

JAMES HOGG

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE CHARTERHOUSE IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

The Carthusian Order has until recent years scarcely received the attention from professional historians that its significance on the medieval monastic scene merits¹. Many historians *de métier*² have indeed declared that an assessment of the spiritual life in the medieval charterhouses is virtually impossible owing to the lack of trustworthy sources. Thus such studies as have appeared tend either to be devoted to the history of the temporal fortunes of a specific charterhouse³ or are

¹ No regular series of publications on the Carthusian Order existed before the launching of the *Analecta Cartusiana* in 1970, though the interest has proved sufficient to justify the starting of a second initiative in 1978: *Collection de Recherches et d'Etudes Cartusiennes*. As the latter series is to be published "avec le concours du C. N. R. S., des Pères chartreux et de Chartreuse-Diffusion", these volumes will probably eventually displace the *Analecta Cartusiana*, which has remained a private undertaking of the editor (address: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, University of Salzburg, Austria). In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth the Carthusians operated their own printing press, first at Montreuil-sur-Mer, and, after the expulsions, at Tournai in Belgium. The equipment was later transferred to the charterhouse of Parkminster in England, but few volumes were produced after 1906, and production ceased in 1954.

² Cf., for example, G. G. COULTON in his highly polemical *Five Centuries of Religion*, 4 vols. Cambridge 1923—1950. He bemoans the lack of scandalous evidence, with which to assail the Carthusian Order!

³ Such studies are duly recorded in ALBERT GRUIJS provisional bibliography *Cartusiana*. Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris 1976ff. 2 volumes and a supplement have appeared to date. Despite numerous inaccuracies, the work is an indispensable tool of research. A recent example of this genre is GIORGIO BELTRUTTI's sumptuously produced *La Certosa di Pesio, Vicende storiche della grande Certosa et del Piemonte narrate dalle Chronica Carthusiae Vallis Pisis*. Cuneo 1978.

limited to a consideration of special aspects of Carthusian life⁴ or deal with particular spiritual authors⁵.

Truly, the Carthusians have not been well served by the world of scholarship⁶. The solitary nature of the Order's monastic ideal and the difficulties encountered in reconciling a predominantly intellectual activity with the specific contemplative vocation, allied to a certain reluctance on the part of superiors⁷ to allow their monks to publish or even to provide the necessary facilities for serious research, except in rare cases⁸, has inevitably led to most important contributions to the history of the Carthusian Order being compiled by monks of other

⁴ Typical are BERNARD BLIGNY's magisterial survey of the early years of the Order in his *L'Eglise et les Ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*. Paris 1960, or MARIJAN ZADNIKAR's brilliant treatment of the architecture of the charterhouses in Yugoslavia in *Srednjeveška Arhitektura Kartuzijanov in Slovenske Kartuzije*. Ljubljana 1972.

⁵ For example, *Nicolas Kempf, Tractatus de mystica theologia*. Recension et notes du R. P. KARL JELLOUSCHEK OSB. Texte critique avec introduction, notes et tables par JEANNE BARBET et FRANCIS RUELLO (*Analecta Cartusiana* 9) 2 vols. 1973; ELIZABETH SALTER, *Nicholas Love's Myrrou of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* (*Analecta Cartusiana* 10) 1974; M. J. HAMILTON, *Adam of Dryburgh: Six Christmas Sermons*, Introduction and Translation (*Analecta Cartusiana* 16) 1974; or WALTER BAIER, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der Vita Christi des Ludolf von Sachsen. Ein Quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie* (*Analecta Cartusiana* 44) 3 vols., 1977.

⁶ The articles in the encyclopaedias remain among the surest sources of initial orientation. That by YVES GOURDEL, Chartreux. *DSAM* (now *DS*) IX—X (Paris 1940) cols. 705—776, should now be supplemented by the articles „Certosino“ and „Certosini“ in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* II (Rome 1975) cols. 772—838. The contributions by 'Un Certosino' [= DOM MAURICE LAPORTE] and DOM JACQUES DUBOIS are of considerable value. The entries for the individual charterhouses in *DHGE* are also on occasion informative, as are DOM ILDEFONSO M. GÓMEZ' contributions "Cartujos" and the entries for the individual Spanish charterhouses in *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*. 4 vols., Madrid 1972—1975.

⁷ Thus DOM AUGUSTIN DEVAUX to date has only published *La Chartreuse de Sélignac* (*Analecta Cartusiana* 24) 1975, and a handful of articles in *DS*, although he has completed a number of historical studies on the Order, which are of first-rate quality.

⁸ An exception in recent years has been DOM MAURICE LAPORTE, who produced his fundamental *Aux Sources de la Vie cartusienne* in 8 vols. 1960—1971. Unfortunately, it is reserved for private distribution at the Grande Chartreuse.

orders⁹ or by secular historians¹⁰. This has resulted in numerous errors of detail, caused by lack of sufficient knowledge of the observance, which can only be acquired by long and painstaking study¹¹ or by first-hand knowledge of Carthusian life.

Considerable documentary evidence is, however, extant that can render service for an investigation into Carthusian life in the late Middle Ages, though much of it remains unpublished. In Italy, France and Spain particularly¹², substantial sections of the monastic archives have survived. In most cases these were transferred to the nearest town or to the National Archives in the capital¹³ during the suppressions — temporary or permanent — of the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, though in some cases they passed into the hands of the new proprietors

⁹ Among the more expert treatments have been DOM DAVID KNOWLES's discussion of the English Carthusians in his *The Monastic Order in England*. Cambridge 1950, 375—391, and his *The Religious Orders in England* II. Cambridge 1957, 129—138; and III. Cambridge 1959, 222—240. A fellow Benedictine monk, DOM JACQUES DUBOIS, has also shown great critical acumen in his numerous studies on the Carthusians. Though some are highly specialised, even the general reader can profit from "L'institution des convers au XII^e siècle. Forme de vie monastique propre aux laïcs". *I Laici nella "Societas Christiana" dei Secoli XI e XII* (*Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali* 5) Milan 1968, 183—261, and "Quelques Problèmes de l'histoire de l'Ordre des Chartreux à propos de livres récents". *RHE* LXIII (1968) 27—54.

¹⁰ Of considerable distinction was E. MARGARET THOMPSON's *The Carthusian Order in England*. London 1930, which has not been superseded — a remarkable achievement for a pious laywoman, virtually unaided by the Order. The dangers are shown in the superficial brilliance of HUBERT ELIE's Paris doctoral thesis *Les Editions des Statuts de l'Ordre des Chartreux*. Lausanne 1943, which is misleading in detail.

¹¹ Such a work was realised by BERNARD BLIGNY in his *Recueil des plus anciens actes de la Grande Chartreuse (1086—1196)*. Grenoble 1958, and is in course in FRIEDRICH STÖHLKER's *Die Kartause Buxheim*. Buxheim 1974ff., 3 vols. to date.

¹² For France a catalogue has been compiled by DOM AUGUSTIN DEVAUX and PAUL DEVAUX, *Répertoire des Archives Cartusiennes conservées dans les Dépôts publics français*. Typescript, Charterhouse of Sélignac 1967. For Spain DOM ILDEFONSO M. GÓMEZ' "La Cartuja en España". *Studia Monastica* IV (1962) 139—175, offers a useful point of departure.

¹³ Most of the documents concerning the Spanish charterhouses were removed to the National Historical Archives in Madrid. A vast collection concerning Montalegre was, however, placed in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón at Barcelona, though some deeds remained at the charterhouse and others are in private hands in the neighbouring village of Tiana.

of the charterhouse¹⁴. Dr. GIOVANNI LEONCINI¹⁵ has recently shown that the day to day building activities at the charterhouse of Florence can be followed in the surviving documents, whilst a visit to the charterhouse of Trisulti, near Frosinone, in 1977 revealed that the account books of the procurator for lengthy periods are preserved, in which all the expenses and income of the monastery are recorded in itemised accounts. For the charterhouse of Montalegre, near Barcelona, a vast collection of documents is available, some of which date back to the period before this charterhouse was founded through the suppression of two neighbouring foundations located on unsuitable sites¹⁶.

Thus we are able to follow in detail the progress of the construction of the charterhouse of Montalegre, study the costs and even obtain a certain insight into the life of the community. The names of some of the workers engaged on the buildings are recorded, and the salaries they received indicated with precision, — not famous architects and professional masons, let it be said, but mainly a scratch labour force, largely recruited from Castille, Northern Spain, Majorca, and even France¹⁷; few came from the Kingdom of Aragon, in which realm the charterhouse lay. Many were what we would call casual labourers, who

¹⁴ For example, the archives of the charterhouse of Buxheim were only transferred to the Abbey of Ottobeuren many years after the suppression and some of those of the charterhouse of Ittingen passed into the hands of the Fehr family, when they purchased the buildings some years after the expulsion of the monks. Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Buxheim, Ittingen and La Valsainte (Analecta Cartusiana 38)* 1977, 36.

¹⁵ "La Certosa di Firenze. Note storico-artistiche sulla costruzione del monastero". *Notizie Cistercensi XI* (1978): *La Certosa di Firenze e i primi venti anni di vita cistercense (1958—1978)*, 5—33. A more detailed treatment will appear in the same author's "La Certosa di Firenze nei suoi rapporti con l'architettura certosina" (*Analecta Cartusiana 71*) 1979.

¹⁶ The charterhouses of Sant Pol de Mar and San Jaime de Vallparadis were suppressed and their possessions gradually realised to help finance the new foundation at Montalegre, which was begun in 1415.

¹⁷ For the history of Montalegre one may consult DOM IRÉNÉE JARICOT's *La Cartuja de Santa Maria de Montalegre: Compendio Historico*. Montalegre 1960. This, however, is only a summary of his detailed *Histoire de la Chartreuse de Notre Dame de Montalegre*, compiled at Montalegre in 1958. The latter has remained in typescript. All my quotations are from the typescript. An account book of 1430—1431 shows the number of workers engaged on the site (JARICOT 82). DOM JARICOT also gives details of payments to the workers 1450—1470 (p. 83), and lists salaries, the names of important craftsmen who were employed, and even the origin of some of the workers. Some were indeed serfs of the charterhouse (pp. 90—93).

worked for a few weeks and passed on; others were engaged — and housed — on a more or less permanent basis, for the work lasted for more than half a century, as the account books and the journal that the priors kept demonstrate. Inflation was a problem even before the discovery of America, for salaries rose steadily over the years, though it is a consolation to note that the official visitors of the Order were so satisfied with progress in 1462 that they granted the Master of the Works a supplementary allowance of cheese and wine annually as a reward¹⁸. He probably earned it, for the walls of the church are five metres thick in parts. Such was the extent of the building operations that the charterhouse purchased a sea-going ship for the transport of materials, that was later resold. For a community numbering usually under forty, — the laybrethren included, — and rarely reaching sixty even in the so-called treble charterhouses of our own time, such as the Grande Chartreuse¹⁹, Aula Dei, near Zaragoza²⁰, or Parkminster in Sussex²¹, the labour involved in laying on water and arranging closets²² for the individual cells, as well as the construction of the cells themselves and the enormous cloister alleys necessary to connect them, is out of all proportion to the number of inmates in the monastery. KNOWLES and GRIMES²³ have traced in detail the foundations of the London charter-

¹⁸ JARICOT 91.

¹⁹ The Grande Chartreuse was allowed to augment the number of monks to 20 by an ordinance of the Chapter General of 1324. The number of cellules was increased to 24 by the construction of a second cloister shortly after 1332. Cf. [DOM MAURICE LAPORTE], *La Grande Chartreuse par un chartreux*. Grande Chartreuse 1976, 41—42.

²⁰ Aula Dei was reconstructed to house communities of Carthusians expelled from France in the early years of the present century. Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Aragon: Vol. 2: La Cartuja de Aula Dei (Analecta Cartusiana 70)* 1979.

²¹ Parkminster was constructed from 1873 onwards in view of the probable expulsion of the French communities.

²² The closets can be traced at the charterhouse of Mount Grace: cf. JAMES HOGG, *Surviving English Carthusian Remains: Beauvale, Coventry, Mountgrace: Album (Analecta Cartusiana 36)* 1976. Ancient lavatories, pre-dating the invention of the water-closet, can also be viewed in the 'Dark Passage' of the Prelates' tract at the charterhouse of Aggsbach. Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Architecture of the Charterhouses of Lower Austria: Album (Analecta Cartusiana 33)* 1976, plates 157—163.

²³ DAVID KNOWLES & W. F. GRIMES, *Charterhouse. The Medieval Foundation in the light of Recent Discoveries*. London 1954.

house and Major FLETCHER did as much for Hinton in Somerset²⁴, and thus we can admire the dogged competence that the medieval planners brought to the task of constructing so complicated a group of buildings as those forming a charterhouse.

The account books of Montalegre pose a number of unexpected problems and even provide surprises for the reader. Thus, for instance, although the charterhouse still enjoys a wooded site, offering sound timber, even in the twentieth century, vast quantities of wood were imported for the buildings from neighbouring Spanish coastal regions. Furthermore, during the period of greatest activity, from 1423 right up to his death in 1459, the building operations were directed neither by the prior nor the procurator, but by a simple laybrother, John of Enea (or Nea), who had entered the charterhouse of Porta Coeli in 1413²⁵. This John of Enea was probably illiterate, for the accounts were written by a certain Dom John, but the laybrother was in complete charge of the economy, answerable only to the visitors, — a state of affairs virtually without precedent in the Order's history. Such was his efficiency that he represented the Order at royal courts and at one point was even nominated the pope's nuntius for Aragon²⁶. He seems to have lent out considerable sums of money to noble families, — which may represent fees that he earned on such missions²⁷.

From John of Enea's accounts one learns, for example, that the workers consumed over 700 kilograms of meat in a twenty month period, — almost exclusively mutton²⁸. The quantity seems indeed modest. Oil and cheese were imported from France, cheeses weighing 80 kilograms being secured from north of the Pyrenees. Considerable quantities of food receptacles and wood cups and wooden knives and

²⁴ PHILIP C. FLETCHER, Recent Excavations at Hinton Priory, Somerset. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archeological and Natural History Society* XCVI (1951) 160—165, and Further Excavations at Hinton Priory, Somerset, *ibid.* CLIII (1958—1959) 76—80. Full details are also given in JAMES HOGG, *The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse (Analecta Cartusiana 25)* 1975.

²⁵ Porta Coeli, near Serra, Valencia, a house founded in 1272. It is still occupied by the Carthusians. Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of the Carthusian Province of Catalonia*, Vol. 5: *Val de Cristo, Porta Coeli, Ara Christi (Analecta Cartusiana 41)* 1979.

²⁶ Cf. JARICOT 54—56. DOM JARICOT gives a fairly full account of his career, pp. 50—58 particularly, which renders all the previous hagiographical effusions obsolete.

²⁷ JARICOT 57, 75—76.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 79.

forks were purchased in bulk for the community²⁹. The staple articles of the monk's diet were, of course, fish, vegetables, cereals and eggs, as the rule strictly forbade the use of meat. Besides two qualities of tunny fish, — the better cut being obviously reserved for feastedays, — fresh fish was purchased from at least five different merchants, and in addition there was the inevitable supply of salt herrings. Further supplies of oil and cheese came from Majorca, and besides wheat and other cereals for bread, the purchase of rice from Valencia and regular supplies of onions, almonds, chestnuts, pepper, salt, nougat and dried figs are recorded. It is interesting to note that as regards clothing the laybrethren were not regarded as second-class members of the community, — their habits cost as much as those of the monks. For a somewhat later period the exact meals served in a Spanish charterhouse can be ascertained, for the cook of Ara Christi kept a day to day record of his culinary art³⁰.

The disturbances that such building operations caused for a contemplative community can be gauged from the case of the laybrother John Wagner of Ittingen, — a charterhouse constructed over a thirty year period in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries³¹. Wagner entered Ittingen in 1476, but fled from the incessant noise to the calm of a hermit's cell in 1489³². For Ittingen, as for the Austrian charterhouses of Mauerbach, Gaming and Aggsbach, very considerable quantities of documents have survived, and recently HERIBERT ROSSMANN in his *Die Geschichte der Kartause Aggsbach bei Melk in Niederösterreich*³³ has demonstrated that it is possible to reconstruct in detail the history of even a comparatively obscure Carthusian foundation.

²⁹ For details of the purchase of provisions, cloth etc., cf. JARICOT 78—81, where in many cases prices and the origin of the goods supplied is indicated.

³⁰ *Libro de la Cocina de la Cartuja de Ara Christi, en el año 17--*. Cf. DOM JOSÉ ORIOL PUIG, *Escritores Cartujos de España*. Cartuja de Aula Dei, Zaragoza 1954, 295, and UN CARTUJO [DOM JOSÉ ORIOL PUIG] e ILDEFONSO M. GÓMEZ, *Escritores Cartujanos Espanoles. Scripta et Documenta* 19 (Abbey of Montserrat 1970) 172, n° 30. Unfortunately the prior of Miraflores (Burgos) informed me in October 1978 that the copy of this work, which is registered in the library of his monastery, could not at present be located.

³¹ For the works of construction, cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Buxheim, Ittingen and La Valsainte* 26—27.

³² *Ibid.* fn. 5.

³³ *Analecta Cartusiana* 29—30, 1976.

The famous saying *Cartusia numquam reformata quia numquam deformata* needs to be placed in its correct context in any consideration of daily life in the charterhouse. Guigo I, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, in his *Consuetudines Cartusiae*³⁴, written around 1127 as a simple letter describing the customs observed at the Grande Chartreuse, insisted *propositum nostrum est, silentio et solitudini cellae vacare*³⁵. The small groups of semi-hermits, calling themselves the poor of Christ³⁶, inhabiting at first wooden huts in high Alpine valleys, were in no position to engage in the liturgical splendours that graced the celebration of the office at Cluny or even to match the modest decorum displayed in the contemporary Cistercian foundations. No musical instrument was ever permitted in the church³⁷, and so long as five monks were present the office had to be chanted³⁸. The rite they adopted — elements were borrowed from the office of the Canons of St. Ruf as well as from monastic and local ecclesiastical liturgies³⁹ — was conceived in relation to the special *propositio* of the Order and the limited number in the communities. In the early centuries they rarely exceeded twelve monks — the number of cells primitively planned — and must have often been less. During the later Middle Ages several double charterhouses were allowed and

³⁴ The critical edition by DOM MAURICE LAPORTE in *Aux Sources de la Vie cartusienne*, Vol. 4: *Edition critique des Consuetudines Cartusiae*. In *Domo Cartusiae* 1962, replaces the text in MIGNE, *PL* 153, cols. 631—760. All quotations are from LAPORTE's edition, but the spelling has been modernised.

³⁵ XIV, 5.

³⁶ Perhaps the best accounts of the spirit of the early Carthusians are to be found in BERNARD BLIGNY, *Les premiers chartreux et la pauvreté. Le Moyen Age* LVII (1951) 27—60, and in [DOM MAURICE LAPORTE], *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, I (*Sources Chrétiennes* 88) Paris 1962.

³⁷ No serious effort was ever made to introduce an organ to accompany the chant. ARCHDALE A. KING, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*. London 1955, 33, records: "Instruments of music were forbidden in 1326, descants in 1442, and figured music in 1582." KING gives an account of the Carthusian Rite on pp. 1—61. Some of his findings have been invalidated by more recent research.

³⁸ The regulation of how much of the office had to be sung and how much merely recited when only a very small community was available varied over the centuries.

³⁹ Fundamental research on the Carthusian liturgy has been carried through in recent years by HANSJAKOB BECKER, *Die Responsorien der Karthäuserbreviers, Untersuchungen zur Urform und Herkunft des Antiphonars der Kartause. Münchener Theologische Studien, Systematische Abteilung* 39 (Munich 1971), and *Das Tonale Guigos I. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte*

quite a few houses had more than twelve cells⁴⁰, and some deviations as regards architectural grandeur, such as the charterhouses of Naples⁴¹, Florence⁴² and Pavia⁴³ came to be tolerated, — deviations that inevitably affected the observance to a certain degree.

The evolution of Carthusian life over the centuries can be traced with exactitude across the various legislative collections, some of which have been published in the 1970s for the first time. Thus *Supplementa*⁴⁴ were issued to the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* in Guigo's lifetime. They can be dated before 1135. The first Chapter General was held under Prior Anthelm in 1141, and a further collection of ordinances were issued⁴⁵. A substantial consolidation of the legislation was undertaken by Prior Basil⁴⁶ around 1170, — a process which was repeated by Jancelin⁴⁷ in the *Statuta Jancelini*⁴⁸ in 1222. Prior Bernard's⁴⁹ *De Reformatio-*

des liturgischen Gesanges und der Ars Musica im Mittelalter. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 23 (Munich 1975); DOM EMMANUEL CLUZET, *Particularités des Prières de la Messe Cartusienne*. Typescript, Charterhouse of Portes 1967, and *Particularités du Temporel et du Sanctoral du Missel Cartusien*. Typescript, Charterhouses of Portes and Séguignac 1968; and R. ETAIX, *L'Homiliaire Cartusien. SE* 13 (1962) 67—112.

⁴⁰ For details of Carthusian cells and the tendency to depass the original number of twelve cells, cf. DOM AUGUSTIN DEVAUX, *L'Architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux*. Typescript, Charterhouse of Séguignac 1962, 72—74.

⁴¹ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Naples and Capri*, Vol. 2: *Album (Analecta Cartusiana* 58) 1978, plates 1, 3—4, 7—87.

⁴² Cf. JAMES HOGG, *La Certosa di Firenze (The Charterhouse of Florence)*. (*Analecta Cartusiana* 66) 1979.

⁴³ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouse of Pavia (Analecta Cartusiana* 52) (in the press). In October 1972 JOANNE GITLIN BERNSTEIN presented a brilliant dissertation to the Dept. of Fine Arts at the University of New York entitled *The Architectural Sculpture of the Cloisters of the Certosa of Pavia*. Unfortunately, it has not been published to date.

⁴⁴ Critical edition in JAMES HOGG, *Die ältesten Consuetudines der Kartäuser (Analecta Cartusiana* 1) 1970, 92—103.

⁴⁵ Text *ibid.* 117—121, 104—116. Cf. for his life, JEAN PICARD, *Vie de Saint Antelme Evêque de Belley Chartreux par son chapelain Guillaume chartreux de Portes. Collection de Recherches et d'Etudes Cartusiennes* 1 (Belley 1978).

⁴⁶ Critical text in JAMES HOGG, *Die ältesten Consuetudines der Kartäuser* 142—218. Basil was prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1151—1174.

⁴⁷ Jancelin was prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1180—1233.

⁴⁸ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The 'Statuta Jancelini' (1222) and the 'De Reformatione' of Prior Bernard (1248)*, Vol. 2: *The MS. Grande Chartreuse 1 Stat. 23 (Analecta Cartusiana* 65) 1978, 26—137.

⁴⁹ Prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1247—1249, 1253—1257.

ne⁵⁰, mainly concerned with eliminating incipient abuses, was promulgated in 1248, and followed by annual collections of ordinances⁵¹. In 1259 the *Antiqua Statuta*⁵², issued under Prior Riffier⁵³, abrogated the previous legislation. In time two further supplements were issued, the *Nova Statuta*⁵⁴ in 1368 and the *Tertia Compilatio*⁵⁵ in 1509. The complexity of reconciling texts in these three collections led to the publication of the first printed edition of the Statutes at Basle in 1510⁵⁶, which was furnished with a comprehensive index⁵⁷. Later collections lie outside the scope of the present inquiry, but the *Ordinarium*, containing the liturgical prescriptions, first constituted a separate entity in 1582⁵⁸.

These official collections, approved by the Chapter General of the Order, were supplemented by a number of *Caerimonialia*, which, even if they were not obligatory for all the houses, yet had a considerable influence, as most of them originated at the Grande Chartreuse. The earliest of these customaries, entitled *Privatae Consuetudines*, appears

⁵⁰ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The 'Statuta Jancelini' (1222) and the 'De Reformatione' of Prior Bernard (1248)* 4—23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 137—162.

⁵² Over 400 manuscripts of the *Antiqua Statuta* are known. No critical edition has been attempted to date. The *Antiqua Statuta* were printed in the Basle edition of the statutes of the Order (see below, fn. 56). They were also reproduced along with the *Consuetudines Domni Guigonis, Prioris Cartusiae* and the *Nova Statuta* (pp. 347—415), and the *Tertia Compilatio* (pp. 417—478) by the Carthusians in an undated edition at the end of the nineteenth century. The *Antiqua Statuta* occupy pp. 61—345. The text has been recognized as unsatisfactory, and the few copies that exist do not carry either a title page or indications of the place of printing. It was, however, almost certainly produced at Montreuil-sur-Mer.

⁵³ Prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1257—1267.

⁵⁴ Also contained in the Basle edition of the statutes of the Order and in the publication referred to in fn. 52.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis*, printed by John Amorbach at Basle in 1510. It contains Guigo I, *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, *Antiqua Statuta*, *Nova Statuta*, and *Tertia Compilatio*. The pages are not numbered. The edition is one of the masterpieces of early printing.

⁵⁷ Cynics declare that the index is longer than the text! In fact, it is an admirable tool for tracing related passages in the statutes.

⁵⁸ Issued under the priorate of Bernard Carasse 1566—1586. Most of the work was done by Michael de Vesly, at that time prior of the charterhouse of Paris. He was prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1594—1600. Cf. [DOM MAURICE LAPORTE], *La Grande Chartreuse* 71.

to date from the middle of the fourteenth century. It is significant that the surviving manuscripts are to be found in the archives of the Grande Chartreuse, though the manuscript itself came from the charterhouse of Schnals⁵⁹, in Gonville & Caius College Library, Cambridge⁶⁰, from an English charterhouse, and in the National Library in Vienna⁶¹. These *Privatae Consuetudines* offer short clarifications on specific liturgical points that had remained unresolved in the legislative collections.

Much more important is the customary that is generally attributed to Raynaldi, prior of the Grande Chartreuse⁶². It can be dated around 1370 and is thus roughly contemporary with the *Nova Statuta*. A further customary was approved by Prior Maresme⁶³ of the Grande Chartreuse ca. 1440, and an even more extensive one by Prior De Roux⁶⁴ in 1499, that was officially ratified by the Chapter General and made obligatory

⁵⁹ Ms. Grande Chartreuse 1 Stat. 25, ff. 222^v—223^v. The charterhouse of Schnals in South Tyrol was founded in 1325. The *Privatae Consuetudines* will be published in *Analecta Cartusiana* 3: JAMES HOGG, *Medieval Carthusian Customaries, Part II*.

⁶⁰ Add. Ms. 771, f. 68^r—^v. Unfortunately, the exact provenance of the manuscript cannot be ascertained.

⁶¹ Ms. 1459, f. 127^r—^v, from the charterhouse of Aggsbach, founded ca. 1380. The Ms. Le Mans 109, f. 139 also probably contains the *Privatae Consuetudines*. I have not as yet been able to see the manuscript, which came from the charterhouse of Parc, Sarthe.

⁶² Raynaldi was prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1367—1402. Two manuscripts of his customary have survived: Venice, Library of St. Mark, Ms. Lat. 83 (3, n° 138 (2907)), *Cerimonie Domus Cartusie*, ff. 1—59, from the charterhouse of Pavia, founded in 1396; and Charterhouse of Parkminster, Ms. B. 84, a compilation made by DOM CHARLES LE COUTEULX, the annalist of the Order, late in the seventeenth century. Cf. JAMES HOGG, *Die ältesten Consuetudines der Kartäuser* 49—69. DOM LE COUTEULX gives it the title: *Manuale Cerimoniarum domus Cartusiae*. It occupies pp. 324—379 of his manuscript. The original of his copy was a manuscript of the charterhouse of Villeneuve-lez-Avignon (founded 1356), that has since been lost. Raynaldi's customary will also be printed in *Analecta Cartusiana* 3.

⁶³ Prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1437—1463. The only surviving copy is to be found in the Ms. 42/T. I. 8 of the charterhouse of Valsainte, ff. 25^r—68^v. Edition in JAMES HOGG, *Mittelalterliche Caerimonialia der Kartäuser, Teil I (Analecta Cartusiana 2)* 1971, 84—150. The manuscript came from the charterhouse of Cologne. There is a full description of it in *ibid.* 23—33 and in JAMES HOGG, *Late Fifteenth Century Carthusian Rubrics for the Deacon and the Sacristan from the Ms. Valsainte 42/T. I. 8 (Analecta Cartusiana 4)* 1971, 5—8.

⁶⁴ Edition in JAMES HOGG, *Mittelalterliche Caerimonialia der Kartäuser, Teil 1*, 151—305.

for the whole Order⁶⁵. A further short customary for the English charterhouses, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, was printed by DUGDALE in the seventeenth century⁶⁶, and re-edited in the *Analecta Cartusiana*⁶⁷ in 1971. Detailed commentaries on the Statutes⁶⁸ and Books of Uses for individual houses⁶⁹ were compiled in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As the customary of De Roux was published in 1971, it will be more useful here to consider those of Raynaldi and Maresme, as Raynaldi is still in manuscript. They are of equal importance and each offers a rich harvest of details of life in the charterhouse at the epoch of their compilation. Both adopt the same general scheme and are divided into eight sections that deal with the following topics:

1. Customs to be observed in church, the duties of the sacristan, the readers in the church and the cantors. Some information on vestments, the use of coals at mass for the convenience of the celebrant in cold weather, the ringing of the church bell, and about the furnishings in the church is to be found in this section.

⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 201—202.

⁶⁶ *Monasticon Anglicanum . . . , per Rogerum Dodsworth, Gulielmum Dugdale.* London 1655, 951—958; reprinted in *William Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum*, a new edition by JOHN CALEY, HENRY ELLIS, and BULKELEY BANDINEL. London 1830, in 6 vols., of which vol. 6 consists of three parts, VI, Part 1, v—xii.

⁶⁷ *Mittelalterliche Caerimonialia der Kartäuser, Teil 1*, 306—330.

⁶⁸ The real commentaries on the Statutes date from a later period. The first was produced by DOM INNOCENT LE MASSON, prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1675—1703, in his *Annales Ordinis Cartusienensis tribus tomis distributi* I. La Corriere 1687; reprinted without mentioning the author's name as *Disciplina Ordinis Cartusienensis*. Paris 1703; re-issue Montreuil-sur-Mer 1894. A commentary written at the charterhouse of Villeneuve-lez-Avignon 1768—1772 is conserved in the Ms. Grande Chartreuse 1 Com. 50. At the end of the nineteenth century DOM FORTUNAT OUDIN and DOM LOUIS BAUDIN compiled the exhaustive *Commentary of Montalegre*, so-called from the house in which it was written up, that was followed by the *Commentary of Farneta* after the revision of the Statutes in 1926. Of greater historical interest is DOM IRÉNÉE JARICOT, *Essai sur l'histoire de nos coutumes chartreuses*, 2 vols. Charterhouse of Porta Coeli 1952, to which the author subsequently added a number of supplements.

⁶⁹ For the Grande Chartreuse, for instance, we have: *Usages de la Grande Chartreuse avant la Révolution: souvenirs de Dom Ephrem Coutarel dictés par lui à Dom Jean Sallier en 1837* and DOM PIERRE M. PACCHIAUDI, *Coutumier de Chartreuse 1848*.

2. Directions concerning the various masses to be celebrated and the office of the deacon.
3. Mass and the Office on Sundays and feastdays, with details concerning the blessing of holy water and the use of incense.
4. Altars, private masses, servants at mass.
5. Directions for the priest at mass, indications concerning the sick, the hearing of confessions, and the proclamation of faults at chapter.
6. Various indications concerning feasts, the institution of a new prior, *Coena Domini*, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and the rare *opera communia*, when the monks worked outside their cells three times a year.
7. The chapter, the *colloquium*, the *recordatio*, the refectory, *minutiones*, and the *rasura*.
8. Novices, profession and burial.

Though the customaries offer a considerable range of information, this can be supplemented still further by the *Acta* of the Carthusian Chapter General. This august body, which technically included all the priors and the vicars of the nunneries, though in the Middle Ages the more distant provinces only sent a visitor or one of their priors as a delegate, met annually at the Grande Chartreuse on the third Sunday after the octave of Easter. The original date, the Feast of St. Luke, had soon been abandoned owing to the possibility of inclement weather at the Grande Chartreuse, high up in the French Alps, which, as the Order began to expand, might have presented problems for the return journey of the priors in the winter season. Though no complete run of the *Acta* exists⁷⁰, manuscripts containing sections of them are numerous and are to be found in most European countries in which Carthusian foundations were made⁷¹. No even partial edition has been published to date, though a useful if modest selection was distributed in duplicated copy to the houses of the Order in 1953⁷².

The *Acta* can be divided into three sections:

1. General ordinances directed to the whole Order, indicating new prescriptions to be observed. This section also contains from time to time pious exhortations.

⁷⁰ Microfilms or copies of most of the manuscripts have, however, been assembled at the Grande Chartreuse.

⁷¹ An enumeration of the manuscripts will be published in JAMES HOGG, *The 'Acta' of the Carthusian General Chapter (Analecta Cartusiana 100)*.

⁷² [DOM MAURICE LAPORTE], *Ex Chartis Capitulorum Generalium: Ab initio usque ad annum 1951*. In *Domo Cartusiae* 1953.

2. Reprehensions administered to provinces, named charterhouses, and even individual monks, nuns and lay members of the Order.
3. The list of monks, nuns, and lay members of the Order who had died during the preceding twelve months.

Section 2 of the *Acta* tends to give a rather negative impression of the state of the observance, but it should be born in mind that the Chapter General was out to eradicate abuses and even imperfections, and thus seldom wasted its breath on congratulatory effusions. The adverse impression created can be rectified to a certain extent by the study of section 3, in which one notes over the years the members of the Order who received the unofficial Carthusian canonisation — *laudabiliter vixit in ordine* — for heroic fidelity to the rule.

Further details concerning the observance can be gleaned from the *Vade mecum* of the Sacristan of Trier⁷³, dated 1487 (a similar compilation for the charterhouse of Basle has also been preserved⁷⁴), and the instructions for the deacon⁷⁵, also contained in the collection of documents referring to the charterhouse of Trier at the end of the fifteenth century. There is also a gloss on the statutes by Dom Jacob Sauler, compiled between 1480 and 1501, that was terminated at the charterhouse of Buxheim⁷⁶. On the sale of the Buxheim library in 1883—84, it was purchased by a French charterhouse and migrated to Aula Dei as a result of the evacuation of the French Carthusians in 1901 in anticipation of the enforcement of anti-clerical legislation. Dom Jacobus Louber⁷⁷, prior of Buxheim from 1502—07, compiled an Obsequiale. In the same manuscript he entered ordinances of the Chapter General from 1412—1510 and appended details of the terminations to be read at matins in the church. This manuscript is also currently conserved in the library of Aula Dei.

⁷³ Edition in JAMES HOGG, *Late Fifteenth Century Carthusian Rubrics for the Deacon and the Sacristan* 78—165.

⁷⁴ *Ordinarium pro officio Sacristae*, Ms. Basle University Library A. IX. 6. An edition is in preparation. (*Analecta Cartusiana* 86).

⁷⁵ Edition in JAMES HOGG, *Late Fifteenth Century Carthusian Rubrics for the Deacon and the Sacristan* 28—77.

⁷⁶ Cf. DOM IRÉNÉE JARICOT, *Étude de la Glose de Dom Jacques Sauler*. Typescript, Charterhouse of Montalegre 1942.

⁷⁷ Cf. JAMES HOGG, Jacques Louber. *DS IX* (1976) 1034—1036, and DOM IRÉNÉE JARICOT, *Étude du Manuale du Prieur de Buxheim D. Jacques Louber*. Typescript, Charterhouse of Montalegre 1943. A slightly later collection of rubrics has been edited by JAMES HOGG, *Rubricae Cartusiae Gosnayensis (MS. Grande Chartreuse 1 Stat. 33) (Analecta Cartusiana 23) 1974.*

On the basis of the documentary evidence available, a definite evolution in the Carthusian observance can be traced. If Guigo I could stress the solitude as the hallmark of the Carthusian's following of Christ, a solitude that he admitted in his *Meditationes*⁷⁸ was very painful to human nature, and which certainly left him prematurely aged in his fifties, this solitude, which had been practised to a heroic degree in the mountain massif of the Grande Chartreuse at the end of the eleventh and early in the twelfth century, had lost a good deal of its asperity by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What was possible for a few scattered communities of semi-hermits, — though even here dispensations had to be made for old age and infirmity, — had inevitably to be adapted to the needs of an Order that expanded considerably in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though the Chapter General steadfastly endeavoured to save the substance of the Carthusian vocation, even if some of its more austere accompaniments underwent considerable mitigation. The Order's high reputation for sanctity of life and rigorous observance attracted patrons, — patrons who in many cases erected charterhouses, not in remote mountain valleys, far from the haunts of men, but in the neighbourhood of towns, as at Paris, Dijon, Strasburg, Cologne, Mayence, Coblenz, Trier, Nuremberg, Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Naples and London, to name but a few examples. Siena even had three charterhouses close to its city walls⁷⁹. Furthermore, these founders were frequently not noblemen with vast estates, but merchants, who, in many cases, built a cell or two and left colleagues to imitate their good example. Inevitably, such foundations had more contact with the outside world than the early charterhouses. Their finances had to be assured, so that the buildings could be completed! — and some, such as Paris, Cologne and London played an important role in the intellectual and religious life of the period. The London charterhouse developed a close tie with the English humanists, and Sir Thomas More even passed some time in a house that formed part of the monastic

⁷⁸ Critical edition by DOM ANDRÉ WILMART, *Meditationes Guigonis Prioris Cartusiae: Le Recueil des Pensées du B. Guigue (Études de Philosophie Médiévale XXII)* Paris 1936. Unfortunately, no satisfactory French or English translation has as yet been published. EMILIO PIOVESAN's Italian translation: *Guigo I°: Priore de la Grande Chartreuse (1083—1136): Le Meditazioni (Analecta Cartusiana 17)* 1973, had considerable literary merit, but the critics found the introduction too enthusiastic. PAUL ALFRED SCHLÜTER produced a German translation: *Gigo von Kastell: Tagebuch eines Mönches*. Paderborn 1962, that can also render service.

⁷⁹ Maggiano, founded in 1314, Pontignano 1341, Belriguardo 1345.

complex. The largeness of view shown by the monks of Cologne in supporting the early Jesuits deserves special mention, and the house was also famous for its library⁸⁰, — books even being lent out in the town.

Not only was the external solitude diminished, — in many cases a mere enclosure instead of the original desert, — but life within the monastery itself began to receive a slightly different emphasis. Though still severe, a tendency to diminish the solitary aspects of the *propositio* became apparent. Thus, for example, there were only eight solemn feasts at the time when Guigo wrote his *Consuetudines Cartusiae*. Late in the twelfth century the Carthusians in Calabria, at Serra San Bruno, where the founder died, abandoned the solitary life, and the house was even affiliated to the Cistercian Order until it was recovered early in the sixteenth century. Maybe it was the stress of the solitude that led the *Antiqua Statuta* to add four further solemnities in 1259, — those of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary Magdalene, the Exaltation of the Cross, and the feast of the Holy Relics; the *Nova Statuta* in turn added four more, — the Sanctification of the Virgin, St. Benedict, Corpus Christi, and St. Hugh of Lincoln⁸¹; whilst the *Tertia Compilatio* records still another three, — all feasts of the Blessed Virgin: the Compassion, the Visitation, and the Presentation⁸². The *Nova Collectio* continued the movement by allowing another five⁸³. By 1917 the Carthusian calendar thus showed forty-four solemn feasts, though these were then reduced to thirty-one, and a number of other feasts have been „demoted“ since, particularly in the liturgical reforms carried through for the *aggiornamento* in the

⁸⁰ Cf. RICHARD BRUCE MARKS, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne (Analecta Cartusiana 21—22)* 1974. Professor MARKS is currently engaged on a similar study of the printed books of the charterhouse of Cologne. For background information, cf. GÉRARD CHAIX, *La Chartreuse de Cologne au XVI^e siècle (Analecta Cartusiana 80)* (in the press).

⁸¹ Procurator of the Grande Chartreuse and subsequently called to be prior of Witham, he died as Bishop of Lincoln in 1200. His life was written by his chaplain around 1220. A critical edition appeared recently: DECIMA L. DOUË and HUGH FARMER [eds.], *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis Lincolnensis*, 2 vols. Edinburgh 1961—1962.

⁸² For the Carthusian Calendar one can consult DOM BENOIT LAMBRÈS, *Le calendrier cartusien. Etudes grégoriennes II* (Solesmes 1951) 151—161. Though the author is frequently inexact in the dates he offers, he nevertheless gives a fair picture of the evolution of the calendar.

⁸³ Issued in 1581 under the priorate of Dom Bernard Carasse. For the history of this collection, cf. JAMES HOGG, *Mittelalterliche Caerimonialia der Kartäuser, Teil 1*, 42—44.

aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. Chapter feasts also increased steadily over the centuries, so that no less than fourteen were suppressed in 1907, when they were cut back to twelve. Though some might imagine that the burden of chanting the whole of the office in the church, instead of reciting part of it in the cells, was an additional austerity, one should bear in mind that a solemnity or a chapter feast carried with it not only two meals in the refectory, outside of Lent and Advent, when one ate only once in the refectory, but also a colloquium on the day of the feast and the *recordatio* that preceded it, — thus a very considerable diminution of the solitude. The *recordatio* was essential in view of the abbreviations in the manuscripts employed in the church for the office. Even as late as 1430 there was only one book set up on the lectern in the middle of the choir, which those with uncertain memories might consult during the chant. The customary of Raynaldi makes it clear that the novice had to learn all the psalms by heart as soon as possible, but sixty years later, perhaps due to improved lighting, — Raynaldi mentions candles, whilst Maresme refers to lanterns, — this requirement is no longer mentioned.

The directions for the sacristan of Trier, that are dated 1487, provided timetables for feastdays and ferial usage at all the liturgical seasons⁸⁴ and from the time allocated to the various offices one must conclude that the chant of the office was extremely pedestrian, even allowing for the fact that the lessons read at matins were considerably longer than those prescribed in later centuries⁸⁵. Forty minutes were assigned to Vespers, for instance, which are certainly sung in the charterhouse in the twentieth century in under half an hour. The fact that the complete Office of Our Lady, *de Beata*, had to be recited by the monk in his cell also considerably diminished the amount of free time at his disposal, and thereby lessened the solitary aspect of the propositum. Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae* made no mention of the Office of Our Lady, though it is referred to by Basil⁸⁶, and was legislated for by the *Statuta Jancelini* and all collections from the *Antiqua Statuta* onwards. The indications for the movements of the deacon at mass and as regards the mediants in the psalms of the canonical office in the customaries of

⁸⁴ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *Late Fifteenth Century Carthusian Rubrics for the Deacon and the Sacristan* 78—133.

⁸⁵ Cf. for details concerning the charterhouse of Trier in the late fifteenth century, JAMES HOGG, *Mittelalterliche Caerimonialia der Kartäuser, Teil 1*, 54—58.

⁸⁶ XXXII, 38: *Horas Beatae Mariae omnibus diebus dicimus: . . .*

Raynaldi and Maresme offer proof positive of the excessive slowness of the psalmody. Raynaldi indicated a mediant sufficient to recite *Ave, Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus*, though Maresme did reduce this to *Ave, Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum*. Both, however, were satisfied with *Ave, Maria, gratia plena* for the Office of the Dead. Maurice Chauncy, describing from his own experience the chanting of the Night Office at the London charterhouse shortly before the Reformation, indicates that the monks rose at 10 in the evening and returned to their cells — still with Prime of Our Lady and the dry mass to recite in privato — at 3 or even 3.30 in the morning. Even allowing for a hagiographer's exaggeration, the chant must have been very slow indeed, for it is recorded that the prior, the recently canonised John Houghton, left the church in indignation if the monks accelerated⁸⁷. One can thus understand the detailed prescriptions for the provision of spittoons and chalk in the stalls⁸⁸, and the sacristan's obligation to remove the floating mass when it began to smell, for the long hours passed in unheated churches⁸⁹, without capes, which were never allowed for the liturgical services, except the *cuculla ecclesiastica* for the priest and the deacon at mass, which had a liturgical significance unconnected with the provision of warmth, can hardly have been conducive to the avoidance of colds in the harsh climates of Alpine valleys, that remained the preferred sites of charterhouses for over a century. Special instruct-

⁸⁷ Cf. DOM MAURICE CHAUNCY, *Historia aliquot martyrum anglorum maxime octodecim Cartusianorum sub rege Henrico octavo . . . Montreuil-sur-Mer 1888*, 69: *Verum divini Officii prolixitas, dulcedo et modulatio cantus, incitabant animos audientium ad devotionem et copiosam lacrymarum effusionem. Vulgo dicebatur: Si volueritis audire servitia Dei devote celebrata, pergite ad domum cartusiae. Illuc destinabantur Legati aliarum Nationum, illuc ascendebant tribus, tribus Domini, senes cum junioribus, pusilli et magni, ad confitendum nomini Domini. Vigilia cujuslibet noctis apud eos, a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Pascha, ad minus durabat per quinque horas. Surgebant enim ferialibus diebus hora decima, diebus etiam Capitulorum; festis vero Candelarum ante decimam, perseverantes in ecclesia post secundum pulsum usque post tertiam, aliquando usque ad dimidium post tertiam. A Pascha usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, ferialibus diebus, hora undecima.*

⁸⁸ I was able to inspect the spittoons at the stalls of the charterhouse of Portes in 1962. They took the form of drawers. Maybe they have been removed in the subsequent renovations to the church.

⁸⁹ Heating was first installed in the church at the Grande Chartreuse after the return of the monks during the Second World War. At the charterhouse of Sélignac one occasionally used a large stove until the mid 1960s, when a regular heating system was constructed.

ions were given to avoid spitting where one of the brethren might be obliged to take *venia* for a fault committed during the office.

It should also be stressed that a revolutionary change in the horary took place in the fifteenth century. The Carthusians originally did not rise around midnight for the Night Office and then return to their beds for a second sleep after Lauds, but celebrated the hours at roughly the times which nature indicated. It was, however, unfortunately discovered that some monks had a tendency to fall asleep after Lauds, and thus around 1430 a second period of rest was officially conceded. It is already indicated in the customary of Maresme.

The role of the sacristan was, of course, of capital importance in the medieval charterhouse, as he was responsible for the time-keeping in an age when clocks were in their infancy. He had to calculate with quadrants and sand and water clocks up to the fifteenth century.

The evolution in the frequency of the celebration of mass shows the same tendency to allow the communal aspects of the observance to infringe upon the solitude. From Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae* we learn that mass was only celebrated on feastdays and after None in Lent⁹⁰. Votive masses were allowed in 1183 and, by degrees, masses for feasts of three lessons followed. Private masses also appear around this time, though they must have been very rare at first, as there was only one altar in the church, and a second was only permitted in 1255, and then with the proviso that it was only a concession for such houses as desired a second altar. As the celebrant was not allowed to start the canon of the mass before daylight and the sacristan originally had to serve all private masses, one can only conclude that they must have been very infrequent⁹¹. The laybrethren were first empowered to serve mass in 1461 under a privilege of Pope Pius II.

The situation had changed radically by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The customaries of Raynaldi and Maresme reveal that the sacristan was obliged to denounce those who failed to celebrate regularly. Obviously, the question of mass stipends played a certain rôle here. Gifts of mass vestments and chalices are frequently recorded in wills of the period and the high reputation of the Order would have assured most communities of frequent offerings for mass, which the monks were obliged to acquit.

⁹⁰ III, 1.

⁹¹ The learned Alexander of Lewes quit the charterhouse of Witham in the late twelfth century for this very reason. Cf. LIONEL BUTLER and CHRIS GIVEN-WILSON, *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain*. London 1979, 42.

As regards the standard of living in the charterhouse, if life even in the twentieth century is still decidedly austere by secular standards, similar concessions to human frailty as with the diminution of the solitude can be perceived in the later Middle Ages. From an early date the prior was allowed to eat with important male guests, but such meals — which, except in the urban charterhouses, were probably rare events — were normally served in a special dining room in the outer courtyard, as strangers were not admitted to Carthusian refectories. The antiquior, who deputised in the absence of the prior until 1252, when his place was taken by the vicar, was not granted a similar privilege, and an admonition of 1335 specifically forbade the vicar to eat with guests. In any event, the prior was in no way dispensed from the customary monastic fare on such occasions, though the quality of the fish served was probably higher. Thus the benefit that accrued to him from such a concession was probably slight. As early as 1220 he was refused permission to eat in the kitchen, probably basically because this would have constituted a breach of solitude, though the authorities of the Order may also have wished to place the temptation of better portions beyond reach. In 1467 the prior of Val Dieu was punished for his ideas of grandeur in occupying several cells and eating in the dispense. The procurator was also permitted to eat with male guests by virtue of his office, if there was a serious reason for doing so, but then only if the prior did not avail himself of this privilege. As the statutes did not specifically forbid the nomination of more than one procurator, — and the pressure of legal business in the late Middle Ages indeed sometimes necessitated more than one, — abuses tended to arise through the nomination of fictive procurators, who might thus enjoy the privilege of visiting the neighbouring town on occasion. Remonstrances in this sense were issued to the charterhouse of Florence⁹² and to that of Naples, the latter being

⁹² Cf. DOM MAURICE LAPORTE, *Ex Chartis* Admonition 1867, for the year 1699: *In Domo Florentiae: Prohibemus ne sub quolibet praetextu instituat ibi novus officialis ultra numerum antea permissum*. Priors were also sometimes criticised for too frequent absences from their monasteries. Thus in 1476 the prior of Bologna was instructed to spend more time with the brethren in the church and less in the city. In 1446 priors and procurators in generally were admonished not to spend too much time on the temporal affairs of their houses. In 1376 three procurators of the Order were to be found at the papal court in Avignon, though one was sufficient at Rome in 1430. It is thus not surprising that in 1404 the Chapter General required the local priors to send in the names of priors who spent too much of their time at the courts of Avignon, Rome or Paris.

a hard case on account of the fact that no weekly walk could be accorded to the community, because the charterhouse is situated on a hill in the middle of the city. Though in charge of the day to day economic affairs of the monastery, the procurator did not enjoy any considerable degree of independence, as he was obliged to render his accounts four times a year, and these were scrutinised by the prior and the vicar and one (later two) of the senior monks. Under a decree of 1359 such accounts, duly signed by the parties concerned, also had to be forwarded to the annual Chapter General. Even as regards almsgiving, the procurator's hands were tied. Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae* only indicated a dole of bread in the unlikely event of someone presenting themselves at the corriere of the Grande Chartreuse⁹³. Women in any event were totally excluded from the desert surrounding the monastery. The generosity of the charterhouses, particularly those of Spain and Italy, as regards almsgiving becomes prominent first in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by which time such houses as El Paular and Jerez de la Frontera in Spain and Pavia in Italy had acquired substantial estates. This in itself was a deviation from the Carthusian ideal, for, if the Chapter General of 1324 had required a secure dotation for all future foundations, the same body also decreed in 1357 that all the houses should present a list of their possessions with a view to their limitation⁹⁴.

Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae* had prescribed abstinence on bread and water three times a week⁹⁵, and not only was meat never eaten, but fish was only purchased for the sick. Even milk foods were prohibited in Lent and Advent. By 1162, however, fish was being bought for the whole community, and the *Antiqua Statuta* merely counselled moderation. For the laybrothers, owing to their manual activities, only one day on bread and water was prescribed. The monks also originally had to cook for themselves in their cells three days a week, the refectory being only used on Sundays and major feasts. After the refectory on Sunday evening, they received their provisions for the week, — a tradition that was commemorated in later centuries by the distribution of bread at

⁹³ XX.

⁹⁴ In 1200 it had been decreed that all possessions outside the "limits" were to be sold — a stipulation that was repeated in 1248, though concessions were made for the Grande Chartreuse. The *Antiqua Statuta*, Pars II, XIX, 1—12, whilst repeating the previous legislation, permitted exceptions, and by the late Middle Ages the Carthusians possessed even dimes and benefices. The charterhouse of Reposoir in Savoy possessed some of the most extensive sheep-runs in Europe.

⁹⁵ XXXIII, 1.

the refectory door on this occasion. However, the do-it-yourself cooking was apparently unsuccessful, for the *Statuta Jancelini* stipulated in 1222 that if one failed to cook without permission one would receive no wine. Probably due to the unsatisfactory results, in 1250 it was conceded that the monks should only cook in their cells once a month, and in 1276 the custom was abolished altogether. The *De Reformatione* of Prior Bernard also reduced the three days of abstinence in the week to one in 1248, as the custom of sharing the three days round, so that on any given Monday, Wednesday, or Friday someone was observing abstinence, had proved unsatisfactory. In 1408 it was, however, stressed that no general dispensation from the weekly abstinence could be granted and that those incapable of observing abstinence were obliged to petition grace from the prior each week, — a measure that is still in force.

Meat was solemnly renounced in 1254, even in mortal sickness, and in 1336 and 1394 admonitions were issued that meat was in no circumstances to be served even to important guests in the charterhouse. The 1394 call to order was motivated by a specific case at the charterhouse of Aggsbach⁹⁶. In 1365 a similar prohibition was directed to the Carthusian nuns.

As regards the quality of the meals, Prior Bernard had insisted in his *De Reformatione* that no pittance could be distributed on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, because these three days were originally destined to abstinence. In 1259, however, the *Antiqua Statuta* allowed pittances on Mondays and Wednesdays, though in 1291 an ordinance recalled that they were really illegal on all three days.

The pittances originally consisted of two eggs or their equivalent, — a meal without a pittance being limited to a soup and a plate of vegetables plus maybe fruit. With time the pittance became two eggs and the equivalent by the late Middle Ages, so that eggs, fish and cheese could all be served at the same meal. However, the Chapter General was sceptical and ordinances of 1413, 1426, and 1448 instructed the visitors to control the size of pittances allowed on Mondays and Wednesdays. In 1509 the prior of Hortus Christi at Nordlingen was specifically reprimanded for allowing excessive pittances to be served. In 1416 it had already been firmly stipulated that no donations for pittances on days when they were not allowed by the rule could be accepted. In time the prohibition of a pittance at supper in the refectory was, however,

⁹⁶ Cf. HERIBERT ROSSMANN, *Die Geschichte der Kartause Aggsbach II*, 195.

quietly ignored, though as late as the customary of Raynaldi it was stressed that if one ate no bread in the cell in the evening when there was no regular supper one was not allowed to drink wine either. In approved cases, however, one might receive a dispensation. The customary of Maresme makes no further difficulties on this point, so the need to be dispensed must have fallen into desuetude. The customary of Raynaldi also charged the procurator to see to it that all pittances were of equal size in order to avoid murmuring in the community.

Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae* had stipulated that no white bread was to be baked⁹⁷, but the *Statuta Jancelini*, promulgated in 1222, declared that it was an ancient custom in the charterhouse to distribute a finer bread to the monks and a coarser one to the laybrethren. In 1259 the *Statuta Antiqua* allowed white bread for the sick, and the customary of Raynaldi permitted it in the refectory, though as recently as 1341 an ordinance had prohibited its regular use for all.

Originally wine was served already baptised, probably on account of the unhygienic water supplies in some of the houses⁹⁸, but in 1252 it was stipulated that water was to be supplied for those who wished to dilute it still more. Rare cases of drunkenness have come to my notice, — though it seems to have been a prioral failing in the few cases recorded, such as that of the prior of Abbeville in 1582, that of a prior of Gaming⁹⁹, and of a prior of Sélignac at much the same period¹⁰⁰. The Chapter General issued an ordinance in 1423, that was repeated in 1432, forbidding priors from seeking to attract monks from other charterhouses *promittendo eis obedientias, grossas pitantias, optima vina, crebra spatiantia, et hujusmodi*.

⁹⁷ XXXIV, 3.

⁹⁸ In the charterhouse of Portes at the end of the nineteenth century the water supply was inadequate. Bottles of water had to be distributed to the cells.

⁹⁹ On 4 December 1564 the Prior, Dom Blasius, consulted Bartholomäus Reckinger, a physician in Vienna, about his sad state: *Dem prior von Gemniczen welcher, nach dem er über die Maß getruncken, sich beklagt hat, das er mit im selbst nit wol übereinkommen künn, und schwäre ohnmachten entpfunden* (Entry in the doctor's prescription book). Cf. GERHARD STENZEL, *Von Stift zu Stift in Österreich*. Vienna 1977, 180, and JAMES HOGG, Gaming. *DHGE* (in the press).

¹⁰⁰ Dom Bruno de Pinteville, prior of Sélignac 1662—1677, was reputed to have consumed thirty glasses of wine at a meal. Cf. DOM AUGUSTIN DEVAUX, *La Chartreuse de Sélignac* 121. DOM DEVAUX suspects a malicious pun on the prior's name as the 'true' explanation of the feat!

With time the periodical blood-letting, *minutiones*, also came to have mainly an alimentary significance. The ceremony was prescribed five times a year for the monks and four times for the laybrethren. Originally one received not only an extra ration of wine, but for two evenings three extra eggs were served, and, in case of necessity, even more. Further, for three days, one could go back to bed after Lauds, and on the first day a colloquium *de bonis* was conceded to relieve the solitude. The *Consuetudines Cartusiae*¹⁰¹, Basil¹⁰² and Jancelin specifically limited the benefits to those who had undergone the operation, but the *Antiqua Statuta* extended the concessions to all¹⁰³, though an ordinance of 1373 recalled that the privileges only belonged to those who submitted to the blood-letting, and that the others merely enjoyed them by grace and favour. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it became customary to allow a walk on the first day of the *minutiones*, which indicates fairly clearly that virtually no one was operated on at that period. The weekly walk, *spatiamentum*, unknown to Guigo's *Consuetudines*, did not make its appearance before the end of the thirteenth century. It remained for centuries a fruitful source for admonitions. The original limits which the monks were not allowed to pass seem to have been small — a good walker reached this boundary in about forty-five minutes in many cases, though they were later extended. In 1407 the Chapter General forbade the monks to enter villages and in 1423 the Italian houses were reminded that one should not eat or drink on the walk, — a prohibition which was renewed in general form in 1496, and more specifically many times later. Though the monks of Naples were not allowed to leave their urban charterhouse, oddly those of Rome were. In 1508 it was stipulated that they might visit the Lateran only once a month and the city itself twice a year.

Occasionally the monastic buildings were of wood with merely the church in stone. Such was the case at La Valsainte¹⁰⁴ and Erfurt¹⁰⁵, but these houses were reconstructed in stone in the latter part of the Middle Ages, as experience had shown that the danger of fire involved

¹⁰¹ XXXIX, 1—4. This text assumes that all underwent the operation.

¹⁰² XLV, 20, already distinguishes those who have submitted to the treatment.

¹⁰³ Pars II, XV, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. DOM AUGUSTIN DEVAUX, *L'Architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux* 23, and JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Buxheim, Ittingen, and La Valsainte* 71, fn. 18.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Dom Augustin Devaux, *L'Architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux*, p. 23.

in wooden buildings was too great¹⁰⁶. The constructions remained on the whole strictly functional, however, though there were some exceptions, as when a patron like Gian Galleazzo erected the magnificent pile of the charterhouse of Pavia or, somewhat later, when Gothic magnificence was happily married to monastic austerity in the charterhouse of Miraflores¹⁰⁷. The true era of embellishment started around the middle of the sixteenth century¹⁰⁸.

Probably the state of cleanliness in the monastery was not of the highest standard, for the *Antiqua Statuta* stipulated that the sacristan alone — despite his onerous duties otherwise — was responsible for cleaning the church and the little cloister twelve times a year around the vigils of major feasts. Only on Good Friday was he to receive the aid of such of the laybrethren as were free¹⁰⁹. At Trier late in the fifteenth century we learn that the young monks assisted him on Good Friday¹¹⁰, — a rather odd concession, as on this particular day an even more rigorous observance of the solitude was called for. The cleaning operations were also on this occasion extended to the great cloister, — a major operation at any time!

The appearance of the monks in the earlier centuries similarly probably also left something to be desired, as the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*

¹⁰⁶ Even the stone buildings of the Valsainte were reduced to ashes in 1732. Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Buxheim, Ittingen, and La Valsainte*, 75. The Grande Chartreuse was burnt down in 1300, 1371, 1473, 1509, 1562, 1592, 1611 and 1676. Cf. DOM MAURICE LAPORTE, *La Grande Chartreuse* 39, 40, 48, 60, 63, 67, 75, 79, 85.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *La Cartuja de Miraflores (Analecta Cartusiana 79)* (in the press).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. DOM AUGUSTIN DEVAUX, *L'Architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux*, particularly chapter 4: *La Métamorphose des Chartreuses d'Italie*, pp. 128—170.

¹⁰⁹ The *Consuetudines Cartusiae* IV, 27, merely indicated that on Good Friday: . . . *a sacrista laicis iuvantibus mundatur ecclesia*. The *Antiqua Statuta* Pars I, XLI, 37 extends his obligation: *Ecclesiam, Claustrum, Capitulum mundat de consuetudine, dato sibi adjutore*.

¹¹⁰ Thus DOM IRÉNÉE JARICOT, *Essai sur l'histoire de nos coutumes chartreuses* 59, N° 81. Unfortunately, DOM JARICOT does not cite his texts. I think he may be mistaken here. In my *Late Fifteenth Century Carthusian Rubrics for the Deacon and the Sacristan* 134, section 54, one notes that on certain occasions the sacristan is aided by *iuniores conventuales*, whilst *In die parasceues fit ipsa purgatio per laicos*. I thus interpret the text to imply that the laybrethren helped the sacristan on Good Friday, and the young monks on the other occasions stipulated. However, until certainty is reached, I have bowed to DOM JARICOT's authority on this point.

only allowed shaving of the head and face six times a year, and at one point seventy-seven days lay between the dates fixed¹¹¹. In 1173 two extra dates were conceded and from 1260 onwards shaving was allowed once a month. By 1408 it was permitted once a fortnight, and in 1442 — somewhat reluctantly — the Chapter General gave priors and procurators permission to shave once a week when they had to leave the monastery to attend to the business of the house. In 1454 the same body fulminated against abuses, however, and threatened to return to shaving once a month. The customaries of Raynaldi and Maresme give precise details of how the monk was to prepare himself for shaving, soaping the head and protecting the habit, so that it might not be adversely affected by water during the operation.

Guigo's *Consuetudines Cartusiae* gave a precise list of the furniture of the cell, the monk's clothing and bedding¹¹², which remained virtually unchanged throughout the medieval period. Miniatures portraying Carthusians in their cells in medieval manuscripts fully confirm the continued austerity of the monk's habitation. The monks' houses at Mount Grace in Yorkshire, erected in the early fifteenth century, are habitually described as being mean in appearance. In the sixteenth century, after the expansion of printing, when the monks very largely ceased to occupy themselves with copying¹¹³, the provision of special writing equipment was no longer actual, but right up to the twentieth century the furnishing of the cells has scarcely altered, though in some cases the primitive metal stoves were replaced by tiled ones, and in a few houses central heating has been installed in certain parts of the buildings, though in such cases not in the monks' cells. Sometimes the size of the cells and that of the monks' gardens tended to increase in the late Middle Ages. Thus at the charterhouse of Jerez de la Frontera the cells even had three floors, a promenade and a gracious garden. They remain, however, even in the twentieth century, of Spartan serenity¹¹⁴. In most houses they did not de-pass two storeys.

¹¹¹ IX, 1: *Sexies in anno radimur, servato silentio. In vigiliis, paschae, pentecostes, assumptionis, omnium sanctorum, natalis domini, et in capite ieiunii.*

¹¹² XXVIII.

¹¹³ No replacement for the copying has been found. Virtually all other occupations require either collaborative effort or cannot be executed in the cell.

¹¹⁴ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Las Cuevas, Jerez de la Frontera, Cazalla, and Granada (Analecta Cartusiana 47)* Vol. 2: *The Charterhouse of Jerez de la Frontera*, plates 83—87, showing a cell in 1978.

Feather beds were expressly prohibited in 1229, even for the sick, though Guigo's *Consuetudines* had mercifully allowed those who were ill to descend from the monastery proper to the corriere, where the monk might pass his convalescence with the laybrethren¹¹⁵. This concession was not mentioned in subsequent legislation, and the sick monk was cared for in his cell, as no infirmary was ever permitted in the charterhouse. Straw bedding is still in use in some houses even in the twentieth century. In 1332 members of the Order were forbidden to sleep between sheets, even when on a voyage, though this prohibition was rescinded in 1501, — no doubt for practical considerations.

On the list of clothes granted the monk by Guigo's *Consuetudines* were two furs, — almost certainly sheepskins¹¹⁶. The *Statuta Jancelini* stipulated that these should only be worn in the monk's cell and in such places as where silence was prescribed, but the *Antiqua Statuta* permitted their use everywhere, so long as they were covered by the habit¹¹⁷. The *Nova Statuta* expressly forbade fox skins and the skins of rarer wild animals and instructions were given for their removal in the charterhouse when one was to receive the discipline, to avoid the possibility that they might be damaged, — an indication that the punishment was probably not merely symbolical!¹¹⁸ The night cowl, in which the monk still sleeps almost fully dressed, made its appearance in the late fifteenth century, and may be regarded as a concession towards greater comfort. Evidence on the actual dimensions of the hair shirts worn in the Middle Ages is unfortunately lacking, but, to judge by the materials purchased at Montalegre for their fabrication in the fifteenth century, they seem to have been more substantial than those worn by twentieth century members of the Order. They were, of course, not taken off at night.

The monastic prison was first mentioned in 1258. It was made obligatory for all charterhouses in 1285. Visitors can still inspect this institution at the charterhouse of Mauerbach and in a number of houses its location can be identified. Though Guigo had declared in the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* that a monk who could not adapt himself to the solitude of the Carthusians should seek his salvation elsewhere¹¹⁹, the

¹¹⁵ XXXVIII, 1—3, modified in very rare cases by XVII, 1.

¹¹⁶ XXVIII, 1: *duas pellicias, unam deteriolem, unam meliorem.*

¹¹⁷ Pars II, XXII, 7.

¹¹⁸ *Nova Statuta* Pars II, I, 6: *Pelliciolos vulpinos et de bestiis sylvestribus, et tunicas de fustana vel Boccaran interdiximus universis.* The details concerning the procedure to be adopted in preparing to receive the discipline are given in the customaries of RAYNALDI and MARESME.

¹¹⁹ LXXVII, 1.

politics of the Order changed in the thirteenth century, and it is clear that fugitives were already a problem by the time of the *Antiqua Statuta*. As early as 1173 the expulsion of the incontinent and monks guilty of violence had been decreed, and in 1174 thieves were threatened with a similar fate, although the Grande Chartreuse functioned as a court of final appeal. In 1242 priors who failed to expel their criminals were threatened with sanctions, and in 1258 forgery, unnatural sex acts, arson and murder were added to the list of crimes meriting expulsion. However, in 1248 Prior Bernard had admonished that one should not be too quick to expel delinquents. One should consult the prior of the Grande Chartreuse before resorting to this final measure. The *Statuta Jancelini* had spoken of the necessity of chaining dangerous lunatics, but this practice received a wider interpretation in the later Middle Ages.

In 1289 those guilty of unnatural vice were declared to merit *ipso facto* jail for life and in the same year it was stipulated that no one was to be expelled in the future. All criminals were to be imprisoned. In 1375 the Chapter General insisted that the prisons should be kept in good order, — in 1369 the prior of Trisulti received orders to arrange a prison in one of the defensive towers of the monastery. Bars and effective locks were naturally a *sine qua non*¹²⁰. From 1400 to 1509 the *Acta* of the Chapter General reveal that the Order, with the aim of upholding its high reputation, was extremely active in pursuing all fugitives. The monk who deserted his monastery was, of course, severely punished. He was automatically declared ineligible for all offices in the Order, even after his release, unless he received specific permission from the prior of the Grande Chartreuse. Furthermore, during the period of his imprisonment he was condemned to receive the discipline regularly and subjected to a special alimentary regime — *ordinem tenere*¹²¹, — which, through the loss of most of the pittance, was of very marked austerity.

¹²⁰ Dom MAURICE LAPORTE, *Ex Chartis*, Admonition 1189, dated 1499, records an amusing case from the charterhouse of Florence: *Et quia frater N . . . Conversus fuit confessus quod fecerit claves clandestinas carceris, carceri mancipetur per unum mensem.*

¹²¹ This regime was proposed by an ordinance of 1284. The *Nova Statuta Pars II*, X, 6, give the following details: *Ordinem tenere est: feria secunda et quarta esse contentum pane et coquina; feria autem quinta et diebus Capituli et Festis duodecim Lectionum, more Conventus; abstinentia Ordinis omni hebdomada, nisi manifesta necessitas interdicit, etiam observata.*

In considering the question of fugitives, for whom it was decreed in 1258 that their cells should be reserved for them for fifteen days and in the following year that only after a third flight did they lose all right to return, it should be borne in mind that by an ordinance of 1223 monks who went beyond the limits of their monastery were immediately declared fugitives and under further admonitions of 1247 and 1249 one suffered a similar fate if one took too long on the road, when one was transferred from one house to another. The prior was obliged to note the date of departure on papers that were entrusted to a servant who was deputed to accompany the monk to his new charterhouse. As transfers were frequent in the late Middle Ages, — partially motivated by the hope of obtaining increased suffrages at death or by the desire for a change of environment, — cases of lack of haste in arriving at one's destination were probably not rare.

Though criminality in an order of such high spiritual ideals might seem almost paradoxical, it is not really surprising, when one considers that up to 1861 only a novitiate of one year preceded perpetual profession for the monks, and that the laybrethren, who were mainly illiterate, were admitted to vows after the same period of probation until 1636. Though in all centuries laybrethren from noble families can be found, the Order showed an increasing reluctance to receive such subjects, and it was stipulated in 1309 that special application in such cases had to be made to the Chapter General for permission in the future, as too often the scions of noble houses had not proved adapted to the humble duties that were allotted to them. Prior Basil had already prohibited the use of books in the church by the laybrethren¹²² and this prohibition was repeated in 1432 and 1450, when the laybrethren were expressly forbidden to aspire to the clerical state.

The Carthusian nunneries posed special problems. Nine or ten houses of nuns existed in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and probably life in them was no more unsatisfactory than in nunneries of other orders in the period that had some pretensions to 'strict' observance. However, in 1304 the Chapter General threatened to withdraw the monks who acted as their confessors on account of serious abuses, — a state of affairs that is hardly surprising when we learn from an ordinance of 1315 that the minimum age for admission was twelve. In 1437 the nunneries were forbidden to receive aspirants before they were eleven

¹²² XLVIII, 26: *Fratribus laicis olim interdictum est, et adhuc interdicitur, ut nec in festis nec aliis diebus libros habeant.*

and it was stipulated that they might only be clothed when they had completed their twelfth year. Oddly, an admonition from the Chapter General in 1544 stated that no one under ten should be admitted, — the lowering of the minimum age probably reflects the general recruiting problems of the period. The much vaunted virginal consecration is mentioned in an ordinance of 1432. The *Nova Statuta* forbade special apartments for the prioress¹²³, and in 1426 it was underlined that she was not to receive double helpings in the refectory.

In 1480 the Chapter General came to the alarming conclusion that a bull of Pope Urban V seemed to have prohibited stipulations for a dowry from aspirants, and thereafter most of the nunneries were in constant financial difficulties, until such a provision was again required by an ordinance of 1555.

The observance of the enclosure in the nunneries appears to have been as unsatisfactory among Carthusian nuns as among those of other orders. In the early fourteenth century the monk who served as their chaplain — and even others — might enter the nunnery, so long as he was accompanied by an 'honest' person. An ordinance of 1420, repeated in 1509, envisages that the monks and even the laybrethren joined the nuns for recreation in common, though in 1487 the nuns were admonished not to enter the monks' cells.

In 1552 it was prescribed that only the monks, doctors, and workmen might enter the nun's enclosure, and this permission was limited to cases of real necessity. Otherwise the nuns forfeited their pittances for fifteen days. In 1560 one of the nuns was delegated to keep the enclosure door locked, under pain of being punished for incontinence if it was found open, and for the future there were only to be two keys for it. Though the nuns had been ordered not to leave their monastic enclosure as early as 1332, — this could be enlarged, if the visitors found such a course desirable, — the nuns of Mélan in Savoy were censured in 1430 for running round trying to collect debts, whilst in 1436 the prior of the neighbouring charterhouse at Le Reposoir was humiliated by being deprived of his stall in the church for two months for his temerity in arranging a meal for the nuns when they were out on an excursion that the rule prohibited. As late as 1515 the nuns of Salettes were ordered to observe the enclosure better, and in the following year, as there was no sign of improvement, their chaplain was dismissed.

¹²³ Pars III, IV, 18: *Priorissae non habeant cameras appropriatas sibi ad jacendum, comedendum vel bibendum; nec aliqua caputia Priorissae et caeterae Sorores ullo unquam tempore portare permittantur.*

An ordinance of 1299 laid down that the nuns might only speak with strangers through a grill in the presence of two other members of the community, but it was only in 1560 that the prioress and the chaplain were required to act as observers during all such discussions. It was then also stipulated that the grill should be made of iron. Somewhat earlier, in 1509, it had been decreed that all except the prioress and the cellarer must be veiled on all occasions.

Little is known about their clothing in the medieval period, except that hair shirts were not usually worn, — a concession, no doubt, to female anatomy. The *Nova Statuta* found it necessary, however, to fulminate against modish garments and even castigated dishonest slits!¹²⁴

The life of their chaplains in the Middle Ages can hardly have been one of unmixed pleasure. In 1422 they were admonished to live as regularly as possible, and in 1431 and 1435 it was even conceded that they might leave their posts, if the prioress failed to make adequate provision for them. The chaplain of Mélan had claimed that he was starving! However, the monks were in turn ordered to hand over any gifts they received to the prioress. In 1423 the visitors were reprimanded for being too tolerant in correcting the nuns' shortcomings and they were ordered to visit each nunnery at least three times a year. In 1430 they were even threatened with deprivation of wine, if they failed to effect an amelioration in the state of affairs at the nunneries in their province. In 1495 a general reform of the nunneries was called for and two years later the prioresses were censured for receiving too many daughters of noble houses, — a temptation to which they had probably succumbed in their financial misery. It is thus somewhat surprising to learn from an ordinance of 1517 that a maximum of six monks plus an unspecified number of laybrothers might reside at a nunnery. One wonders quite how the six monks could have occupied themselves.

Though the Carthusians were not an order that specifically cultivated learning, a fair standard of Latinity seems to have been maintained even in the late Middle Ages. In 1495 the priors of the German houses were censured for having the affrontery to write to the Chapter General in German. At much the same time Richard Methley, who became vicar of Mount Grace, and his colleague, John Norton, compiled

¹²⁴ Pars III, IV, 22: *Moniales non portent caudas in vestibus suis, nec tunicas in quibus sunt scissurae vel manicae inhonestae; nec portent pelles in Conventu, nisi sub mantello simplici et sine forratura.*

a number of spiritual treatises in Latin¹²⁵ that give an excellent picture of Carthusian life on the eve of the Reformation. Even if their writings display a rather excessive enthusiasm, they clearly took their vocation seriously, and as evidence of the Carthusian ideal their writings have a value comparable to the testimony of the *De quadripartito exercitio cellae* of Adam of Witham¹²⁶ or the *Magna Vita* of Hugh of Lincoln for an earlier period as regards the English Carthusians. On the whole, the standard of the observance in the English charterhouses in the late Middle Ages was admirable, and their resistance to the schemes of Henry VIII, particularly at the London charterhouse, was marked by a very real heroism¹²⁷. The censure of the prior of London on the part of the Chapter General in 1474 for his insolent levity in allowing hunting is difficult to reconcile with the urban site of his house, and may well have been based on either a misunderstanding or a calumny.

The visitors make their first appearance in the *Statuta Jancelini* and though Prior Bernard was not very satisfied with their work and even tried in his *De Reformatione* to introduce custodes to keep an eye upon the visitors, the latter were more efficient than Prior Bernard wished to give them credit for, and we hear no more of the custodes. If the Carthusian Order did not experience the decline known to most other religious institutions in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, a good deal of the credit for this is doubtless due to the visitors. Inevitably, however, despite their strict enclosure, the monks were not exempt from the climate of their age, and even alchemy had to be

¹²⁵ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *Mount Grace Charterhouse and late Medieval English Spirituality (Analecta Cartusiana 64)* Vol. 2: *The Trinity College Cambridge MS. O. 2. 56*, for the principal works of Methley. This volume appeared in 1978. It is hoped to publish Vol. 1, containing the critical study of Methley's writings, in 1980. *Analecta Cartusiana 31* (1977) contained JAMES HOGG, *Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes*, 91—119. The works of John Norton are indicated in this article, p. 91—94, fn. 2. A further indication of works by Methley can be found in JAMES HOGG, *Carthusian Materials in the London Public Record Office Collection SP I/239 (Analecta Cartusiana 37)* 1977, 142—143.

¹²⁶ Printed in MIGNE, *PL* 153, cols. 787—884, where it is falsely attributed to Guigo II, prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1174—1180.

¹²⁷ Cf., for example, the account in DOM DAVID KNOWLES, *The Religious Orders in England* III, 222—240. A study of the various recensions of Dom Maurice Chauncy's contemporary account of the last years of the London charterhouse is in preparation: "*Passio XVIII Cartusianorum in Anglia Martyrum a Domno Mauritio Chauncy: A Critical Study of the Manuscripts*" (*Analecta Cartusiana* 87).

strictly prohibited in 1499. The practise of medicine had been forbidden as early as 1222, though further ordinances condemning it in 1296 and 1438 suggest that there was an occasional tendency to ignore the prohibition. In 1478 the prior of Aillon in Savoy was even threatened with imprisonment for his disobedience on this point. Somewhat later, particularly in Italy, the Order did endeavour to come to the aid of the sick, and the pharmacies at Florence and Trisulti can still be admired¹²⁸.

A certain humanity, in any event, was not absent from Carthusian life, whatever its rigours. The customary of Raynaldi reveals that new ordinands were allowed to remain at the monastic guesthouse for one or two days after their return, with permission to visit the brethren in their cells, whilst at Porta Coeli five days grace were granted for ordination, which seems generous, as the charterhouse was only thirty kilometres from the cathedral city of Valencia. By a privilege of Pope Pius II holy orders could be received at the age of twenty-two, though the *Tertia Compilatio* lays down the required ages as twenty for the diaconate and twenty-five for the priesthood¹²⁹. In 1576 a case is recorded where a candidate was promoted to the priesthood, despite his lack of the requisite theological knowledge. Understandably, the monks were forbidden as early as 1332 to seek ordination at Rome, unless they resided within twenty kilometres of the eternal city.

Most of the medieval vestments have perished along with much of the furnishings, which often fell victim to the barock zeal of many priors, particularly in the German and Italian charterhouses, but, despite the depredations of the suppressions of the Napoleonic Wars and the liberal movements of the nineteenth century, a fair number of charterhouses remain to give us an idea of the cadre in which Carthusian life in the late Middle Ages was set. In Austria, Mauerbach, Gaming and Aggsbach¹³⁰ have all retained a good deal of their monastic character, whilst Buxheim and Ittingen¹³¹ are eloquent representatives of charterhouses

¹²⁸ The pharmacy of the charterhouse of Valldemossa is also preserved. Cf. *The Charterhouses of the Carthusian Province of Catalonia*, Vol. 4: LUIS RIPOLL, *Sucinta historia de la Cartuja de Valldemossa*. 1978, plates 44—46.

¹²⁹ IV, 14.

¹³⁰ JAMES HOGG, *The Architecture of the Charterhouses of Lower Austria, Album*. Unfortunately, the quality of the reproduction left a good deal to be desired. The illustrations in FRANZ ENNE, *Die Aufhebung der Kartause Aggsbach (Analecta Cartusiana 49)* 1977 are of a higher quality.

¹³¹ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Buxheim, Ittingen and La Valsainte*, plates 1—106.

dating from the late fifteenth century. More typical of the austere traditions of the Order are perhaps the charterhouses of Savoy¹³², among which Le Reposoir and Mélan remain much as they were in the fifteenth century, whilst Jerez de la Frontera and the charterhouses of Andalusia¹³³ show the conciliation of financial resources with monastic severity in the creation of architectural monuments of no mean order, — an achievement that had been realised even earlier at Naples, Florence and Padula¹³⁴ in Italy, to name but a few of the more striking examples.

¹³² Cf. JAMES HOGG, *L'ancienne chartreuse du Reposoir, aujourd'hui Carmel, et les chartreuses de la Savoie* (*Analecta Cartusiana* 39) 1979.

¹³³ Cf. JAMES HOGG, *The Charterhouses of Las Cuevas, Jerez de la Frontera, Cazalla, and Granada*, Vol. 3: *The Charterhouses of Las Cuevas, Cazalla de la Sierra, and Granada*.

¹³⁴ Cf. JAMES HOGG and MICHELE MEROLA, *The Charterhouse of Padula: Album* (*Analecta Cartusiana* 54) 1978.