desert solitaries of Egypt, rather than pursue Benedictine ideals of communitarian living.[8] In support of their choice, they might have read "holy doctours" such as Cassian or Jerome. But the second passage quoted above goes beyond the "commendacion" of solitude as the highest form of contemplative experience, to an explicit rejection of "monasteris" as a variety of religious life. As the poem explains, "perfyter persons" will wish to enter the eremitic wilderness, and to leave social forms of religious life entirely behind. This poem insists upon the superiority of Carthusian solitude to all other kinds of monasticism, noting elsewhere that, because of the order's stringent ascetic demands, a monk from any other foundation might seek without disgrace to be transferred into a charterhouse, though the reverse is not possible. Indeed, the withdrawal of the seven founders of the Carthusian Order from the religious communities of which they had previously been a part—Bruno himself had been chancellor of the cathedral at Rheims—demonstrates that extreme isolation was the key to their search for spiritual purity. Although the Carthusians were not the first medieval solitaries, the new order sought to institute an exceptionally strict monastic isolation, prizing solitude in remote places above all as the necessary condition of a truly contemplative life.[9]

It is a sign of the Carthusian ambivalence toward community that there is no Carthusian Rule *per se;* the early monks left little written evidence of their shared way of life.[10] Because Bruno and his original companions meant to create only a loose association of individuals, it is no surprise that they did not constitute the order in formal documents at its start. But two of Bruno's late letters document his uncodified impressions of the experience of monastic contemplation.[11] He writes to Raoul le Verd, provost of Rheims, for example:

> What divine profit and joy the solitude and the silence of the desert bring to those who love them, only those know who have experienced it.
>
> For there, restless men can withdraw as fully as they like, live within themselves, assiduously cultivate the seeds of virtue, and enjoy the fruits of paradise. There they can acquire that eye that with its clear look wounds the divine spouse with love, and that, because of its purity, is granted the sight of God. There they celebrate a busy leisure and they are stilled by a quiet action. There God gives to his athletes, for the labor of the combat, the desired reward: that is, a peace that the world does not know, and joy in the Holy Spirit.[12]

In this letter, Bruno describes the paradoxical joys of contemplation in order to persuade Raoul that the "false riches" ("divitiae fallaces") and "provost's dignity" ("dignitas praepositurae") of his life in the world should be abandoned. But the letter attests to these joys only in the context of a private communication, not as a comprehensive and general plan for a mode of monastic living. Indeed, Bruno's primary point is that the value of solitude is almost inexpressible; the life of the Carthusian desert can only truly be understood by those who live it.

It is odd, then, that outsiders give the most valuable testimony to life at the Grande Chartreuse in the early years—visitors to the wilderness who extol the monks' solitude. The earliest detailed description of the structures of monastic living at the Grande Chartreuse comes from Guibert de Nogent's early twelfth-century autobiography, which emphasizes both the isolation and the simplicity of the charter monks' existence:

> The church is not far from the foot of the mountain, within a fold of its downward slope. Thirteen monks live there. They have a cloister that is well suited for the cenobitic life, but they do not live cloistered as do other monks. Rather, each has his own cell around the perimeter of the cloister, in which he works, sleeps, and eats. Every Sunday the cellarer provides them with food, namely bread and vegetables; with this each makes for himself a kind of stew, which is always the same. As for water, whether for drinking or for domestic use, they draw it from a conduit, which leads from a spring and goes around all the cells and flows into each of these little houses through holes that have been drilled for that purpose. On Sundays and great feasts they have fish and cheese—fish, I might add, that they have not bought, but received through the generosity of a few devout people. . . . If they happen to drink wine it is so diluted that it loses its strength and tastes little different from ordinary water. They wear hair shirts next to their skin: otherwise they wear few clothes. . . .
>
> As for the monks, the fervor of habitual contemplation so sustains them that the passing time cannot deter them from their rule; nor do they grow lukewarm, however long their way of living may last.[13]

Guibert's enthusiasm for the ascetic Carthusian project is echoed by William of St. Thierry in his lengthy "Golden Letter" to the Carthusian monks at Mont-Dieu, a substantial treatise celebrating the solitary life.[14] The more practical correspondence of many notable figures in the history of contemporary monasticism—St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable of Cluny, and Peter of Celle—also registers general approval of the early Carthusians' style of eremiticism.[15]

Eventually, a set of precepts for charterhouse life did grow out of the monks' actual practice. The first attempt to codify what it means to be Carthusian is the *Consuetudines* of Guigo I, fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse (1109–36).[16] Guigo was also the author of a set of *Meditationes,* as well as hagiographic material and several letters.[17] None of these writings is highly structured or prescriptive; the *Consuetudines* itself was written at the request of new houses that wished to follow the devotional practice of the Grande Chartreuse, and it takes the informal shape of a letter.[18] This Carthusian "Rule" grew and changed organically in the centuries after Guigo, as the order elaborated his *Consuetudines* with further statutes: first the *Antiqua statuta* (or *Antiquae consuetudines*) (1258), then the *Novae constitutiones* (1369), and finally the *Tertio compilatio* (1509). The evolving statutes were collected and printed by Jean Amorbach in Basel in 1510.[19]

The structures of Carthusian life, as revealed in these early writings, ensure in quite practical ways the solitude to which the monks were most urgently called. They are to take regular meals together only on Sundays and festival days, fasting on bread and water three days a week, and preparing simple vegetables and cheese for solitary meals on other days.[20] Most isolating of all, they are not to talk to each other at mealtime or ever, except at specified times and for specified purposes, or in case of dire emergency. The short list of exceptions to the Carthusian monk's compelled silence testifies to the strength of the prohibition against speech: "If, by his negli-

gence or another's, the monk should find himself without bread, wine, water, or fire, or if he hears a noise or a strange cry, or if a danger of fire arises, he is permitted to go out, to offer or to seek help, and if the danger is great enough, to break silence."[21] Usually, however, the inhabitant of the cell is to keep it silently; his willed solitude grows easier as its spiritual benefits become apparent, as Guigo explains: "The inhabitant of the cell ought to take care diligently and assiduously neither to create nor accept occasions to go out of it, apart from those that are instituted by the rule. He should consider the cell as necessary to his life and health as water is to a fish or a sheepfold to a sheep. The longer he lives there, the more willingly he will stay; if he grows accustomed to leaving frequently and for trivial causes, he will soon think it hateful. And therefore it is ordained that he ask for what he needs at the hours appointed for that and that he keep very carefully the things he has received."[22] The monks' days were, in general, passed alone in their cells, immersed in silent, individual meditative prayer and solitary work. The private devotions of the Carthusian cell were fundamental to the constitution of the Carthusian self.[23]

Eschewing even those parts of Christian life most communal by definition, Carthusians celebrated mass simply and infrequently.[24] The forms of liturgical celebration in the charterhouse were minimal and uniform; only chants with a scriptural basis were used, and complexity of melody or ornamentation was avoided.[25] Moreover, the mere 155 conventual masses generally celebrated every year at the Grande Chartreuse should be compared with about 450 at Cîteaux, and 700 at Cluny.[26] As Guigo writes: "You must know that we sing the mass rarely, for our principal activity and our vocation are to devote ourselves to the silence and solitude of the cell."[27] Moreover, the *Consuetudines* stipulates that Carthusian monks say morning and evening prayers in community, but celebrate the other hours of the monastic day privately: "For generally, we say Matins and Vespers in the church, but Compline always in the cell. Otherwise—except on feast days, vigils, or yearly celebrations—we do not go to the church."[28] Rather than assembling together for prayer, Carthusians brought the ceremonial of the full choir into the cell; praying alone at his oratorium, the Carthusian bowed and kneeled and prostrated himself at the sounding of the monastery bell, observing in solitude what are otherwise communal exercises of devotion.[29] The practices Guibert de Nogent observed at the Grande Chartreuse confirm that Guigo's liturgical prescriptions were kept: "They do not assemble in their church, as we do, at the usual hours, but at others. If I am not mistaken they hear Mass on Sundays and on solemn feasts. They hardly ever speak, and if they must ask for something they do it with a sign."[30]

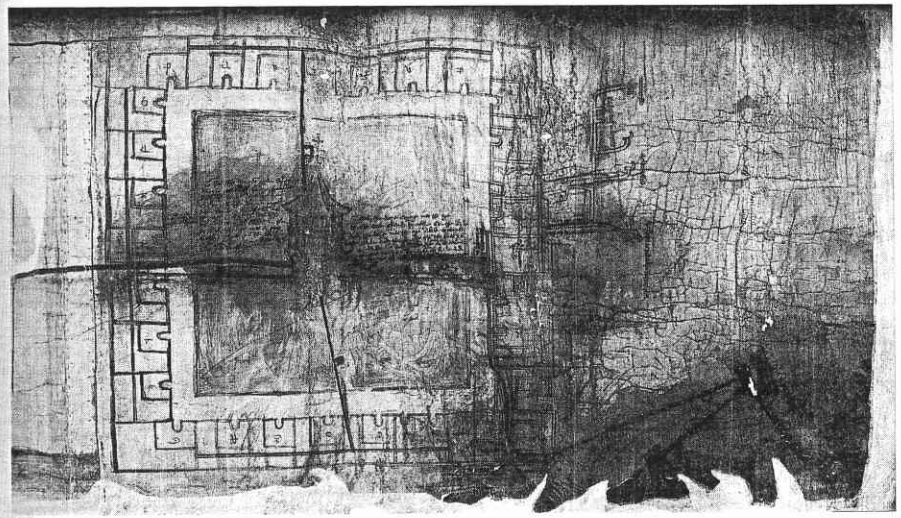

Figure 2.3. Medieval plan of waterworks at London Charterhouse (c. 1430–40). English Heritage Photographic Library.

The ordering of Carthusian life through its physical environment, as well as through its temporal rhythms, demonstrates the overriding importance of solitude for the followers of Bruno. Charterhouses are distinguished architecturally by a vast, empty cloister, surrounded by the monks' private cells (see, for example, the medieval plan of waterworks at the London charterhouse; fig. 2.3).[31] The central space of the cloister is bounded by a small wall, which prohibits anyone from entering it, and each cell is oriented toward its own private walled garden, communicating with the cloister walk only by a door and an anonymous pass-through, for food and other necessary items. Each cell serves all aspects of a monk's life—sleep, meals, prayer, work, and some recreation— being furnished with a bed, a stove, an oratorium, a chair and table, a bookcase, and a workshop or storage area.[32] The cells are not only self-contained, but anonymous, for they are often identified by letters of the alphabet, rather than by monks' names.[33] The architectural division of the charterhouse into many separate buildings dominates one fifteenth-century artist's conception of Carthusian life, as an illustration of a Dutch version of the Carthusian rule shows (fig. 2.4).[34] Within the walls of the monastery, many buildings are organized around a central space, but what impresses the artist (and his viewers) above all is the autonomy of the individual cell within the monastic compound.[35] This assembly of buildings reveals very little communitarian feeling, for within the collective foundation each Carthusian lives in an almost completely

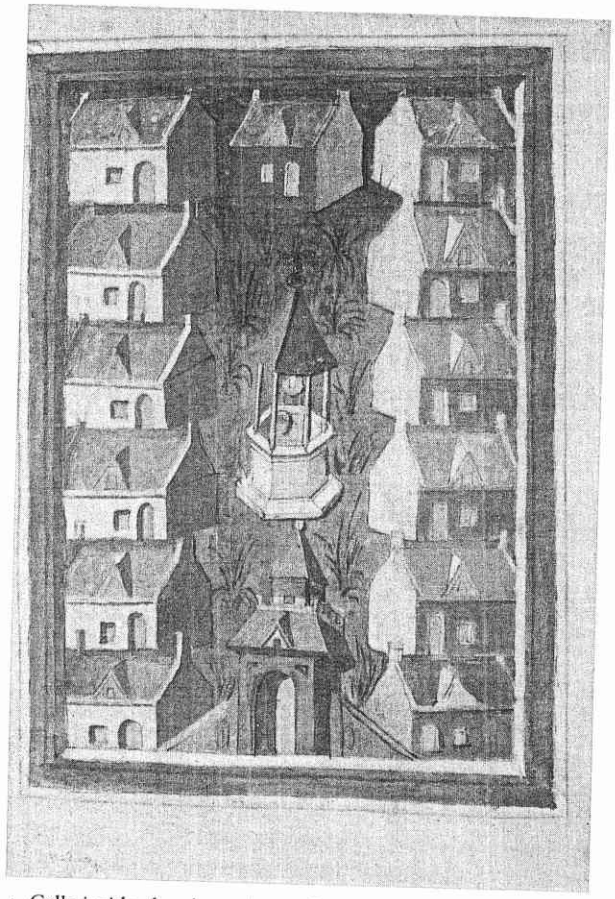

Figure 2.4. Cells inside the charterhouse. London, British Library MS Additional 25042 (15th c.), fol. 12r. By permission of the British Library.

self-sufficient space, in which he remains always completely alone. More than any other monastic building, the distinctive individual cells of the charterhouses allow their inhabitants to approach an eremitic existence within a loosely cenobitic structure.

The ensemble of individual cells also reveals, however, that the cenobitic life is not completely suppressed in the Carthusian monastery. Taking a slightly longer view, the same fifteenth-century artist shows us that there are buildings, also, without the charterhouse walls (fig. 2.5).[36] The difficulty of all monastic life—but particularly pronounced for the solitary Carthusians—is to live in the world while rejecting it completely. Since the monks needed to provide themselves with physical necessities such as food and

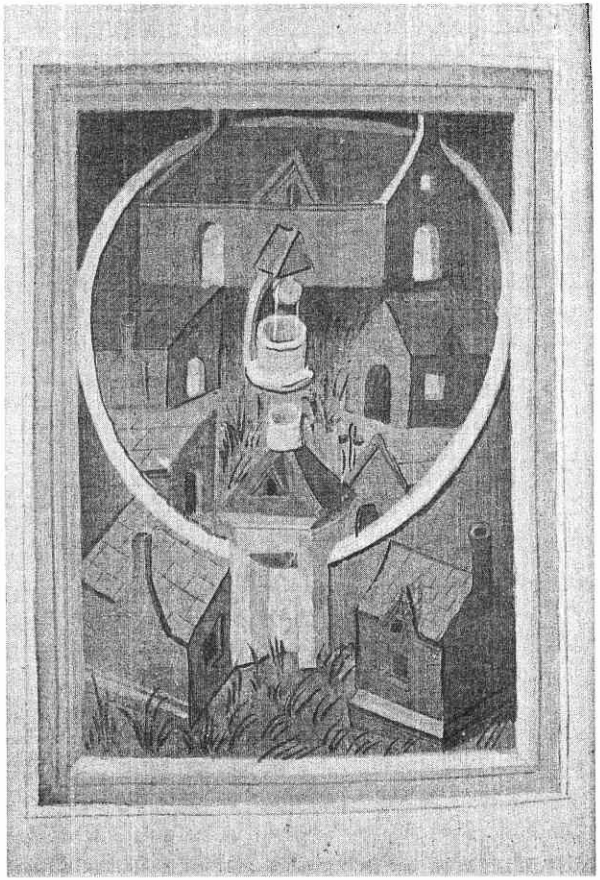

Figure 2.5. Inside and outside the charterhouse walls. London, British Library MS Additional 25042 (15th c.), fol. 12v. By permission of the British Library.

clothing, they required that intermediaries interact with the outside on their behalf. As at Cîteaux, lay brothers (variously *conversi, redditi, donati,* or *mercenarii*) provided the most practical way of crossing the divide between the Carthusian desert and the lay world. Guigo makes provision for many lay brethren to attend the worldly needs of the solitaries, stipulating that there be sixteen lay brothers for every thirteen or fourteen monks.[37] The *Consuetudines* establishes a separate set of rules of life for these professed lay brothers, providing as carefully for the particulars of their daily lives and spiritual practice as for the monks themselves.[38] The lay brothers were to live in a lower house ("la Correrie") separate from the cells of the upper house ("la Maison Haute"), and were to ascend to the charterhouse

church only for worship at specified times.[39] It is not certain that the external buildings pictured here reflect the presence of lay brethren, but they do represent the anchoritic monks' need for assistance from outside their cloistered walls. In spite of the seclusion intended by the rule, and encouraged by the monastic cells' design, Carthusian isolation could not be total.

In addition, the distinction between monks and lay brethren was not absolute: one monk, the procurator, served as liaison between the two houses, and head of the Correrie. The prior spent one of every five weeks at the lower house, and on feast days the whole community celebrated mass together. Furthermore, though the lay brothers knew no Latin, they were meant from the beginning to have solid instruction in the faith. Bruno's letter to the community at the Grande Chartreuse praises the *conversi* in particular for their intellectual, as well as spiritual, accomplishments: "I also rejoice, because even though you do not have the knowledge of letters, Almighty God has written with his finger in your hearts not only love, but knowledge of holy law: you show by your works what you love and what you know."[40] A century later, the lay brothers at Witham charterhouse, in England, "though unlettered, had received such good oral teaching that they would at once perceive any error made by a reader in church, and mark their notice of it by a cough."[41] Although life in the charterhouse was sustained by the distinctions between monks and lay brethren, their solitary ideal did not prevent Carthusians from providing themselves with a limited spiritual and earthly community. Charter monks approach a solitary existence, but, as their indispensable relations with their lay brothers demonstrate, their lives are necessarily built around negotiations between the individual and his society, between the solitude the monks seek inside the charterhouse, and the world that remains outside.

For Bruno himself, in spite of his love of solitude and his clear rejection of some established forms of religious society, was not actually a hermit. He did not live out his days at the Grande Chartreuse, but after just six years answered Pope Urban's urgent call to become a papal adviser in Rome, eventually founding another monastic community in Calabria. Even within the charterhouse, he had pursued contemplative ecstasies in a setting that, although remote from the world, was in some more limited sense also communal. Bruno entered the wilderness in the company of four other religious men and two lay brothers—his "sex felows"—not to withdraw into an anchorhold or a hermitage, but to found a community of like-minded Christians. Their likeness was at its origin a shared desire for solitude, but in choosing any sort of monastic association these monks were ultimately dedicating themselves to a brand of social, rather than rigorously solitary, life. Any "rule" instituted for a community of monks means

that their life is in a sense lived together, even if the rule stipulates that they are to act and live and pray in solitude. This double commitment—to solitude within monastic community, and to monastic community within the solitude of wilderness—was present from the start of Bruno's foundation, but the late-medieval church also understood that Carthusians were not solitaries. When an English Carthusian from Kingston-upon-Hull petitioned the papal curia for the right to leave his monastery and enter an anchorhold, he was denied.[42] The specifically Carthusian combination of solitude and community is celebrated memorably by one of the fifteenth-century images that narrate and interpret the foundation story in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 2.6). On fol. 95v, Bruno departs the city for the wilderness, and in the distance one can see clearly the several components of the life to which he goes. The Limbourgs have painted a hermit in his cave, and a lonely sepulchre on the hillside, for the Carthusian monk goes to an eremitic life, where "þe celle is þe grafe" and its occupant is dead to the world.[43] But the image shows also, in the further distance, the outline of a grand edifice, the architectural center of wilderness monastic community that Bruno would build in the Grande Chartreuse. The picture suggests that the Carthusian life, though solitary in its inspiration, was communal in its execution. The fifteenth-century artist respected Bruno's solitary ideal, but he also celebrated the charterhouse community that arose from it.

Moreover, the particulars of the foundation legend reveal the dependence of Carthusian solitaries not only upon their own monastic community—fellow monks and *conversi*—but also upon certain societal and ecclesiastical structures. The early Carthusians entered a remote setting on the advice of a bishop, guided by a divine vision, of course, but one significantly mediated through the "informacioun" and "cownsell" of a representative of the earthly church.[44] While the poem in Additional 37049 underscores the Carthusian inspiration to solitude, the images on fol. 22r demonstrate more emphatically these social and institutional connections. The influence of the bishop of Grenoble over the founding of the Grande Chartreuse is marked in the last of the miscellany's four narrative images, where he remains "in" the community even after his part in its founding is done. This inclusion constitutes a departure from the final images in better known pictorial versions of the Carthusian founding-narrative: in the 1509 Basel woodcut, the series ends as the monks go into their solitary cells: "Cartusia constructa, in cellis contemplant" (fig. 2.2). In the *Belles Heures,* the monks enter their common church, rather than their individual cells, but the Limbourgs preserve no trace of the bishop (fol. 97r). St. Bruno, canonized in 1623, is rightly celebrated as the inspired founder of the Carthusian Order, but the charterhouse took its origins as clearly from episcopal authority and under the direction of the earthly church. While the author

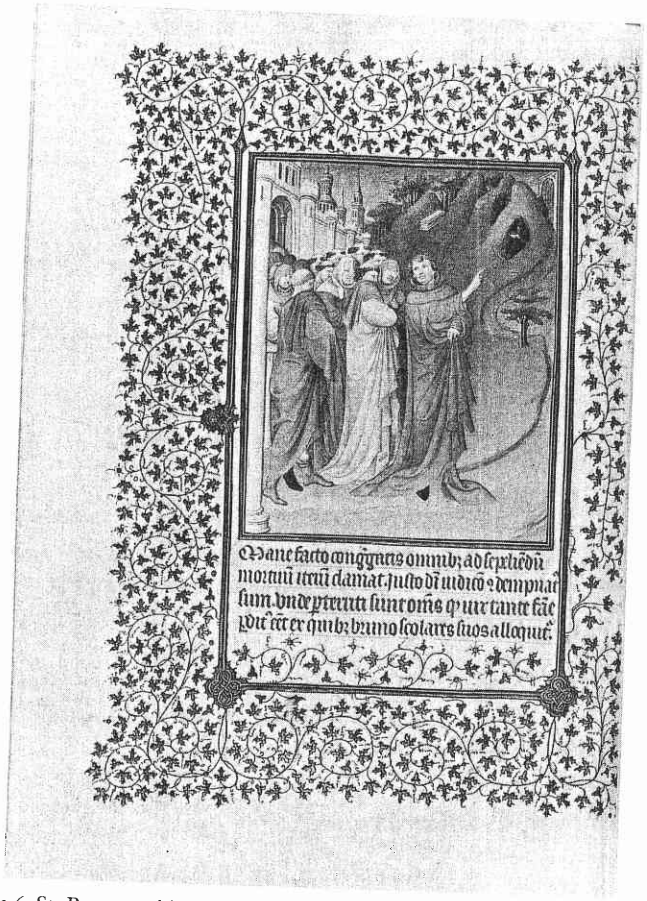

Figure 2.6. St. Bruno and his students leaving the city for the wilderness. *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry,* fol. 95v; Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg (c. 1408–9). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1).

of the foundation poem in Additional 37049 emphasizes the solitude of the Carthusian vocation, the artist of the fifteenth-century miscellany emphasized this institutional association.[45]

Monasteries generally structure the world into interior and exterior spaces, and charterhouses insist particularly upon such divisions: all monks are separated from the lay population, and charter monks are separated also from each other. But the early Carthusians, as we have seen, were enmeshed in ecclesiastical structures outside the monastery. Moreover, although the inhabitant of each cell lives apart from his immediate community, some aspects of Carthusian lives unfold in the communal areas of the charterhouse: the cloister walk, the church, the library, the refectory. Aspects of Carthusian community were incorporated within the individual devotions of the cell through the performance of communal prayers coordinated in time through the sounding of a bell. Life in the charterhouse oscillates continually between the social and individual aspects of religious life, a result of the Carthusians' novel attempt to combine an eremitic ideal with a cenobitic structure, to construct a monasticism both communitarian and individual. The structures of Carthusian life in the wilderness, as reflected in visual and verbal records, continually reveal this double emphasis on solitude within community; the active life as embodied by the lay brothers is not so far removed from the contemplative, either in physical space or in philosophy. The architectural and conceptual oscillation between interior and exterior is written into the very statutes of the Carthusian Order. For all its exaltation of solitude, the Carthusian monastery nonetheless provides for some connections among its inhabitants, as well as connections between them and those outside.

This unlikely commerce between Carthusian monks and the affairs of the world is grounded in the foundational narrative and in Guigo's *Consuetudines,* but it became the central fact of late-medieval charterhouse life.[46] While the Grande Chartreuse was established in a remote location, by 1257 St. Louis had founded a charterhouse in Paris, and in the fifteenth century charterhouses were frequently situated in urban areas. Closely allied to the urban location of these Carthusian foundations in their relations with the world is their increasing reliance upon aristocratic patronage. The late-medieval charterhouses depended not only upon the institutions of the church, such as the Grenoble episcopate, but also upon lay wealth and political influence. In the second half of the fourteenth century Carthusian foundations became fashionable among the Burgundian aristocracy, a trend that issued in the foundations of Champmol in Dijon by Philip the Bold, and of Pavia by Gian Galeazzo Visconti (whose first wife was Isabelle de Valois). The cycle of miniatures in the *Belles Heures* of the duke of Berry, discussed above, could also be said to exemplify the popularity of the order in these aristocratic circles. These dukes of France were drawn to the purity and secrecy of Carthusian devotion, and thought to increase their own spiritual cachet through a connection to these eremitic monks. Even relatively modern descriptions of the "wildly poetical" and "strangely picturesque" Carthusians reflect traces of their fifteenth-century romantic appeal.[47] Support flowed from the monks toward the laity, as well as from the laity toward the monks; numismatic evidence from Italy and Belgium suggests that, though Guigo discouraged the practice of supporting

penitents, late-medieval Carthusians, at the urging of their founding patrons, distributed alms.[48]

The history of the English Province bears out the increasing interaction between hermit-monks and lay society visible elsewhere in Europe. The Carthusian foundation in England was late, but the order enjoyed a short, intensive vogue in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[49] The first charterhouse, at Witham (1178), was founded by Henry II in expiation (as legend has it) for the murder of Thomas Becket. When the young monastery encountered difficulties, a new prior was sent to encourage the king's support; this prior, after leaving the charterhouse for the bishopric of Lincoln, would be canonized as St. Hugh of Lincoln (d. 1200).[50] The houses of Hinton (1227) and Beauvale (1343) followed slowly. Around 1345 a royal license was issued for a charterhouse at Horne, in Surrey, but the foundation never materialized.[51] In 1368 the independent English Carthusian Province was officially established, meaning that there would no longer be formal visitation from the Continent.[52] The next hundred years then saw a wave of foundations, in which twice as many charterhouses were established, each capable of housing many more monks: London (1370), Hull (1378), Coventry (1381), Axholme (1397), Mountgrace (1398), Sheen (1414), and, finally, the Scottish house in Perth (1429). Nonetheless, the order always remained small in absolute terms; the high point of the Carthusian population in England was in 1422, when there were 182 monks.[53] The dissolution brought disaster to the English charterhouses, and martyrdom to many Carthusians, most notably John Houghton, prior of the charterhouse in London. A house in exile—Sheen Anglorum—was founded by English refugees in Flanders, and survived there until the eighteenth century.[54]

Like their Continental cousins, the late foundations in England increasingly occupied urban sites and relied upon aristocratic patrons—hardly the wild, "desert" wastelands Bruno and Guigo had envisioned. Even the first English foundation, at Witham, required the initial expulsion of the lay population that had formerly inhabited the new monastic "wilderness."[55] The bishop of London, Michael de Northburgh, initially had to argue with the priors of Witham and Hinton for the value of an urban location, but the London charterhouse, once approved, became one of the leading houses in the English province.[56] Among all English charterhouses, only the northern ones (notably Kingston-upon-Hull and Mountgrace) could be said to be truly wilderness sites. The English aristocracy shared the late-medieval enthusiasm for charterhouse foundations.[57] Mountgrace was founded by Sir Thomas de Holand, whose brother-in-law Gian Galeazzo Visconti had founded the magnificent charterhouse at Pavia. The large and extravagant charterhouse of Sheen, established by Henry V close to the royal residence

at Richmond, provides a particularly clear example of the effects of royal patronage.[58] In a strange irony, the king imposed on the monks' seclusion by requiring them to provide for the maintenance of a separate recluse.[59] And it was not only aristocrats who thought the Carthusians fashionable. After initial resistance from the displaced local population, the London house gathered many benefactors, whose diversity highlights the social range of the order's popularity: knights, aristocrats, bishops, "rich merchants of the city companies," lawyers, and civil servants.[60] Because a person could endow an individual cell, charterhouses lent themselves especially to this kind of communal benefaction. (It is an irony for an eremitic order that foundation could involve a group of benefactors precisely because the house itself was divided into individual units.) Even after they were established, the English charterhouses continued to interact with their neighbors: the remote Mountgrace had two guesthouses, Coventry and later Sheen seem to have had schools, and archaeological excavation at London has uncovered the remains of a public pulpit.[61] It is also clear from the precision of the architectural wishes expressed in wills that lay people—even women, who were ostensibly barred from entering the monasteries—were inside Carthusian churches frequently.[62]

The lay world intruded upon the charterhouse, but the desires and pressures of aristocratic patronage also tempted monks (in spite of Guigo's fine words about sheep and sheepfolds) to leave their cells. Richard Methley, early sixteenth-century monk of Mountgrace and author of the Latin works *Experimentum veritatis, Scola amoris languidi, Dormitorium dilecti dilecti,* and *Refectorium salutis,* also wrote an English epistle of advice "To Hew Heremyte," which explains the core of the eremitic life, as he sees it.[63] He advises Hugh of three "thynges ther is nedeful for the to kepe wel": his sight, his cell, and his silence. Both sight and speech must be simply guarded against vanities, but Methley's exhortation to keep the cell reveals some of the particular dangers that challenged late-medieval eremiticism:

> God hath prouyded for the, and therfor kepe thy selle, & yt wyl kepe the fro synne. Be no home rynner for to see mervels no gangrel [vagabond] fro towne to towne, no land leper wavyng in the wynde lyke a laverooke [lark]. But kepe thy sel & yt wyl kepe the. But now thoue sayst peraduenture thou mayst not kepe yt for thou art sent for to the gentils in the contre whome thou dare not displeas. I answer & say thus Tel them that thou hast forsakyn the world & therfor but in the tyme of very great nede as in the tyme of dethe or suche other great nede: thou mayst not let thy deuocion. And when thou shalt help them loke thou do yt trewly for the love of god & take no thyng but for thy cost.[64]

Methley's alliterative language condemns those "land lepers" who leave their cells "for to see mervels," and in this he echoes Guigo's warnings against departing the cell too lightly. But he also acknowledges and describes at great length the particular temptations that come from pastoral and political pressures. Methley himself received donations in the wills of wealthy laypeople in York—a few shillings here or there meant perhaps to defray the "cost" of the hermit's help "in the tyme of dethe," and certainly to unite the donor to the spiritual joys of the solitary.[65] The "gentils in the contre," impressed by the simple piety of the enclosed, often successfully sought help from hermits in attaining their own devotional goals. It was one of the challenges of the cell for the monk to keep to it in the face of such requests from those whom humble hermits—both in Carthusian orders and without—"dare not displeas."

This may seem like a familiar story of monastic asceticism grown lax, a gradual falling away from devotional ideals that is in a sense the story of all the orders, for each monastic reform has been both a renewal of and a return to the purity imagined to be at the core of the cloistered life.[66] Even though it is a commonplace of Carthusian history that the order was never reformed because never "deformed," late-medieval Carthusians demonstrably departed in certain ways from the monastic practices imagined by their eleventh-century forebears.[67] But the negotiations between solitude and community that configure late-medieval Carthusian life are based on tensions present even at the founding of the order. The increased community in Carthusian life in the later Middle Ages shows more than the failure of these monks to reject the world; it reveals important pressures on their devotional lives and can tell us something about what those lives consisted of. My goal is not to demonstrate that fifteenth-century Carthusians departed from the high ideals of their founders, but rather to explore the implications of both structural and circumstantial ambivalence in charterhouse life for Carthusian devotional reading in the late Middle Ages—particularly for the Middle English miscellany of imagetexts, Additional 37049. How does the performance of reading in the privacy of the cell register the divide between individual and communal spiritual experience, between the interior of the monastery and the world outside? How might it help to cross that divide? This question is in some ways at the core of late-medieval Carthusian devotion, and the remarkably rich bibliographic culture that both facilitated and transmitted it.

CARTHUSIANS AND BOOKS

The second picture illustrating the poem "At þe begynyng of þe chartirhows god did schewe" in Additional 37049 is perhaps more important than the

first. In the right margin a Carthusian monk stands outside a simple cell in a forest wilderness, reading a book that he holds in front of him (fol. 22v; fig. 2.1). His book is not illustrated, and its text is illegible, but the image nonetheless testifies to the cultural importance of the codex in which it is contained, as well as to the interconnection of that codex with the bookish concerns of the Carthusian Order generally. The image is a simple emblem of Carthusian life, rather than a narrative of the order's history, but it can tell us even more about the devotional environment of the late-medieval charterhouses. Carthusian bibliographic culture was especially rich, and textual scholarship in the last several decades has taken important steps toward describing that culture in particular terms and assessing what influence it had on late-medieval reading at large. What Michael Sargent, in a foundational article, called "the literary character of the spirituality of the Carthusian Order" had tremendous impact on devotional reading by other religious, and also by lay people.[68] Although Carthusian readers were among the most clearly "private" of the late Middle Ages—reading, as they lived, in the most extreme solitude—they participated in textual communities that give their books a more public face. Even these most solitary encounters between people and books draw upon a shared culture of devotional performance. The complications I hope to introduce in the dichotomy of public and private literary experience do not derive from the possibility that people might have read in groups, or even that they might have read aloud—which Carthusians may well have ocasionally done.[69] Instead, public and private join in a practice of silent, solitary reading that replicates spectacular and social literary forms. Although Carthusian reading is by no means uniform, or readily characterized, Additional 37049 must be seen in the larger context of the wide-ranging Carthusian commitment to spiritual community enacted through books and the private performance of devotional reading.

The emphasis on books and book making within monastic solitude dates from the origins of the Carthusian Order, or as close to those origins as can be recovered. Bruno's letter to Raoul le Verd concludes with a request for a book that is difficult to obtain: "I ask you to send to us the Life of St. Rémy, because it is impossible to find in our region."[70] In the *Consuetudines,* Guigo I describes in great practical detail the items a monk is to have in his individual cell for the making of books: "And for writing, a desk, pens, chalk, two pumice-stones, two inkwells, a small knife, two razors for leveling the surface of the parchment, a punctorium, an awl, a lead pencil, a ruler, writing tablets, and a stylus. And if a brother is given to another kind of art—which happens very rarely with us—because we teach the skill of copying to almost all that we receive, if it is possible—he will have the tools appropriate to his art."[71] This twelfth-century description

remains the most complete contemporary record of bookmaking supplies available to modern codicologists, and is often used as the exemplary description of medieval scribal materials.[72] Guigo enumerates so carefully all that is needed for the making of books because, as he says, Carthusians so rarely engage in other occupations. He concedes that those who cannot learn to write will be accommodated, and other work found for them, but his general expectation is that, for the Carthusian, the labor of the cell is the manufacture of books. Guigo goes on to describe more philosophically the Carthusian attitude toward books and the ideals that motivate their assiduous production:

> Then, further, the inhabitant of the cell receives two books from the library to read. He has orders to exercise all diligence and all possible care so that these books are not soiled by smoke, dust, or any other stain. We desire that the books be made with the greatest attention and kept very carefully, like perpetual food for our souls, so that because we cannot preach the word of God by our mouths, we may do so with our hands.
>
> In effect, however many books we copy, that many times we are seen to be heralds of the truth; and we hope for a reward from the Lord, for all those who through them are corrected from error, or profess universal truth, and for all those also who repent of their sins and of their vices or who are enflamed by a desire for the heavenly land.[73]

In addition to the instruments of writing, each Carthusian monk is to have in his cell two books for reading. And knowing the concern with which books are produced, Guigo exhorts the monk to treat his two volumes with great care, keeping them clean of dust and all kinds of stains. The material book is to be kept pristine as an example of spiritual food, guarded from filth as carefully as the food of the body.

Most memorably, in this passage Guigo offers his famous justification of the Carthusian book-making vocation: "so because we are not able to preach the word of God with our mouths, we may do so with our hands" ("ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus"). The making of books is by this analogy a kind of silent preaching, through which Carthusian monks can speak figuratively to the outside world without disturbing their hushed and solitary lives of prayer. The copying of books thus becomes a task of the highest philosophical and theological importance, for these literary "heralds of the truth" ("veritatis praecones") save souls—both readers' and monks' own. Guigo hopes not only that the books copied will bring souls of readers into heaven, but also that the holy work of disseminating truth will speed the monks' own access to heavenly delights.

Perhaps it is not surprising that the inward-looking Carthusians take the *cura animarum* most seriously as their own means to heaven, and discharge their pastoral obligations through solitary literary activities.[74] But even if the preaching here is only metaphor, this evocative idea of spreading salvation through writing is quoted by many later Carthusian writers, and had important implications for charterhouse life and literary culture in the late Middle Ages.[75] Guigo and those who follow him use the language of pulpit performance to express the nature of their Carthusian book making, a figure of speech that transforms the private habits of a solitary scribe into a preacher's public oratory. Through the medium of books, such performances are accepted into Carthusian life and celebrated for their capacity to save souls. This Carthusian conception of the performative method and salvific purpose of devotional books is the background against which Additional 37049 was created, and against which it was undoubtedly read.

Even as little as twenty years after its foundation by Bruno, and before Guigo's theological validation of Carthusian literary activity, the Grande Chartreuse had already acquired a reputation for its rich library, as well as for its determined poverty.[76] Once again, the early testimony of Guibert de Nogent provides useful evidence of Carthusian customs, in this case bibliophilic ones: "Though they live in the utmost poverty, they have built up a very rich library. The less they abound in bread of the material sort, the more they work at the sweat of their brow to acquire that food that does not perish but endures forever."[77] Guibert corroborates the importance of books in the practical life of the new monastery, and implies that reading, as well as writing, helps feed Carthusian souls. He anticipates Guigo's equation of books with food, but it is the wisdom they contain, rather than the physical volumes themselves, that is carefully collected and guarded. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, also testifies that the Carthusians "occupy themselves continually with reading, prayer, and the labor of their hands, especially the writing of books." Peter provided the Carthusians with a means of building their large library; his letters to the Grande Chartreuse during the priorate of Guigo I reveal an active exchange of reading material between the two houses. I quote one letter at length to demonstrate the extent of the intellectual commerce he describes, the precision of the monks' scholarship, and the hardships sometimes suffered by monastic libraries:

> I sent the lives of SS Nazianzen and Chrysostom, as you asked. I also sent the little book or letter of the blessed Ambrose against Symmachus, the pagan praefect in the city of Rome, who, in the name of the Senate, demanded of the emperors that idolatry should be brought back. . . . The treatise of St. Hilary on the Psalms I did not send, because I found

> the same corruption in our book as in yours. But if you want it anyway, ask again and I will send it. As you know, we do not have Prosper against Cassian, but we have sent to St. Jean d'Angely in Aquitaine for it, and we will send it if it becomes necessary. And please send us the larger volume of the holy father Augustine which almost at the beginning contains his letters to St. Jerome, and those of St. Jerome to him. For a large part of ours when it was in one of our obediences was accidentally eaten by a bear.[78]

The correspondence between these men reveals the subjects treated by Carthusian books—from writings of the desert fathers to hagiography. More significantly, it also reveals the dedication to preserving accurate texts and physical books that "preaching with the hands," while living in the wilderness, required.[79]

Initially, the books Carthusians copied were the Latin liturgical books and statutes that all charterhouses needed to function smoothly. As Peter's letter shows, Carthusian libraries quickly became repositories of patristic learning, as well. But increasingly the books that interested the Carthusians in the later Middle Ages—and that most concern modern readers—were devotional and mystical writings, often translations from Latin into the vernacular. The English Province in particular seems to have been active in the copying and transmission of vernacular books, and Middle English scholars have worked to determine the effects on English literary history of Carthusian involvement with these devotional texts.[80] These effects cannot be easily or simply measured, but some traces of Carthusian literary life suggest that English Carthusian scribes and readers—as well as authors and translators—played a significant role in the performative culture of late-medieval devotional books.

Richard Methley's "Epistle to Hew Heremyte" describes the importance of vernacular reading in the spiritual life of the cell. Methley advises Hew, in his pursuit of the ideal life for the enclosed solitary, to devote himself to "englisshe bokes": "Now thou mayst aske me how thou shalt be occupied day & nyght I say with thy dewty that thou art bounden to And then with more that thou puttest to yt by grace & thy deuocyon. Fyve thynges ther be accordyng for the that ys to say Good prayer, medytacyon that is callyd holy thynkyng, redyng of holy englisshe bokes, Contemplacyon that thou mayst come to by grace & great deuocyon, that ys to say to forget al maner of thynges but god & for great loue of hym: be rapt into contemplacyon, and good dedys with thy hand."[81] Methley's recommendations correspond more or less to standard contemporary hierarchies of meditational practice, including specifically Carthusian ones. Reading, prayer, meditation, and good deeds are the four exercises compiled in Adam of Dryburgh's *De*

quadripartito exercitio cellae, for example. And a Middle English translation of the *Scala claustralium* by the Carthusian prior Guigo II, known as *A Ladder of Foure Ronges by the whiche Men Mowe Wele Clyme to Heven,* offers its readers the "foure ronges" of reading ("a besy lokyng vpon Holy Writte"), meditation ("A studious inserchyng with the mynde"), prayer ("a devoute desiryng of the hert"), and contemplation ("a risyng of hert into God"). These rungs comprise "a longe ladder and a meruelous thouȝe it haue but foure stavis, for the oon ende stondith on the grounde and the other ende thrillyth the clowdys and shewith to the clymber heuenly pryvetees."[82] All the performative activity of climbing the ladder—represented by the string of gerunds "lokyng," "inserchyng," "desiryng," and "risyng"—results, significantly, in the accomplishment of a sacred privacy: access to "heuenly pryvetees." But this text directs its reader to study holy scriptures in pursuit of this effect; Methley modifies that direction significantly by specifying *English* reading.[83] "Besy lokyng" in vernacular books is central to the late-medieval English contemplative's holy tasks, facilitating his ascent of the spiritual ladder toward the highest heavenly ecstasies.[84]

But what kinds of English books were charter monks (and their apprentice hermits) reading? The evidence for English charterhouse libraries ranges from manuscript donations recorded in wills, to colophons recording ownership by a charterhouse, to marginal pictures of Carthusian monks. None provides easy or exact knowledge of Carthusian manuscripts. Different sorts of evidence suggest very different kinds of association; books made outside but used by the monks surely tell us different things about Carthusian life from those made within the order and used for pastoral care outside their walls.[85] The clearest kinds of Carthusian connections—*ex libris* marks from charterhouse libraries—are also sometimes the weakest, for these books were often made and used outside the order before being donated to the monks. The evidence of wills does not always confirm that the donation was actually made; Henry V's intention to leave his library to his monasteries at Sheen and Syon, for example, seems not to have been fulfilled.[86] Conversely, the most speculative Carthusian connections are also the ones that would be most revealing about literary life within the charterhouses; certain genres of Middle English devotional texts can be associated generally with Carthusian interest and promulgation, but of course the presence of such texts in a devotional compilation is no proof of its origins. Deep circularity drives a logic that concludes a manuscript "seems Carthusian" because its content reflects what we think we already know about Carthusian literary tastes. Any general conclusion about the nature of Carthusian books must make sense not only of the conservatism of Hilton, Ruysbroeck, and the *Cloud*-author, but also of the short version of Julian of Norwich's *Showings,* which appears uniquely in a

manuscript that has clear origins in the charterhouse.[87] Similarly, it must account for the Middle English translation of Marguerite Porete's heretical *Mirror of Simple Souls,* preserved only in three Carthusian manuscripts, and the sole occurrence of the *Book of Margery Kempe* in a manuscript marked "Liber Montis Gracie. This boke is of Mountegrace."[88]

Although the General Chapter mandated in 1478 that each charterhouse keep a register of its books, none of the catalogues from the English Province (if they ever existed) have survived.[89] But less official inventories, such as the packing lists of volumes loaned from one house to another, or the ad hoc booklists preserved in manuscripts donated to the Carthusians, can provide an unofficial contemporary account of what charter monks might have read.[90] Among a group of books loaned from Hinton (possibly to Beauvale?) are *Stimulus amoris et multa alia edificatoria de manu Domini Willelmi de Colle*—probably a "devotional or ascetical collection."[91] Loans from London to Hull in the fifteenth century include the *Chastising of God's Children, Pilgrimage of the Soul, Scala perfectionis, Speculum vitae Christi,* Rolle's *Meditation on the Passion,* a volume *de arte moriendi,* Rolle's *Form of Living,* and part of the Carthusian statutes in English, as well as the Carthusian statutes in Latin.[92] More detailed still is the list of items taken by the charter monk Thomas Golwynne from London to Mountgrace in 1519, which includes clothes and household items, but also a number of liturgical and hagiographical books.[93] Bodleian MS Laud 154 records the gift of books from John Blacman to Witham priory in the mid-fifteenth century, and includes in its list such items as "devota meditacio in anglicis," and even "tractatus de armis in anglicis." These books had an existence outside the charterhouse before finding their way to Witham, but nonetheless they record volumes that Carthusians, if they did not make them, at least cared to keep. Taken together, these lists reinforce the special importance of English books to Carthusian readers, providing a context for the vernacular devotional miscellany Additional 37049.

Booklists form an important body of evidence, but because their references are often vague or incomplete, they can only rarely be connected with extant manuscripts. As a result, lists do not provide much detail about the reading lives of charter monks beyond the titles of texts and occasional descriptions of volumes. More particulars can be gleaned from the manuscripts themselves—for example, those that contain inscriptions connecting them with specific Carthusian monasteries.[94] English Carthusians apparently did not generally organize the volumes in their libraries with shelfmarks or other identification, although this practice was common in European charterhouses, such as Buxheim, Basel, Cologne, Erfurt, and Mainz.[95] Only 108 extant manuscripts can be identified with particular English charterhouses, although others can be more loosely associated

with the order.[96] Among the more certain identifications, Bodleian Library MS Douce 114 belonged to Beauvale, and includes translations of saints' lives and the earliest version of the Middle English translation of Heinrich Suso, the *Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom,* "drawen oute of the boke that is writen in Latyn and callyd Orologium Sapiencie," a text excerpted in Additional 37049.[97] Bodleian Library MS Bodley 505 belonged to the London charterhouse, and includes *The Chastising of God's Children* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls.*[98] A Carthusian "commonplace book" described by Sarah Horrall includes excerpts from *Handlyng Synne, Fervor Amoris,* and the *Cloud of Unknowing.*[99] Other Middle English manuscripts can be securely placed within a Carthuisan context because they can be attributed to known Carthusian scribes, such as William Mede, or Stephen Dodesham.[100] The Carthusian James Grenehalgh, who was professed at Sheen before 1499 and died at Hull in 1530, annotated a number of volumes. Grenehalgh left a distinctive monogram as a record of his wide reading, which included Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* in both English and the Latin of fellow charter monk Thomas Fishlake, the *Cloud of Unknowing,* the *Mirror of Simple Souls,* the *Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom,* and Richard Rolle's *Incendium amoris, Emendatio vitae,* and *Contra amatores mundi.*[101]

All this evidence testifies to the kinds of books found within charterhouses, or to their movement from the secular world to the monastic. But Carthusian interest in a certain genre of vernacular devotional book also influenced readers outside specifically Carthusian contexts. The early literary traffic between the Grande Chartreuse and Cluny was matched in late-medieval England by the active commerce in books between the Carthusian house at Sheen and the Bridgettine house across the Thames at Syon.[102] Moreover, many of the Carthusian translations of mystical and devotional works from Latin into English exist in lay copies.[103] To take only the most famous example, evidence of surviving manuscripts suggests that Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* probably circulated primarily outside the Carthusian Order.[104] Another vernacular Carthusian Passion meditation, known as the *Speculum devotorum,* exists in two very different, but equally significant, forms: a Sheen copy written by William Mede (Cambridge University Library MS Gg.1.6) and a lay copy most likely produced in a London bookshop and owned by Elizabeth Scrope (University of Notre Dame MS 67 [*olim* Foyle]).[105] Examples of similar transmission of texts from the charterhouse to lay readers could be cited in the works of Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton, and Jan van Ruysbroeck.[106] The history of the devotion known as the "Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters" illustrates all of these types of textual transmission, since copies of the miraculous prayer entered the Carthusian Order from the secular world,

then traveled between the charterhouses at London and Mountgrace, and finally spread again among outsiders.[107] Through such pastoral circulation of texts, the "preaching with the hands" imagined by Guigo became more actual and less metaphorical in late-medieval England. Given the pulpit at London, and the schools at Coventry and Sheen, the figure became in fact quite literal: pastoral preaching through books became a central part of contemplative Carthusian life.

Devotional reading fundamentally allows for both an eremitic experience and a communal one. Books can most obviously be read alone and silently by an individual monk in his cell, and in fact *lectores* were among the first monks to be granted a private space in otherwise communal monastic orders.[108] As Guigo's *Consuetudines* indicate, and as illustrations of the statutes in MS Additional 25042 help us to imagine, solitary reading in the cell was the most frequent Carthusian practice (fig. 2.7). The potential of books for private experience was so great that it was occasionally a source of concern; the Carthusian General Chapter admonished a monk of Coventry that he was not to retain books of his own, since they would constitute private property.[109] This record provides evidence that the central organization of the order refused to allow the individual ownership of books, but it also suggests that books *were* privately owned by charter monks in England, and probably far more often than this one instance proves. Books given by lay patrons to an individual Carthusian are recorded among Thomas Golwynne's posessions, for example. His cargo included: "Item a printyd portews by the gift of M. Rawson," and "Item a yornall and a printed prymer gevyn by M. Parker."[110] A. I. Doyle has speculated that the absence of library shelfmarks in English books indicates that they were most often housed in monks' individual cells.[111] Carthusian books serve as instruments of the spiritual imagination for Carthusian hermits; they structure the experiences of individual contemplation that are the aim and purpose of the order.

Books can constitute social experience, as well, for their transmission and circulation define a textual community. Guigo's metaphorical defense of book making as a species of silent "preaching" invokes this kind of affiliation through texts. The scribal activities of the charter monks also brought them together quite literally into communities founded on books. According to the *Consuetudines,* the only collective consideration of things useful to the community was to take place on Sundays, after Nones: "After Nones, we come together in the cloister, to speak there of useful things. At that time, we ask the sacristan for ink, parchment, pens, chalk, books, either for reading or for copying; from the cook we ask for and receive vegetables, salt, and other things of that kind."[112] The useful things that Guigo imagines Carthusians may discuss together in chapter include the

Figure 2.7. Carthusian private reader. London, British Library MS Additional 25042 (15th c.), fol. 19v. By permission of the British Library.

essentials—once more he makes an equation between book-making supplies and food. Occasionally the exigencies of the literary work require that monks break silence even at other times: "If some among the monks are correcting or binding books, or are engaged in other such activities, they may speak to each other, but never with the ones who are supervising, unless the prior is there or has ordered it."[113] So books, while they may seem in their portability and privacy to support individual devotional practice, are the focus of Carthusian community, formed both among the monks themselves and with others outside the order. Isolated monks cooperated with each other through a communal assembly-line of manuscript production.[114] As we have seen from the lists of books carried from house to house, the

common industry of copying provided for communication between Carthusian foundations, as monks sought to produce accurate copies of liturgical and theological writings. Books also traveled easily (if not always licitly) from the world to the charterhouse, as we can see from the records of gifts from outsiders to particular monks, and from the presence of such texts as the *Book of Margery Kempe* in Carthusian libraries. Finally, books traveled from the charterhouse to the world, as the history of Love's *Mirror* testifies—though we should not necessarily assume the monks' direct intervention in this transmission. Carthusian books provide for private spiritual experience, but they also establish a commerce among individual monks, among charterhouses, and between the order and the wider world.

Charterhouse participation in the creation and transmission of Middle English devotional texts among the laity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has become axiomatic in the study of vernacular books of religion. It is a truism so commonly and so approvingly cited as to need qualification: the literary legacy we see may be the result of "small literary groups among the Carthusians themselves," rather than a widespread literary culture peculiar to the order.[115] It is possible, also, that the Reformation history of the English Carthusians artificially increased rates of survival for their books.[116] Furthermore, the degree of Carthusian influence on lay reading can easily be overestimated, for, as Vincent Gillespie has recently cautioned, what looks like monastic dissemination of texts may instead simply be monastic preservation of them.[117] Apart from the important counterexample of the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ,* more manuscripts went into the charterhouses through lay bequests than came out of them in pastoral outreach. Orthodox texts such as Love's *Mirror* certainly circulated among lay readers, but "dangerous" books like those of Margery Kempe or Marguerite Porete might have been carefully guarded within the charterhouse. Nor do the volumes traveling between the outside world and the Carthusian cell always contain the vernacular mysticism so often associated with the order.[118] The simple facts of textual transmission do not necessarily reveal the social, political, or even devotional purposes behind it, and determining the nature of Carthusian participation in lay literary culture is as important as measuring its extent. Additional 37049 does not represent all varieties of Carthusian reading, nor is its relation to readers outside the charterhouse entirely clear, but its one example must be considered to complicate the picture sketched by the monks' interest in promulgating mystical authors such as Walter Hilton and the *Cloud*-author.

A. I. Doyle has cautioned against finding Carthusian influence everywhere we see a certain kind of Middle English devotional book.[119] The connection between these monks and these texts is so strong and so well

established that it is difficult not to attribute to them more influence than they certainly had.[120] On the basis of the miscellany Additional 37049, I propose something rather different: not that Carthusians were less or more influential than has been thought, but that they were *differently* influential. The possible connections between Carthusians and books are many and varied. The monks may have sent books out of the charterhouse, but they also clearly brought them in; Carthusian readers both affected and absorbed the world outside the charterhouse walls. They read and disseminated vernacular mysticism, but also wrote and read vernacular texts on religious subjects of quite a different kind. Although Additional 37049 has been described as "uniformly and completely orthodox," the miscellany nonetheless surprises: it suggests that the order is not to be associated only with private, meditational reading undertaken in solitude.[121] The monks had deep interest in the interconnections among various kinds of imaginative literary genres, including a wide variety of performative forms. The intense effort to represent this performative mode within the covers of one miscellaneous book requires that we reconsider what Carthusian private meditative reading involved, and how it might have intersected with and affected broader trends in late-medieval devotional literature. In the way its imagetexts mix private meditation with public performance, the manuscript both embodies and responds to the complexities of Carthusian book culture. The miscellany's various offerings cohere around their common interest in the performative reading of text and image, a genre that does not depend upon the delineation of literary types so much as upon the melding of literary with artistic ones.

CARTHUSIANS AND ART

Among its miscellaneous devotional texts, Additional 37049 includes a note on the nature of contemplation drawn from Richard Rolle's English epistles *The Commandment* and *The Form of Living* (fol. 35v).[122] The excerpts reveal how the Carthusian monk who read (and wrote) the manuscript conceived of his spiritual activities in the cell:

> Contemplatife life has two partes, a lawer & a hyer. þe lawer parte is meditacion of holy scripture & oþer gode þoghtes & suete, as of þe passion of our lord Ihesus Criste, & oþer suete þoghtes abowt his luf & his lofyng in psalmes & ympnes & oþer gode prayers.
>
> þe hyger parte of contemplacion is behaldyng & desyring of þe þinges of heuen, & ioy in þe holy goste; þof al þat þe mowthe be not praying, bot onely þynkyng of God & of þe fayrhed of angels & holy saules.

This description begins by asserting the importance of textual artifacts in the monk's contemplative devotion: "holy scripture," "psalmes," "ympnes," and "oþer gode prayers." But soon the passage describes the primacy of spiritual vision over any meditation that can be accomplished through the agency of words. This account of contemplative life draws metaphors of reading ("meditacion of holy scripture") together with metaphors of vision ("behaldyng & desyring"), and delineates a clear progression from one to the other. Words are affiliated with the lower levels of meditative practice, images with higher ecstasies.[123] In the most elevated reaches of mystical rapture, words have no place at all: though "þe mowthe be not praying," the contemplative ponders the "fayrhed of angels." Silent beholding and desiring are spiritual performances by the solitary, enabled by visual experience, and specifically by visual art.

For all the importance of books in Carthusians' interaction with their society, images play an equal role in the monks' spiritual and social lives. The contemplative community of the charterhouse was designed to encourage mystical experience, and we know that Carthusians were fascinated by the firsthand records of such experience. Vincent Gillespie has suggested that an interest in the raw phenomena of mystical vision might explain the puzzling survival of Margery Kempe's *Book,* Marguerite Porete's *Mirror for Simple Souls,* and the short text of Julian of Norwich's *Showings* among the Carthusians.[124] The mechanisms of Carthusian commerce in visionary texts are exemplified by lay seer Edmund Leversedge, who gave money to both Witham and Hinton, and whose vernacular vision was translated into Latin by a charter monk he calls "my frend of Wytham."[125] Although the evidence for actual Carthusian visionaries is sparse, such "behaldyng & desyring" as they did record often indicates interesting interactions between visions of physical objects and immaterial ones.[126] For example, one Dom George, driven mad by the tedium of meditation on the cross, saw the figure on the crucifix turn its back on him.[127] Richard Methley's spiritual visions while a monk at Mountgrace also arose from earthly sights, for they occurred during liturgical celebration.[128] Texts encouraging this sort of individual participation in the communal mass are not unusual in the late Middle Ages, even among lay people.[129] But Methley's experience reflects the way in which Carthusian visionary life, in particular, provides for a combination of the eremitic and the cenobitic—for private, immaterial ecstasies to arise out of collective, physical celebrations. All of these accounts more generally reveal that spiritual sight in the charterhouse often took its inspiration from, and depended on, more physical varieties of seeing.[130] To understand the material context for the illustrations in Additional 37049, it is important to consider the artistic culture of the medieval charterhouse, and the ways in which physical images helped the

monks construct immaterial images of a Carthusian devotional self, both individual and communal.[131]

The visual culture of late-medieval Carthusians in England is not easy to imagine or to reproduce. The first difficulty, of course, is the iconoclasm of the English Reformation, which resulted in the destruction of most medieval devotional art apart from manuscript painting. Very little remains of what was certainly a lively and rich national artistic culture; consequently, one can never know what buildings, sculptures, or paintings English medieval monks might have made (or even looked at), and one cannot even draw definitive negative conclusions from negative evidence. Moreover, even on the Continent most extant Carthusian art is postmedieval; the canonization of Bruno in 1623 led to a great flourishing of baroque art and architecture in charterhouses where relatively little had been produced before.[132] Accordingly, most scholarly attention to Carthusian art has focused on European rather than British examples, and those generally later than the fifteenth century.[133] The most significant difficulty in investigating any kind of Carthusian art is more fundamental still: the Carthusian Order sought at its foundation to institute an extreme monastic asceticism, avoiding decoration of its churches and any sort of art object that could be considered *de luxe.* Whereas Guigo celebrates books and their fundamental rôle in devotional life, he forbids precious ornament explicitly and almost absolutely: "We do not have any ornaments of gold or silver in the church, with the exception of the chalice and the reed by which the blood of the Savior is taken, nor do we have hangings or carpets."[134] The *Consuetudines* is the oldest codification of Carthusian life, but its prohibition of images is repeated, in varying forms, in the subsequent *Statuta antiqua* (1259), *Statuta nova* (1368), and *Tertia compilatio* (1509). It is difficult, given the strength of this early asceticism, to imagine that visual experience could have been important for Carthusians of any time or place.

Yet even these early testaments from the charterhouses do not reject the material world altogether; it is possible to detect in them a certain ambivalence toward the use of luxury materials. Guigo himself recognizes that gold and silver, in moderation, do honor to the furnishings of the mass, and thus to the Lord whose sacrifice the mass celebrates. The *Statuta antiqua* loosens Guigo's strictures further to allow for some gold or silver, not exclusively on chalice and reed, but also on the priest's stole and maniple, and on book-markers.[135] In spite of the order's basic asceticism, decorative extravagance seems to be admissible where it can be seen to do honor to God, rather than reinforce the pride of man.[136] The pragmatic distinction implied here between acceptable and unacceptable forms of embellishment suggests that images can be used in a visually plain environment to further devotional purposes, and that, in practice, visual experience played a role

in medieval Carthusian spirituality. In other words, Carthusian strictures against luxury materials do not constitute a thoroughgoing iconoclasm. It is worth remembering that the primary vocation of the Carthusians is not poverty, as for the followers of Francis, but rather solitude within monastic community.[137] The contradiction between their asceticism and their patronage of art is accordingly less stark, but the implications for their visual environment—both in the cell and in the church—are perhaps the more surprising. Somewhat paradoxically, the prohibition against extravagant decoration seems to have allowed the monks to embrace figural images of a humbler and more instrumental kind. Carthusian images negotiate the differences between public display and private function, reflecting the place of the eremitic individual within spiritual community.

The artistic practices of late-medieval Carthusians generally drew on the ambivalence of the early statutes toward visual display, rather than on their stricter forms of asceticism.[138] We can learn what was commonly done not so much from the measured idealism of the foundational documents, as from what the later rules feel the need to forbid. By the time of the *Statuta nova* in the mid-fourteenth century, pictures in charterhouses appear to have become so commonplace that they had to be explicitly prohibited, and their removal ordered. The statutes legislate gently against what was obviously a frequent transgression: "Let us not use any kind of tapestry, or cushions decorated with pictures or other extravangances; but decorative pictures, too, should be scraped away from our churches and houses, if it can be done without giving scandal; and new ones should not be allowed to be made."[139] The General Chapter of 1424 specified more precisely the removal of the "curiously" painted pictures that had appeared on some charterhouse altars, and of other paintings that contained coats of arms and figures of women.[140] This concern for the abuse of imagery is echoed in the early sixteenth-century *Tertia compilatio,* where visitators are particularly advised to watch for decorative indiscretion in churches and houses of the order.[141]

These admonitions are revealing, for they indicate that a surprising variety of figural imagery found its way into the stark and simple charterhouse. They also record only qualified objections to pictures—only those that might be taken away "without scandal" are to be removed. But the statutes illuminate, too, the ultimate source of some of the Carthusian concern about imagery, for they record, more precisely, objections to "curious" pictures of life outside the cloister. The repeated admonition against "curiosity" implies a discomfort with the level of ornamentation in particular artworks; a "curious" image is one too elaborately wrought, to no purpose other than the worldly ones of aesthetic and formal pleasure.[142] Simplicity

is a hallmark of art meant to serve the ends of prayer. But of course the objection here goes beyond excessive luxury, to encompass also the particular subjects of these figurative images: lay life outside the monastery. Secular coats of arms and images of women are a far cry from Guigo's golden chalice. As the anxieties of the General Chapter suggest, it was often secular influences that led in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to increased luxury—and more art—in the austere Carthusian environment. Monks increasingly prayed for aristocratic patrons outside the charterhouse, and they also accepted those patrons into the charterhouse, against all expectation of the order's founders. Guigo conceived of the monks' "preaching with the hands" through the copying of books as their only contact with the outside world, but fifteenth-century monks in urban charterhouses had more and closer interactions with the outside world than this would indicate.[143]

In houses such as Champmol, Pavia, and Sheen, aristocratic (or even royal) founders demonstrated their piety, their wealth, and their power through their patronage of art and architecture. At Champmol, in Dijon—perhaps the clearest example of the opulent effects of aristocratic patronage—Philip the Bold designed an elaborate artistic program to enhance the grandeur of his own burial-place. The charterhouse at Champmol was filled with art: from the high altar retable carved by Jacques de Baerze and painted by Melchior Broederlam, to the *Martyrdom of St. Denis* painted by Henri Bellechose, to Claus Sluter's magnificent portal sculptures, his *Well of Moses* in the cloister, and finally his tomb for Philip himself, with its funeral procession and specifically Carthusian mourners (fig. 2.8).[144] The influence of lay patrons was powerfully felt, especially in death, and even against the explicit direction of Guigo.[145] Late-medieval Carthusians allowed the tombs of their benefactors to be built in the monastic church, and the duke of Burgundy symbolized his radical incorporation into the charterhouse community by choosing to be buried in the habit of a Carthusian monk. Less princely foundations, such as Nuremberg or London, responded to secular influences as well. Beauvale, for example, was established as a "mausoleum" for its founder, Sir Nicolas de Cantilupe, and his aristocratic friends.[146] The thirty-nine graves in the Coventry church contained men, women, children, and one executed felon; it is possible, too, that a wall-painting in the refectory honored patron John Langley by representing him in the guise of Longinus at the foot of the cross.[147] As late-medieval Carthusians abandoned their original remote "wildernesses," more numerous foundations in urban areas brought the monks into more frequent contact with devout laity of all kinds, and this close contact, not surprisingly, had material consequences.[148] Carthusian spiritual practice was influenced by

Figure 2.8. Carthusian mourner from the tomb of Philip the Bold, made for the Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon; Claus Sluter, Claus de Werve, and Jean de Marville (1390–1406). © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

the needs of the pious laity; and, as a result, the visual environment of monastic devotion—at least in such venues as the charterhouse church—was to some degree directed by the designs of the surrounding community. Joseph A. Gribbin has explored the ways in which the liturgy in London was affected by such contacts with lay people, and has claimed that outsiders turned the charterhouse there into a "liturgical workshop."[149]

Charterhouse churches, above all, began to show a grandeur beyond what one might expect from a contemplative ascetic order. As the laity worshipped there, they exerted pressure on the visual forms those churches took, instituting oratories and side-chapels that would serve their own devotional needs. The chapel at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, for example, was decorated with elaborate frescoes of the life of John the Baptist (patron saint of the house), including a portrait of Pope Innocent VI (the founder) in prayer to the Virgin.[150] Although nothing remains of the charterhouse church in London, a description of its decorations and furnishings, made by Drs. Thomas Legh and Francis Cave at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539, provides a very full sense of how it must have appeared:

THE QUERE

The hyghe alter of the storye of the passyon of bowne [ivory?]. wrought wyth smalle Imagys Curyouslie, at ether ende of the sayd alter an Image the on of saint John Baptysteye and the other of saint Peter and above the sayd alter iij tabernacles, the nether fronte of the alter of alabaster wyth the Trinitie and other Imagys, at the South Syde of the same at thende of the alter a Cupparde painted wyth the pycture of Cryste.

SAINT JOHNS CHAPPELL

In the Southe syde of the Churche a chappell of saint John thavaungeluste wyth an alter and a table of the Resurrecyon of alabaster with ij Ymagys of saint John Evaungellyst and the other of saint Augustyne at eyther ende of the said alter.

THE BODYE OF THE CHURCHE

The Rodelofte wyth an Image of Cryste Crusyfyed a mownteyne with ij alters on eyther syde of the quere dore. On the southe syde an alter with a table of the assumption of Our Lady gylte there remaynynge.

THE CHAPELL OF SAINT JEROME

An alter table wythe a Crucyfyx of Marye and John. ij Imagys at ether ende of the sayd alter, the one of Irone [Jerome] the other of saint Bernard, the sayd Chappell being partlye scelyd wyth wayn skotte. Item. An alter of St Mychell wythe a ffayre table of the Crucyfyx marye and John and at eyther ende of thalter an Image the on of Seint Mychell thother of saint John.

MR REDYS CHAPPELL

An alter wythe a table of the Trinite the iij Doctors of the Churche.

THE NORTH SYDE OF THE QUERE

An alter wythe a table of saynt anne gylte wyth certeyn other Imagys gylt and payntyd. Item a table wyth an aunter of saint anne and owr ladye with certeyn other Imagys above the sayd alter at ether ende an Image wyth a tabernacle and betwyxte every on of the sayd alters above wrytten there ys a partysyon of waynskotte.

THE WESTE ENDE OF THE CHURCH

On the north syde an alter in the myddes of mary and John, fayer paynted. Item on the southe syde an alter wyth a table of the passyon of Cryste fayr painted.

At the same time, Dr Richard Leyton removed from the London church "12 chalices, a cencer, a pyx, an incence boat, 22 cruets, reliquaries of St Sithe and St Barbara, two paxes, and eight spoons, in all some 4047 ounces of silver." There were also undoubtedly textile furnishings, such as altar cloths and vestments. As Glyn Coppack puts it, " clearly the Carthusians of London furnished their churches and dressed their altars in much the same way as anyone else at this time."[151] Other English Carthusian medieval churches were equally well furnished: in the "fine" church at Coventry, the glass was pictorial, and excavation has recovered late-medieval decorated floor tiles (c. 1385–1418), including patrons' heraldry as well as geometric and floral designs (fig. 2.9).[152] And in Mountgrace, some window tracery, reconstructed through its close resemblance to the tracery of nearby parish churches at Burneston and Catterick, can be linked to local mason Richard de Cracall.[153]

It is easiest to see the effects of lay involvement with Carthusian life in the public buildings of the charterhouse, such as the church refectory or even cloister.[154] The cenobitic buildings welcomed the world in the form of visitors from outside, as well as in the form of public displays of imagery: architecture, sculpture, and less monumental artworks, such as rich altarpieces, announced the close relations of the charterhouse to temporal wealth and power.[155] But the increased influence on Carthusian life from the world outside was not only seen in the relatively public buildings of the charterhouse, it was also felt within the privacy of the monks' cells. Aristocratic patrons made luxurious donations to fund the construction of tombs and oratories, but they also made smaller donations: sometimes books, sometimes luxurious clothes, and sometimes figurative images, whether in manuscript or panel paintings.[156] At Champmol, for example, Philip the Bold arranged for each cell to have a devotional picture, such panels probably including the crucifixion images by Jean de Beaumetz now in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Louvre (fig. 2.10).[157] Each cell also was provided with the image of a saint in the glass of the window.[158] Benefactions to Mountgrace included a gift from Sir John Depeden in 1402, "to the prior a picture of the crucifixion," and Golwynne's cargo included "I tabulam cum crucifixione pictam."[159] The questions sent by the English Province to the general convocations at the Grande Chartreuse record increasing anxiety about the propriety of such gifts. The General Chapter consistently returns the answer—based on Guigo's *Consuetudines*—that lavish bequests are not allowed, certainly not if given to particular monks for their individual ownership.[160] Even modest gifts were prohibited, as the charterhouse at London discovered, when the monks directed a question to the Grande Chartreuse in 1494: "If anyone wished to give an old book or other thing to a particular person for life, might a prior license the latter

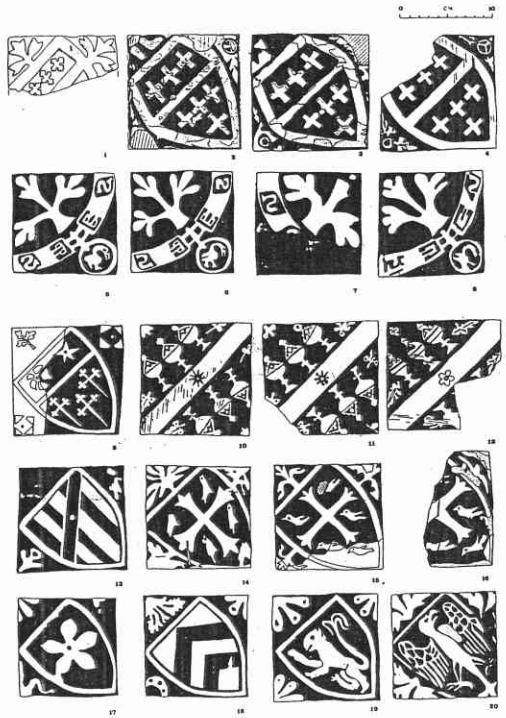

Figure 2.9. Floor tiles from the church, St. Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry (1385–c. 1418). © Iain Soden.

to receive it?" The emphatic answer, even concerning "an old book," was no.[161] There is evidence that the English chapter diverged in significant ways from the Grande Chartreuse; the English were reprimanded repeatedly for saying the Office of the Virgin on Saturday rather than the ferial office, and the chapter of 1424 reprimanded the English particularly for allowing monastic servants to dress in particolored clothes, even when they attended on the priors.[162] If there were abuses of imagery among Carthusians everywhere, the English were perhaps particularly drawn to visual display. But the continual questions suggest that the problem arose everywhere, and repeatedly. The toleration of some luxurious objects within the charterhouse seems to have encouraged the spiritual perils of private ownership and individual consumption.

It is tempting to assign all traces of Carthusian art to outside influence from lay sources, without considering how the monks themselves influenced the visual environment in which they lived. Even in Champmol, the powerful aesthetic control exercised by the Burgundian duke did not

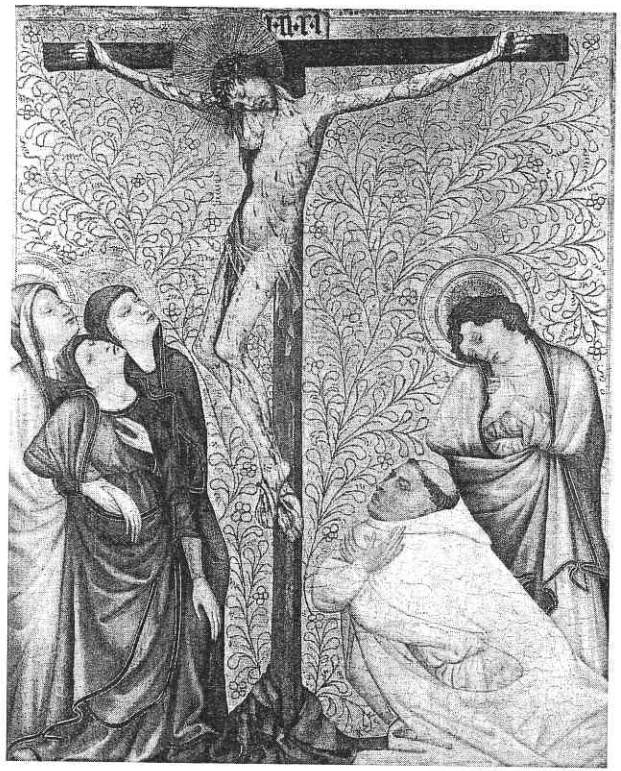

Figure 2.10. Christ on the cross with a praying Carthusian monk, made for the Charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon; Jean de Beaumetz (1390–95). Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund 1964.454.

completely overwhelm the aesthetic judgment of the monks themselves, who have been characterized as "active participants in the decisions that determined their environment."[163] If the visual environment of the individual cell was shaped in part by the donations of patrons, it was also determined in large measure by the monks' own tastes for spectacle. It is even possible to identify a few Carthusian artists.[164] Observers both medieval and modern disagree on the extent of monastic art in the cells, and since evidence of private imagery is by nature much less durable than evidence of monumental uses, there is perhaps room for debate.[165] Guigo's *Consuetudines* explicitly limit the personal or individual decoration of the cell: "Also, in the cells, either higher or lower, nothing may be changed or added unless it is first shown and approved, so that the houses made with such great labor are not damaged or destroyed by extravagance [*curiositate*]."[166] Although this rule allows for certain changes to be sanctioned, its testiness

suggests that early monks *were* too often tempted to "change" and "add" things on their own.[167] Internal architectural details of the cells and gardens at Mountgrace, for example, show that they were customized for each occupant.[168] At the suppression, one of the London charter monks showed extreme devotion to the detailing of his cell: "one of the sayd brederne toke away . . . sertayn boordys of waynscote whyche dyyfaced the Cellys very sore."[169] Authoritative voices in the order might have wished it otherwise, but it seems clear enough that late-medieval Carthusian visual experience included the monks' own private uses of imagery, as well as their patrons' more public ones.

The devotional artifacts through which the spirituality of the Carthusian Order expressed itself visually can show how art was used for the purposes of prayer in the context of Carthusian eremitic life. Small objects other than paintings are known to have been in Carthusian cells—for example, a small fifteenth-century statue of St. Bruno at Mélan, in the Haute-Savoie.[170] Even though devotional objects are usually too carefully kept to turn up in archaeological excavations, rosaries in jet have been found at Coventry and Mountgrace. The prior's cell at Mountgrace contained a head of Christ carved in ivory, with holes for a crown of thorns, which probably once adorned a rosary. Cast lead strips bearing the words *Iesus nazarenus* in reverse have been unearthed in several Mountgrace cells, and were probably used to make emblems of the holy name for pilgrims traveling from York to Durham.[171] An indulgence tablet with an engraving of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, found in Cell 10, also carried the following English inscription: "the p(ar)don for v p(ater) n(oste)r(s) & v ave(s) ys xxvjM yeres & xxvj daes" (fig. 2.11).[172] Fifteenth-century Carthusians in England were active in promulgating this image, which derives ultimately from a mosaic icon in the Roman church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, through woodcuts and even through manuscripts such as Additional 37049 itself.[173] These objects demonstrate the utilitarian rather than aesthetic value of works of art in a Carthusian setting. They were not "curious"—that is, worldly, expensive, luxurious, or even beautiful. Rather, their purpose is to enhance the individual monk's devotional experience through imaginative aids to monastic prayer.[174] Such humble objects, used for practical purposes, provide the context in which we should read the relatively clumsy drawings in the fifteenth-century English miscellany.

In spite of the opposition of the General Chapter, private use of some kinds of art objects served to clarify their purely devotional aims. Carthusian icónoclasts, defending their ascetic practice against the criticism of the orthodox, make a place for devotional imagery in cells even while outlining their general objections to art in public places.[175] Guillaume d'Ivrée, author of the apologia *De origine et veritate perfectae religionis* (c. 1313), complicates

Figure 2.11. Man of Sorrows indulgence panel from the prior's cell (Cell 10) at Mountgrace Charterhouse, Yorkshire (c. 1500). © Richard Hall.

our understanding of the visual asceticism of Carthusian life by clarifying the purposes of images in the cell.[176] He responds in this way to objections that the Carthusians have no painted pictures or sculptures:

> The Carthusians have in all their churches (and are bound to have, according to the institutions of their Order) one image of the Crucifixion in a solemn and eminent place, as well as many crosses over each altar. In the oratory of their cells they have generally had a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary, and also sometimes of other saints, according to the possibility and means that offer themselves. Their honest and poor religion mandates that they avoid expensive curiosities in painting and in sculpture and in varieties of grand and extravagant buildings, not consonant with the roughness of the solitary life. St. John Damascene taught that the images and pictures on the walls were as scriptures to the laity, and that those who did not know how to read in books, could understand through murals, as if through rough letters, what they could not understand in writing. And therefore it is commendable that such pictures should be made for churches where people frequently go, but would be useless and superfluous in Carthusian deserts where crowds (except for a few men) do not congregate. . . . Yet, as was said before, the Carthusians in their cells do not refuse nor reject devotional pictures, but accept and seek them freely and eagerly because they excite devotion and imagination, and augment devotional ideas.[177]

Guillaume cites John of Damascene as a defender of pictures for the instruction of the laity, confirming the public function usually adduced for such didactic imagery. As one might expect, he points out that this line of reasoning does not apply so well to the devotion of learned, solitary monks. Pictures have a public role to play in "churches where people frequently go," but they should have no place in the Carthusian solitude. Guillaume's position embraces a degree of conflict, however; even he concedes the value of images in the monks' private meditations. A crucifix, an image of the Virgin, and images of particular saints are allowable in individual, eremitic devotion, not because of their didactic function, but because of their affective power. A photograph of a modern Carthusian monk at prayer, though anachronistic, can give some idea of the ways in which artwork might have been used in a private oratory to enhance medieval devotional experience (fig. 2.12).[178]

The individual devotional experience pictured here is the subject, as well as the goal, of a surprising number of Carthusian medieval images, for the monks' representation of themselves in their art is both frequent and conspicuous. As Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe has observed: "No other order seems to have imposed its own image so confidently, to have been so insistent upon the representation of itself and upon its artistic translation."[179] Her primary example is the altarpiece painted by Enguerrand Quarton in the mid-fifteenth century, for the Carthusians of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. It is probably the most celebrated example of Carthusian panel-painting, both for its beauty and for the detailed copy of the artist's commission that has been preserved. That commissioning document calls clearly for a depiction of "the cross of our Savior, and at the foot a praying Carthusian," and indeed Enguerrand Quarton has painted a tiny monk in prayer beneath the splendid coronation (fig. 2.13).[180] But the imposing retable with its memorable Carthusian figure is only one manifestation of the tradition of Carthusian self-representation, for the depiction of the monks themselves in connection with their divine visions is quite widespread. Not only public paintings, such as Quarton's altarpiece, but also more private artworks included images of Carthusians at prayer before divine figures. For example, the panel-paintings made for the cells at Champmol—those of Jean de Beaumetz—included a picture of a Carthusian monk at prayer in the crucifixion scene,

Figure 2.12. Dom Benedict Lambres praying at the oratory in his cell in the second great cloister of the Charterhouse of Farneta (1949). Photo: Jan de Grauwe.

joining supplicant with Savior in a personalized devotional aid (see fig. 2.10).[181] In this conscious depiction of the self, the monks were performing devotional acts: representing themselves continually at prayer, and increasing their access to the divine by figuring it repeatedly in their pictures.[182] Just as Philip the Bold imagined himself in monastic community by wearing a Carthusian habit to his grave, individual Carthusians imagined themselves in divine community through images such as these.[183] Such images reflect the complicated interactions of private and public in Carthusian life, as monks used both monumental and personal images to constitute their devotional community—on earth and in heaven. Through such images, which show how the earthly activity of prayer can have powerful salvific consequences, the devotions of the cell become a species of performance.

A particularly interesting example of self-representation in the charterhouse—one that shows the fluidity between public and private uses of Carthusian art—is provided by the fifteenth-century monk Jan Vos, who

seems to have commissioned at least two paintings featuring his image. The first is an altarpiece showing the monk at prayer before the Virgin and Child, with St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth standing by (fig. 2.14).[184] This painting adorned the altars in the Carthusian monasteries where Vos was prior: first at Genadedal, near Bruges (1441–50), and then at Nieuwlicht, near Utrecht (1450–58). The second painting Vos commissioned, known as the Exeter Madonna of Petrus Christus, is nearly identical to the first in its iconography, for it omits only St. Elizabeth from the previous tableau, and repeats the portico setting with distant landscapes

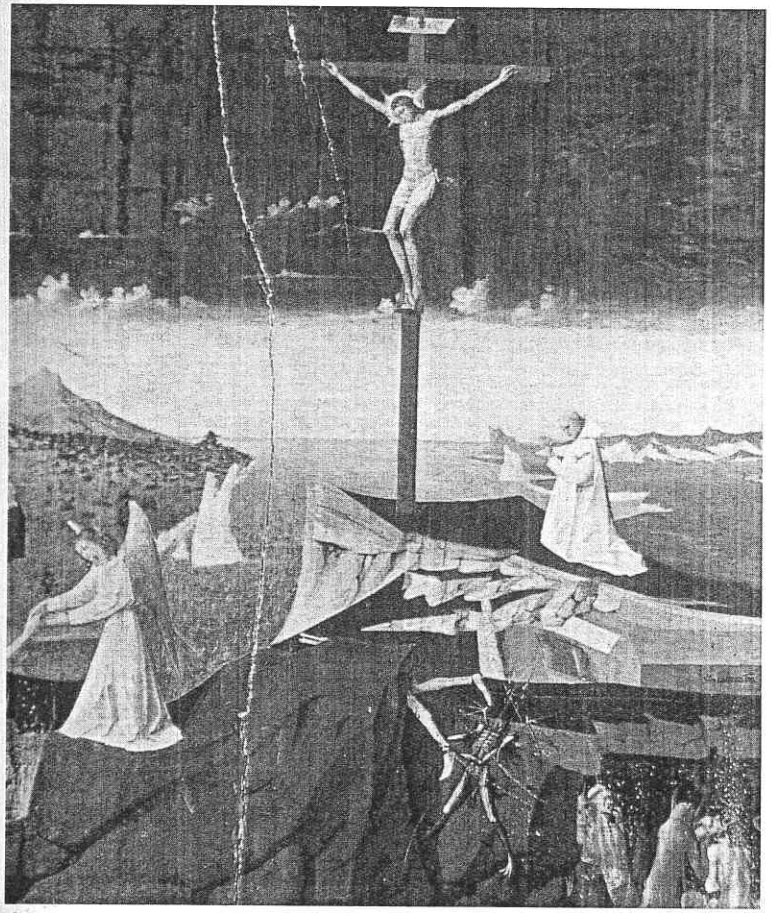

Figure 2.13. Carthusian monk praying at the foot of the cross. Detail from Enguerrand Quarton, *Couronnement de la Vièrge*, painted for the Charterhouse of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (1454). Musée Pierre-de-Luxembourg de Villeneuve-les-Avignon (France).

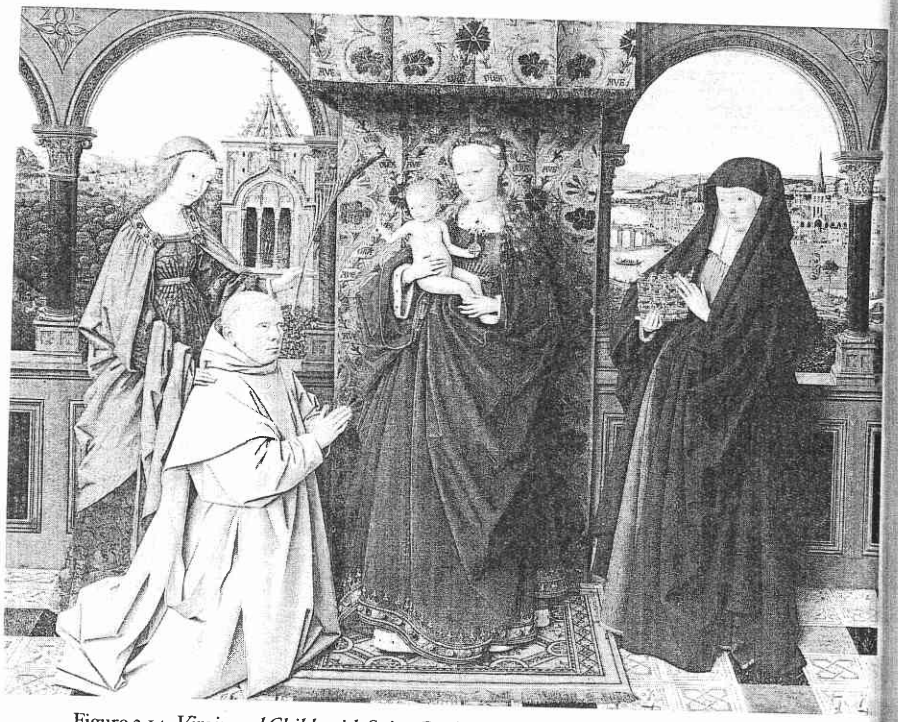

Figure 2.14. *Virgin and Child, with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos,* Jan van Eyck and Workshop (c. 1440). © Frick Collection, New York.

(fig. 2.15).[185] The two images are quite different in function, however, for the small size of the Exeter Virgin—only 7 ⅝ x 5 ½ inches—indicates that it was probably used by Vos himself to enhance his private devotion. That Vos had a public picture essentially reproduced for his private use, transporting almost the same figural substance from the environment of the church into the quiet of the oratory, indicates that he saw no real difference between the decoration of individual and communal spaces. For Jan Vos, the distinction between public and private images must have been extremely fine.

The most private of all manifestations of visual art in the cell, so private that it is not even "publicly" displayed on a wall, is images in books.[186] Books constituted an exception to, or an acceptable way around, Carthusian solitude, as we have already seen in Guigo's famous pronouncement about the spiritual benefits of preaching with the hands. Similarly, Carthusian book making could require exceptions to strict poverty, and we might deduce that if any trace of material wealth is to be found in medieval charterhouses, it will be in the library. An early anecdote well illustrates both the material demands aristocratic patrons put on the monks' simplicity, and the bibliographical resolution that was sometimes found. Guibert de Nogent relates the story of a gift to the Grande Chartreuse from the Count of Nevers:

> Let me show you how jealously they guard their poverty. This very year the Count of Nevers, a man whose piety is equal to his power, paid them a visit, driven by his own devoutness and their excellent reputation. He warned them repeatedly to guard against the accumulation of worldly goods. Once he returned home he thought anew about their poverty, which he had observed; but he did not heed his own warnings and sent

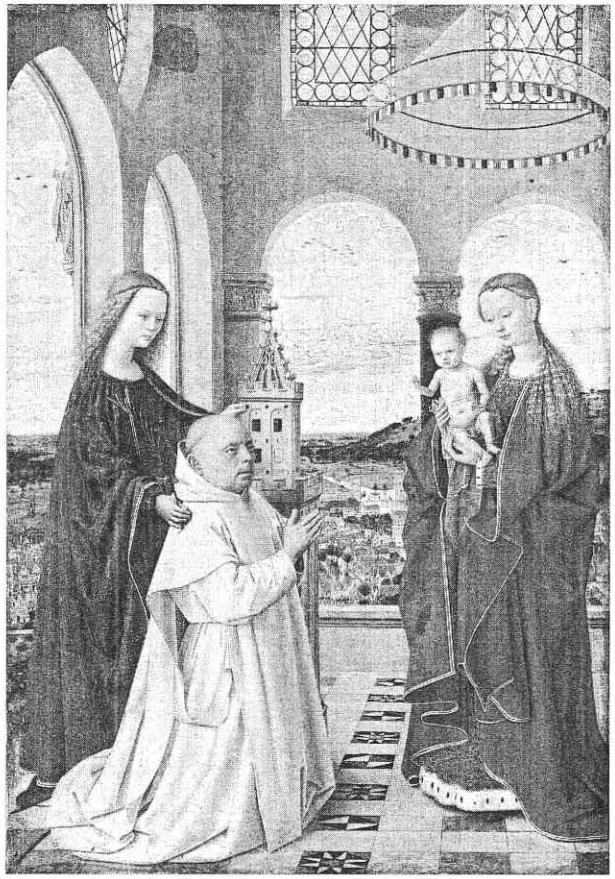

Figure 2.15. *Virgin and Child with Saint Barbara and Jan Vos* (Exeter Madonna), Petrus Christus (c. 1440). © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

> them some silver vessels, such as cups and dishes of very great value. But they did not forget what he had told them; for once he made his intentions known he found himself fully refuted with his own words. "We have decided," they said, "to keep no riches that might come to us from outside, whether for our own upkeep or for furnishing our church; and if we are not to use them for either of these two purposes, what would it avail us to accept them?" Ashamed to have made a proposal that contradicted his own words, the count pretended not to have heard their refusal and instead sent a new offering of oxhides and parchments in abundance, for he knew that they would inevitably make use of these.[187]

This revealing episode recalls both the appeal of Carthusian asceticism to pious lay people, and the temptations to decorative extravagance offered by even the most well-meaning benefactors. The story shows, too, that such external pressures were resolved—in this one case, at least—through the monks' determined bookishness. The gift of rich vessels from a wealthy outsider was accepted only when it was changed into oxhides and parchments, precious materials properly diverted to devotional—and specifically literary—uses.

If books themselves were acceptable luxury objects, the nature of Carthusian manuscript painting remains as difficult to assess as other kinds of Carthusian art. Evidence of Carthusian book painting is even scantier than signs of other kinds of Carthusian artistic practice; we know that monks sometimes decorated books, as well as wrote them, but we can rarely attribute particular images securely to Carthusian illuminators, and when we can, we see that their efforts did not usually go far beyond ornamented initials and rubrication.[188] Illuminators who were not Carthusian also influenced Carthusian devotional life, of course, but as we have seen, the range of criteria by which books are linked to the order is broad. It can be as complicated simply to identify volumes that reflect the life of the cell as to understand how they do so. Because books, unlike monumental sculpture, are easy to transport, it is particularly difficult to pin down their place of origin or determine their likely use. In studying Carthusian illumination, we face the same trouble as in studying Carthusian books generally: identifying which illuminations are "Carthusian" and what kinds of charterhouse connections the label implies.[189] Even among manuscripts already mentioned, Additional 37049 falls in quite a different category of Carthusian books from the *Belles Heures* of Jean of Berry, even though both demonstrate an interest in images of the order. Commissioned by and for an aristocrat, the Limbourgs' images give little impression of how the monks themselves might have pictured their calling.[190] British Library MS Additional 25042 might provide a better sense of the monastic experience of illustrated

manuscripts, since it contains not only devotional works of Ruysbroeck (in which anyone might have been interested), but also a vernacular version of the Carthusian statutes.[191] But in the absence of a colophon or a scribal signature, one cannot be sure; images as formal as these—though certainly less formal than those in the *Belles Heures*—might have come from a professional hand. A few casual sketches survive in Carthusian books that were almost certainly done by readers.[192] Uncertain as even this begins to seem, Additional 37049 probably provides our most certain testimony to the deliberate activity of a Carthusian illuminator.[193]

Here again, medieval booklists can be useful in sketching the varieties of images associated with Carthusian reading. Definitive evidence of a set of illustrated manuscripts in the possession of a particular Carthusian reader is recorded, for example, in the list of items carried from London to Mountgrace by Thomas Golwynne.[194] Golwynne's belongings include a number of codices, fully half of them boasting "fayre" illuminations:

> Item a fayer wrytten yornall made by the cost of Masters Saxby havynge a claspe of syluer and an ymage of seynt Ierom gravyn ther yn: the seconde lef of aduent. begynneth. *ierusalem. alleluia.* this boke standyth in makynge iii li. (C7.1)
>
> Item a fayer wrytten sawter with a fayer ymage of seynt Ierom theryn in the begynnynge. the ijde lef of the sawter begynnyth. *te erudimini.* (C7.3)
>
> Item a boke wrytten conteynynge certeyn masses. with the canon of the Masse and a kalendar in the begynnynge of the boke. with a fayer ymage of Ihesu standynge be for. (C7.5)
>
> Item a wrytten boke of prayers of diuerse sayntis with ymagys lymyd. and dirige. wrytten theryn. (C7.7)
>
> Item a wryten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of Ars moriendi theryn. (C7.8)

It is not remarkable, of course, to find a fair image of Jesus among Golwynne's books. Nor is it especially surprising that his collection contains two manuscript images of St. Jerome, who was the patron saint of hermits, and so perhaps especially beloved by the eremitic Carthusians. The last item on the list, however, is particularly suggestive: "Item a wryten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of Ars moriendi theryn." Although the identity of Golwynne's book cannot go entirely undisputed, the book as briefly described is similar to the Carthusian miscellany that forms the subject of this study, if it is not the very volume.[195] Additional 37049 is written "of papyr," and it certainly contains a multitude of "diuers storyes." It also, as we shall see, contains several texts that could be styled *artes*

moriendi, with memorable pictures of grinning skeletons. The connection is weak, the identity unlikely, not least because Golwynne's description of this "wryten boke" makes no mention of illustrations.[196] But if Additional 37049 is not Golwynne's book, his sizable collection of manuscripts with "ymagys lymyd" demonstrates that the heavily illustrated miscellany is not absolutely singular. Incomplete and rare as it is, this list testifies to a Carthusian devotional environment that depended upon visual imagery, as well as upon books, and upon the ways in which both art forms could join to define the religious practices of the solitary's cell, and even structure the devotional imaginings of lay people.[197]

The fluidity of the categories of public and private (and the scarcity of evidence) makes it difficult to generalize about the kinds of images one might have found in a late-medieval Carthusian house. The evidence is hard to read because contradictory; there was a fair amount of variation through time and geography, for example, as to where in the charterhouse images were placed. But if the Carthusian image ranged in type and location from the golden chalice allowed by Guigo in the church to the poor paper prints an individual monk kept in his cell, the clearest way that Carthusian art of any description preserved itself from prideful showiness was in its spiritual uses. The imagery in the cells was of a different kind from the imagery of altarpieces, but both served the ends of Carthusian religion in similar ways. For the Carthusian, prayer was finally a way of forming community—not only commuity with the divine, but also even among human souls. What Guigo says of physical things in general could be usefully applied to a study of Carthusian art: "The greatest value of physical things consists in their use as signs. Many signs necessary for our salvation come from them, such as voices from the air, crosses from wood, baptism from water. Moreover, souls only know each other's feelings by means of physical signs."[198] Like voices and crosses and the water of baptism, Carthusian books and Carthusian art served the monks as signs of the glories of heavenly community, toward which their earthly solitude tended, and as mechanisms to creating metaphorical communities on earth. What is striking, and important, in Guigo's view is the *necessity* ("multa signa nostri saluti necessaria") of such signs. Just as Wordsworth observed that the Carthusians "bodied forth the ghostliness of things," Guigo, too, recognized that the monastic community is a material embodiment of a social spiritual life, a manifestation in the physical world of what is ethereal and holy. Even an order celebrated for its ascetic rigors does its earthly work in "silence visible," where the signs of salvation to be found in books and art are a crucial part of creating devotional community.

Additional 37049 is unusual both among English Carthusian books and among English Carthusian images. The miscellany comprises smaller

and more various textual fragments than many of the vernacular devotional books with which the order is associated, and, of course, it is far more profusely illustrated than any other Carthusian manuscript. Nonetheless, the general functions of both books and art in the late-medieval English charterhouse clarify the ways in which Carthusian readers might have approached this volume, and the ways in which lay readers might have approached their performative devotional reading. Carthusians used both texts and images to work through the oscillations in Carthusian life between their most isolated of individual devotions, and more collective ways of embodying Christian community. Even through their private use of books and images, solitary monks envisioned themselves in Carthusian and heavenly society, and they founded their understanding of themselves on the combination of the most private of practices with a more public imaginary. Reading and seeing were not only private activities for Carthusians; both monastic and lay communities were involved in the literary and visual culture of the charterhouse, and Carthusian devotional practices in the solitude of the cell affected devotional practices in the world outside. Margery Kempe's orthodoxy, for example, is confirmed by precisely the sorts of private performances Carthusians routinely engaged in: two suspicious priests take her solitary histrionics as evidence that her public performances of piety are not mere show.[199] The following chapters will explore the performance of private devotion in the miscellany Additional 37049, illuminating Carthusian use of public pageantry in private prayer and the ways in which ideas of performance shaped the experience of solitary reading and seeing.

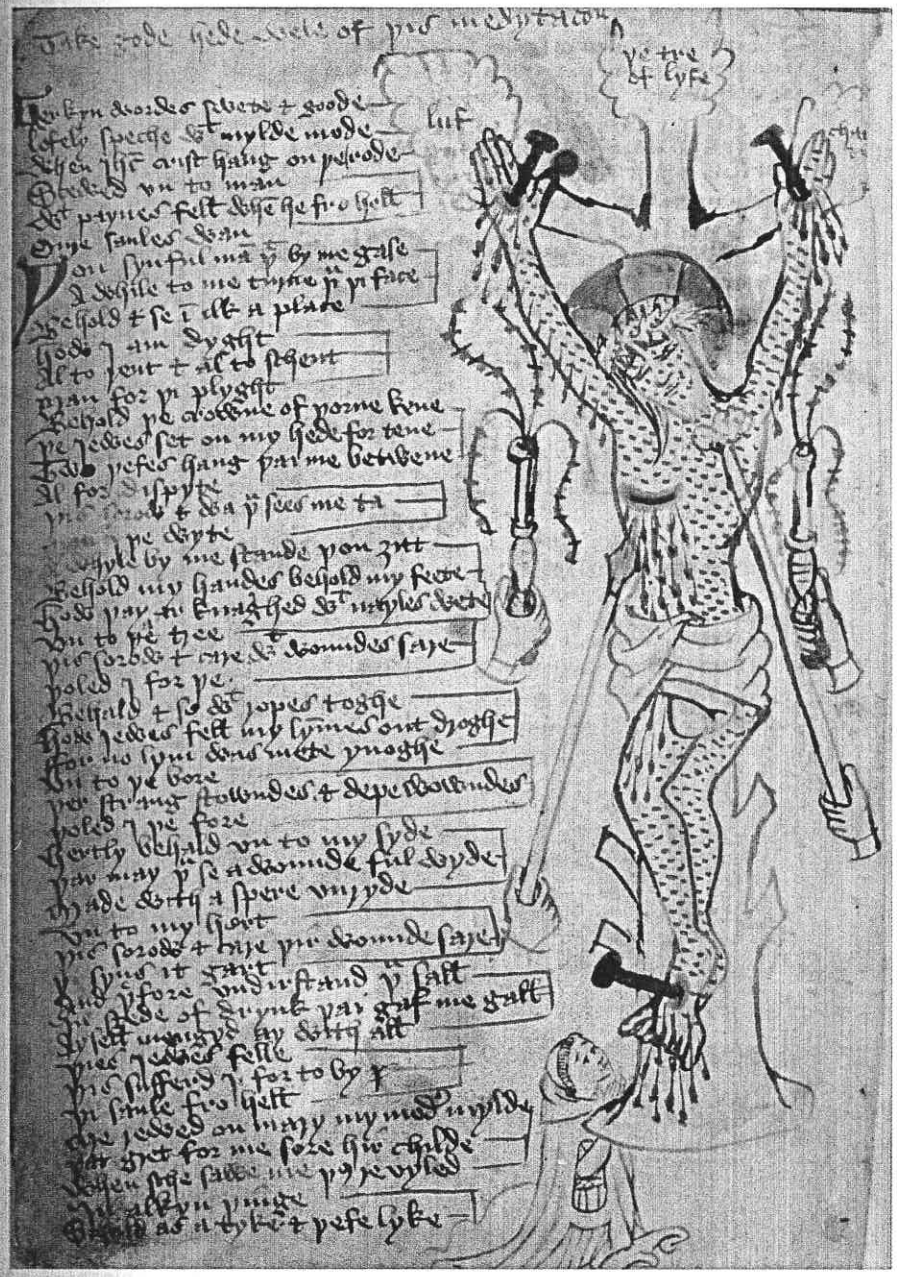

Plate 1. "Þou synful man Þt by me gase," with Carthusian monk. London, British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 67v. By permission of the British Library.

Plate 2. "At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhows god did schewe," with pictures narrating the foundation of the Carthusian Order. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 22r. By permission of the British Library.

Plate 3. Mary of Egypt, in the *Desert of Religion.* British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 48v. By permission of the British Library.

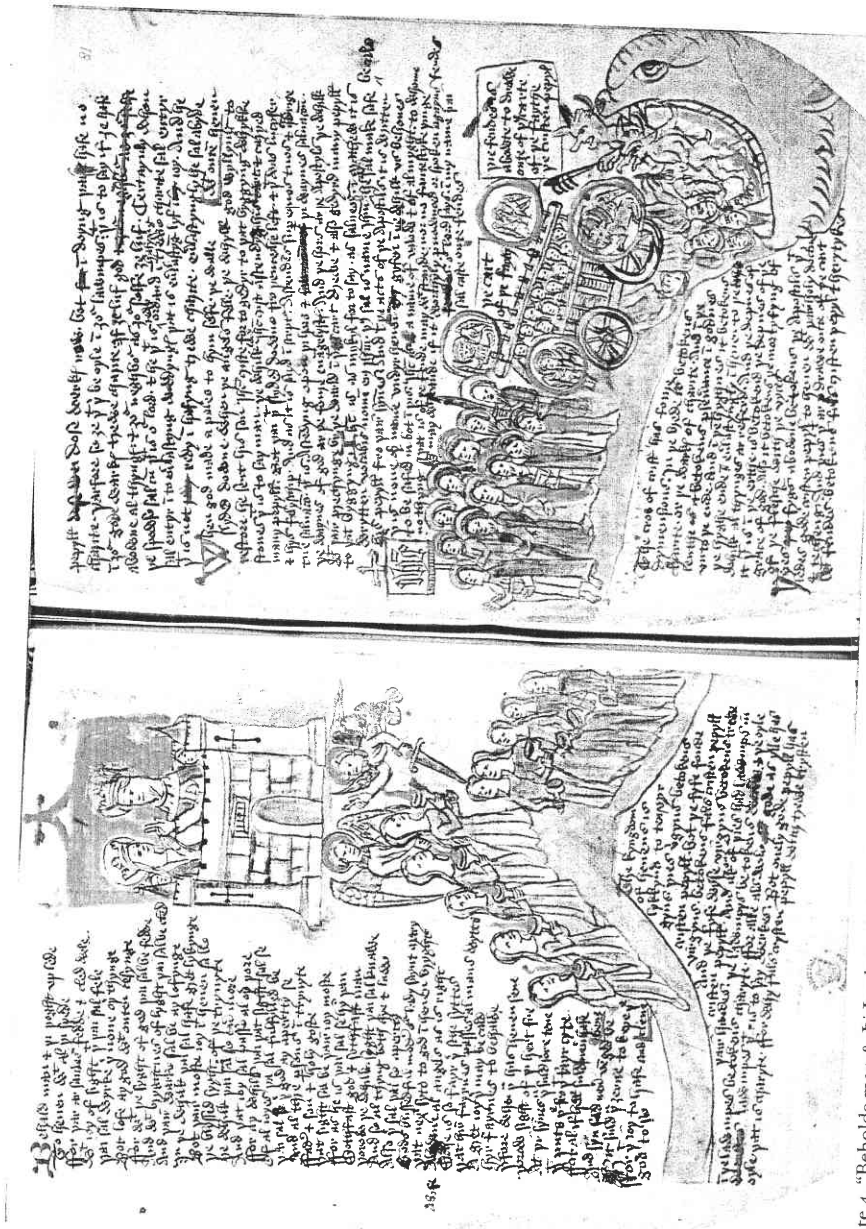

Plate 4. "Beholde man & Þi Þoght vp lede." Wise and foolish virgins approaching heaven; procession of the Holy Name, with "Þe cart of Þe fayth." British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fols. 80v–81r. By permission of the British Library.

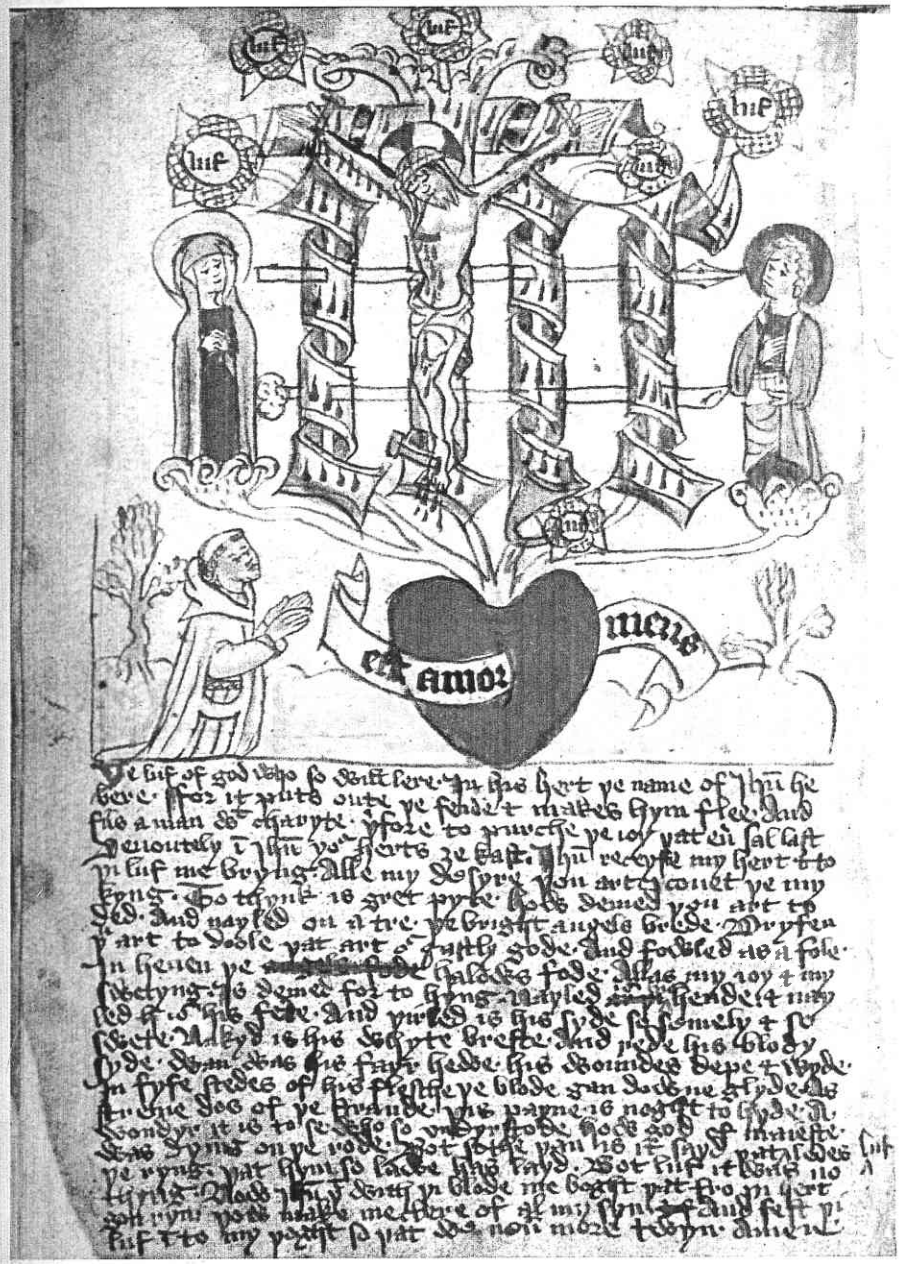

Plate 5. "Þe luf of god who so will lere." Holy Name with crucifixion and praying Carthusian monk. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 36v. By permission of the British Library.

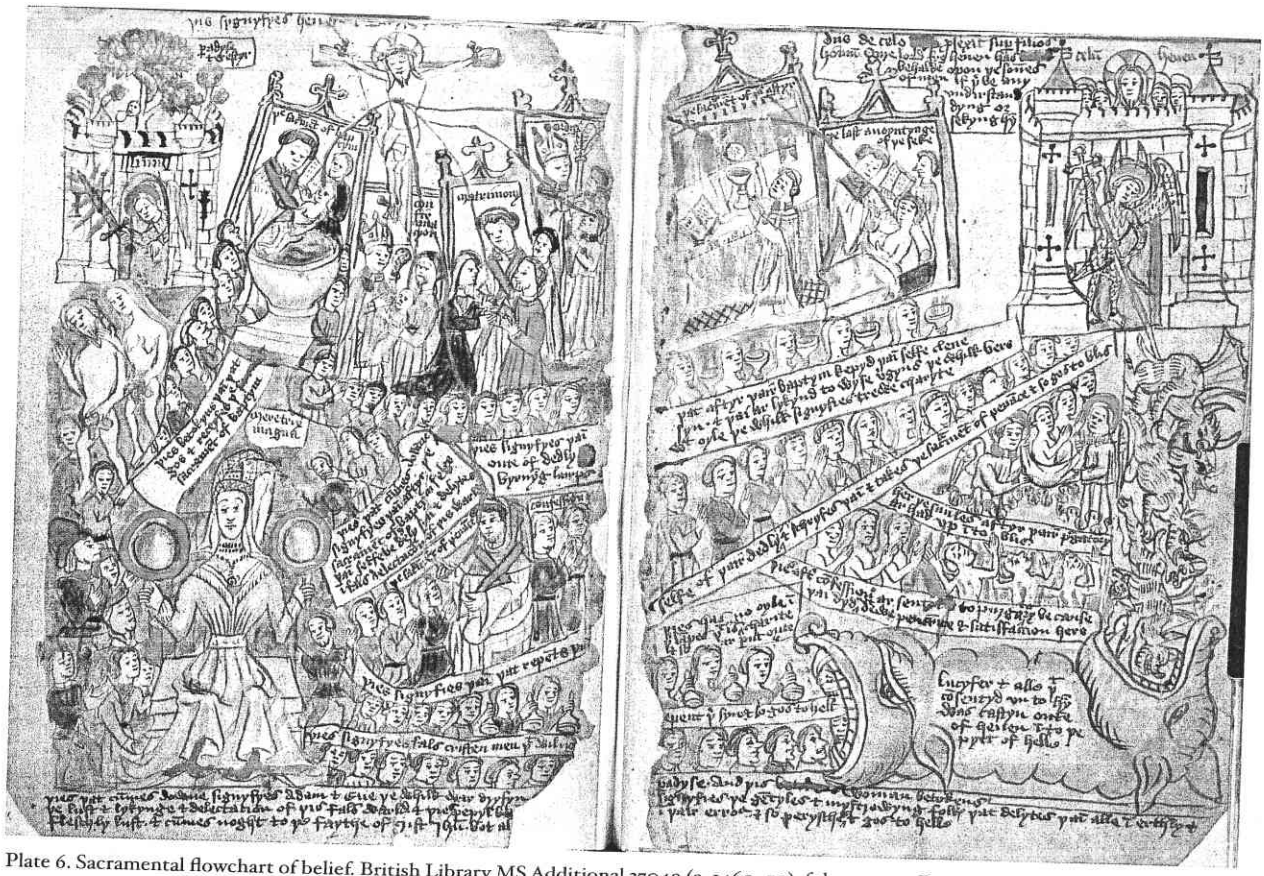

Plate 6. Sacramental flowchart of belief. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fols. 72v–73r. By permission of the British Library.

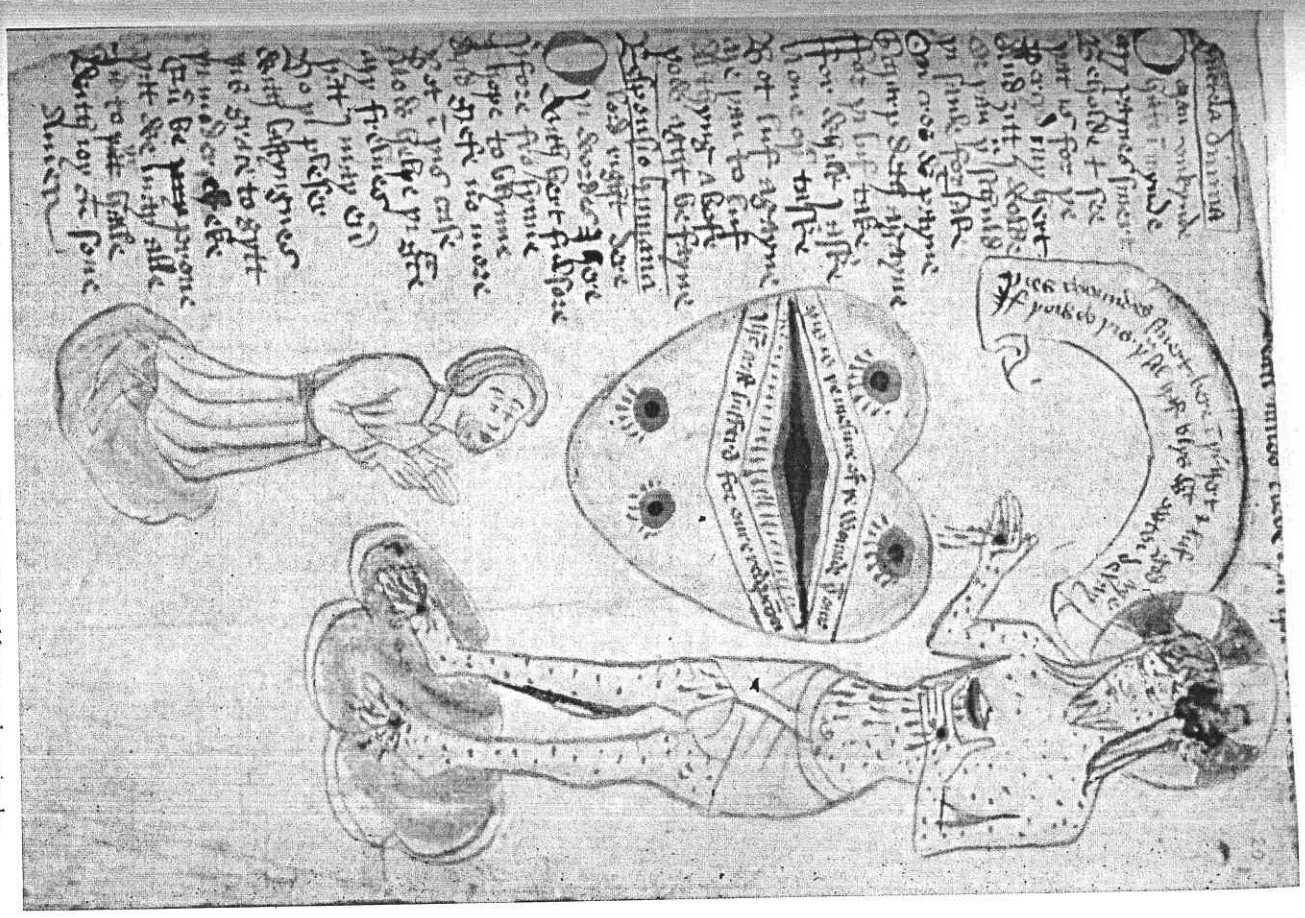

Plate 7. *Querela divina* and *Responsio humana*. Christ, wounded heart, and praying layman. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fol. 20r. By permission of the British Library.

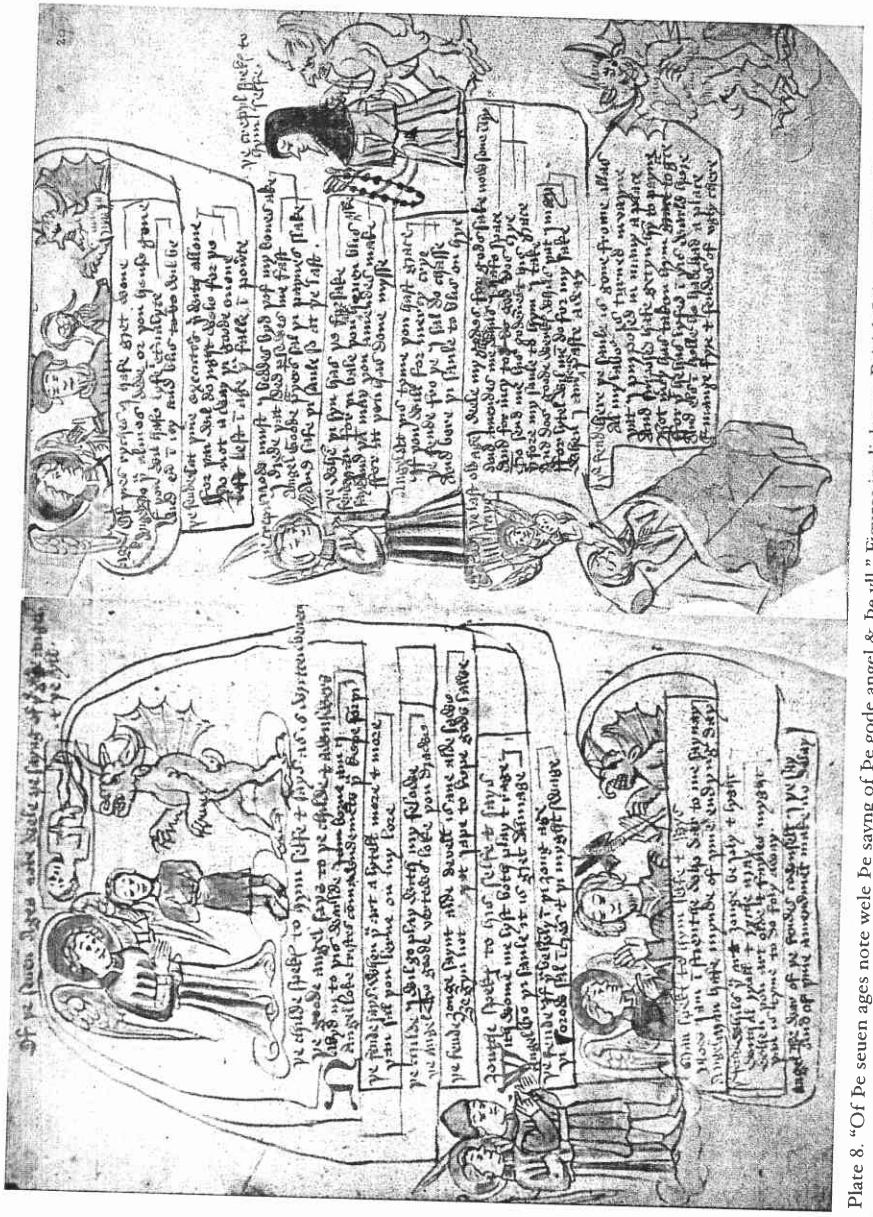

Plate 8. "Of þe seuen ages note wele þe sayng of þe gode angel & þe yll." Figures in dialogue. British Library MS Additional 37049 (c. 1460–70), fols. 28v–29r. By permission of the British Library.

* 3 *

The Shapes of Eremitic Reading in the *Desert of Religion*

The *Desert of Religion* forms the center of Additional 37049 in a literal sense, for it occupies twenty folios at the midpoint of the manuscript's ninety-six.[1] It is also the longest text in the miscellany, at 943 verse lines. But this long poem is central also metaphorically to the manuscript's designs for textual and imagistic reading in the wilderness, for it depends upon the combination of words and pictures more clearly than any other item in this densely illustrated book. As clearly and as deliberately as the illuminated books of William Blake, this poem attests to its creator's interest in a fully composite art: the joining of picture and word to create a new, independent medium.[2] The *Desert* presents its readers not only with descriptions of the allegorical trees that make up its ghostly forest of eremitic life, but with graphic representations of those trees: every other page of the poem is an arboreal diagram of vice or virtue. Appended to each tree and its verses are still more reciprocal images and texts: on the page opposite each tree, an inhabitant of the "desert"—often a famous saintly hermit—is pictured with lines identifying and describing his experience in spiritual wastelands. Each opening of the text is thus a complex representational object to be perceived at once but perused at leisure (figs. 3.1, 3.2). Because the *Desert of Religion* was invariably illustrated—all three of the manuscript witnesses to it reproduce its idiosyncratic mixture of image and text—it explores as very few Middle English poems can the role of imagetext as a form of wilderness book. Constructed of a series of allegorical and historical texts and images, thus deeply imbricated, the *Desert of Religion* presents both a discussion and a vision of the solitary life.

constructive response to Austin. For a variety of essays addressing performance from a deconstructive standpoint, see Issacharoff and Jones, eds., *Performing Texts.* And for a bracing reading of performance theory from Austin through Derrida and de Man, see Miller, *Speech Acts in Literature.*

92. Butler, *Gender Trouble,* 139. For Butler's evolving views, see also *Bodies That Matter* and *Excitable Speech.*

93. For an overview, see Stiles, "Performance."

94. See Sedgwick and Parker, eds., *Performance and Performativity,* 1.

95. For a collection of diverse approaches to this particular question, see Sedgwick and Parker, eds., *Performance and Performativity.* The editors' introduction points out that "the oblique intersection between performativity and the loose cluster of theoretical practices, relations, and traditions known as performance" has been one of the most "fecund" but also one of the most "under-articulated" areas of performance studies (1). See also Dolan, "Geographies of Learning"; and Phelan and Lane, eds., *Ends of Performance.*

96. For suggestive case studies, see Worthen, "Drama, Performativity, and Performance"; and Roach, *Cities of the Dead.*

97. On the particular difficulties involved in studying historical performances, see Franko and Richards, eds., *Acting on the Past.* See also the relation between memory and forgetting outlined by Roach, *Cities of the Dead;* and the illuminating juxtaposition of sixteenth-century performances with twenty-first-century ones in Taylor, *Archive and the Repertoire.*

98. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre,* 13.

99. *MED,* "performen," v., 2b. For evidence of the sexual sense, see Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale:* "And thynges whiche that were nat doon abedde,/He in the gardyn parfourned hem and spedde" (IV.2051–52); and the *Monk's Prologue:* "Haddestow as greet a leue as thow hast myght/To parfourne al thy lust in engendrure,/Thow haddest bigeten ful many a creature" (VII.1946–48). The *Oxford English Dictionary* places the emergence of this sense somewhat later, s.v. "perform," v., 6d and 6e. This and all subsequent quotations of Chaucer's works are taken from the *Riverside Chaucer,* ed. Benson.

100. *MED,* "performen," v., 1c; *OED,* "perform," v., 7a.

101. Later he explains that when he had doubts about his book, his prior "ful charytably confortyde me to parforme hyt." And so: "att the laste oure Lorde of hys mercy yaf me grace, as I hope, to parforme hyt." This text is conveniently excerpted in Wogan-Browne et al., eds., *Idea of the Vernacular,* 73–78. For a full edition, see Hogg, ed., *Speculum Devotorum.*

102. Quoted from *Idea of the Vernacular,* ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 237.

103. *A Book of Showings,* ed. Colledge and Walsh, chap. 86. See also *The Writings of Julian of Norwich,* Watson and Jenkins, eds.

104. Glasscoe persuasively argues for "evidence of orality" in Julian's short text, claiming that "her thinking was governed by the speaking voice rather than by the semantic precision of structured prose" ("Evidence of Orality," 83).

105. For less explicitly performative language describing related activities of reading, see Gillespie, "Lukynge in Holy Bukes."

106. *Book of Showings* II.731n. See also *Writings of Julian of Norwich,* 378.

107. On the ways in which vernacular lyrics, in particular, relate to liturgy, see Vitz, "Liturgy and Vernacular Literature," especially 518–24. See also Woolf, *English Religious Lyric.*

108. This is one of the central arguments of Beckwith, *Signifying God;* see especially 59–71. See also Beckwith, "Ritual, Church, and Theater."

109. The text of the Towneley speech is, despite small differences, demonstrably the same poem. See Stevens and Cawley, eds., *Towneley Plays,* xxvi.244–49. For further discussion, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric,* 202–5; and below, chap. 7.

110. Although the mechanisms of transmission are not known, the manuscripts that include this text as a lyric (BL MS Arundel 285 and University of Edinburgh MS 205) antedate the Towneley manuscript (Huntington Library HM 1), and it seems most likely that a memorable lyric was borrowed for an actor's speech. Given the play's uncertain history, however, it is also possible that a memorable dramatic monologue was excerpted from the play and recorded for private reading. On the Towneley manuscript , see Meredith, "Towneley Cycle," especially 138–40, 148–50.

111. For the term *sacramental theater* and its implications, see Beckwith, *Signifying God,* 59–117.

112. See Woolf, *English Religious Lyric;* and Gray, *Themes and Images.*

113. See Taylor, *Relations of Lyric and Drama;* Taylor, "Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric"; and Allen, "Middle English Drama and Middle English Lyrics." It is telling, too, that scholars working on the lyric have often written companion volumes on the drama: see, e.g., Woolf, *English Mystery Plays.* Jeffrey has proposed a book on the drama that has yet to appear; see, however, Jeffrey, "Franciscan Spirituality and the Rise of Early English Drama."

114. Bauman, "Performance," 266. See also Carlson, "Introduction: What Is Performance?" In Carlson's summary, "all performance involves a consciousness of doubleness, through which the actual execution of an action is placed in mental comparison with a potential, an ideal, or a remembered original model of that action" (5).

115. See Schechner, *Between Theory and Anthropology,* 35–116.

116. *Pace* Hogg, "Morbid Preoccupation?"; and Streeter, "Mirror of the Fifteenth-Century Contemplative Mind."

CHAPTER 2. *"Silence Visible": Carthusian Devotional Reading and Meditative Practice*

1. The English word *chartirhows* is an alteration of the French *chartreuse* (i.e., *maison chartreuse*), which is itself a corruption of the earlier form *charteuse,* deriving ultimately from Latin *cartusius.* The change probably reflects an association with *chartre* (prison), and emphasizes the ascetic discipline of the order; see *OED,* s.v. "Charterhouse," n.

2. Line 24 of the poem in Additional 37049 has proved something of a problem in connection with this group, since it offers a different list of companions (and Bruno himself is added only in the margin): "Of þis holy order Carthusiens þis bene holy men:/(Bruno) Saynt Hewe, saynt Anoelius, Basilius, Bridus wt Bovo þen;/And oþer

many of whome þe writyngs of bokes makes mencioun / þe whilk þe ordir kepyd in solitary lyfe and trewe intencioun" (23–26). Bowers suggests that line 24 names Bruno's companions aberrantly ("Middle English Verses on the Founding"). But Boyers shows that the puzzling verse refers, not to Bruno's original companions, but to famous Carthusians generally—Bruno himself (added later), Hugh of Avalon (Lincoln), St. Anthelmus, Basil, Britius, and Bovo ("The Companions of St. Bruno").

3. No mention is made in Additional 37049 of this first part of the story, the accuracy of which has been contested. For Bruno's biography as drawn from contemporary witnesses and a thirteenth-century *vita,* see *Acta sanctorum,* October 3, 491–777; among more recent studies, see Bligny, *Saint Bruno;* and Bligny, "Saint Bruno." A readable modern biography is Ravier, *Saint Bruno.*

4. For the earliest documents concerning the foundation of the monastery, see Bligny, *Recueil.* See also Wilmart, "La Chronique des premiers chartreux."

5. For a complete survey of the genre, see Früh, "Bilderzyklen mit dem Leben des Heiligen Bruno." See also Beutler, "Die beiden Brunozyklen"; and Riggenbach, "Die Wandbilder des Kartause."

6. For a facsimile, see Meiss and Beatson, eds., *Belles Heures.*

7. For a reprint of the Basel *Statutes* see Hogg, *Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes.* A useful consideration of the long editorial history of the *Statutes* can be found in Elie, *Les Editions des Statuts;* the woodcut is discussed on 50–58.

8. For an overview, see the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité,* "Erémitisme en occident." For more specific studies, see Bligny, "L'Erémitisme et les Chartreux"; and Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism.*

9. The communities at Camaldoli and Vallombrosa had earlier established groups of hermits, on which Bruno's experiment was in some ways founded. See the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité,* "Camadules, Ordre des"; and Brooke, *Monastic World,* especially chap. 5, "Hermits." But McGinn locates the innovation of Carthusian spiritual organization in "its original combination of elements of coenobitism to serve the higher hermit ideal" (*Growth of Mysticism,* 353).

10. McGinn calls the Carthusians "notably reticent about writing on their own during the first century of their existence" (*Growth of Mysticism,* 355). For a thorough study of Carthusian theology as expressed through the early writings, see Mursell, *Theology of the Carthusian Life.* See also Barrier, *Les Activités du solitaire en Chartreuse.*

11. For the letters "Ad Radulphum, cognomento Viridem, Remensem praepositum" and "Ad filios suos Cartusienses," see *Lettres des premiers chartreux,* 66–89.

12. Ibid., 70. "Quid vero solitudo heremique silentium amatoribus suis utilitatis jucunditatisque divinae conferat, norunt hi soli qui experti sunt.

"Hic namque viris strenuis tam redire in se licet quam libet et habitare secum, virtutumque germina instanter excolere atque de paradisi feliciter fructibus vesci. Hic oculus ille conquiritur, cujus sereno intuitu vulneratur sponsus amore, quo mundo et puro conspicitur Deus. Hic otium celebratur negotiosum et in quieta pausatur actione. Hic pro certaminis labore repensat Deus athletis suis mercedem optatem, pacem vidilicet quam mundus ignorat, et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto."

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

13.Guibert de Nogent, *Monk's Confession,* 31–32. "Et ecclesia ibi est non longe a crepidine montis, paulo sinuatum devexum habens, in qua tredecim sunt monachi; claustrum quidem satis idoneum pro coenobiali consuetudine habentes, sed non claustraliter ut cohabitantes. Habent quippe singuli cellulas per gyrum claustri proprias, in quibus operantur, dormiunt ac vescuntur. Dominica a dispensatore escas, panem scilicet ac legumen accipiunt, quod unicum pulmenti genus a quoque eorum apud se coquitur. Aquam autem, tam haustui quam residuo usui, ex ductu fontis, qui omnium obambit cellulas, et singulorum per certa foramina aediculis influit, habent. Pisce, et caseo dominicis et valde festis diebus utuntur: pisce dixerim, non quem sibi ipsi emerunt, sed quem bonorum aliquorum virorum largitione susceperint. . . . Ad eamdem ecclesiam non horis solitis, uti nos, sed certis conveniunt. Missas, nisi fallor, dominica, et sollempnibus audiunt. Nusquam pene loquuntur, nam, si quid peti necesse est, signo exigitur. Vinum, si quando bibunt, adeo corruptum, ut nil virium, nil pene saporis utentibus afferat, vix communi sit unda praestantius. Ciliciis vestiuntur ad nudum; caeterarum vestium multa tenuitas. . . .

"Hi igitur tanto coeptae contemplationis fervore feruntur, ut nulla temporis longitudine a sua institutione desistant, nec aliqua arduae illius conversationis diuturnitate tepescant" (Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie,* 66–70).

14. William de St. Thierry, *Lettres aux frères du Mont-Dieu.* For an English translation, see William of Saint Thierry, *Golden Epistle.*

15. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera omnia,* Letters 11, 12, 153, 154, 250. Peter the Venerable, *Letters,* nos. 24, 48, 132, 170, 186. Peter of Celle, *PL* 202, letters 40–48 (col. 453–74) to various people at Mont-Dieu.

16. Guigo I, *Coutumes de Chartreuse.*

17. In addition to *Lettres des premiers chartreux,* see Guigo I, *Méditations;* Guigo I, *Meditations of Guigo I;* and Guigo I, *Vie de saint Hugues.* For an analysis of the writings of Guigo I and a later Carthusian prior, Guigo II, see Wilmart, "Ecrits spirituels des deux Guiges."

18. Mursell expresses well the casual nature of this important text: "What is important is that the *Consuetudines* do not neatly fit into any obvious pattern: Guigo is writing at the request of others, not because he wishes to do so: he is describing what actually happens at the moment, not legislating definitively for the future; and he does so in such a way that theological principle is interspersed with minutely practical prescription, and passages of exceptional importance appear under improbably prosaic headings" (*Theology of the Carthusian Life,* 70).

19. For editions of the *Statutes,* see Hogg, *Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes;* and Elie, *Editions des Statuts.*

20. *Consuetudines* 33, 44.

21. *Consuetudines* 31.2. "Quod si qualibet vel sua vel alterius negligentia, pane, vino, aqua, igneve caruerit, vel insolitum strepitum aut clamorem audierit, vel periculum ignis institerit, licebit exire, et subsidium praestare vel petere, et si periculi magnitudo poposcerit, silentium etiam solvere."

22. *Consuetudines* 31.1. "Cuius habitatorem diligenter ac sollicite decet invigilare, ne quas occasiones egrediendi foras vel machinetur vel recipiat, exceptis his quae generaliter institutae sunt, sed potius sicut aquas piscibus, et caulas ovibus, ita suae saluti et vitae cellam deputet necessariam. In qua quanto diutius, tanto libentius habitabit, et quam si frequenter et levibus de causis exire insueverit, cito habebit exosam. Et ideo statutis ad hoc horis petenda iubetur petere, et accepta tota diligentia custodire."

23. As Rambuss explains a similar dynamic in the seventeenth century, "Closet devotion is the technology by which the soul becomes a subject" (*Closet Devotions,* 109). Rambuss is concerned with lay Protestant spirituality, but the technologies of the self he ascribes to the early modern "prayer closet" also regulate the devotional lives of Carthusian monks.

24. Bossy, "Mass as a Social Institution"; but for the complications also inherent in eucharistic community see Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* 1–11.

25. The Carthusian liturgy was influenced by Saint-Ruf (since two of Bruno's companions had been canons there), and also by Grenoble, Vienne, and Valence. But the conservative Carthusian rite was modified to emphasize scripture, simplicity, and tradition, and to reduce the amount of ceremonial surrounding such events as the profession of monks. See Devaux, *Les Origines du Missel,* especially 99–107; the posthumous publications of Cluzet, *Particularités du Missel Cartusien, Particularités du Temporal et du Sanctoral du Missel Cartusien,* and *Sources et genèse du Missel Cartusien;* Nissen, "Signum contemplationis"; and King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders,* 1–61. On Carthusian chant, see Becker, *Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers;* Lambres, "Le Chant des Chartreux"; and Steyn, "Principle of Simplicity."

26. These numbers are reported by Laporte, *Aux sources de la vie cartusienne,* 5:233–35.

27. *Consuetudines* 14.5. "Raro quippe hic missa cantitur, quoniam precipue studium et propositum nostrum est, silentio et solitudini celle vacare."

28. *Consuetudines* 29.6. "Generaliter autem in ecclesia matutinas et vesperas, in cellis vero semper completorium dicimus. Alias enim, nisi festivis diebus aut vigiliis, aut anniversariis, ad ecclesiam non venimus."

29. King, *Liturgies of the Monastic Orders,* 35. See also Lambres, "Le Chant des chartreux," who notes that the offices of the cell are recited "en privé à l'oratoire de l'ermitage de chaque moine, avec les cérémonies de l'Office choral et, autant que possible, au signal donné par la cloche du monastère" (17). Lambres further acknowledges "la probabilité que les ermites chartreux des temps primitifs chantonnaient occasionellement des Offices tout seuls" (19).

30. *Monk's Confession,* trans. Archambault, 31–32. "Ad eamdem ecclesiam non horis solitis, uti nos, sed ceteris conveniunt. Missas, nisi fallor, dominica et sollempnibus audiunt. Nusquam pene loquuntur, nam, si quid peti necesse est, signo exigitur" (*Autobiographie,* 68). See also *Consuetudines* 45, on occasions when a lay brother may speak to a prelate: "cui prelato sibi possunt de necessariis loqui fratres, petita per signum licentia. Habent enim signa pleraque rusticana, et ab omni facetia vel lascivia aliena, per quae de his quae ad sua pertinent officia, rebus vel instrumentis, possunt adinvicem sine voce commemorari." "[T]he brothers may speak of necessary things with their superior, having asked permission with a sign. They have signs, mostly very simple, and far from any impurity or impropriety, by which they can discuss among themselves without words the things or the instruments that concern their work."

31. For the most recent general treatment of Carthusian architecture, see Devaux, *L'Architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux.* See also Aniel, *Les Maisons de Chartreux;* and Zadnikar, "Die frühe Baukunst der Kartäuser." For English charterhouses in particular, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men;* Hogg, ed., *Surviving English Carthusian Remains*; and Hogg, "Mount Grace Charterhouse."

32. *Consuetudines* 28.

33. The cells at London were also marked by alphabetical *memento mori* verses; see Sargent and Hennessy, "Latin Verses over the Cell Doors."

34. British Library MS Additional 25042, fol. 12r. This fascinating manuscript contains a series of images that tell the Carthusian foundation-story, and also a series that appears to offer scenes from everyday monastic life. For a full description, see de Vreese, *Handschriften,* 518–24. See also British Library, *Catalogue of Additions, 1854–75,* vol. 2, for a somewhat less detailed account.

35. The construction of a compound from monks' individual cells was to impress twentieth-century observers, as well. In 1911 Le Corbusier visited the charterhouses of Pavia and Florence, which inspired his designs for the Immeubles Villas (1922). See Dorigati, *Il Chiostro Grande.*

36. BL Add. 25042, fol. 12v. It is possible that this vernacular manuscript does not represent Carthusian visions of monastic life, but rather a lay person's adaptation of that life. However, a record of monastic books sent from the London charterhouse to Hull includes an English version of the *Statutes* (C2.21), as well as the Latin version (C2.22). See Doyle, "Carthusians."

37. *Consuetudines* 78. Guibert de Nogent describes the economics of the Grande Chartreuse in slightly different terms, and sets the number of lay men slightly higher: "Only a small portion of the soil there is used for growing grain. They raise sheep in large numbers and use the fleece to procure whatever else they might need. There are also, at the foot of the mountain, little dwellings that house faithful laymen, more than twenty in number, who work under their supervision" (*Monk's Confession,* trans. Archambault, 32). "In quo terra rei frumentariae causaparum ab eis colitur. Verum velleribus suarum, quas plurimas nutriunt, ovium, qualescumque suis usibus fruges comparare soliti sunt. Sunt autem infra montem illum habitacula laicos vicenarium numerum excedentes fidelissimos retinentia, qui sub eorum agunt diligentia" (*Autobiographie,* 70).

38. Among others, see chaps. 16, 17, 42, 43, 74.

39. At the Grande Chartreuse, the monks' buildings are actually built on higher ground than the lay brothers' "lower" house. In England and elsewhere this was not always true, and in fact only the early English foundations preserve a separate structure for the lay brethren; see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 15, 113–16.

40. See *Lettres des premiers Chartreux,* 84–85. "Gaudemus et nos quoniam, cum scientiae litterarum expertes sitis, potens Deus digito suo inscribit in coribus vestris, non solum amorem, sed et notitiam sanctae legis suae. Opere enim ostenditis quid amatis, quidve nostis."

41. Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 63.

42. Warren, *Anchorites,* 179n. Anchorites were, however, occasionally housed within Carthusian monasteries; see ibid., 24, 178, 288.

43. For the Carthusian cell understood as the grave, see Hennessy, "Remains," 324–26.

44. Guigo I wrote a life of the Carthusians' patron bishop; see *Vie de saint Hu-*

gues. On the close relation between the Grande Chartreuse and the see of Grenoble, see Cowdrey, "Hugh of Avalon." The commerce went both ways, as Cowdrey notes: "On the one hand, bishops who were not themselves Carthusians might so behave as to reflect and propagate Carthusian principles; on the other, a Carthusian vocation might itself lead on to the episcopate" (48). St. Hugh of Grenoble is an excellent example of the first kind of relation, while St. Hugh of Lincoln (Avalon) is perhaps the best example of the second.

45. It is not impossible that the scribe/artist of Additional 37049 was also the author of this poem, which exists in no other copy. If so, he nonetheless stressed Carthusian solitude more emphatically in the text than in its illustration.

46. The post-foundation history of the Carthusians is preserved in a number of projects, some sponsored by the order itself, such as the works of Innocent Le Masson, Charles Le Coulteux, and Maurice LaPorte; and some not, such as the ongoing *Analecta Cartusiana* series. For useful clarifications of a complicated historiography, see Hogg, "Carthusian Annals," especially n. 53; and Martin, "Introduction to the Analecta Cartusiana."

47. The adjectives are Anna Jameson's, in 1850. She continues: "Their spare diet, their rigorous seclusion, and their habits of labour, give them an emaciated look, a pale quietude, in which, however, there is no feebleness, no appearance of ill-health or squalor: I never saw a Carthusian monk who did not look like a gentleman" (*Legends of the Monastic Orders,* 133).

48. Gian Galeazzo Visconti made arrangements for the distribution of alms at Pavia (Vallier, "Trois méraux cartusiens"). Compare *Consuetudines* 20.

49. The standard history of the Carthusians in England remains Thompson, *Carthusian Order.* For a recent archaeological study, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men.* See also Knowles, *Monastic Order in England,* 375–91; Knowles, *Religious Orders in England,* 2:129–38; and Cowdrey, "Carthusians in England."

50. For an introduction to the history of Witham charterhouse and St. Hugh of Lincoln, see Knowles, *Monastic Orders,* 375–91. See also *De Cella in Seculum,* especially Farmer, "Hugh of Lincoln, Carthusian Saint"; and Cowdrey, "Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and Bishop." See also Cowdrey, "Carthusian Impact upon Angevin England"; and Leyser, "Hugh the Carthusian." For Witham and Hinton, see Thompson, *Somerset Carthusians;* and Dunning, "West-Country Carthusians."

51. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 36.

52. For a record of the canonical visitation by the priors of Mountgrace and Beauvale to Hull in 1440, see Gray, "*Carta visitationis.*"

53. Knowles and Haddock, *Medieval Religious Houses,* 360.

54. For events surrounding the dissolution, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 371–485; Knowles, *Religious Orders,* 3:222–40; Matthew and Mathew, *Reformation and the Contemplative Life ;* and individual histories of the London charterhouse, such as Hope, *History of the London Charterhouse.* Charter monk Maurice Chauncy, writing from Sheen Anglorum, gave his contemporary witness to the events of the dissolution; see Curtis, ed., *Passion and Martyrdom.*

55. In Aston's words, "the isolation sought by such monks had to be created by the eviction and resettlement of lay people" (*Monasteries in the Landscape,* 81).

56. Knowles, *Religious Orders,* 2:131.

57. For an overview, see Tuck, "Carthusian Monks and Lollard Knights." See also Hogg, "Royal and Aristocratic Founders."

58. Beckett, "Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse." For a less cozy relationship between spiritual and temporal authority, see also Beckett, "Henry VI, Sheen Charterhouse, and the Authorities at the Grande Chartreuse."

59. Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 241–42; Warren, *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England,* 178; Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 46.

60. Knowles, *Religious Orders,* 2:132. See also Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse,* 24–28; and Barber and Thomas, *London Charterhouse.* Benefactions were made at "the bourgeois charterhouse of Nuremberg" across a similar social range; Braunfels, *Architecture of the Monastic Orders,* 123–24.

61. For Mountgrace, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 44, 111–13. For Coventry, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 213. For Sheen, see Beckett, "Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse," 58. For London, see Barber and Thomas, *London Charterhouse,* 16. Dunning reports another pulpit at Syon, though this is less surprising, since the Syon brethren were preachers.

62. For the prohibition, see *Consuetudines* 21. The question was renewed by the monks of Mountgrace, who asked in 1438 whether women could enter the church for the burial of an important benefactor. The General Chapter refused. See Hogg and Sargent, eds., *Chartae,* 3:27 (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 56); and Hennessy, "Remains," 343–48. For a reconsideration of women's activity in the fifteenth-century charterhouse at Dijon (and in the twenty-first-century charterhouse at Zaragoza), see Lindquist, "Women in the Charterhouse."

63. *Scola amoris languidi* (fols. 1r–24v), *Dormitorium dilecti dilecti* (fols. 25r–48r), and *Refectorium salutis* (fols. 49r–70v) are all found in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.2.56. See Methley, "'Scola Amoris Languidi' of Richard Methley," "'Dormitorium Dilecti Dilecti' of Richard Methley," and "Mystical Diary." *Experimentum veritatis* is preserved with the epistle "To Hew Heremyte" in the London Public Record Office Collection SP 1/239 (fols. 262r–65v); see Sargent, ed., "Self-Verification of Visionary Phenomena"; and Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 91–119. Hogg believes that Hew's mobility implies that he is not a Carthusian, but late-medieval departures from the stringency of the *Consuetudines* require, I think, an acknowledgment that he might have been. Even if Hew was not certainly a Carthusian, he is advised by a charter monk to pursue a comparable eremitic life.

64. Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 116.

65. Ten shillings from Jane Strangways in 1500, six shillings and eightpence from Robert Lascelles of Brakenburgh in 1508, and ten shillings for the glazing of a window and three altarcloths from Alison Clark in 1509. See Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 100–101.

66. For reflections on monastic historiography, see Greatrex, "After Knowles."

67. "Religio Cartusianorum nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata." This axiom derives from praise of the order as reflected in papal bulls, such as *Thesauro virtutum* of Alexander IV (8 February 1257), *Romani Pontifices* of Pius II (13 August 1460), and the apostolic constitution *Umbratilem* of Pius XI (8 July 1924). See King, *Liturgies*

of the Religious Orders, 1–2. As Knowles memorably puts the same idea: "Never since its early origins has the Charterhouse made any attempt to temper the wind of its discipline to the shorn lamb" (*Monastic Orders,* 376).

68. Sargent, "Transmission," 240.

69. The complexities of late-medieval reading practice have led Andrew Taylor to the observation that in this period "there was no clear separation between the public and private realms" ("Into His Secret Chamber," 43). This is certainly true in the case where a king, for example, might be read to with a group in "private" rooms, but in the case of Carthusian hermit-monks—who took strict vows of solitude and silence—"private" reading clearly means a single person alone in a room quietly poring over a book. For an extended exploration of these issues, see Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public.*

70. *Lettres,* 80. "Vitam beati Remegii ut nobis transmittatis oro, quia in partibus nostris nunquam reperitur."

71. *Consuetudines* 28.2. "Ad scribendum vero, scriptorium, pennas, cretam, pumices duos, cornua duo, scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamena, novaculas sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unum, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, grafium. Quod si frater alterius artis fuerit, quod apud nos raro valde contingit, omnes enim pene quos suscipimus, si fieri potest scribere docemus, habebit arti suae instrumenta convenienta."

72. See, e.g., Bischoff, *Latin Paleography,* 18–19. Archaeological evidence from Mountgrace confirms that late-medieval cells were outfitted for book production much as Guigo intended; see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 96.

73. *Consuetudines,* 28.3–4. "Adhuc etiam, libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos. Quibus omnem diligentiam curamque prebere iubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe tamquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut quia ore non possumus, dei verbum manibus predicemus.

"Quot enim libros scribimus, tot nobis veritatis praecones facere videmur, sperantes a domino mercedem, pro omnibus qui per eos vel ab errore correcti fuerint, vel in catholica veritate profecerint, pro cunctis etiam qui vel de suis peccatis et viciis compuncti, vel ad desiderium fuerint patriae caelestis accensi."

74. On this topic, see especially Gillespie, "*Cura Pastoralis.*"

75. Adam of Dryburgh, for example, who was abbot of a Praemonstratensian house before becoming a Carthusian of Witham, cites Guigo in his treatise, *De quadripartito exercitio cellae* (*PL* 153:799–884, at 881–83). See Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 354–67; and Hogg, "Adam the Carthusian's *De Quadripartito Exercitio Cellae.*" For Adam's life and work at Witham, see Wilmart, "Maître Adam."

76. Today the Bibliothèques Municipales de Grenoble hold 3,543 manuscripts from the Grande Chartreuse. See de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence;* and Vaillant, *Les Manuscrits de la Grande Chartreuse et leurs enluminures.*

77. Guibert de Nogent, *Monk's Confession,* trans. Archambault, 32. "Cum in omnimoda paupertate se deprimant, ditissimam tamen bibliothecam coaggerant; quo enim minus panis hujus copia materialis exuberant, tanto magis illo, qui non perit, sed in aeternum permanet, cibo operose insudant" (*Autobiographie,* 68).

78. Peter the Venerable, *Selected Letters,* 23–24. "Misi et uitas sanctorum Nazanzeni et Chisostomi sicut mandastis. Misi etiam libellum siue epistolam beati Ambrosii contra relationem Symmachi, urbis Rome prefecti pagani, qui sub nomine Senatus ydolatriam in urbem reduci ab imperatoribus postulabat. Qui licet in sua relatione orator acutissimus uideatur, ei tamen et prosa et metro tam supradictus uenerabilis pater quam noster insignis poeta Prudentius potentissime responderunt. . . . Tractatem autem beati Hylarii super Psalmos ideo non misi, quia eandem in nostro codice quam et in uestro corruptionem inueni. Quod si et talem uultis, remandate et mittam. Prosperum contra Cassianum sicut nostis non habemus, sed pro eo ad santum Iohannem Angeliacensem in Aquitania misimus, et iterum si necesse fuerit mittemus. Mittite et uos <nobis> si placet maius uolumen epistolarum sancti patris Augustini quod in ipso pene initio continet epistolas eiusdem ad sanctum Ieronimum et sancti Ieronimi ad ipsum. Nam magnam partem nostrarum in quadam obedientia casu comedit ursus."

79. For a correctors' manual that exemplifies the Carthusian concern for textual accuracy, see Oswaldus de Corda, *Oswaldi de Corda Opus Pacis.* See also Rouse and Rouse, "Correction and Emendation of Texts"; and Sargent, "Problem of Uniformity."

80. The bibliography on Carthusian influence on the development of Middle English literature is extensive. Highlights include the following: Williamson, "Books of the Carthusians"; Doyle "Survey"; Lehmann, "Bücherliebe und Bücherpflege; Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour";* Sargent, "Transmission"; and Gillespie, "*Cura Pastoralis.*" Even the most superficial scan of recent numbers of the *Analecta Cartusiana*—particularly the series *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*—can provide a sense of the vast quantity and range of scholarly interest in Carthusians and Middle English books. For a brief and useful overview, see Doyle, "Book Production," especially 13–15.

81. Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 118.

82. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite,* 100–117, at 101; and Hogg, *Rewyll,* 253–327, at 307. See also Hodgson, "*Ladder of the Foure Ronges*"; and Keiser, "'Noght How Lang Man Lifs." For a translation of the Latin, see Guigo II, *Ladder of Monks.*

83. Interestingly enough, Methley translated both the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Mirror of Simple Souls* from the vernacular into Latin. See Hogg, "Latin Cloud."

84. For the importance of vernacular reading among both "lered" and "lewed," see Gillespie, "Lukyng in Holy Bukes."

85. For a practical method of addressing these questions, see Doyle, "Not Yet Linked."

86. Beckett, "Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse," 54. For another misdirected donation, see Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 331.

87. BL MS Add. 37790, which contains both Julian's short text and the Middle English *Mirror of Simple Souls,* is one of those that contains the monogram of James Grenehalgh, a charter monk of Sheen; see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh.* For a variety of ways of understanding the implications of this Carthusian book, see, e.g., Watson, "Melting into God the English Way"; Cré, "Women in the Charterhouse?"; and Gillespie, "Dial M for Mystic."

88. Besides Additional 37790, the Middle English *Mirror of Simple Souls* is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley MS 505 and Cambridge, St. John's College MS 71. For an edition of the text, see Doiron, *Margaret Porete.* The *Book of Margery Kempe*

might have originated in a charterhouse, but it was most extensively annotated by a later hand identified by Meech as "probably a Carthusian of Mount Grace" (*Book of Margery Kempe,* xliii). This annotator links his reading firmly to Carthusian devotional culture by comparing Margery Kempe's religious experiences to those of the Carthusians Richard Methley and John Norton, as well as to those of the hermit and visionary Richard Rolle. As Karma Lochrie notes, "Perhaps the greatest irony is that Kempe, who was designated to be a mirror among sinners, should find her readership not among the lay population to whom she appealed, but within an order of monks dedicated to strict seclusion and austerity" (224).

89. "Quod nomina omnium librorum domus ponantur in uno registro et legantur et monstrentur singulis annis semel in conventu" (quoted in Gribbin, *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions,* 24). See the edition of MS Rawlinson D.318, fol. 87, in *Chartae,* ed. Sargent and Hogg, 77–223.

90. See Thompson, *Carthusian Order;* now superseded by Doyle, "Carthusians," 607–52. For speculations on layouts and plans of charterhouse libraries, see Large, "Libraries of the Carthusian Order"; and Hogg, "Les Chartreuses anglaises."

91. Doyle, "Carthusians," C1.19, 614.

92. Ibid., C2, 615–20.

93. See Doyle, "Carthusians," C7.9 and C7.10. Also reproduced in Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 327–29.

94. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain;* and Ker, *Supplement.*

95. For Germany and Switzerland, see Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters.* For representative studies of individual charterhouse libraries on the Continent, see, e.g., Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser;* Marks, *St. Barbara in Cologne; Charterhouse Buxheim and Its Library;* and Hendrickx, "De Handschriften van de Kartuis Genadendal bij Brugge." For a collection of codicological studies, including some of Carthusian books, see De Backer, Geurts, and Weiler, eds., *Codex in Context.*

96. Doyle, "Carthusians," 609.

97. The connection is proved by the inscriptions: "Beauvall" and "Iste liber est domus Belle Vallis ordinis Cartusiensis in Comitatu Notyngham" (see Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 323).

98. The inscription: "Liber domus Salutacionis Matris Dei Ordinis Cartusie prope London per Edmundum Stegor (?) ejusdem domus Monachus" (see Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 324).

99. Horrall, "Carthusian Commonplace Book."

100. See Doyle, "Book Production"; also Doyle, "Stephen Dodesham of Witham and Sheen."

101. For a list of the manuscripts annotated by Grenehalgh, see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh.* See also Sargent, "James Grenehalgh: The Biographical Record."

102. On Syon's books, see especially Gillespie and Doyle, *Syon Abbey.* See also Ellis, "Viderunt Eam Filie Syon"; Ellis, "Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey"; Gillespie, "Syon and the New Learning"; Gillespie, "Book and the Brethren"; Hutchison, "Devotional Reading"; Hutchison, "What the Nuns Read"; and De Hamel, "Library."

103. From a voluminous bibliography, see, e.g., Gillespie, "Vernacular Books of Religion"; Keiser, "þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei"; Lawrence, "Role of the Monasteries of Syon and Sheen"; and Sargent, "Transmission."

104. Sargent, "Transmission," 230.

105. See the discussions of Notre Dame MS 67 in *Text in the Community,* ed. Mann and Nolan.

106. For an overview, see Sargent, *James Grenehalgh;* and Carey, "Devout Literate Laypeople," especially 371–77. On Rolle, see Doyle, "Carthusian Participation"; and on Ruysbroeck, see Bazire and Colledge, eds., *Chastising of God's Children.*

107. See Wormald, "Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters," especially 180–81. The meditation is recorded in BL MS Lansdowne 379.

108. Lentes, "*Vita Perfecta,*" 140.

109. "Priori domus Sanctae Annae prope Conuentre non fit misericordia, et de usu librorum quem quidam monachus dictae domus petit denegatur sivi ne uicium proprietatis incurrat" (quoted in Hogg, "Everyday Life," n. 52).

110. Doyle, "Carthusians," C7.9 and C7.10.

111. Ibid., p. 610.

112. Guigo, *Consuetudines* 7.9. "Post nonam in claustrum convenimus, de utilibus locuturi. In hoc spacio incaustum, pergamenum, pennas, cretam, libros, seu legendos sue transcribendos, a sacrista, a coquinario vero, legumina, sal et caetera huiusmodi poscimus et accipimus."

113. *Consuetudines* 32.1. "Cum aliqui ex monachis emendandis vel ligandis libris vel alicui tali mancipantur, ipsi quidem locuntur ad invicem, cum supervenientibus vero nequaquam, nisi priore presente aut iubente."

114. Excavations at Mountgrace have confirmed that each monk specialized in a particular part of book making: writing, illuminating, binding, even some early printing. As Coppack and Aston observe, "Production on an almost industrial scale was quite possible without the individual monks leaving their cells or meeting each other" (*Christ's Poor Men,* 96).

115. Sargent, "Transmisison," 239. For a Carthusian monk who had to argue for the value of his own bookishness to the severely contemplative life the order professed, see the example of Denys the Carthusian; Emery, "Denys the Carthusian."

116. As Michael Sargent explains, "our evidence depends to an extent on the perhaps disproportionate number of Carthusian manuscripts and versions preserved by the English recusant communities" ("Transmission," 240).

117. Gillespie, "Haunted Text," 133–36. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to see this piece before its publication.

118. For instructive evidence that not all Carthusian reading was either mystical or vernacular, see, e.g., Lovatt, "Library of John Blacman."

119. Doyle, "Carthusian Participation."

120. These assumptions do not afflict modern scholars only; the author of the verse-chronicle in Bodleian MS e Museo 160, for example, claims Ruysbroeck as a Carthusian, presumably on the basis of the kinds of spiritual writing he produced.

121. Gray, "Spiritual Encyclopedia," 99.

122. The prose tract is known by its title "Note þis wele of dispisyng of þe warld," and its incipit "Werely I knawe no þinge þt so inwardly sal take þi hert to couet gods

luf." It is organized around a passage from the pseudo-Bernardian *Meditationes piissimae* that circulated separately, usually under the title *Augustinus de contemptu mundi;* Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory,* 157.

123. But compare Christ's words on fol. 77v, where the progression is seemingly reversed: "I am dore be my manhede and þai entyr by þe dore þat is contemplacion and meditacion þat is behaldyng and thynkyng of my passion."

124. Gillespie, "Dial M for Mystic," 243–48.

125. *Vision of Edmund Leversedge.*

126. Thompson reports that "of experiences . . . of mystical nature, such as might be looked for in communities of contemplatives, there are no records concerning the English Carthusians" (*Carthusian Order,* 280). But see her account of Stephen, a fifteenth-century monk of Hinton who spoke to Mary Magdalen in a vision (*History of the Somerset Carthusians,* 270–74).

127. Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 298.

128. Methley, "Epistle to Hew Heremyte," 105.

129. A well-known example written for the nuns of Syon is *The Myrroure of Oure Ladye,* edited by J. H. Blunt. Lay examples include the private prayers in the Taymouth Hours (BL MS Yates Thompson 13), which includes certain words to be said "At the elevation of the host" (James, *Fifty Manuscripts from the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*); and the well-known recommendations made to an early fifteenth-century "devout and literate layman" (Pantin, "Instructions"). The spiritual performances of Margery Kempe, too, whose story is found only in a Carthusian book, were inspired by her participation in liturgical rites and celebrations—even on occasion liturgical drama. See Sponsler, "Drama and Piety," 134; and, for the connection with Methley and other later readers of Kempe's *Book,* see Lochrie, *Translations of the Flesh,* 203–35.

130. On the relation between spiritual and physical vision, see, e.g., Hamburger, "Seeing and Believing"; Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions"; and Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative,* 11–22.

131. For the ways in which religious images construct both individual and social identities, see Morgan, *Visual Piety.*

132. Seventeenth-century Carthusian painting includes works by Zurbarán and Carducho in Spain, and—most famously—Le Sueur's series of the life of St. Bruno painted for the Carthusians of Paris (1645–48). For an overview, see Evans, *Monastic Iconography,* 32–34. For a more specialized study of baroque imagery in a particular charterhouse, see Fischer, *Baroke Bibliotheksprogramm.*

133. For a short introduction to the subject of medieval Carthusian art in France, see Evans, *Art in Medieval France,* 150–57. See also Devaux, *L'Architecture dans l'ordre des chartreux,* 119–41; van Luttervelt, "Schilderijen met Karthuizers"; Le Bras, *Ordres religieux,* 1:562–653; and Gruys, *Cartusiana,* 1:34. Several essay collections devoted to Carthusian art show a decided Continental focus: Girard and Le Blévec, eds., *Les Chartreux et l'art;* Hogg, ed., *Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians;* and (though not strictly devoted to the visual arts) *Die Kartäuser und die Kunste ihrer Zeit.*

134. *Consuetudines* 40.1. "Ornamenta aurea vel argentea, preter calicem et calamum quo sanguis domini sumitur, in ecclesia non habemus, pallia tapetiaque reliquimus."

135. *Statuta antiqua* 2.32. Cited by Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 184.

136. An emphasis upon the devotional utility of Carthusian art underscores most apologetic treatments of the subject; see, e.g., Girard, "De l'image en Chartreuse." For a helpful consideration of monastic attitudes toward the visual arts, see Rudolph, *"Things of Greater Importance."*

137. See Bligny, "Les Premiers chartreux et la pauvreté." Carbonell-Lamothe claims that the Carthusians had as great an influence on later art as the Franciscans did in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but that such influence remains largely unexplored; see "Conclusions," 402.

138. For a consideration of late-medieval Carthusian history, see Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform.*

139. *Statuta nova* 2.1.7. "Tapetia unversa et cussini picturati vel alias curiosi in usu apud nos non habeant: sed et picture curiose ubi sine scandalo fieri poterit de nostris ecclesiis et domibus eradantur: et nove de cetero fieri non permittant." I differ somewhat from Thompson in my understanding of this passage; compare Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 129. I am grateful to Traugott Lawler for advice concerning this translation.

140. See Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D.318, transcribed in *Chartae,* ed. Sargent and Hogg, vol. 2. Rawlinson MS D.318 and Lambeth MS 413 are cited by Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 266.

141. *Tertia compilatio* 3.5.

142. Rudolph translates "curiosus" as "unusually distractive" (*Things of Greater Importance,* 176n473). For an interesting discussion of the insistent Carthusian use of the adjective, see Elie, *Les Editions,* 193–200. For more general studies of the sin of *curiositas,* see Newhauser, "Towards a History of Human Curiosity"; Newhauser, "Sin of Curiosity and the Cistercians"; Krüger, ed., *Curiositas,* especially Hamburger, "Idol Curiosity"; and, for the afterlife of visual *curiositas* in the seventeenth century, Wood, "'Curious Pictures.'"

143. Thompson claims that the making of books was the only interaction that Carthusians had with the outside world (*Carthusian Order,* 524). But this is surely the ideal more than the reality.

144. The involvement of so many known and accomplished artists in the decoration of Champmol makes it a particularly interesting—if not exactly representative—case in which to examine the visual environment of Carthusian spirituality; see Lindquist, "Status of Artists." The standard study of Champmol is Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon.* For the visual environment, see also *Art from the Court of Burgundy,* 164–263; de Merindol, "Art, spiritualité, et politique"; Lindquist, "Patronage, Piety, and Politics"; and Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol.* For a useful recent study focused on Sluter's portal, see Grandmontagne, *Claus Sluter.*

145. *Consuetudines* 41. A single chapter contains the prohibition against the "tombs of strangers" and the prohibitions against accepting gifts and saying prayers for outsiders—many manifestations of the single problem of external influence on Carthusian life.

146. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 33. For a survey of burials in all English houses, see ibid., 65–68.

147. The Coventry mural is the only wall-painting still extant in an English charterhouse; see Soden, "Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction"; and Gill, "Role of Images," 127–29.

148. Guigo himself drew an analogy between cities and wealth: "307. Considera quomodo paupertas et vilitas in mediis urbibus solitudinem praestent, divitiae turbis heremos impleant" (*Les Méditations,* 204). ("307. Consider how poverty and squalor create solitude in the middle of cities, and wealth fills the desert with crowds" [*Meditations of Guigo I,* 132].)

149. "'Ex Oblatione Fidelium,'" 85. See also Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice.* For specific connections between charterhouse burials and Add. 37049, see Hennessy, "Remains," 326–49.

150. Müntz, "Fresques inédites."

151. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 55. The account of Legh and Cave is excerpted from ibid., 53–55.

152. Ibid., 56. See also Soden, "Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction."

153. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 60.

154. For evidence of interaction between manuscript painting and murals at Basel Charterhouse, see Hamburger, "Writing on the Wall."

155. Venard suggests that the common spaces of the charterhouses were the spaces deliberately given over to things of this world, and so were more likely spaces in which to display art objects; he even suggests that the Carthusians thought of their communal spaces as "sacrificed" to the world, a sacrifice that they made to preserve the privacy of their cells. See "Conclusions," 409.

156. For example, the inventory made in 1519 by monk Thomas Golwynne of items he took with him on a journey from London to Mountgrace includes the following: "Item a wyde sloppe furryd to put over all my gere, of the gyfte of my Lady Conway," "Item a newe pylche of the gyft of Mr. Saxby," "Item a newe mantell by the gyfte of Syr John Rawson knyght of the Roodes," and "Item a lytell brasyn morter with a pestyl gevyn by the gyfte of a frende of myne," "Item a new chafyngdysshe of laten gevyn to vs," "ij new tyne botylles gevyn by a lynsman of owrs," and "Item a brasse panne of a galone gevyn to vs lyke wyse" (quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 22; see also Hogg, "Everyday Life," 100–101). Doyle, "Carthusians," provides further information on the connections of the Saxbys to the Carthusian house in London.

157. For these conjectures, see Sterling, "Oeuvres retrouveés." More recently, see also *Art from the Court of Burgundy,* 198–207; and Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol,* 201–3.

158. Devaux, *L'Architecture,* 129; Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon,* 1:135, 171, 269.

159. See Doyle, "Carthusians," for Golwynne's list.

160. *Consuetudines* 49.1. "Si alicui nostrum sive laico sive monacho, ab aliquo vel amico vel propinquo vel vestis vel aliquid huiusmodi missum fuerit, non ei sed alii potius datur, ne quasi proprium habere videatur." ("If clothing or another gift of that kind has been sent to one of us, converse or monk, by a friend or relative, it is not given to him, but rather to another, so that he does not seem to have something to himself alone.")

161. Quoted in Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 274. See Gribbin, ed., *Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions.*

162. Gribbin, "'Ex Oblatione Fidelium,'" 91; Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 266–67.

163. Lindquist, "Patronage," 18.

164. See, e.g., de Grauwe, "Bertholet Flémal"; de Grauwe, "Vitraux de la chartreuse de Lierre"; and de Grauwe, "Robert-Arnold Henrard."

165. The conflicts inherent in Carthusian attitudes toward art are reflected by conflicts among scholars. Le Blévec, for example, asserts that the monastic cells remained always "le refuge de l'austerité primitive," even while pictures covered the walls of the more public buildings (Girard and Le Blévec, eds., *Les Chartreux et l'art,* 14).

166. *Consuetudines* 64.2. "In cellis quoque ipsis sive superius sive inferius, nichil nisi prius ostensum et iussum, mutari fierive sinitur, ne domus laboriose factae curiositate deterantur vel destruantur."

167. The evidence of an eighteenth-century monk confirms that centuries later things remained much the same. He upholds a distinction between what is appropriate in the church and what in the cell, warning his brothers: "You should avoid the childish weakness of those who decorate their cells like chapels" (quoted in Venard, 408).

168. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 77–84, 89–92.

169. Ibid., 77.

170. Devaux, *L'Architecture,* 135.

171. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* 93–94. The guesthouses at Mountgrace have also been linked to the pilgrim traffic that undoubtedly passed by.

172. Ibid., 93. For the use of the *imago pietatis* on indulgences, see Endres, "Die Darstellung der Gregoriusmesse"; and, for indulgenced images more generally, Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative,* 23–30.

173. Additional 37049, fol. 2r. For the history of the image, see Bertelli, "*Image of Pity.*" A single Caxton woodcut in a miscellaneous incunabulum (Cambridge University Library, Inc.5.F.6.3) shows a Carthusian monk kneeling in front of a similar Image of Pity. For this and related English woodcuts, see Bradshaw, "Earliest English Engravings"; Dodgson, "English Devotional Woodcuts"; Dodgson, *Woodcuts of the XV Century,* no. 42, pl. LXXI (Man of Sorrows with a monastic supplicant), no. 112, pl. XXXIc (Man of Sorrows); and Hodnett, *English Woodcuts,* no. 381; and Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

174. One might even conclude that instrumental and aesthetic purposes were mutually exclusive. For this suggestion, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice"; and Marks, *Image and Devotion,* 218.

175. The primary objection to the extremities of Carthusian asceticism had to do, not with images, but with diet: the monks' vegetarianism was feared to impede the treatment of the sick. See Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 104. For details, see Hogg, "Carthusian Abstinence." For other criticisms of Carthusian severity, see Knowles, *Monastic Orders,* 384–87; and Cowdrey, "Carthusian Impact."

176. For a thorough discussion of this tract, and the questions surrounding its authorship, see Hogg, "Guillelmus de Yporegia."

177. "Certum est enim quod Cartusienses in omnibus ecclesiis suis habent, et ha-

bere debent ex Ordinis sui institutis, imaginem Crucifixi in loco solemni et eminenti, et super plura altaria plures cruces; in oratoriis quoque cellarum suarum generaliter consueverunt habere Crucifixum et imaginem Mariae Virginis, et etiam aliquando aliorum Sanctorum secundum quod se offert possibilitas et facultas. Honestati vero et paupertati Religionis attestatur ipsorum, si refugiunt curiositates sumptuosas in picturis et sculpturis et varietatibus aedificiorum solemnium et mirabilium, quae rusticitati vitae solitariae non concordant. Secundum enim doctrinam Joannis Damasceni, imagines et picturae murorum sunt quasi quaedam scripturae et literae laicorum, ut qui in libris legere non noverunt, in murorum picturis quasi quibusdam literis grossis intelligunt, quae ipsi illiterati intelligere nequeunt in scripturis. Et ideo tales picturae laudabiliter fieri possunt in ecclesiis ubi concurrit frequentia populorum, quae frustra et superflue fierent in desertis Cartusiensium quo non consueverunt populi, licet aliquando pauci viri, convenire. . . . Ideo et praedicti Cartusienses in cellis suis, sicut praedictum est, devotas picturas non renuunt nec recusant, sed ad excitationem devotionis et imaginationis, et augmentum devotae conceptionis, easdem libenter et affetuose recipiunt et requirunt." See Le Couteulx, *Annales ordinis Cartusiensis,* 1:276–77. Paraphrased from MS Bodley 549 (fols. 25–85v) by Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 106.

178. For a charterhouse museum that reconstructs the artistic environment of the medieval and modern cell, see Koller and Lenssen, *Kartäusermuseum Tückelhausen.*

179. "Conclusions," 400–401. "Aucun autre ordre ne paraît avoir aussi sûrement imposé sa propre image, avoir été aussi exigeant sur la représentation de lui-même et sur la traduction artistique."

180. "La croix Nostre Seigneur, et au pié d'icelle aura ung priant chartreux." See Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton.* Quarton was also a sometime painter of manuscripts, for example, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 358 (a book of hours), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 2661 (Missal of Jean des Martins).

181. Hans Belting claims that the cell paintings at Champmol "always depicted the Crucifixion but also included a portrait of the cell's occupant" (*Likeness and Presence,* 417). While this claim may seem unduly sweeping, it testifies to the regularity with which Carthusians depicted themselves at prayer. See also Camille, "Mimetic Identification," 190–92.

182. It is worth noting that Petrus Christus' "Portrait of a Carthusian" (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1446) represents the monk alone with no divine figures—and hence seemingly to no devotional purpose.

183. See, e.g., Girard, "Les Chartreux et les anges."

184. See Ainsworth and Martens, Cat. 2, Jan van Eyck and Workshop, "Virgin and Child with Saints Barbara and Elizabeth and Jan Vos."

185. Ainsworth, *Petrus Christus,* cat. 7, Petrus Christus, "Virgin and Child with Saint Barbara and Jan Vos (Exeter Madonna)." See also Upton, *Petrus Christus.* It is thought that Petrus Christus made this small copy from the larger altarpiece around 1450.

186. Connections between books and art can be architectural, as well. For a study of a postmedieval iconographic/allegorical program in a charterhouse library, see Fischer, *Barocke Bibliotheksprogramm.*

187. *Monk's Confession,* 32. "Intantum, inquam, suae sunt custodes inopiae ut, hoc ipso quo agimus anno, Nevernensis comes, vir omnino religiosus et potens, eos, causa devotionis et optimae, quae hinc emanat, opinionis, inviserit multumque super seculari eos cupiditate, ut caverent inde, monuerit, cumque, regressus ad sua, eorum indigentiae, quam viderat, meminisset, et monitorum, quae eis intulerat, nequaquam memor esset, nescio quae argentea, sciphos videlicet et scutras, precii plurimi eis misit. Sed eorum quae dixerat illis nequaquam obliviosos invenit: communicato namque mox consilio, quaecumque dixerat ad integrum refutata receipt. "Nos," inquiunt, "neque in expensis nostris neque in ecclesiae ornmentis, exterarum quippiam pecuniarum retinere delegimus. Et si in horum alterutro non expenditur, ut quid a nobis suscipitur?" Puduit itaque praevaricatoriae contra suum sermonem oblationis comitem et tamen, dissimulata aspernatione eorum, boum tergora et pergamena plurima retransmisit, quae pene inevitabiliter ipsis necessaria esse cognovit" (Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie,* 68–70).

188. Few studies and exhibitions have addressed the question of Carthusian illumination directly, but see de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* especially 48–49, 116–21, 134–42, 192–240; de Forbin, "Les Manuscrits de la chartreuse de Villeneuve-les-Avignon"; Früh, "Die Illustrationen in Guigo Engelherrs Manuskripten"; de Merindol, "Les Premières bibles peintes cartusiennes"; Vaillant, *Les Enluminures des manuscrits cartusiens;* and Vaillant, *Les Manuscrits de la Grande Chartreuse.* For English illumination, specifically, one will soon be able to consult Luxford, "Precept and Practice." I am grateful to Dr. Luxford for allowing me to see his essay in an early version.

189. For a useful sifting of external ("forinsic") and internal decoration, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

190. For a magnificent English example of an aristocratic "Carthusian" book, see the illuminated Bible from Winchester that King Henry II gave to the charterhouse at Witham (Bodleian MSS Auct.E.infra 1 and 2); Oakeshott, *Two Winchester Bibles,* 33–34. Late-medieval English charterhouses, too, benefited from the donation of magnificent royal books, such as the illustrated Bible given to Sheen in 1419 by Henry V (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 34) or the Wycliffite Bible probably given to London by Henry VI (Oxford, Bodleian MS Bodley 277). For these and other examples, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

191. The inclusion of the statutes seems to be one of Doyle's unspoken criteria for determining which manuscripts are certainly associated with the Carthusians; see "Not Yet Linked."

192. Examples on flyleaves include a Holy Trinity (BL MS Royal 12.B.iv), a head of Christ (Ripon Cathedral MS 6), Christ Crucified and Christ Carrying the Cross (CGCC MS 142/192), and a Virgin and child (BL MS Add. 37790). For discussion, see Luxford, "Precept and Practice."

193. Luxford argues that the illustration of the genealogy of English kings in Eton College MS 213 was done by the manuscript's annotator, a Carthusian; see "Precept and Practice."

194. For Golwynne's books, see Doyle, "Carthusians," C7, pp. 627–29. Printed also by Thompson, *Carthusian Order,* 326–28.

195. Doyle compares this "wryten boke" to a volume identifiable from John

Blacman's donation, BL MS Sloane 2515—a manuscript that contains three treatises on mortality copied by Blacman himself when he was at the London charterhouse, c. 1460. For another Carthusian "liber de arte moriendi," see Doyle, "Carthusians," C2.13.

196. It is possible that "storyes" here could refer to pictorial representations, as well as texts; see *MED,* s.v. "storie" (n.1), 3. The specificity with which Golwynne's list describes other manuscript illuminations makes this interpretation unlikely, however.

197. Hardman suggests that Robert Thornton, for example, could have been influenced by Carthusian art in manuscripts such as Additional 37049; "Reading the Spaces," 269.

198. "Maxima utilitas corporum est, in usu signorum. Ex eis enim fiunt multa signa nostri saluti necessaria, ut ex aere voces, ex ligno cruce, ex aqua baptismus. Non norunt invicem motus suos animae, nisi per signa corporea" (Guigo I, *Les Méditations,* no. 308, p. 204; *Meditations of Guigo I,* 132).

199. *Book of Margery Kempe,* ed. Meech and Allen, 200. See also Renevey, "Margery's Performing Body," 204–11.

CHAPTER 3. *The Shapes of Eremitic Reading in the* Desert of Religion

1. Physical evidence suggests that the *Desert of Religion* may not always have occupied this central place in the manuscript; see Hogg, who concludes that the *Desert* at one time "formed a separate entity" ("Unpublished Texts," 248). If the poem was deliberately integrated into the middle of the manuscript at some time after its original production—surely a more difficult procedure than simply tacking it on at either end—its central position seems all the more significant.

2. I borrow the term *composite art* from Mitchell, *Blake's Composite Art.*

3. Allen, "*Desert of Religion,*" 389. The *Desert* also borrows, less heavily, from the *Prick of Conscience,* Richard Rolle's *Emendatio vitae* (in the twelve degrees of perfect living), the *Legenda aurea,* and the sermon *De duodecim abusionum gradibus* attributed to St. Augustine, but more likely authored by St. Cyprian. Even passages now unidentified seem derivative to Allen, who thinks it "possible that some of the passages now unaccounted for might be traced, were the investigation a profitable one" (389). For a discussion of the *Speculum vitae* (*NIMEV* 245) and its relationships to a variety of texts derived from the influential *Somme le roy,* see Allen, "*Speculum Vitae.*" Two of some thirty manuscripts that preserve the *Speculum* claim that it derives from a Latin work by John of Waldeby and cite William of Nassington as the English translator, but neither of these claims can be corroborated.

4. Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins,* 179; Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century,* 235.

5. This and all subsequent quotations of the *Desert* are taken from Hübner, ed., *Desert of Religion.*

6. Other occurrences of the participial construction in the poem include, for example, "spryngand" (132) and "floryschand" (163). For notice of the participle, see Freud, "*Desert of Religion,*" 57.

7. On the reading of diagrams as text and image, see Evans, "Geometry of the Mind."

8. Hübner, "*Desert of Religion.*" More recent studies of the poem similarly make no attempt to integrate texts with images; see McGovern-Mouron, "Edition of the *Desert of Religion.*" While Hübner's edition is based on the text of Additional 37049, McGovern-Mouron chooses Cotton Faustina B.vi (II) as her best text, exclusively because of the superior quality of its illustrations. See also McGovern-Mouron, "*Desert of Religion* in British Library Cotton Faustina B VI"—which argues strongly that the version of the poem in Cotton is "most interesting" because of the quality of its illustrations (159). For an argument that more clearly takes the poem's unusual design into account, see Mouron, "Rhetoric of Religion," 148–56.

9. Curiosity about the famous hermit focused attention initially on the *Desert*'s images before its words, but only as documentary icons with memorial, biographical power. The Rolle "portrait" from MS Cotton Faustina B.VI (Pt. II) was reproduced numerous times before anyone thought to discuss the other pictures, or the texts appended to them; see Montmorency, *Thomas à Kempis,* pl. opp. 70; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites,* frontispiece, pl. opp. 25; Comper, *Life of Richard Rolle,* frontispiece, xix; and Rickert, *Painting in Britain,* 183–84, pl. 183b. See chapter 4 for further discussion of Rolle's influence on all three manuscripts.

10. The *IMEV,* too, only partially accommodates the structure of the *Desert of Religion.* Brown and Robbins cite only the 940 lines of the continuous poem as one text (*IMEV,* 672), but Robbins and Cutler later include in the *IMEV Suppl.* two other poems, considered by them to be separate texts, which are perimeter-texts surrounding images of hermits (91.8; 1367.3 [this latter text is erroneously said to illustrate a "picture of several saints" on fol. 52v]). The six lines identified as *IMEV Suppl.* 1367.3 are excerpted not only from the complex of poem and perimeter-texts and images that make up the *Desert of Religion,* but also from "Ihesu god sone lord of mageste / Send wil to my hert etc." (1715), where they are stanza 8 (see Brown XIV, 99–101). Only the texts having to do with Rolle or thought to be authored by him are granted such independent status; other perimeter-texts are folded into the *Desert* as a whole, or (one suspects) ignored. The poem fits uncomfortably into modern bibliographical scholarship, which has hampered consideration of it.

11. Lawton gives a short list of secular Middle English texts that "seem to have been viewed as illustrated books": John Gower's *Confessio amantis;* Stephen Scrope's translations of the *Epître d'Othéa,* and the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers;* John Lydgate's *Troy Book, Fall of Princes,* and *Life of St. Edmund and St Fremund;* and the English prose translations of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'âme* ("Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts," 42n5). Even these works, however, exist in some unillustrated copies. For discussion of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in Additional 37049, see below, chapter 6.

12. The manuscript has been widely known at least since Margaret Rickert's mention in Painting in Britain (183–84), and it merits its own entry (no. 63) in Kathleen Scott's *Later Gothic Manuscripts.*

13. The relationship to the British Library manuscripts was first noticed by Rick-