

5. The problem of uniformity in Carthusian book production from the *Opus Pacis* to the *Tertia Compilatio Statutorum*

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During the medieval period the Carthusians made considerable efforts to achieve a high degree of uniformity in the books belonging to the Order.¹ In this, as in other matters, grave problems arose when the Order divided into two obediences following the outbreak of the Great Schism in 1378. The division was largely resolved in 1410, and with this was associated the promulgation of Oswald de Corda's *Opus Pacis*, that sought to re-establish uniformity in Carthusian books. Efforts to achieve uniformity continued throughout the fifteenth century, until the Order embraced the technological solution provided by the printed book: when the Third Compilation of Statutes was issued in 1509, printing was the means of authorised publication.

The ideal of uniformity was one that could cost individual members of the order much loss of quiet of mind. Oswald de Corda recognised this:

Quoniam difficillimum est ad correctionem librorum iuxta statutorum nostrorum tenorem per totum ordinem faciendam haberi posse exemplaria domus cartusie originalia, ac per hoc plurimorum zelum ordinis habencium solicetetur animus, ita quod nonnumquam, non dico propter oracionis siue dictionis nec sillabe quidem, sed propter vnus littere mutacionem, addicionem aut diminucionem quies mentis, etsi non subuertitur, grauitur tamen plerumque perturbatur. Et hec est nostri aduersarii dolosa machinacio, et desideratus sue fraudis triumphus, cum hos in minimis deicerit, quorum uictor in magnis esse nequiuit.

Nearly twenty years ago, I set the above passage from Oswald de Corda's *Opus Pacis* as the epigraph to my doctoral dissertation, a study of the late-medieval English Carthusian textual critic James Grenehalgh – a study to which Ian Doyle had generously contributed the identification of Grenehalgh's hand in several hitherto-unknown manuscripts and incunabula.² I took Oswald's words both as characteristic of the Carthusian tradition of textual correction and as emblematic of Grenehalgh's personal life.

As a textual critic, Grenehalgh was quite conservative. The result of his annotations in the manuscripts and early prints of such works as Walter

Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* is not the establishment of an authoritative text, but the preservation of the fullest variety of readings. The only class of conjectures that he ventured were in his improvements on Thomas Fishlake's Latin translation of the *Scale*, where he produced alternative readings based on variants in the English manuscripts; nothing is unsupported by some exemplar. This textual conservatism, applied by Grenehalgh to the writings of late medieval English mystical writers, is similar to that which inspired the Carthusian tradition in the emendation of copies of the Bible, liturgical books, and the works of the Fathers. And as we have seen, Grenehalgh appears to have shared with the correctors of such official texts not only a fundamental textual conservatism but also the disposition, noted by Oswald de Corda, to be snared *in minimis*. In fact, as Mary and Richard Rouse have argued in their study of Oswald's *Opus Pacis*,³ the 'combination of injunctions and threats' by which the Statutes of the Order governed the work of a textual corrector 'could thoroughly destroy [his] peace of mind':

It is, specifically, this peace of mind that Oswald intends to restore, with this *Work of Peace*, 'so that even in this part [i.e. correction of texts], we may lead a quiet and tranquil life, with the help of Him whose abode is peace', the prologue says.

Peace was certainly denied Grenehalgh. His exile from Sheen Charterhouse, at the wish of the community there, would seem to mark him as a man whom his confrères and superiors, at least, considered susceptible to the snares of the enemy. I do not know whether it can be proven that Grenehalgh sinned *in maximis*: certainly, his casting himself in the role of spiritual advisor to Johanna Sewell, a nun in the Brigittine convent of Syon, across the Thames from Sheen, was a violation of the Carthusian Statutes prohibiting members of the Order not merely from hearing the confessions of women, but from conversing with women at all. On the other hand, his numerous annotations of passages, particularly of the works of Richard Rolle, lamenting the tendency of the worldly-minded to condemn those who are truly devoted to God, would argue against his commission of the kind of physical sin whose near occasion the Carthusian prohibitions were intended to prevent. Rather, I suspect that even a simple admonishment from his prior, the partial internalization of which may be evident in the famous 'Sewellam renue' annotation,⁴ would have touched off, in the manner of Rolle, a self-righteous defensiveness. In fact the very characteristics that make for a good textual critic – constant attention to detail, unwillingness to let go of any matter before it has been set right – are too often wedded to the

kind of irascibility by which one may indeed be overcome *in minimis*. The disquiet of a mind so perturbed would indeed have upset the peace of a community of monks as totally enclosed as were the Carthusians. Further, if Grenehalgh, even innocent of physical sin, were to have persisted in a divisive or vituperative self-defence, this would have constituted in itself reason enough, according to the Statutes, for him to be removed from the house of his original profession. So he was sent to Coventry Charterhouse, as recorded in the *carta* of the General Chapter of the Order in 1508, with the instruction that he was never to be returned to Sheen, but rather received for profession at Coventry, or wherever else he might find acceptance. The death of James Grenehalgh, still an **unprofessed guest in the Order, at Hull Charterhouse, is recorded in the *carta* of the General Chapter of 1530.**

I

The Carthusian tradition of collecting, copying and correcting books has been discussed before, by Mary and Richard Rouse, by Paul Lehmann, and others,⁵ and needs no more than cursory treatment here. Guibert de Nogent tells us that under the influence of Bruno of Cologne, the founder of the Order (d. 1101), 'Cum in omnimoda paupertate se deprimant, ditissimam tamen bibliothecam coaggerant'. We know also that Guigo I, the fifth prior of the Grande-Chartreuse, and compiler of the *Consuetudines* of the Order (d. 1137), interested himself in the establishment of the texts of the letters of Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine, Hilary on the Psalms, and the lives of Gregory Nazianzen and John Chrysostom. Guigo's *Consuetudines* themselves record the importance of writing as the most appropriate form of manual labour for the members of this heremitic Order, noting, in an oft-cited passage, 'Libros quippe, tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri, et studiose volumus fieri, ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus praedicemus'. This passage, in fact, was cited by Adam of Dryburgh (d. 1212), who employed it in his own praise of the copying of books in *De Quadripertito Exercicio Cellae*. What I wish to do here, rather, is to note the relationship between the monastic ideal of uniformity of rite and the necessity of corrected exemplars, and the difficulty in conforming to either of these ideals in a time of ecclesiastical upheaval. Specifically, what I wish to suggest is that the peace that Oswald de Corda intended to promote in his *Opus Pacis* may not have

been merely the tranquillity of mind of the individual textual corrector, or the quiet of the house in which he dwelt, but the harmonious reunion of the Carthusian Order itself in the contentious period following the Great Schism.

The relatively small numbers of the Carthusian Order, and the organisation of its discipline through provincial visitations and annual General Chapters meeting under the direction of the Reverend Father, the Prior of the Grande-Chartreuse, and a small number of others chosen as Diffinitors (seven Priors, plus one representative of the community of the Grande-Chartreuse), has afforded a greater degree of success in ensuring the uniformity of rite and custom among all houses, as in other monastic ideals, than may be possible in other orders; as the reputation of the Order has it, 'Religio Cartusianorum nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata'.⁶ The issue of uniformity was addressed in the first of these General Chapters, held in 1142 under Dom Anthelm, the seventh Prior of the Grande-Chartreuse, which decreed:⁷

Primum . . . capitulorum hanc habet continentiam, ut divinum Ecclesiae officium prorsus per omnes domos uno ritu celebretur, et omnes consuetudines Carthusienses domus, quae ad ipsam religionem pertinent, unimode habeantur. . . . Septimum . . . capitulum de his habetur, ut neque prior Carthusiae, neque caeteris quibuslibet prioribus his omnibus quae vel ad divinum officium, vel ad caeteras quaslibet hujus religionis institutiones pertinent, sine communi consilio generalis capituli demere aliquid, vel addere licitum sit.

These two regulations are united, and referred specifically to the correction of texts that uniformity of rite requires, in the *Statuta Jancelini* of 1222:⁸

PRimum capitulum hanc habet continentiam, ut diuinum ecclesie officium per omnes domos uno ritu celebretur. Neque priori Cartusie, neque ceteris quibuslibet de his omnibus que ad diuinum officium uel ad ceteras quaslibet huius ordinis consuetudines pertinent, sine communi generalis capituli consilio demere aliquid uel additione, seu alteratione aliqua, occasione aliqua liceat inmutare. ¶ Libros quoque ueteris ac noui testamenti, qui tam studiose emendati sunt eosue cum quibus diuina celebrantur officia, sine eiusdem consilio nullus emendare presumat.

This is further refined and expanded in the *Statuta Antiqua* of 1259, which were compiled and edited by, and promulgated under the authority of, Dom Riffier. The Order had by this time spread to some fifty-four houses throughout what would come to be the provinces of Grenoble, Burgundy, Provence, Aquitaine, Nearer and Further Picardy (later Teutonia), Upper Germany, Lombardy and England, with shorter-lived foundations in Sweden and Ireland. One result of this expansion of the Order, and the concomitant need for an increase in the sophistication of

its discipline, is that the correction of texts as described in the *Statuta Antiqua* is not to be made simply according to a (presumably) known Carthusian text, 'so studiously emended', as the *Statuta Jancelini* had it, but against 'exemplars corrected within our Order' (a marginal note adds: 'against the emended books of the Grande-Chartreuse'), and that such correction no longer includes only the Bible and liturgical books, but also the works of the Fathers.⁹

PRimum capitulum hanc habet continentiam: vt diuinum ecclesie officium per omnes domos vno ritu celebretur; Neque priori Cartusie, neque ceteris quibuslibet, de his omnibus que ad diuinum officium, vel ad ceteras quaslibet huius ordinis generales consuetudines pertinent: sine communi generalis capituli consilio, demere aliquid vel additione, seu alteracione aliqua: occasione qualibet liceat immutare; ¶ Ea vero que non sunt expressa in aliqua trium partium consuetudinum, reliquuntur ordinanda priorum arbitrio: ita tamen quod ea que ordinauerint non dissonant a statutis, vel consuetudinibus ordinis generalibus; ¶ Hac tamen occasione vel alia, nolumus domorum consuetudines, que contra statuta vel scripta capituli non sunt: leuiter a prioribus immutari; ¶ Libros quoque veteris ac noui testamenti, eosve cum quibus diuina celebrantur officia: sine eiusdem capituli consilio, nullus emendare presumat: nisi cum exemplarijs in ordine nostro emendatis: nisi iudicio prioris et monachorum discretorum, error aliquis manifestus appareret; ¶ Hoc ipsum per omnia dicimus de libris ecclesiasticorum doctorum; ¶ Porro si que in predictis libris mendosa vel emendatione digna videantur, priores prouideant quantum potuerint: vt ad libros qui correcti sunt in ordine corrigantur;

The *Statuta Nova*, promulgated in 1368, under the authority of Dom William II Raynald, added to this the strictures that Mary and Richard Rouse saw as destructive of the peace of mind of a Carthusian textual corrector:¹⁰

QUod in prima et secunda parte statutorum cauetur antiquorum, de diuino officio vno ritu per omnes domos cartusiensis ordinis celebrando, prout ibi est expressum: volumus obseruari; ¶ Idem per omnia ordinantes, de libris cum quibus diuina celebrantur officia: sine exemplaribus cum libris domus Cartusie emendatis minime corrigendis; ¶ Et quia non obstantibus statutis super his hactenus emanatis, plerique presumptione damnabili, libris ecclesiasticos non quidem corrigere, sed potius corrumpere attemperant, statuimus vt quicumque amodo aliter quam vt supra expressum est, libros antedictos emendare presumpserint, culpas suas pro qualibet vice in conuentu recognoscant: districtam a presidente suscepturi disciplinam; ¶ Ordinamus etiam vt domos noue vel alie que libros ecclesiasticos amodo scribi fecerint: eos transcribi de exemplaribus procurent emendatis;

It is apparent here that the expanding Order, which had by this time more than doubled in size, to 132 houses, expanding particularly in Tuscany, the Rhineland, Saxony and Lower Germany, was struggling to maintain a harmony between centralized internal discipline, as represented by the stipulations that corrections are to be made only according to exemplars from the Grande-Chartreuse, for which the prior of each house is to

provide, and a more liberal earlier tendency, according to which the prior and the 'more discreet' monks of any house could rule as they saw fit on apparent textual errors. As the Order grew in numbers the need for centralized control of rite and custom grew apace. Yet centralization of textual authority, or of any form of authority for that matter, was to prove difficult to achieve, for ten years after the promulgation of the *Statuta Nova* there occurred the Great Schism of the Western Church.

In 1379, the eleventh year of the priorate of William Raynald, as Urban VI and Clement VII began to consolidate their respective claims to the papacy, Urban named Johannes de Baro (Joannotus), prior of Trisulti, as General Visitor for the Carthusian Order in those areas under Roman obedience.¹¹ A private Chapter of the Roman obedience was held that year in Bologna, and the following year in Florence; we may note that the *carta* of this Chapter comprises rulings for the English province, which is probable evidence that the English Visitors were in attendance there. The General Chapter of 1381 was attended by all but the Italians, who held a private Chapter at Rome. In 1382 Urban named Johannes de Baro Minister General of the Order, to be obeyed 'tanquam Priorem Cartusie Majoris'; the Urbanist Chapter in Rome that year was attended by priors of the Italian, German and Belgian houses, and the priors of Strasbourg and Freiburg were excommunicated for allying themselves with the Clementine party, which continued to hold its Chapters at the Grande-Chartreuse throughout the Schism. Holland remained neutral. Although Johannes de Baro remained in Florence, the provinces of the Order under the Urbanist obedience held their Chapter of 1383 at Maurbach, in Austria, because of the greater security of its location. Conrad, prior of the Charterhouse of Seitz (the oldest house in Upper Germany) presided. The Urbanist Chapters of the next two years were held in Bologna and Florence, respectively; the Chapter of 1386 was held at Maurbach, and that of 1387 at Seitz. The English appear to have attended the Urbanist Chapter in 1386, for again there are ordinations for that province recorded in its *carta* (it is here that permission was given for the prior of Beauvale to admit to profession one Adam Horsley, for whom Walter Hilton wrote his letter *De Utilitate et Prerogativis Religionis*).¹²

The next four Urbanist Chapters were held in Italy, at Florence and Montelli. In 1390, after the death of Pope Urban and the election of Boniface IX, Johannes de Baro was reconfirmed as Reverend Father for the Roman obedience of the Order. He died in 1391, and Dom Christopher, prior of Florence, an associate of Catherine of Siena and friend of Raymond of Capua, was elected in his place. The English,

interestingly, appear to have attended the General Chapter at the Grande-Chartreuse in this year, for ordinations concerning this province appear in its *carta*. The Urbanist Chapter returned to Seitz in 1392, where it continued to be held until the end of the Schism. In 1398, Dom Christopher died, and Stephen de Senis (Stephen Macon) was elected his successor. Stephen, too, was an associate of Catherine of Siena, who had counselled him to enter the Carthusian Order nearly twenty years before. We may also note that he was active in the promotion of her canonization, and wrote the well-known account of her life.¹³ In 1401, William Raynald died, and his will was followed in the election of Boniface Ferrer as his successor in the priorate of the Grande-Chartreuse.

When the Council of Pisa was convened in 1409, equal efforts began within the Carthusian Order to effect its parallel reunification. Stephen Macon called a private Chapter early in 1410 at the Charterhouse of Strasbourg, which was attended by eight priors of the Urbanist obedience, as well as the prior of Paris, Johannes Griffomont (Griffenberg, a German noble house), and one other of the Clementine obedience. Paralleling the resolution of the Schism in the Western Church as a whole, Stephen offered to abdicate his position, provided Boniface would do likewise, and then a new Reverend Father would be elected by an equal number of Diffinitors from the two parties of the Schism at the next General Chapter. Boniface acceded to this, approximately as willingly as did Benedict XIII (Petrus de Luna), the Avignonese pope. The community of the Grande-Chartreuse agreed to the election, provided that this single occurrence would in no way prejudice their traditional freedom in the election of their prior, the Reverend Father, in the future. Johannes Griffomont was elected Reverend Father, and Stephen Macon retired to Italy, serving as prior first in Pontiniani, and finally in Pavia, where he died in 1424. When the Conciliar pope Alexander V died in 1410, however, Benedict XIII reasserted his authority, and reconfirmed Boniface Ferrer as Reverend Father of the entire Carthusian Order. Boniface, who had in fact been duly elected as prior of the Grande-Chartreuse, attempted for the next seven years to reclaim his position. Like Benedict, he was eventually forced to retire to Spain, where both had the support of the crown until 1416. In that year, the Spanish houses were reconciled to the Carthusian Order, and Boniface Ferrer died in the Charterhouse of Segorbe in Catalonia two years later. Dom Johannes III Griffomont served as Reverend Father until his death on 2 September 1420.

During the Schism, and under the authority of the Dom William II Raynald, who had promulgated the *Statuta Nova*, a work called *Valde*

Bonum, which dealt with the correction of texts according to the Carthusian Statutes, was also issued. The work itself does not appear to have survived, and all that we know of it is what Oswald de Corda reports at the end of the Prologue of the *Opus Pacis*:¹⁴

Precessit autem prius quidam libellus, 'Valde bonum' dictus, ex quo certo vel certis moderaminibus non est regulatus, ideo etiam non sine causa a plerisque est refutatus. Et nisi idem iuxta huius operis tenorem moderetur parvum fructum faciet, sicut satis probatum est. Dedit tamen ipsum 'Valde bonum' ex despectu sui huic operi non minimum ea acionis avisamentum. Quare illud absque ipso intelligenti sufficit. Istud etiam 'Valde bonum' martirologii et biblie tantum vocabula continet. Istud vero ultra etiam ad correctionem ecclesiasticorum doctorum se extendit voluminum. 'Valde bonum' tempore scismatis sub domino Guilhelmo est collectum, presens autem anno extirpacionis eiusdem sub domino Johanne nacione Theutonico Cartusie priore est compilatum. Non tamen est hoc opus secundum imperium ut ita fiat, sed secundum indulgenciam ut ita fieri vel factum esse sufficiat. Ergo quatione amplectitur a volente cui placet, ea respui poterit a nolente cum ei displicet.

The first chapter of the *Opus Pacis* itself, which addresses itself to the general question of the correction of books, begins from the necessity of such correction for the preservation of the uniformity of the Carthusian rite.¹⁵ Oswald then proceeds to describe briefly a number of the sources of variation in words, including inconsistent transcription of Greek and Hebrew, variations between classical and contemporary Latin, differences of opinion even among grammatical authorities, and national variations in pronunciation and spelling. Throughout all of this, his advice is in the direction of restraint: correctors 'non statim ad corrigendum mittant manum, sed velut sapiens quid agendum sit, bene deliberent presertim iuxta huius operis informacionem'. The moderation of Oswald's directions is quite remarkable. In fact, Mary and Richard Rouse, I think quite rightly, hold this to be one of the strengths of the *Opus Pacis*, though Lehmann's opinion was that it went too far in that direction.¹⁶ In this work, rather than simply listing the 'correct' Carthusian spellings of various words, since spellings could vary from text to text, or from place to place in a single text (a name might be spelled one way in the prophetic books of the Bible, for example, but another way in Chronicles), Oswald rationalizes the variations, providing, as promised, the information on which the wise textual corrector will base his decisions.

Oswald's book deals, in separate chapters, or *Cautele*, with such subjects as doubling or transposition of letters, transcription of aspirates, substitution of spellings for similar pronunciations, syncope, apocope and consonant-intrusive pronunciations in contemporary Latin, confusion of declension and declined forms, transposition of entire words, punctuation, accent, and related topics. The seventeenth and eighteenth

Cautele, as both Lehmann and Mary and Richard Rouse noted, are particularly interesting for the evidence they give of Oswald's awareness of national differences in the pronunciation of medieval Latin. He observes Priscian's distinction of various pronunciations of the sounds of *o* and *u* in the various parts of Italy, and proceeds to apply the same rule to the difference that occurs in the use of *u*-, *v*-, and *w*- spellings between the Germans and others, which are inconsequential in prose texts, although they must be dealt with more uniformly in liturgical texts, where 'ordo . . . per omnes nationes matri sue Cartusie conformatur'.¹⁷ In other cases of simple vowel substitution, where there is no metrical alteration (and again he distinguishes between German and other usage):

ubi sola linguarum diversitas est in causa, quod aliquando vocalis pro vocali ponitur vel alia litera pro altera, ibi non est necesse corrigere secundum libros Cartusie, sed sufficit tenere modum patrie qui plerumque certior est in quantum talia vocabula eandem patriam concernunt eciam in accentu.

Mary and Richard Rouse note, as a piece of confirmatory evidence of Oswald's Bavarian origin, that 'whenever he must cite a place-name as an example, it is invariably *Bavaria*, *Bavarus* (just as his example for a personal name is *Oswaldus*); on a single occasion, where *Bavaria* will not illustrate his point, he gives another name, *Suevia*'.¹⁸ There is, in fact some indication that the *Opus Pacis* may have been composed specifically for a German Carthusian audience. We may observe, for example, that Oswald's comparison of his own work with the antecedent *Valde Bonum* also contrasts that work's publication 'in the time of the Schism, under Dom William', with that of the *Opus Pacis*, 'in the year of the extirpation of the same, under Dom Johann, Teutonic in nation, Prior of the [Grande-] Chartreuse'. The *Opus Pacis*, too, survives almost uniquely in manuscripts from the German- and Dutch-speaking provinces of the Order: two from the Basel Charterhouse (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MSS F. IX. 4 (s. xv) and Inc. 5 (dated 1514)); one from Buxheim (Bibliothèque de la Grande-Chartreuse (n.d.)); three from Erfurt (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MSS lat. qu. 630 (s. xv) and 632 (s. xv); Weimar, Thüringische Landesbibliothek, MS qu. 22 (s. xv)); two from Mainz (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, MSS 151 – lost during the Second World War – and II. 276 (n.d.)); one from Trier (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1924 (s. xv)); and one from Utrecht (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 824 (1470)). Three others are not of Carthusian provenance, but derive from the same geographical area: one each from the Crosiers (Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS G. B. 4° 152 (before 1439)) and the Benedictines

of Trier (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1130 (s. xv)), and one that belonged to Nicholas von Cues (Cues, Hospitalbibliothek, MS 12 (1449)). Mary and Richard Rouse report one other manuscript, which passed from the possession of the Brethren of the Common Life at Cologne eventually to the Huntington collection at San Marino, California (bound with a 1479 Brussels printing of the homilies of John Chrysostom: Rare Book No. 86299). This copy, which had belonged to Oswald himself, had been left behind, under what appear to be unedifying circumstances, 'ad nimiam instantiam et importunitatem d. Iohannis Bernsau', on the Friday after *Reminiscere* 1428, as he was travelling to take up the priorate of the Scottish Charterhouse at Perth, where his death is recorded in the *carta* of the General Chapter of 1435.¹⁹ Only a single page of extracts from the *Opus Pacis* (in Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 46, which presumably derives from the Grande-Chartreuse itself) survives from any other province.

We may argue from this that the composition of the *Opus Pacis* was in fact part of the conscious effort in the Carthusian Order to mollify the rancour of the Great Schism. Oswald, the German-speaking Vicar of the Grande-Chartreuse, appears to be offering himself and his Prior as paradigms of the peaceful reassimilation of the Urbanist obedience into the Order as a whole, under the authority of its mother house. He does not demand the humble submission of the 'rebellious' – perhaps the *Valde Bonum* did – rather, he shows how, reasonably, uniformity may be achieved without loss of respect to any nation or obedience. If so, this could also explain why Oswald was not allowed to take a copy of his work with him to Scotland. To export the evidence of dissent, even in its resolution, could possibly contribute to future dissent. It is also interesting to note that the *carta* of the General Chapter of 1436 enjoined the prior of the Scottish Charterhouse to send back to the Grande-Chartreuse whatever writings that Oswald may have taken there with him.²⁰ We may speculate further, although this must remain conjecture, that the *Valde Bonum* itself may have been promulgated by the Grande-Chartreuse in an attempt to maintain centralization of authority under the conditions of the Schism. If this is so, it was an attempt whose effect, because of the manner of its execution, would appear to have been rather divisive than unifying. One wonders whether the *Valde Bonum* was published only for the use of those German- and Dutch-speaking houses of the Urbanist obedience for whom, as Oswald says in the opening of his work, 'it is difficult to have original exemplars from the Grande-Chartreuse'. If such were the case, then Oswald's was truly an *Opus Pacis*.

II

The care that the General Chapter took in reasserting its place as the guarantor of the uniformity of the Carthusian discipline immediately after the reunification of the Order is physically evident in the collections of *cartae* that record its deliberations.²¹ Although earlier *cartae* survive only sporadically, we have collections of the exemplars from the Chapter itself for the years 1438–74, 1504–13, and 1516–35 in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MSS latin 10887–10890 and Parkminster, St. Hugh's Charterhouse, MS B. 62. One of these, the *carta* for the year 1507, is signed by the scribe of the General Chapter itself: 'Ego Fr. Johannes Binchois scripsi xxii cartas', which corresponds to the sequence of *cartae* that actually survives in his hand. A late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century transcript made by Claude Duchesne from, it would appear, the collection of exemplar *cartae* for the years 1411–14, 1416–17, 1420–9, 1431–2, and 1434–36, survives in Grande-Chartreuse, MS 1 Cart.15.

Collections of the original copies of the *cartae* that priors attending the Chapter were to make, or have made, from the exemplars, for the use of their own houses also survive, in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 413 (for the years 1411–12, and 1417–81), Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, MS 15 (for the years 1405, 1408, 1410–12, 1420–3, 1425, 1429, 1431–3, 1435, 1437–8, 1440, 1442–4 and 1446–50), and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS II. 1959, (for the years 1416–26 and 1428–42). These manuscripts, all of which derive from provinces whose Visitors were only required to attend the Chapter in leap years, appear also to demonstrate the method by which the *cartae* were quickly transmitted to the further houses of the Order, for large sections of each are written in several hands. Apparently, the unbound *carta* would have been handed out to several monks, who would then have been responsible for producing further copies from them. It would be possible, by this method, to provide an entire province with copies of the *carta* in only a day or two more than the simple time of travel from house to house would require. One piece of evidence of the strict accuracy with which these copies were made is the 'signature' of 'Johannes [Griffomont] Prior Cartusie/ manu propria anno CCCC xvij' at the end of the *carta* for that year in the Lambeth Palace manuscript – written, as Ian Doyle pointed out to me, in an English hand. Other single *cartae* of this class survive in Uppsala Universiteitsbibliothek, MS C. 31 (for 1426), and Grande-Chartreuse, MS 1 Cart.24 (for 1462, 1466 and 1491).

Collections of the ordinances alone of each of the Chapters from 1412

to 1506 survive in the Louber and Egen *Manualia* from the Charterhouse of Buxheim, now in the possession of the Charterhouse of Aula Dei in Spain. Similar collections, for the years 1411–99, survive in Bodleian MS Rawlinson D. 318, and for the years 1411–94, in BL MS Cotton Caligula A. ii. These manuscripts also contain a series of questions on matters of rite and custom, posed by priors of the English province to the Reverend Father and the General Chapter over the years from 1350 to 1503. They are also found appended to a copy of the Basel 1509 printing of the *Statuta* in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library MS 732/771. Finally, there are also, in the archives of the Grande-Chartreuse, a number of later collections of extracts from the *cartae* of this period.

The reconciliation of the ordinances of the separate General Chapters of the Urbanist and Clementine obediences must have been as great a problem to the first Chapter of the reunified Order as that of the election of a new Reverend Father. In fact, the *carta* of the Chapter of 1411 records, immediately following its acceptance of Alexander V as pope, and before the acceptance of the abdications of Boniface Ferrer and Stephen de Senis, that because it was impossible to reconcile the ordinances of the two obediences in so short a time, they would continue in effect until the next Chapter only in so far as it seemed expedient to the president in each house.²²

Cum plures ordinationes facte sint in Carthusia vtriusque olim obediencie, que pro presenti propter breuitatem temporis concordari non possunt, Ordinamus quod eedem ordinationes medio tempore facte, non ligent quemquam nisi in quantum presidentibus in singulis domibus videbitur expedire, vsque ad sequens proximum Capitulum Generale, & tunc declarabitur quid erit fiendum.

In fact, the next Chapter could not decide what to do, and allowed this declaration to remain in effect for another year. The Chapter of 1412 finally decided simply to do away with all the ordinances, not merely of the separate obediences, but of all Chapters since the publication of the *Statuta Nova*, except for those which it specifically kept in effect:²³

Quia valde vitandum est vt statuta & constitutiones religiosorum nimis multiplicentur & per consequens talis multiplicatio non parum primeue institutioni derogare videtur, omnes constitutiones post Noua Statuta edita in hac carta non contentas, irritamus, & si noui quid ortum fuerit, habeatur recursus ad Capitulum Generale, seu ad Reuerendum Patrem Domnum Carthusie, & studeant singulariter ea que in Statutis ponita sunt diligentissime obseruare.

In the event, the Chapter of 1417 also reconfirmed one ordinance that had been made during the time of the Schism ('Dudum fuit ordinatum'), and the Chapter of 1428, noting that not all houses had copies of an

ordinance that had been made in 1376, reissued it ('Quia Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC xxvj^o'). Three further ordinances, one made by the Chapter of 1416 ('Ne autem per ignoranciam'), one by the Chapter of 1424 ('Quia multi sunt'), and one by the Chapter of 1425 ('Quia non nulle domus'), strengthened the disciplinary effect of all such ordinances, by requiring their reading four times per year in each charterhouse, by specifically commanding obedience, and by directing the Vicar of each house to record the ordinances in each *carta* immediately upon its receipt each year in a book to be made for that purpose. This last was repeated *verbatim* in the *carta* of 1426. The collections of ordinances in the Egen and Louber *Manualia*, and in BL Cotton Caligula A. ii are probably the result of precisely this ruling. The Chapter of 1430 required that 'nullus portet cartam Capituli extra Domum Carthusie nisi prius collacionatam ad originale'; this was clarified the next year, when it was specified that no one should take away a *carta*, 'nisi prius correctam ad originale uel cum exemplaribus correctis ad dictum originale'.²⁴ Further evidence of the interest in textual uniformity is found in an ordinance of 1432:²⁵

Item ut correctio vniformis de missalibus capellarum facta in Domo Cartusie ad exemplar librorum chori domus videlicet missalis maioris altaris euangelisterij & epistolarij & gradualis maneat ut est nec alicui liceat super hoc aliquod mutare sine consilio Diffinitorum Capituli Generalis.

Another interesting ordinance dealing with the *cartae* of the General Chapter forbade, in 1470, the copying of these documents by anyone not of the Order:²⁶

Quia nullo modo tolerandum est quod extranei sciant secreta Ordinis; Idcirco ordinamus et expresse seruari volumus ne aliqua persona Ordinis per se, interpositamue personam, faciat scribi aliquid de Carta Capituli Generalis per seculares uel eciam per clericos suos, sed Priores prouideant sibi ipsis de Carta scribenda cum tempus sufficiens habeant ad dictam Cartam scribendam. Qui contrarium facere attemptauerit, de hoc dicat culpam suam in plena audientia Capituli Generalis.

It was also necessary to reconcile the licences and privileges that had been granted to the Order as a whole, or to individual houses of either obedience, during the Schism. The General Chapter of 1426 dealt with the former matter, notifying all members of the Order ('Notificatur omnibus') that the Reverend Father had secured from Pope Martin V a general confirmation of all of the privileges of the Order, and five privileges in particular, that were specifically cited: release from payment of papal tithes, including a writ of execution against any who would trouble the Order in this respect; a release from contribution to the

expenses of apostolic legates and nuncios; exemption from obedience to the metropolitan or episcopal authority, or other jurisdiction; and the prohibition of any member of the Order from transferring to another order without papal permission. A further ordinance, from the Chapter of 1438, required any house or person of the Order having any licence or commission from the Reverend Father or the General Chapter to submit it to the following Chapter for the good of the Order. The Chapter of 1439 added that if this was not done, any such licences were to be suspended or revoked completely ('Ordinamus quod post generalem reuocacionem', 'Ordinationem anni prefati').

Finally, we may note that interest in a general reformation of the discipline of the Order, arising at least in part from the inability of the Chapter to reconcile the variations that had arisen in the time of the Schism, is evidenced in the *carta* of the General Chapter of 1440.²⁷

Ob salutare propositum quod subiimus si et in quantum his diebus collapsum in aliquo videatur in toto nostro Ordine reformandum et in sancta religione conseruandum, Ordinamus quod omnes Visitatores tam de per se quam per consultationem aliorum Priorum et monachorum eiusdem Ordinis in eorum prouinciis expertorum, Deumque timentium et zelum sanctum atque discretum habentium, in scriptis redigant seriose omnia illa que secundum Deum et obseruantiam regularem eis occurrerint in dicto Ordine reformanda; Et illa habeant in futuro Capitulo Reuerendo Patri nostro Cartusie apportare, vt sic dictus Reuerendus Pater vice totius Ordinis que sibi fuerint apportata valeat super annum consultius visitare, et pertinenter certis sub articulis in forma debita exarare, ac Patribus Ordinis oportuno tempore in Generali Capitulo congregatis examinanda presentare; Quibus tunc singillatim consideratis et alias per diuersa Capitula secundum eorum exigentiam mature digestis illa dono Dei Capitulum Generale prefatum efficere valeat que in futurum liceant et expediant toti nostro Ordini ad salutem.

We may presume that a number of the ordinances made by the Chapter over the course of the fifteenth century are reflections of this intention. Certainly, many of them are to be found, in further edited form, in the *Tertia Compilatio Statutorum*. The plan for this collection, promulgated by Dom Francis II Dupuy, was put forth in the General Chapter of 1506:²⁸

Cum post compilacionem Nouorum Statutorum quamplures ordinaciones per hoc nostrum Capitulum Generale ad conseruandum statum prouide et salubriter facte fuerunt, quarum aliquę confirmate, aliquę certis iustis respectibus et causis reuocate fuerunt, alie vero in melius emendate temporum personarum et occurrencium negociorum qualitate pensata; Ex quibus pro eo maxime quod ordinaciones ipso cum inde secutis ad singulorum noticiam non venerint aliqualis in Ordine deformitas, et non modice inter Ordinis personas dubietates orite sunt oriuntur et in posterum oriri possent in suum et dicti Ordinis detrimentum et animarum periculum, quibus obuiare volentes; Ordinamus quod hinc ad immediate sequens Capitulum per duos tres aut plures eiusdem Ordinis nostri Priores, aut monachos in talibus expertos et practicatos, quos Reuerendus Pater Cartusie ad hoc opus

eligerit et deputauerit Ordinationes predictae a dicto tempore citra factae videantur, et examinentur, et resecatis resecandis sub congruis et debitis Rubricis et titulis distribuantur et assignentur, et inde dicto nostro Capitulo exhibeantur et presententur, per eum iterum vidende et examinande, Et si eidem Capitulo bonum et vtile visum fuerit publicande, omnia ad Dei laudem religionis augmentum et subditorum salutem et pacem.

The *Tertia Compilatio* was read and approved at the next three General Chapters, and formally promulgated in 1509.²⁹ The ordinance of the *carta* of 1507 reads as follows:

Terciam Compilationem Statutorum ex Ordinatione nostra nouiter editam, et per nos seu deputatos a nobis visam et sufficienter examinatum, laudamus et approbamus. Et pro illius maiori firmitate et auctoritate, sequenti Capitulo iterum examinandam, et tunc si visum fuerit, confirmandam, et per Ordinem remittimus publicandam.

The *carta* of 1508 rewords this approbation slightly:

Terciam Compilationem Statutorum nouiter editam, per duo iam Capitula, per nos et deputatos a nobis diligenter examinatum, & in precedenti Capitulo confirmatum, iterum & secundo, communi omnium nostrum necnon & deputatorum predictorum deliberatione, consilio & consensu, auctoritate priuilegiorum nostri Ordinis laudamus, approbamus et confirmamus. Et ad illius maiorem firmitatem & auctoritatem, immediate sequenti Capitulo, iterum & tercio, illam examinandam & confirmandam, & tunc per totum Ordinem publicandam remittimus.

Unfortunately, the ordinances of the *carta* of 1509 are missing, but the *Prefacio* of the *Tertia Compilatio* tells us that it had been approved by three successive General Chapters, so we may assume that this ordinance would have been similar. Thus, according to the directives stated in the *carta* of 1506, and reiterated in the three followings years, the Third Compilation of the Statutes would have been promulgated throughout the Order immediately thereafter.

In the publication of the *Tertia Compilatio* however, the Order made use of the revolutionary medium of printing, for it was published, in a single volume together with the *Statuta Guigonis* (i.e. the *Consuetudines*), the *Antiqua* and *Nova Statuta*, a 'Repertorium', or index, to the statutes, and complete copies of the papal privileges granted to the Order, by Amorbach of Basel in 1509. In fact, as is evident from a letter addressed to the Reverend Father, prefaced to the 'Repertorium' (which, like the privileges, were printed in separate series of signatures from the statutes), the printing of this collection was of official status. After discussing the Carthusian vocation in general, and defending the vegetarianism of the Order at some length, Gregorius Reisch, the prior of the Charterhouse of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, continues:³⁰

Reliqua omnia/ ut sequuntur/ prudentia & diligentia tua Reuerende pater/ signata & ordinata sunt: mihiq̄ cum omnibus ordinis nostri statutis assignata & commissa/ ut opera & industria sollertissimi diligentissimiq̄ chalcographi/ magistri Iohannis amorbachij/ ac collegarum suorum multiplicata: ita prodirent in publicum: ut & extraneos omnino laterent/ & omnibus totius ordinis nostri personis innotescerent. Vere plurimum gratitudinis debent Reuerendae paternitati tuae omnes/ cum pro tertia compilatione statutorum: tum pro eorundem & aliorum maxime priuilegiorum aeditione/ & tam liberali/ tam munda & polita communicatione. Honore praeterea & singulari beneficio ordinis/ prosequendus est dictus magister Iohannes Amorbachius chalcographus: qui nulla cupiditate/ nulla spe lucri/ sed amore tantum & fauore ordinis: tantum tanque diligentem subijt laborem. Et ego demum/ qui utcunq̄ iussa & mandata eiusdem Reuerendae paternitatis tuae & ordini nostro esse & ditissimus & commendatissimus. Datum ex domo montis sancti Iohannis baptistae/ prope friburgum brysgaudiae/ prouinciae rheni: pridie calendas decembris. Anno nono super millesimum/ quingentesimum uirginei partus.

That is, Reisch had taken up this commission before the end of the year in which the *Tertia Compilatio* was finally promulgated. Further evidence of the official status of this publication can also be found in a letter, dated 20 November 1509, appended – as required – to the collection of privileges, in which Dom Francis Dupuy spoke expressly of the commission given to Reisch to undertake the printing of the statutes, and forbade any other printing without the permission of the Reverend Father and General Chapter.³¹

The choice of this method of book-production is notable in itself, but we may also note that the *Statuta* are only one of a number of books that were published by the Carthusian houses early in the sixteenth century.³² A *Missale* was printed by Simon Beuelaqua for the Grande-Chartreuse in 1517, ‘per venerabilem patrem domnum Iohannem Binchois religiosum monachum dicte domus professum ac capituli generalis dicti ordinis scriba correctum & emendatum’. This is the same Johannes Binchois who copied the Parkminster and Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, MS latin 10889) *exemplares* of the *cartae* of the General Chapter. An *Antiphone ad horas diei* of 1518 and a *Psalterium Carthusiense* of the following year were also published by the Charterhouse of Strasbourg. As George Williamson noted nearly a century ago, the Carthusian Order seems to have turned early to printing as a favoured medium for the production of books.

We are often told of the temporal and financial advantages that drove the early conversion of book-production from manuscript to print, and it would truly have been advantageous to the General Chapter to be able to promulgate the new, complete collection of the *Statuta* of the Order quickly in this medium. But I suspect that, as with the production of

textbooks in the University of Paris,³³ the uniformity of the books produced was at least an equal incentive. With printing, a single corrected exemplar could be the source of many correct copies: uniformity of text could be ensured, and the 'dolosa machinacio nostri adversarii' avoided, by using a machine of human devising.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this article was presented as a paper, 'The Ideal of Uniformity in Monastic Book Production: The Case of the Carthusians', 23rd International Congress of Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 5-8 May 1988.
2. Sargent, 'James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic', Ph.D dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979, printed, with addenda and corrigenda, *Analecta Cartusiana* 85 (Salzburg, 1984); see esp. p. 73. Information first published by other scholars has also depended on identifications made by Ian Doyle in 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulations of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries with special consideration to the part of the clergy therein', Ph.D dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1953. The following details of Grenehalgh's life derive from 'James Grenehalgh', pp. 75-109.
3. M. A. & R. H. Rouse, 'Correction and Emendation of Texts in the Fifteenth Century and the Autograph of the *Opus Pacis* by Oswaldus Anglicus', *Scire Litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, herausgegeben von S. Krämer and M. Bernhard, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, n.F. 99 (Munich, 1988), pp. 333-46; the following quotation is from p. 341. On the *Opus Pacis* and Oswald de Corda, see also; G. P. Köllner, 'Die *Opus Pacis* Handschrift im Lectionarium des ehemaligen Benediktinerklosters St. Jakob vor den Mauern von Mainz', *Universitas: Dienst an Wahrheit und Leben. Festschrift für Bischoff Dr. Albert Stohr*, (Mainz, 1960), pp. 258-73; J. Hogg, 'Oswald de Corda, a Forgotten Carthusian of Nördlingen', *Kartäusermystik und -mystiker*, iii, ed. J. Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana* 55:3 (Salzburg, 1982), pp. 181-5.
4. See Sargent, 'James Grenehalgh', pp. 69, 101, 125. Neil Ker diffidently identified the 'Sewellam renue', note as Grenehalgh's in a letter to Hope Emily Allen, dated 23 May 1948, remarking that unlike other annotations in ink in the same manuscript, this one was written, 'in plummet, and need not be his palaeographically, however obvious it may be that no-one else could have written those pathetic words'. In fact, the hand is not remarkably like Grenehalgh's elsewhere, and the note could conceivably be a word of reprimand from someone else.
5. M. A. & R. H. Rouse, as above. P. Lehmann, 'Bücherliebe und Bücherpflege bei den Karthäusern', *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: Scritti di Storia e Paleografia*, Studi e Testi 41 (Rome, 1924), pp. 364-89; repr. in Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 3 (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 121-42 (citations here are from the original publication). See also R. B. Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St. Barbara in Cologne*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 21-22 (Salzburg, 1974), pp. 37-40; Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxvii (1976), 225-40; and in expanded form repr. in 'James Grenehalgh', pp. 15-55.
6. As A. A. King points out, this motto summarizes the praise of the order expressed in the bulls *Thesaurus virtutum* (Alexander IV: 8 February, 1257) and *Romani Pontifices* (Pius II: 13 August 1460); see *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London, 1955), p. 1.
7. *PL*, cliii, cols 1126-7.

8. See the facsimile of MS Grande-Chartreuse 1 Stat. 23, ed. J. Hogg, *The Statuta Jancelini (1222) and The De Reformatione of Prior Bernard (1248)*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 65 (Salzburg, 1978), p. 28. In this and the following transcriptions, spelling and punctuation are those of the manuscript/incunable in question: capitalization is normalized. Standard abbreviations, with the exception of the ampersand, are silently expanded.
9. *Statuta Antiqua* I. 1. I cite from the Amorbach print described above, pp. 136–7. A marginal annotation to the stipulation that books should be corrected against copies that have been emended in the Order, occurring in the repetition in the statement of the duties of a Prior in *Statuta Antiqua* II. 3. 4 adds the specification ‘Cum libris domus Cartusie emendatis’.
10. *Statuta Nova* I. 1. 1–4.
11. The following summary derives from C. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusienis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429*, 8 vols (Montreux, 1887–91).
12. See Sargent, ‘James Grenehalgh’, pp. 580–1; *Walter Hilton’s Latin Writings*, ed. J. P. H. Clark and C. Taylor, vol. 1, *Analecta Cartusiana* 124 (Salzburg, 1987), pp. 103–73.
13. This is the *Life* that was to be translated into Middle English within a century; see C. Horstmann, ‘Prosalegenden: Die Legenden des ms. Douce 114’, *Anglia*, viii (1895), 102–96.
14. See Lehmann, ‘Bücherliebe’, p. 375. It is possible, as M. & R. Rouse suggest, that the ‘glossary of words . . . from the martyrology and the Bible according to the usage of the Carthusian Order’ in the fifteenth-century Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 46 (on the final folio of which are extracts from the *Opus Pacis*), is in fact to be identified as a copy of *Valde Bonum*.
15. ‘Ad corrigendum igitur libros subsequencia sunt diligenter providenda per que ritus et uniformitas ordinis non immutatur et tribus capitulis statutorum de librorum emendatione studiose confectorum satisfieri poterit’; see Lehmann, ‘Bücherliebe’, p. 375.
16. Lehmann, ‘Bücherliebe’, pp. 388–9.
17. Lehmann, ‘Bücherliebe’, pp. 382–3.
18. M. A. & R. H. Rouse, ‘Correction and Emendation’, p. 336.
19. M. A. & R. H. Rouse note, ‘Correction and Emendation’, p. 339, that this could have been either 5 March 1428 (old style) or 25 February 1429 (new style), ‘although the former is more likely’. Oswald’s *obit* is recorded in the series of *cartae* in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 413:

Domnus Oswaldus Prior primus in Scocia domus Vallis Virtutis primo professus domus Orti Christi [Nördlingen], et vltimo Domus Carthusie . . . pro [quo] fiat [vnum tricennarium per totum Ordinem] . . . Insuper [hic habet] anniuersarium per totum Ordinem [quod] scribatur in calendarijs die xv Septembris.

- See *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: London, Lambeth Palace MS 413, Part I: 1411–39 (Ff. 1–135)*, ed. J. Hogg & M. Sargent, *Analecta Cartusiana* 100:10 (Salzburg, 1988), p. 179.
20. See Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 10, p. 193: ‘Et iniungitur [Priori Vallis Virtutis in Scocia] quod omnes libros libellos & scripturas quos & quas domnus Oswaldus quondam Prior eiusdem domus monachus professus Domus Cartusie a dicta Domo Cartusie ad eandem domum Scocie secum detulit hinc ad proximum Capitulum Generale fideliter & integre remittat sub periculo consciencie sue & si grauem Ordinis disciplinam voluerit effugere.’
21. The following summarizes material presented in M. G. Sargent, ‘Die Handschriften der Cartae des Generalkapitels: ein analytischer Überblick’, *Kartäuserregel und Kartäuserleben*, ed. J. Hogg, *Analecta Cartusiana* 133, vol. 3 (Salzburg, 1985), pp. 5–36; see also *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS latin 10887, Part I: 1438–46 (Ff. 1–144)*, ed. M. G. Sargent, *Analecta Cartusiana* 100, vol. 3 (Salzburg, 1984), pp. 3–14. Fuller collections of *cartae* must have survived long enough, particularly in French Charterhouses, to be used in the seventeenth century by Le Couteulx, who cites from them throughout his *Annales*,

- and they may also survive in digests and other collections in the Grande-Chartreuse; but much appears to have been lost in the intervening years.
22. See Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 10, *London, Lambeth Palace MS 413, Part I: 1411-39 (Ff. 1-135)*, p. 1. (N.B.: the record in the Lambeth manuscript is under the date of 1411, the year of the confirmation of the ordinance, as required by statute); see also Hogg & Sargent, *Chartae vol. 2, Aula Dei: The Egen Manuale from the Charterhouse of Buxheim, Oxford: Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D. 318, Analecta Cartusiana 100:2* (Salzburg, 1983), p. 110. (Citations are in order of authority of the manuscript sources; second sources will not be cited more than once. Ordinances not actually quoted in the text of this article are cited by year and incipit).
 23. Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 10, p. 3; *Chartae*, vol. 7, ed. J. Hogg, *MS Grande-Chartreuse 1. Cart. 15, Analecta Cartusiana 100:7* (Salzburg 1985), p. 23.
 24. See Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 10, pp. 136, 146.
 25. See Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 10, p. 155.
 26. See *Chartae*, vol. 6, ed. M. G. Sargent & J. Hogg, *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS latin 10888, Part II: 1466-74 (Ff. 159-307)*, *Analecta Cartusiana 100:6*, (Salzburg, 1985), p. 116.
 27. See Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 3, p. 62.
 28. See Sargent & Hogg, *Chartae*, vol. 2, p. 69.
 29. See *Chartae*, vol. 21, ed. J. Clark, *MS. Parkminster B 62: 1504-1513, Analecta Cartusiana 100:21*, (Salzburg, 1992), part 1, p. 90 (1507); part 2, pp. 118-19 (1508), 147 (1509).
 30. Cited from the Amorbach print. It is also interesting to note that Reisch's letter is printed in a different, humanist type-face from the remainder of the volume, which is in black-letter.
 31. ¶ *Inhibitio reuerendi patris & domini, domini Francisci de Puteo: ne aliquis subditorum suorum operam det, vt statuta et priuilegia ordinis cartusienſis, imprimantur: vel alibi impressa siue imprimenda recipiat: nisi cum eius licentia & generalis capituli.*
 ¶ *Franciscus de Puteo/ maioris Cartusie/ prior: lectori salutem.*
 ¶ *Cum nuper ex decreto & commissione capituli generalis nostri cartusienſis ordinis: venerabilis pater et frater nobis in Christo Jesu dilectissimus. D. Gregorius Reisch/ prior domus Montis Sancti Johannis Baptiste prope Frigurgum/ visitator principalis prouincie Rheni/ dicti nostri ordinis in ciuitate Basiliensis, per commendabilem eiusdem ciuitatis ciuem/ magistrum Johannem Amorbach/ nobis et dicto nostro ordini deuotissimum/ miris characteribus & ordine/ statua omnia cum suo repertorio & priuilegia eiusdem nostri ordinis imprimi seu extampari fecerit: non sine magnis sumptibus/ laboribus et expensis/ in maximum totius nostri predicti ordinis commodum & decorem: Nos frater Franciscus/ humilis prior Maioris Cartusie/ licet immeritus: dictorum prioris & impressoris/ future indemnitati consulere & prouidere: ne (quod absit) pro tanto beneficio detrimentum aliquod patiantur: auctoritate dicti nostri generalis capituli/ cuius super annum plena auctoritate fungimur: omnibus et singulis personis nostri predicti ordinis: sub pena/ quo ad priores & ceteros officiales/ absolutionis a suis obediencijs: discipline generalis/ quo ad monachos/ conuersos & redditos: quo vero ad donatos seu commissos/ prebendarios/ & alios quoscumque nobis et dicto nostro ordini subditos/ perpetue expulsionis ab ordine: districte inhibemus/ ne dicta statuta repertorium & priuilegia alibi/ quam apud dictum magistrum Amorbachium imprimi faciant: aut per alios forsitan iam impressa/ vel imprimenda emant/ vel recipiant: donec & quousque expeditis iam impressis/ per dictum generale capitulum/ seu per nos aliter fuerit ordinatum. Eadem etiam auctoritate volumus et ordinamus: ne dicta statuta et priuilegia/ sine dicti capituli/ seu nostra speciali licentia/ alicui qui de ordine nostro non sit/ vendantur/ dentur aut communicentur. Et ne quis de hac inhibitione/ ordinatione/ & voluntate ignorantie/ iustam causam pretendere possit: volumus hanc chartam nostra propria manu scriptam et signatam: et sigillo dicte nostre domus Cartusie sigillatam in calce dictorum iam impressorum statutorum & priuilegiorum describi & imprimi in fidem & testimonium premissorum. Datum Cartusie vicesima nouembris. Anno domini millesimo quingentesimonono.*
 32. See G. C. Williamson, 'The Books of the Carthusians', *Bibliographica*, iii (1897), 212-31.

33. I thank Richard Rouse for reminding me of this. For background, see R. H. & M. A. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250 - ca. 1350', *La Production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: exemplar et pecia*, ed. L. J. Bataillon, B. G. Guyot & R. H. Rouse (Paris, 1991), pp. 41-114.