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c.1178-c.1220*

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Abstract

Perfectissimus: the Carthusians in England, c.1178-c.1220

Rosalind Cecilia Goldie Green

This thesis aims to demonstrate the significance of the charterhouse of Witham within the collective history of the Carthusian order in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The importance of this house has been underestimated in modern scholarship and what follows addresses this imbalance. Although removed from the Carthusian heartland of the French Alps, the charterhouse of Witham was not a backwater or irrelevant house. A diverse range of sources concern this charterhouse and the Carthusians in England which form a significant proportion of the available evidence for the entire order in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Utilising such sources, this thesis places Witham and the Carthusians in England at the heart of any examination of the Carthusian order in this period. The rich evidential vein offered by them allows an integrated exploration of what it meant to be a Carthusian in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Moreover, this thesis considers reception and interpretation of the order by contemporaries, both those internal and external to the order. In so doing, it argues that there was a greater diversity of opinion towards the order in this period than often assumed in modern scholarship and demonstrates that Witham had an impact upon contemporaries that was disproportionate to the small size of the community. To achieve this, this thesis considers historical narratives surrounding the foundation of Witham (Chapter One), the representation of Carthusians by outsider observers (Chapter Two), Carthusian hagiography through the *Magna Vita* of Saint Hugh of Lincoln (Chapter Three), and Carthusian theology with the *De quadripartito exercitio cellae* of Adam of Dryburgh (Chapter Four).

Perfectissimus: The Carthusian Order in England, c. 1178-c.1220

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Submitted in requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Durham University

2016

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The Carthusians in England, c.1178-c.1220

The charterhouse of Witham stood as the sole representative of Carthusian monasticism in England for almost fifty years. It was established by Henry II in either 1178 or 1179 at a vill of the same name near Frome in Somerset as a daughter-house of the Grande Chartreuse, the mother-house of the Carthusian Order that stands to this day in the Alps near Grenoble.¹ This foundation was not replicated until the establishment of the charterhouse of Hinton, also in Somerset, by Henry's bastard son William Longespee in 1222.² Although Witham was removed from the Carthusian heartland in the south-east of modern-day France, geographical location was no barrier to its importance for the collective history of the Carthusians.³ That this importance has been underestimated in modern scholarship is demonstrable. The primary purpose and argument of what follows is to redress that imbalance and to place Witham, and the Carthusians in England, their life, works, and how others perceived them, at the heart of any examination of the Carthusian order of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This study does not, however, present an argument for English exceptionalism or offer an insular consideration of any particular 'English' Carthusian identity. Instead, a consideration of the Carthusian order in England opens up fresh insights into the order as a whole in this period.

¹ Little is known about the vill of Witham prior to the foundation of the charterhouse. Thompson identified it as having been granted by William I to two men: Roger de Corcelle and Turstin Fitzrolf. E. M. Thompson, *A History of The Somerset Carthusians* (London, 1895), p. 6. Bishop Thomas Tanner suggested that there had been a nunnery at Witham as well but the history of Witham only comes to light during the reign of Henry II. Thomas Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (London, 1694), p. 470.

² Although not the focus of the present study, there are a number of studies concerning the charterhouse of Hinton. For an overview, see G. Coppack and M. Aston, *Christ's Poor Men* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 30-32. Also see P. C. Fletcher, 'Recent excavations at Hinton Priory', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 96 (1951), pp. 160-165; P. C. Fletcher, 'Further excavations at Hinton Priory', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 103 (1958-1959), pp. 76-80; and J. Hogg's monograph-length study, *The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse, Analecta Cartusiana*, 25 (Salzburg, 1975).

³ The majority of Carthusian houses were founded in what is now south-eastern France. See Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, pp. 17-20 for an overview of early Carthusian expansion and distribution.

A diverse range of sources, primarily textual, surround the house which, by their survival, form a significant proportion of the available evidence for the entire order in this period. Approximately one third of Carthusian sources of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are ‘English’, defined within the present study as being produced in England, written by English authors, or taking England as their subject. The only charterhouse that can rival this textual corpus from this era is the Grande Chartreuse itself. The textual sources that come from this house are more substantial in the first three-quarters of the twelfth century and are virtually non-existent after the writing career of Guigo II (d. 1188) until the middle of the thirteenth century. For the period between c.1180 and c.1250, English works dominate and are an unmatched and indispensable body of evidence without which any understanding of the Carthusian order of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is greatly diminished. An overview of textual evidence for the Carthusians shows how English sources supplement and expand the range of material available.

The body of non-English material concerning the Carthusians comprises a limited but rich range of sources of which three broad genres can be identified: historical and biographical, legislative and institutional, and literary. The evidence for the early history of the order is particularly sparse and is non-contemporary.⁴ The Grande Chartreuse was founded in the French Alps by Bruno of Cologne (c.1030-1101), a former canon of Rheims, in 1084.⁵ Bruno himself did not leave any writings from his time as prior and played no substantial part in the early constitution of the construction of the order. He departed from the community soon

⁴ As André Wilmart stated, ‘L’histoire des Chartreux est pauvre en récits originaux dont l’authenticité soit certaine, notamment pour la première période’, A. Wilmart, ‘La chronique des premiers chartreux’, *Revue Mabillon*, 61 (1926), p. 77.

⁵ For a fuller biography of Bruno of Cologne, see J. Hogg, ‘The Carthusians: history and heritage’, in K. Pansters ed., *The Carthusians in the Low Countries: studies in monastic history and heritage* (Leuven, 2014), pp. 32-34. Also see ‘Bruno, saint’, *Nouvelle Bibliographie Cartusienne, deuxième partie* (Grande Chartreuse, 2005), and Un Chartreux, *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 88 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1962), pp. 9-27.

after its foundation, in 1090, for Rome at the behest of his former pupil Odo of Châtillon (c.1042-1099), now Pope Urban II, who required his assistance.⁶ Bruno never returned to the Grande Chartreuse and instead founded another community in Calabria where he spent the rest of his life.⁷ Three letters written by Bruno survive from this later period, one to Raoul le Verd, one to the community at the Grande Chartreuse, and one referred to as ‘The Profession of Faith’.⁸ It is, however, to Guigo I (c.1083-1136), the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse (r. 1109-1136), that the main foundational role for the order can be assigned.

Guigo I was responsible for a significant proportion of what is known about the first years of the order.⁹ He composed the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, the *vita* of Bishop Hugh of Grenoble (1053-1132), in 1134 which contains a description of the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse.¹⁰ According to this account, Bruno, whom Guigo described as being ‘an ideal image of the nobility of the soul’, came to Hugh of Grenoble with six companions in 1084 and requested aid in establishing a religious community.¹¹ With Hugh’s help, these men then built the Grande Chartreuse, an event Guigo considered as having been preordained.¹² Hugh of Grenoble had been so willing to support this venture precisely because he had dreamed ‘a dream of God to construct in the desert a residence for his glory, he had seen also

⁶ Before founding the Grande Chartreuse, Bruno was the master of the cathedral school of Rheims. While there, he composed two major works, a commentary on the Psalter and a commentary on St Paul’s Epistles, which are found in *Patrologia Latina (PL)* 152 and 153. Ian Christopher Levy provides a detailed study of these in I. C. Levy, ‘Bruno the Carthusian: Theological and Reform in His Commentary on the Pauline Epistles’, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 300 (Salzburg, 2013), pp. 5-61.

⁷ The charterhouse of Calabria, also called La Torre, eventually became a Cistercian house, between 1193 and 1510. Hogg, ‘The Carthusians’, p. 34.

⁸ *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 66-93.

⁹ For a biographical study of Guigo, see *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 99-101.

¹⁰ The *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* is found in *PL* 153, cols. 760-784. It was also translated into French in M-A. Chomel trans., *La Vie de Saint Hugues, évêque de Grenoble, le ami de les moines* (Grenoble, 1984).

¹¹ ‘In his agebat, et ecce tribus necdum in episcopatu, post monasterii reditum, completis annis, adest magister Bruno, vir religione scientaque famosus, honestatis et gravitatis ac totius maturitatis quasi quoddam simulacrum...Quaerebant autem locum eremiticae vitae congruum, necdumque repereant.’ *PL* 153, col. 769.

¹² ‘Ipso namque consulente, juvante, comitante, Carthusiae solitudinem intraverunt atque extruxerunt.’ *PL* 153 col. 769.

seven stars who showed the way, now there were seven [men before him].¹³ An additional account of the early history of the order can be found in the *Magister Chronicle*, a work that contains short biographies of the first five priors of the Grande Chartreuse.¹⁴ While the authorship of this work is unknown, it is likely to have been written by either Guigo I or one of his immediate successors, Antelme of Belley (1107-1178) and Basil of Burgundy (fl. 1151-1174).¹⁵

These second-generation priors, those who were not among the founding community of the Grande Chartreuse, were responsible for the development of Carthusian houses into a coherent order. The order's observances were codified by Guigo I as the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* in the 1120s.¹⁶ Written at the behest of the heads of the associated Carthusian communities, Bernard of Portes, Humbert of Saint-Sulpice, and Milon of Meyriat, this work

¹³ 'Viderat autem circa id tempus per somnium in eadem solitudine Deum suae dignationi habitaculum construentem, stellas etiam septem ducatum sibi praestantes itineris. Erant vero et hi septem.' *PL* 153 cols. 769-770. This version of events became repeated throughout Carthusian tradition. There is, for instance, a Middle English poem on the origin of the Carthusian order that utilizes the same image. The manuscript, British Museum Additional MS 37049 is described in R. H. Bower, 'Middle English Verses on the Founding of the Carthusian Order', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), pp. 710-713.

¹⁴ The *Magister Chronicle* survives in two recensions, called the *Magister chronicle* and the *Laudemus Chronicle*, the latter of which is heavily based upon the former. The Latin text of this chronicle is found in Wilmart, 'La chronique', pp. 119-127.

¹⁵ Unfortunately, it is very difficult to date the *Magister Chronicle*. Wilmart dated it to after the last quarter of the twelfth century and identified as its author Antelme of Belley or Basil, Antelme's successor. Wilmart, 'La chronique', p. 138. In contrast, De Meyer and De Smet argued that it was finished by 1151 since they identify a reference to Odon, abbot of Saint-Remi, in the description of the foundation of the charterhouse of Mont Dieu as found in the biography of Guigo, as depicting the abbot as still being alive: 'Heremus quoque Montis Dei, anno uite ultimo, ipsius ordinacione et consilio, per manum uiri ualde uenerabilis Odonis Sancti Remigii abbatis in archiepiscopatu Remensi ceperat habitari.' Odon died in 1151 so would indicate that Guigo's vita must have been written before this point, identifying it as being written during the priorship of Antelme of Belley. With regards to the first four lives, De Meyer and De Smet argue that the first four vitae were written by Guigo, citing a tradition 'found in a lost manuscript of Mont Dieu' that these lives were written as a prologue to the *Consuetudines*. In response to Wilmart's assertion that the five lives were all written by the same author, De Meyer and De Smet noted the change in character between the first four and fifth lives. The life of Guigo is far more detailed and laudatory. A. De Meyer and J. M. De Smet, 'Notes sur quelques sources littéraires relatives à Guigue Ier cinquième prieur de la Grande Chartreuse', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 48 (1953), pp. 172-177. It is not possible, therefore, to be certain of the identity of the author of the *Magister Chronicle*, only that it was probably written by Guigo I, Antelme of Belley, or Basil.

¹⁶ For the critical edition of the *Consuetudines*, see Un Chartreux ed., *Coutumes de Chartreuse, Sources Chrétiennes*, 313 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1984). Also see *PL* 153, cols. 631-760.

became the rule for the Carthusian order and the basis for all its further legislation.¹⁷ In addition to this work, which earned Guigo I the designation of the ‘second founder’ of the order, the Carthusians became further institutionalised with the instigation of an annual general chapter under the priorship of Antelme of Belley in 1141, recorded in a charter of the same year.¹⁸ Further developments within the order are also recorded in additional charters concerning the Grande Chartreuse, of which sixty-seven survive between 1086 and 1196.¹⁹

These historical and legislative sources are supplemented by a number of surviving letters, theological works, and hagiographies. Nine letters of Guigo I and two of Antelme of Belley survive, as well as nine from monks of the charterhouse of Portes.²⁰ Guigo I also wrote a work entitled *Meditationes*, written throughout his priorship.²¹ In the late twelfth century, Guigo II, the ninth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, produced two theological works, one entitled *Scala claustralium* and another called *Meditationes*, not to be confused with Guigo I’s work of the same name.²² The twelfth century also saw the composition of the *Vita Sancti*

¹⁷ ‘Amicis et fratribus in christo dilectissimis, bernardso portarum, humberto sancti sulpicii, miloni maiorevi prioribus, et universis qui cum eis deo serviunt fratribus, cartusiae prior vocatus guigo, et qui secum sunt fratres, perpetuam in domino salutem.’ *Coutumes*, p. 156. For a study on later legislative developments, see J. Hogg, *Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes from the Consuetudines Guigonis to the Tertia Complilatio, Analecta Cartusiana*, 99 (Salzburg, 1989).

¹⁸ B. Blyny ed., *Recueil des plus anciens actes de la Grande Chartreuse (1086-1196)* (Grenoble, 1958), pp. 16-20.

¹⁹ These can all be found in *Recueils de plus anciens actes*, cited above.

²⁰ Those of Guigo I and Antelme of Belley are found alongside those of Bruno of Cologne in *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1. For Guigo I, see pp. 142-225. For Antelme, see pp. 236-239. Those of the monks of Portes, Bernard, John, and Stephen, are found in *Un Chartreux, Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 2, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 274 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1980), pp. 50-223. Also see *PL* 153, cols. 593-601 for Guigo I’s letters.

²¹ The critical edition of Guigo I’s *Meditationes* remains *Un Chartreux, Les méditations (recueil de pensées), Sources Chrétiennes*, 308 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983). It has been translated into English in A. G. Mursell trans., *The Meditations of Guigo I, Prior of the Charterhouse* (Kalamazoo, 1995). It is also found in *PL* 153 cols 601-631.

²² The critical edition of Guigo II’s *Scala claustralium* and *Meditationes* is E. Colledge and J. Walsh ed., *Lettre sur la vie contemplative (l’échelle des moines): douze méditations, Sources Chrétiennes*, 163 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970). Colledge and Walsh also produced an English translation, E. Colledge and J. Walsh trans., *Guigo II: Ladder of Monks and Twelve Meditations* (Kalamazoo, 1979). The *Scala claustralium* was attributed by Migne to Augustine, under the name *Scala paradisi*, and it is found in *PL* 40, cols. 997-1004.

Antelmi, the *vita* of Antelme of Belley, which was probably composed by a Carthusian of Portes, although its precise authorship is unknown.²³

This comparatively rich documentation, pre-eminently from the Grande Chartreuse, from the middle quarters of the twelfth century, stands in contrast to the lacuna that exists after c.1180. It is in this period that the literary and documentary evidence surrounding Witham and the Carthusians in England takes on particular significance as the next major body of evidence for the order. English sources produced within the chronological frame of this thesis can be divided into four groups. The first group encompasses historical sources. Witham has been the subject of some archaeological research but the majority of historical evidence for the house comes from the small but significant number of textual sources that surround the foundation and early years of Witham.²⁴ These include references to the house within the Pipe Rolls and the description of the house's boundaries as found in the foundation charter of the house, which is dated to 1182-1186.²⁵ More pertinently for the purposes of this present study is the presence, or absence, of references to Witham as found within contemporary twelfth-century chronicles, such as those of Roger Howden and Ralph Niger.

²³ The critical edition for this work is J. Picard ed., *Vie de saint Antelme, évêque de Belley, chartreux* (Lagnieu, 1978).

²⁴ No major archaeological work has taken place at Witham but there are a number of archaeological reports and descriptions of the site. Most important is Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, pp. 27-30, but also see I. Burrow and C. Burrow, 'Witham Priory: the First English Carthusian Monastery', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 134 (1990), pp. 141-185; H. Gee, 'The so-called 'friary' of our Somersetshire charterhouses', *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* 1 (1890), pp. 129-133; T. F. Palmer, 'The site of Witham priory or charterhouse', *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* (Sherborne, 1921), pp. 90-92; W. Hunt, 'On the stone vaulting of the Carthusian church at Witham', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 24 (1878), pp. 19-32; J. Hogg, 'Excavations at Witham Charterhouse', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 37 (Salzburg, 1977), pp. 118-133; and D. M. Wilson and D. G. Hurst, 'Somerset: Witham', *Medieval archaeology*, 12 (1968), pp. 168-169.

²⁵ Witham first appears within the Pipe Rolls for the year Michaelmas 1179 - Michaelmas 1180. The house then appears every year between 1180 and 1187. See *The Great Roll of the Pipe*, volumes 29-37 (London, 1909-1915). The Latin text of the foundation charter is provided by J. Armitage Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, 64 (1918), pp. 3-5 and Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians*, pp. 25-30. Thompson provides a full English translation of the charter in E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusians in England* (London, 1930), p. 60. It can also be found in the appendices of the Carthusian section of W. Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, volume 6 part 1, eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel (Farnborough, 1830), pp. 1-2.

The second group of sources are those referred to in this thesis as being ‘satirical’ and ‘polemical’. Into this category fall the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury, *Speculum ecclesiae* of Gerald of Wales, *De nugis curialium* of Walter Map, and *Speculum stultorum* of Nigel Longchamps.²⁶ These consider the Carthusian order within the rhetorical context of commentaries upon contemporary monastic life and successes. The *Chronica* of Richard of Devizes offers another source within this category, considering as it does the monks of Witham within a critical framework.²⁷

The third group is the largest source of information for the Carthusians in England and consists of the hagiographical works surrounding Hugh of Lincoln. The first of these to be composed was Gerald of Wales’ *Vita Sancti Remigii*, which was written in c.1196-c.1199 while the author was living in Lincoln.²⁸ While nominally devoted to the life of Saint Remigius, the first Norman bishop of Lincoln, this work also includes biographies of other figures such as Hugh of Lincoln and, significantly, provides a contemporary description of Hugh in a short chapter dedicated to him that was written while he was still alive.²⁹ Two hagiographical works were then written between his death in 1200 and his canonisation in 1220: the *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, which was also written by Gerald of Wales in c. 1210-1214,

²⁶ The *Policraticus* can be found in *PL* 199 cols. 379-822. No full English translation of the *Policraticus* has yet been published. The two translations used in this chapter are J. Nederman ed., *Policraticus* (Cambridge, 1990) and J. B. Pike, *Policraticus* (New York, 1972). A critical edition of the *Speculum stultorum* was published as Nigel de Longchamps. *Speculum stultorum*, eds. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960); For an English translation, see G. W. Regenos, *The book of Daun Burnel the ass* (Austin, 1959). *De nugis curialium* can be found in Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford, 1983). The *Speculum ecclesiae* is found in Gerald of Wales, *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, volume 4, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1873), pp. xlv-354.

²⁷ J. T. Appleby edited the chronicle as Richard of Devizes, *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes at the time of King Richard the First*, ed. J. T. Appleby, (London, 1963).

²⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, volume 7, ed. J. M. Dimock (London, 1877), pp. 3-80.

²⁹ The biography of Hugh of Lincoln within the *Vita Sancti Remigii* can be found in Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 7, pp. 39-42 in a chapter entitled ‘On Hugh of Burgundy’. An English translation of the text can be found in Gerald of Wales, *The Life of St Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200*, ed. R. M. Loomis (New York, 1985), pp. xxv-xxvii.

and the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, written by Adam of Eynsham by 1214.³⁰ A final *vita* written in verse, the *Metrical Life*, was composed after Hugh's canonisation and is attributed to Henry of Avranches.³¹

A fourth and final category of English sources regarding the Carthusians in the later twelfth century is theological and to this belongs the *De quadripertito exercitio cellae* of Adam of Dryburgh.³² It is difficult to overemphasise the importance of English Carthusian theology in this period. *De quadripertito* is not only one of just four theological works produced by the Carthusians in the twelfth century, the others being those listed above by Guigo I and Guigo II, but it is also indicative of an active negotiation of Carthusian values in this period unseen in other literature.

³⁰ The *Vita Sancti Hugonis* can be found in Gerald of Wales', *Opera*, volume 7, pp. 81-147. The modern critical edition is found in the above Loomis edition, *The Life of St Hugh of Avalon*. This work was definitely written after 1209 because there is a reference in the contents to Hugh of Lincoln as 'Hugh the First'. Hugh of Wells, thereby 'Hugh the Second', must have been bishop of Lincoln by this point. Since he was consecrated in 1209 the *vita* must have been written after this point for this reference to make sense. This *vita* only survives in one manuscript, which also contains the *Vita Sancti Remigii*, and makes up the second part of a 'late fourteenth – or fifteenth – century manuscript of the letters of Peter of Blois'. Ibid, p. lvi. Both *vitae* are dedicated to Stephen Langton. This manuscript is currently located in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge as part of the collection of Matthew Parker who was dean of Lincoln Cathedral from 1552 to 1554. The general consensus of historians and editors is that the manuscript was written in the thirteenth century. James Dimock said that the handwriting is from the early thirteenth century, as does M. R. James. Julia Crick, who provided Loomis with the detailed description of the manuscript in his introduction to Gerald's *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, also placed the handwriting as being thirteenth century, though later rather than earlier. Ibid, p. lviii. The critical edition of the *Magna Vita* is found in Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis: the Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, eds. D. L. Douie and D. H. Farmer, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1961-1962). Douie and Farmer agree that this work must have been written after 1212. It survives in a number of manuscripts, the best of which Farmer regards as MS Digby 165 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and which formed the basis of his critical edition. This manuscript was written in the second half of the thirteenth century and contained only the *Magna Vita*. In contrast, the work also survives in abbreviated versions, the majority of which date to the fifteenth century. The full manuscript history of the *Magna Vita* can be found in *Magna Vita*, pp. xlix-liv.

³¹ Henry of Avranches (attributed), *The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln*, ed. C. Garton (Lincoln, 1986). Two surviving manuscripts of this work do not give date or authorship. The text refers to Hugh of Wells as bishop of Lincoln so could not have been composed after 1235 or before Hugh's canonisation in 1220. Henry of Avranches was first proposed as the author in 1926 by M. R. James who noted that in the 14th century register of the library of Peterborough Abbey the author is named as *Mag. H. de Hariench* and suggested that this was a corruption of the name Avranches. Little biographical information is known about Henry of Avranches, except that he is considered to have been dean of Maastricht, in the present-day Netherlands, in 1238. Garton describes him as being 'essentially a wandering poet.' He wrote various poems and *vita* of English bishops and abbots throughout the first half of the thirteenth century. Ibid, pp. 4-5.

³² *De quadripertito exercitio cellae* was regarded as a work of Guigo II until the twentieth century. As such, it is found in *PL* 153, cols. 787-884. A modern critical edition has also been recently published, J. Hogg and J. Clark eds., *Critical Edition of De Quadripertito Exercitio Cellae*, 2 volumes, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 256 (Salzburg, 2015).

The present study uses the English sources outlined above to provide fresh insights into the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Carthusian order both in England and abroad. Produced at the encouragement of the monks of Witham, the *Magna Vita* of Adam of Eynsham and the *De quadripertito* of Adam of Dryburgh are of especial importance because they offer the opportunity to study the Carthusian order in this period through Carthusian-instigated works. It is the diversity of the other English sources, encompassing chronicles, satirical and polemical works, as well as hagiography, and theology, which is exceptional. Such a range of source material allows consideration of the order, profitably, from the perspective of both external observers and internal practitioners.

Despite such evidential riches, the Carthusian order in England has not attracted a great deal of research. Significant work has been conducted on individual aspects of the order which will be outlined below. In terms of the general history of the Carthusian order, the historiographical tradition has been largely non-English in authorship and in focus. The key reference work for the history of the order remains the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429* by the Carthusian annalist Charles Le Couteulx (1639-1715), compiled during the late seventeenth century.³³ In addition to the *Annales*, major general works for the order are *Maisons de l'ordre des Chartreux*, published between 1913 and 1919, and *Monasticon Cartusienses*, edited by Gerhard Schlegel and James Hogg in 2005.³⁴ Hogg is a

³³ C. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429*, 8 volumes (Montreuil-sur-Mere, 1887-1891). In his consideration of Le Couteulx's life, Hogg admitted that while Le Couteulx 'may not fulfil all the criteria for modern critical editions...on the whole his texts are faithful copies of the originals at his disposition with minor orthographical modifications. Furthermore, many of the documents he cites perished during the French Revolution.' J. Hogg, 'Dom Charles Le Couteulx, Annalist of the Carthusian Order', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 223 (Salzburg, 2004), pp. 153-159.

³⁴ L. Jacquemart, P. de Falconnet, B-M. Dubosquet, and G. Hulsbosch eds., *Maisons de l'ordre des Chartreux: Vues et notices*, 4 volumes (Montreuil-sur-Mere, 1913-1919). The entry on Witham is found pp. 9-10 of *Maisons de l'ordre*, volume 4 (1919). Schegel and Hogg's entry on Witham is found G. Schegel and J. Hogg eds. *Monasticon Cartusiense*, volume 3, *Analecta Carthusiana*, 185 (Salzburg, 2005), pp. 369-377.

dominant figure in Carthusian research as the editor of *Analecta Cartusiana*, a journal specialising in Carthusian monasticism. This journal is the stimulus of the majority of more recent Carthusian research, principally written in Dutch, German, and French. In addition to the work of this journal, recent volumes on the history of the Carthusian order include Krijn Panster's edited volume *The Carthusians in the Low Countries* (2015) and the reference work *Nouvelle Bibliographie Cartusienne* (2005).³⁵

In contrast to the healthy body of European Carthusian studies, as Julian Luxford stated in his introduction to *Studies in Late Medieval Carthusians*, 'Generally speaking it is in English language scholarship that the lack of critical engagement is most acute.'³⁶ This lacuna in research is in part caused by the numerical insignificance of the order in England. There were only ten successful charterhouses on the British Isles throughout the medieval period, nine in England and one in Scotland.³⁷ Luxford focused his call for further research on the later Middle Ages, seeing this period as the order's era of 'most vigorous growth and in many respects the most crucial in its evolution'.³⁸ The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a flourishing of the order, including in England, and this period, in particular, saw the close

³⁵ For more recent works on the Carthusian order in general, see Pansters' *The Carthusians in the Low Countries* as well as the three volumes of *Nouvelle Bibliographie Cartusienne*, which are an indispensable bibliography for the order. M. Laporte, *Aux sources de la vie cartusienne*, 8 volumes (Grande Chartreuse, 1960-1970) is also a useful general work. Although this work remains unpublished, originally being composed for internal usage within the order, it heavily informed the introduction of *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volumes 1 and 2.

³⁶ J. Luxford eds., *Studies on Late Medieval Carthusians* (Turnhout, 2008), p. 4.

³⁷ The English charterhouses are: Witham (founded 1178-1179), Hinton (1222-1227), Beauvale (1343), London (1371), Kingston-upon-Hull (1377), Coventry (1385), Axholme (1397-1398), Mount Grace (1398), and Sheen (1414). The Scottish charterhouse was Perth (founded 1429). These are here called 'successful' charterhouses to distinguish those that failed to survive for any significant length of time. Particularly, there was probably a short-lived Carthusian community in Ireland, at the charterhouse of Kinaleghin in Galway, which existed between approximately 1252 and 1341. A. Gray, 'Kinaleghin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 89 (1959), pp. 35-58. The only post-reformation charterhouse in Britain is St Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster, which was founded in 1873. Accounts of all these houses can be found in *Maisons*, volume 4, pp. 9-54; *Monasticon Cartusiense*, volume 3; and *Nouvelle Bibliothéque Cartusienis, troisième partie*. To this list could also be added the charterhouse of Hatherop in Gloucestershire, which existed between 1222 and 1227, but this community transplanted itself to Hinton in 1227 and can be considered as a formation of the same house.

³⁸ Luxford, *Studies on Late Medieval Carthusians*, p. 10.

association of the Carthusians with mystical theological traditions. A number of identifiable Carthusian authors such as Hugh of Balma (fl.1289-1304), Guigo de Ponte (fl.1271-1297), and Nicholas Kempf (c.1412/1416-1497) exemplify this flowering and have attracted research accordingly.³⁹ Other important Carthusian writers of the later medieval period include Nicholas Love, who translated the Franciscan work *Meditationes Vitae Christi* into English as the work *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*, and Richard Methley, who amongst other works produced glossed Latin translations of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Mirror of Simple Souls*.⁴⁰ From a more particularly English perspective, the events during the Reformation and the reign of Henry VIII have also become a key focal point of Carthusian history in England, a time that saw the suppression of all charterhouses between 1538 and 1539 and the martyrdom of a number of its members.⁴¹ A significantly greater number of studies are devoted to later medieval Carthusian than to the earlier order.⁴²

The only major historical work on the Carthusian order in England running from the foundation of Witham to the Reformation remains *The Carthusians in England* of E. M.

³⁹ Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte were the subject of a study by D. D. Martin. See D. D. Martin, *Carthusian spirituality: the writings of Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte* (Paulist Press, 1996). Martin also wrote a major study on Nicholas Kempf, D. D. Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian reform: the world of Nicholas Kempf* (Leiden, 1992).

⁴⁰ See J. Hogg, 'Richard Methley's Latin Translations: *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Porete's *The Mirror of Simple Souls*', *Studies in Spirituality*, 12 (2004), pp. 82-104 and M. G. Sargent ed., *Nicholas Love. The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (Exeter, 2005).

⁴¹ In 1535, the priors of Beauvale, Axholme, and London charterhouses (Robert Lawrence, Augustine Webster, and John Houghton respectively) were hung, drawn, and quartered after requesting to be excused from the Oath of Supremacy. A total of eighteen Carthusians were executed between 1535 and 1537. All were beatified by Leo XIII in 1886 and Houghton, Lawrence, and Webster were later canonised in 1970 by Paul II as being among the Forty Martyrs of England. See J. Hogg, 'Henry VIII and the English Charterhouses. The end of the *Provincia Angliae*' in D. Le Blévec and A. Girard eds., *Crises et temps de rupture en Chartreuse aux XIVe-XXe siècles, Analecta Cartusiana*, 6 (Salzburg, 1994), pp. 49-56; M. Chauncy, *The Passion and Martyrdom of the Holy English Carthusian Fathers: The Short Narration*, ed. G. W. S. Curtis (London, 1935); and D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England, volume 3 The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 222-240.

⁴² In addition to Martin's works cited above, particularly see D. D. Martin, 'Sanctity in the Carthusian order', in D. Le Blévec eds., *Saint Bruno et sa postérité spirituelle, Analecta Cartusiana* 189 (Salzburg, 2003), pp. 197-215. To these can also be added the doctoral thesis of Carol Rowntree, which Luxford considered to be 'perhaps more heavily cited than any other work of English-language Carthusian scholarship except Thompson's *Carthusian Order*'. Luxford, *Studies on Late Medieval Carthusians*, p. 6. See C. Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England with Special Reference to the Order's Relations with Secular Society* (PhD diss., University of York, 1981).

Thompson, published in 1930.⁴³ David Knowles' *The Monastic Order in England*, first published in 1940, also continues to offer an authoritative account of the order.⁴⁴ Despite their age, these works are the majority of scholars' first point of access for the Carthusian order in England.⁴⁵ Beyond these works there was no significant work on the Carthusian order in England until the publication of Coppack and Aston's *Christ's Poor Men* in 2002 which takes a primarily archaeological approach to charterhouses.⁴⁶

Specific studies of the earlier English Carthusian period tend to focus upon Hugh of Lincoln, whom Luxford describes as a 'bookend' of English Carthusian monasticism.⁴⁷ Although he was a little-known figure prior to the publication of the first English translation of the *Magna Vita* in 1898, Hugh has since then become perhaps the figure most associated with the order, if not the *only* recognisable figure, and one whose life has prompted greatest discussion.⁴⁸ He, for instance, figures heavily in *The Carthusians in England* and *The Monastic Order in England*. A further spur to research in this area was the eight-hundredth anniversary of his confirmation as Bishop of Lincoln in 1186.⁴⁹

⁴³ As cited above. Thompson also wrote a history of Witham and Hinton in *The Somerset Carthusians* but this is a much inferior work.

⁴⁴ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 375-391.

⁴⁵ Also see C. Brooke, *The Age of Cloister: the story of monastic life in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 90-95; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 77-81; and C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism: forms of religious life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), pp. 134-137.

⁴⁶ The lack of English studies is recognised by Mike Aston in the foreword to *Christ's Poor Men*, in which he underlined that the book was 'the first overall study of the Carthusians in England since 1930.' Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Luxford, *Studies on Late Medieval Carthusians*, p. 10.

⁴⁸ H. Thurston, *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1898). This was based upon a French work, *Vie de St. Hugues de Lincoln, évêque de Lincoln (1140-1200) par un religieux de Grande Chartreuse* (Montreuil, 1890). The first full Latin text of the *Magna Vita* was published in 1864 as J. F. Dimock ed., *Magna vita S. Hugonis episcopi Lincolnensis* (London, 1864).

⁴⁹ A work of particular note is Henry Mayr-Harting's edited volume, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln*, which was first published in 1987. H. Mayr-Harting ed., *Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987). David Farmer's biography of Hugh, also entitled *Saint Hugh of Lincoln*, is another important work. D. H. Farmer, *Saint Hugh of Lincoln* (London, 1985). Michael Sargent's *De cella in seculum* also takes Hugh as a focal point in a discussion of Carthusian spirituality. M. Sargent ed., *De cella in seculum: religious and secular life in late medieval England: an interdisciplinary conference in celebration of the eighth centenary of the consecration of St Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, 20-22 July, 1986* (Cambridge, 1989).

There are two reasons for this stress placed upon Hugh of Lincoln, to the exclusion of other concerns. First, Hugh has been ascribed a foundational role for the order in this country. As the third prior of Witham from around 1179 until his election to bishop of Lincoln in 1186, Hugh is credited with having saved the struggling house and ensuring its future survival by overseeing renewed construction efforts and securing the continued support of Henry II for the community.⁵⁰ Second, there is a substantial amount of surviving evidence for his life in the hagiographical tradition from authors active in England. Hugh's legacy is bound to this accessible corpus which are, as a result, the primary point of contact with the twelfth-century Carthusian order in England for the majority of researchers. Through these works, Hugh became one of only two Carthusian monks active in England who can be discussed in any significant level of detail in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, the other being the theological writer Adam of Dryburgh, who has never grasped the popular, or the academic, imagination in the same fashion.

Given these factors, it is natural to offer Hugh of Lincoln as a figurehead of the Carthusian order in England. This thesis, however, reorientates the examination of the Carthusians in England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries away from a narrower study of Hugh of Lincoln's life. Making full use of the sources surrounding Witham and the Carthusians in England enables a more extensive examination of the reception and representation of the order between c. 1178 and c. 1220. Such an examination opens up analysis of an ongoing tradition in which the Carthusians embody an image of unchanging dedication as reflected in the continued reference to, and use of, the order's motto 'nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata', of unknown provenance and translated as 'never reformed because never

⁵⁰ This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter One.

deformed'. Such an image has informed accounts of the order since its foundation in 1084 and continues into period of modern scholarship.⁵¹

This image is found in both popular and academic works. Within popular culture, the admiration of observers towards the order seems to be heavily based upon the juxtaposition of the Carthusian manner of life with the loud activity of the modern day. This is no better seen than in the 2005 documentary *Die große Stille*, directed by Philip Gröning, which is described as 'an austere, next to silent meditation on monastic life in a very pure form' and reflects the almost mystical aura that has built up in popular culture around the order.⁵² A similar popular work on the Carthusians in which sentimentalisation of the order is clear is Robin Bruce Lockhart's *Halfway to Heaven*. In his introduction, Lockhart describes his first visit to St Hugh's Charterhouse at Parkminster in Sussex,

In the course of that first week in St Hugh's Charterhouse, just as the matador and the bull face each other alone in the bull ring, so did I meet God face to face. It was not only a personal moment of truth, but a realisation that the monks within the Charterhouse were living in one long, eternal moment of truth.⁵³

These two modern characterisations of the Carthusians are representative of an idealised image that has emerged around the order and which is not limited to popular considerations of the institution.

⁵¹ The origin of this motto is not clear, although presumed to be post-medieval. See D. D. Martin, 'Carthusians during the reformation era; Cartusia nunquam deformata, reformari resistens', *Catholic Historical Review*, 81 (1995), p. 41 and G. Leoncini 'Cartusia nunquam reformata: Spiritualita eremitica fra Trecento e Quattrocento *Studi Medievali*, 29 (1988), pp. 561-586. There are references to it being first made by Pope Innocent XI (r.1676-1689), although there is no evidence for this.

⁵² Philip Gröning, director. *Die große Stille* (Into Great Silence). Zeitgeist Films, 2005, <http://www.diegrossestille.de/english/>. (Accessed 26 August 2016). Gröning was granted unprecedented access to the monks in the Grande Chartreuse and produced a work that sought to capture the silence and stillness of the monks' manner of life, offering no soundtrack or voiceover to interrupt this state.

⁵³ R. B. Lockhart, *Halfway to Heaven: The Hidden Life of the Carthusians* (Michigan, 1999), p. xiv.

This admiration is also pervasive in academic works. Although *The Carthusians in England* was more scholarly than Thompson's previous work, *A History of the Somerset Carthusians*, it remained highly laudatory of the order. Knowles similarly offered a positive depiction of the order in *The Monastic Order in England*.⁵⁴ This approach is not, in itself, problematic (although in some cases unduly uncritical) but it is one that is clearly based upon an image of idealised and monolithic Carthusian observances which emphasises an authenticity and spiritual stability implicitly lacking from other religious groups. Knowles states,

As is well known, the Carthusian order throughout the centuries up to the present time has retained, alike in form and in spirit, its original way of life more fully than any other medieval religious institute; it alone has never needed or suffered reform: *nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata*.⁵⁵

This motto is joined also by the 'commonplace' declaration, 'Cartusia sanctos facit sed non patefecit', 'Carthusians make saints but do not make them known', which similarly emphasises the holiness, the extreme humility and the exclusive nature of the order.⁵⁶ D. D. Martin emphasised its usage as a means of discussing the Carthusians' continued shunning of publicity, something that he considered as a primary reason for the limited number of studies on the Carthusian order.⁵⁷ It is, however, these self-perpetuating images themselves that

⁵⁴ Knowles' attachment to the Carthusian order was recognized by Christopher Brooke in *David Knowles Remembered* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 121. 'The superiority of the Carthusian calling had been explicitly acknowledged in *The Monastic Order* and its claims were still compelling for him in 1969'. Similarly, Adrian Morey noted that Knowles considered becoming a Carthusian monk, 'David claimed that for the next twelve years the hope remained that in time he might be privileged to lead a Carthusian life.' A. Morey, *David Knowles: a memoir* (London, 1979), p. 36. Knowles later worked on the London Charterhouse, in D. Knowles, *Charterhouse: the medieval foundation in the light of recent discoveries* (London, 1954).

⁵⁵ Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 376.

⁵⁶ This statement is, like 'nunquam reformata', of unknown origin. It continues to be referenced, however. See J. D. Halvorson, *Religio and Reformation: Johannes Justus Lansperger, O. Cart. (1489/90-1539), and the sixteenth-century religious question* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008), p. 67; Martin, 'Sanctity in the Carthusian order', p. 197; D. D. Martin, 'Carthusians, Canonizations, and the Universal Call to Sanctity', in P. De Leo ed., *San Bruno di Colonia: un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente* (Rubbettino, 2004), p. 139.

⁵⁷ Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian reform*, pp. 2-4.

hinder and obscure research into the origins and early development of the Carthusian order by restricting its characterisation to one mediated through such traditional topoi.

Modern views of the order, both popular and academic, are in part derived from the positive reception that the Carthusians received in the century after their foundation which must be considered for its role within the mythos of the Carthusian order.⁵⁸ The unusual observances of the order have been particularly influential in this regard. Although Guigo I asserted in the preface of the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* that there was nothing contained within his work that could be considered novel, stating that its content could be found ‘either in the letters of Jerome, or in the Rule of St Benedict, or in other authentic writings’, the Carthusian order was particular in its assertion of individual solitude for its members and, in recording this, the *Consuetudines* describes a manner of life that is very different to other monastic houses in this period.⁵⁹ While based around a community of cenobitic monks, the *Consuetudines* underline a life of solitude for the monk, one that centred around the pursuit of silence and the contemplation of God within individual cells. Such dedication to solitude, in addition to an emphasis on austerity and ascetic practices, defines the Carthusian vocation.

The nature of the practices peculiar to the order is immediately apparent from the organisation of a charterhouse, which was heavily standardised.⁶⁰ Early charterhouses were made up of two communities: the choir monks and the lay brothers. The latter had the task of supporting the enclosed monks by undertaking all practical duties of the charterhouse, such as

⁵⁸ The positive reception of the order will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. The Carthusian order did receive increasing criticism through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and were subject to papal interference under Pope Urban V. For greater exposition, see Thompson, *The Carthusian Order*, pp. 103-130.

⁵⁹ ‘Videlicet, quia vel in epistolis beati iheronimi, vel in regula beati benedicti, seu in ceteris scripturis autenticis, omnia pene quae hic religiose agere consuevimus, contineri credebamus...’ *Coutumes*, p. 156.

⁶⁰ See Coppack and Aston, *Christ’s Poor Men*, pp. 25-46.

caring for their flocks of sheep.⁶¹ These groups lived separately from one another, the lay brothers living in what became called the Lower House and the monks living in the corresponding Upper House.⁶² Each house was composed of a number of individual cells or houses, within which the monks spent the vast majority of their time in solitude, that were constructed around a courtyard which had a small refectory and church attached. Early descriptions of the Grande Chartreuse recognise this unusual arrangement. In his autobiography, Guibert of Nogent provides an early twelfth-century description of this organisation at the Grande Chartreuse,

The church is not far from the foot of the mountain, within a fold of its downward slope. Thirteen monks live there. They have a cloister that is well suited for the coenobitic life, but they do not live cloistered as do other monks. Rather, each has his own cell around the perimeter of the cloister, in which he works, sleeps, and eats.⁶³

Peter the Venerable provides a later description of the house in the 1120s in which he also emphasised this unusual arrangement.⁶⁴ In chapter twenty-seven of the second book of his *De miraculis* he recounted,

⁶¹ One third of the chapters of the *Consuetudines* is dedicated to their way of life, principally chapters forty-two to seventy-seven. *Coutumes*, pp. 246-285.

⁶² The names of these houses are derived from the fact that, at the Grande Chartreuse, the lay brothers literally lived further down the valley to the monks. The distinction between these houses is evident at both Witham and Hinton, but disappeared with the construction of Beauvale in 1343. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, p. 15.

⁶³ Guibert of Nogent, *A monk's confession: the memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, ed. P. J. Archambault (Pennsylvania, 1996), p. 31. Archambault's translation of this work is based upon Labande's French-Latin edition, E. R. Labande, *Guibert of Nogent: Autobiographie* (Paris, 1981). The dating of this description is not certain and impacts the significance of the passage. H. Löbbel argued that Guibert himself visited the house in 1104 and that the description therefore pertains to the Grande Chartreuse only four years after the departure of Bruno. H. Löbbel, *Der Stifter des Carthäuser-Ordens der Heilige Bruno aus Köln* (Münster, 1899), p. 13. In contrast, De Meyer and De Smet argue that the description should be dated to 1114-1115. They argue that Guibert had been in contact with a monk from Nogent who had visited Chartreuse. Godfrey, bishop of Amiens, had retreated to the Chartreuse over the winter of 1114-1115 before being ordered back to his seat, taking a monk from Nogent with him. De Meyer and De Smet's argument is that this monk supplied Guibert with his information about the Grande Chartreuse. De Meyer and De Smet, 'Notes', pp. 169-172. This latter argument suggests that the description is later, from the early priorship of Guigo I and therefore not a witness of the earliest years of the house.

⁶⁴ Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis libri duo*, CCCM, 83, ed. D. Bouthillier (Brepols, 2010), pp. 149-154, particularly see pp. 150-152. *De miraculis* is also found in *PL* 189, cols. 851-954.

Above all this, they live continually in separate little houses like the ancient monks of Egypt, where in silence, they occupy themselves without rest with reading, prayer, and manual labour, especially the writing of books.⁶⁵

Just as there was recognition of that the Carthusian way of life was unusual, there was also an acknowledgment that this was an exclusive monastic group whose way of life was not suited to all. The number of monks and lay brothers who were permitted to join a charterhouse community were consciously restricted in Carthusian legislation. In chapter seventy-eight of the *Consuetudines*, Guigo I stated that the number of monks permitted in the house was thirteen and of lay brothers sixteen.⁶⁶ This was in part an economic decision, to protect the resources of the house, but was also influenced by the recognition that the way of life at the Grande Chartreuse was suited to few people. This exclusivity was also recognised by Peter the Venerable and Guibert of Nogent in their descriptions of the house.⁶⁷

The self-conscious implementation of this policy by Guigo I underlines the image of exceptional holiness, unobtainable to most people, that these restrictions support. In chapter eighty of the *Consuetudines*, Guigo I wrote a defence of the solitary life, citing numerous Biblical figures who found spiritual profit when they were alone. He ended his argument by calling upon the reader to see that the Carthusians' way of life,

...recommends itself enough by its rarity and by the small number of its followers. If, in effect, according to the words of the Lord, 'The road is narrow which leads to life and there are few who find it' whereas in contrast 'that which leads to death is wide

⁶⁵ 'Super hec omnia, more antiquo egyptiorum monachorum singulares cellas perpetuo inhabitant, ubi silentio, lectioni, orationi, atque operi manuum, maxime in conscribendis libris irrequieti insistunt.' *De miraculis*, p. 151.

⁶⁶ 'Numerus habitatorum huius heremi, monachorum quidem tredecim est...Laicorum autem numerus quos conversos vocamus, sedecim statutus est.' *Coutumes*, p. 284.

⁶⁷ See Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, p. 150 and Guibert of Nogent, *A monk's confession*, pp. 31-32.

and many follow it', amongst the institutions of the Christian religion, each shows itself all the better and more sublime for admitting fewer subjects and all the poorer and inferior for receiving more of them.⁶⁸

This image of exclusivity is to be found also in Bruno's letter to Raoul le Verd. In this, Bruno praises the manner of withdrawn life that he is living in Calabria and states,

Remember lovely Rachel. Although she gave Jacob fewer offspring than Leah, he preferred her to the more fruitful one, whose vision was dim. The offspring of contemplation are more rare than the offspring of action; so it was that their father was more affection for Joseph and Benjamin than for their brothers.⁶⁹

These descriptions of the benefits of restricted membership correspond to a small number of Carthusian foundations. The Carthusian order never reached the numerical strength of the more widespread Cistercian order and so the idea of the Carthusians as a small but perfect order was preserved.⁷⁰

Despite the small number of houses, the order had a significant impact upon contemporaries disproportionate to the actual numbers of Carthusians. Leclercq described the order as being regarded as a 'kind of utopia achieved by few but influencing many', an influence seen through the positive relationship that Carthusians maintained with other institutions and

⁶⁸ '... quoniam et sua raritate, et suorum sectatorum paucitate, sufficienter sese commendat. Si enim iuxta domini verba, arta est via quae ducit ad mortem, et multi vadunt pre eam, inter christianae religionis instituta, tanto se unum quodque melioris et sublimioris ostendit meriti, quanto pauciores; et tanto minoris et inferioris, quanto plures admittit.' *Coutumes*, p. 294.

⁶⁹ 'Haec est Rachel illa Formosa, pulchra aspect, a Jacob plus dilecta, licet minus filiorum ferax, quam Lia fecundior, sed lippa. Pauciores enim sunt contemplationis quam actionis filii; verum tamen Joseph et Benjamin plus sunt ceteris fratribus a patre dilecti.' *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 71-72.

⁷⁰ By the end of the twelfth century there were only fifty charterhouses in Europe. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, p. 23.

contemporary figures, participating in letter correspondence and cultivating close relationships with outside figures.⁷¹

One indication of the impact of the order was through relationships with external figures. The Carthusians had close connections with the papacy from the very beginning of the order, as seen with Bruno of Cologne's transfer to Rome in 1090. Guigo I continued this close relationship, maintaining a close alliance with the papacy and papal interest throughout his lifetime. His letters, for example, show that he advocated on Pope Innocent II's behalf during the Anacletan schism of the 1130s.⁷² The *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* was also written at the behest of the pope.⁷³ The relationship with the papacy was not one-sided, however, and the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* were officially approved by the papacy in 1133.⁷⁴ In addition, in the second half of the twelfth century, members of the Carthusian order were used by the papacy as emissaries during the period of crisis between Henry II and Thomas Becket. Pope Alexander III (c.1100-1181) sent Basil, the then prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and Antelme of Belley, former prior of the Grande Chartreuse, as bearers of a letter to Henry II in 1168.⁷⁵

There is also considerable evidence that Guigo I had close relationships with other monastic groups, as exhibited by his letter writing. One of his letters, for example, is addressed to Peter the Venerable (c.1092-1156), in which Guigo thanks the prior of Cluny for sending a crucifix

⁷¹ J. Leclercq, 'The renewal of theology', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable eds., *Renaissance and renewal in the twelfth century* (Oxford, 1982), p. 69.

⁷² Of the nine surviving letters of Guigo I, three concern themselves with the Anacletan schism and are addressed to Innocent II, Cardinal Aimeric, and William, Duke of Aquitaine. *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 167-171; pp. 177-179; pp. 185-193.

⁷³ 'Sicut enim huic opusculo praefixe vestrae serenitatis indicant litterae, B. Petri auctoritate et vestra mandastis, ut vitam B. Hugonis Gratianopolitani episcopi, noscendam posteris, scripto commendaremus.' *PL* 153, col. 762.

⁷⁴ Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 82.

⁷⁵ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. xxiv.

to the Grande Chartreuse.⁷⁶ Demonstrable links exist with other monastic figures of the twelfth century, such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Peter of Celle (1115-1183), and William of St Thierry (d.1148), all of whom recorded their interactions with, and admiration for, the order in their own works and surviving correspondence.⁷⁷ Rather than being considered as a fringe group due to their unusual lifestyle, the Carthusian order was clearly embraced by their monastic contemporaries.

Two of Peter the Venerable's letters contain open descriptions of admiration for the order and show that there was an active network of both letter and book exchange between Cluny and Chartreuse.⁷⁸ Peter of Celle's correspondence is another example of the Carthusian letter network and engagement with outside figures who wrote numerous letters to the monks at the charterhouses of Mont Dieu, the Grande Chartreuse, and Val Saint Pierre.⁷⁹ Several of these letters were written in order to aid the foundation of a charterhouse in Denmark. Bernard of Clairvaux, in a letter of an unknown date to Guigo and the monks of the Grande Chartreuse, spelled out in no uncertain terms his admiration for the Carthusian order. He identified their solitude as one of the key factors of their holiness. He was 'loath to harass your [Guigo's] holy peace in the Lord to disturb even for a moment your unbroken silence from the world.'⁸⁰

Similarly, William of St Thierry was a vocal admirer of the order. While a Cistercian at the abbey of Signy in 1144 or 1145, William visited the nearby charterhouse of Mont Dieu. As a

⁷⁶ *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 206-209.

⁷⁷ For Guigo's relationship with Bernard of Clairvaux, especially see D. Bell, 'The Carthusian connection: Guigo I of La Chartreuse and the Origins of Cistercian Spirituality', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* (1991), pp. 51-62.

⁷⁸ Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, volume 1, ed. G. Constable (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 44-47.

⁷⁹ An English translation of Peter of Celle's letters can be found in J. Haseldine ed., *The letters of Peter of Celle* (New York, 2001). He wrote twelve letters to Carthusian communities, particularly the Grande Chartreuse and Mont Dieu. He also wrote a letter to Archbishop Eskil of Lund about the establishment of a charterhouse in Denmark, see *Ibid*, pp. 28-33.

⁸⁰ B. C. James, *The letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux* (Stroud, 1998), p. 42.

result of this visit, he wrote the work called *Epistola ad fratres*, commonly known as *The Golden Epistle*, which acted as both a description of his anthropological model of man's relationship with and progression towards God and as a eulogy to the Carthusian order.⁸¹ In this work, he judged the Carthusians to be praiseworthy because he considered them to embody the values of ancient monasticism:

As the brethren of Mont-Dieu introduce to our Western darkness and French cold the light of the East and that ancient fervour of Egypt for religious observance – the pattern of solitary life and the model of heavenly conduct – run to meet them, O my soul...⁸²

For William, the Carthusians were in an advantageous position to be able to progress in their solitude towards the true contemplation of God due to their solitary life and 'heavenly conduct', and were in this sense superior to their contemporaries. The specific institutional structure of enforced solitude was seen as enabling the Carthusians to progress towards God in a way that was more difficult for others. From these early letters and engagement with the order it is evident that the Carthusians were being identified as embodying the aspirations of the era. This image of the admirable Carthusian found its rhetorical climax in the late twelfth century with Gerald of Wales, who in his *Speculum ecclesiae* described the order as being 'perfectissimus', the most perfect monastic order.⁸³

In some modern scholarship, the order has been considered to have 'succeeded' in this respect due to their perceived ability to combine the cenobitic and eremitical elements of

⁸¹ PL 184, cols. 307-366. For an English translation, see William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle: a letter to the brethren at Mont Dieu*, trans. T. Berkeley (Michigan, 1971).

⁸² 'Fratribus de Monte-Dei, orientale lumen, et antiquum illum in religione Aegyptium fervorem tenebris occiduis et Gallicanis frigoibus inferentibus, vitae scilicet solitariae exemplar, et coelestis formam conversationis, occurere et concurrere anima mea...' PL 184, col. 309. *The Golden Epistle*, p. 9.

⁸³ 'Perfectus igitur originaliter ordo videbatur Cisterciensis, perfectior autem quoad aliquid Grandimontanus, perfectissimus autem omnium quantum ad humanum spectat examen Car[tusiensi]s.' *Speculum ecclesiae*, p. 259.

religious life, an identification that has led to modern debate as to whether the Carthusians should be considered to be monks or hermits.⁸⁴ In so doing, the Carthusians have been seen as the perfect embodiment of the monastic ideal. This argument was presented by Leclercq who stated that,

...the light of their ideal shone on all the other observances and gained them the friendship of the most notable among the cenobites. They in fact fulfilled perfectly, and to the highest possible degree, the aspiration which is the essence of monasticism: to live for God and God alone.⁸⁵

Leclercq continued, emphasising the small size of the order in its achievement of this success, 'The smallest of the orders was the most adequate synthesis of the contemplative ideal, an absolute love of God.'⁸⁶ Such an argument is also found expressed by more recent historians, such as Lawrence who stated that 'it was the Carthusians who really succeeded in translating the ideal of the desert into a fortress of stone.' and '...the Chartreuse was unique in having successfully domesticated the ideal of the desert in the form of a permanent institution...'⁸⁷

However, as Luxford has argued, the casual assertion of 'nunquam reformata' needs to be qualified, and Gerald of Wales' statement, which has been cited as an indication of the positive reception of the order, along with 'Cartusia sanctos' should undergo the same process.⁸⁸ The present study concerns itself therefore with the reception and presentation of the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth century Carthusian order. The very beginning of the Carthusian presence in England offers a case study to reconsider the idealised image of the

⁸⁴ The best expression of this debate can be found in B. Bligny, 'L'eremitisme et les chartreux', in *L'eremitisme in occidente nei secoli xi e xii* (Milan, 1965), especially pp. 264-270.

⁸⁵ J. Leclercq, F. Vandenbroucke, and L. Bouyer eds., *The spirituality of the Middle Ages. Volume 2: A history of Christian Spirituality* (London, 1968), p. 156.

⁸⁶ Leclercq, Vandenbroucke, and Bouyer, *The spirituality of the Middle Ages*, p. 156.

⁸⁷ Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism*, p. 133.

⁸⁸ Luxford, *Studies on Late Medieval Carthusians*, p. 2.

Carthusians within the context of this period. As indicated by the words of Gerald of Wales, the Carthusians clearly made an impact upon some of their contemporaries in England and as such the English reception of the order can be fruitfully assessed. The significant body of textual works surrounding the English Carthusians enable such an assessment. Utilising these sources, this thesis seeks to offer a fuller understanding of how the order was received by their contemporaries, rather than to assume an unquestionably positive reception.

How and why the Carthusians and the early history of the order in England were depicted textually gives strong indications of expectations, assumptions, and the negotiation of the idea of sanctity in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Moreover, instead of seeing the early history of the order as being a stepping stone towards the later history of the Carthusians in England, it is also important to place it within the context of contemporary and near-contemporary textual voices.

This thesis, therefore, examines the broad impact of the Carthusian order in England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that can be identified within the considerable corpus of available textual works. It is approached in two parts. The first half of the thesis, consisting of two chapters, considers the foundation of Witham and external attitudes to the order, from the medieval to the modern era, and the appearance of the Carthusian order within the genre of monastic commentaries and criticism in the second half of the twelfth century. The first chapter considers the history of Witham and its medieval and modern historiographical traditions. In particular, the statement in Gerald of Wales' *Liber de principis instructione* that the charterhouse was founded as a direct result of Thomas Becket's murder in 1170 and the subsequent evolution of this statement within modern historiography will be questioned

because contemporary and near-contemporary evidence do not support this assertion.⁸⁹ An assessment of the chronicles and historical texts of Ralph Niger, Roger Howden, Roger of Wendover, Ralph Coggeshall, Robert of Torigni, Ralph Diceto, and the abbey of Melrose offers different insights into the background and motivations behind the foundation of the charterhouse of Witham in a way that does not subsume its history under the banner of Thomas Becket.⁹⁰ In so doing, this first chapter provides a broader framework for understanding the socio-political background for the introduction of the Carthusian order to England.

The second chapter considers the reception of the order within satirical, polemical, and apologetic writings that were written by English authors from the middle of the twelfth until the early thirteenth century. Two main categories of sources are examined: those written about the Carthusian order as an international group and those who discuss the Carthusians specifically in England. The first category consists of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Nigel Longchamps' *Speculum stultorum*, Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, and Gerald of Wales's *Speculum ecclesiae*. The second category consists of the hagiography of Hugh of Lincoln, namely the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* of Gerald of Wales, the *Magna Vita* of Adam of Eynsham, the *Metrical Life* of Henry of Avranches, as well as Richard of Devizes' *Chronica*. An

⁸⁹ The Latin edition of *Liber de principis instructione* is Gerald of Wales, *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, volume 8, ed. G. F. Warner (London, 1891).

⁹⁰ Ralph Niger, *Chronica*, ed. R. Anstruther (London, 1851); Roger Howden, *Chronica magistri Roger de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, volume 2 (London, 1869); Roger Howden, *The Annales of Roger de Hoveden*, ed. H. T. Riley, volume 1 (London, 1853); Roger Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, volume 1 (London 1867); Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, ed. J. A. Giles, volume 2 (London, 1849); Roger of Wendover, *Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, 4 volumes, ed. H. O Coxe (London, 1841); Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1875), pp. 1-209; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, in R. Howlett ed., *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I.* (London, 1889); Robert of Torigni, *The chronicles of Robert de Monte*, in J. Stevenson ed., *The Church Historians of England*, volume 4 part 2 (London, 1856), pp. 673-813; Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 2 volumes, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1876); J. Stevenson ed., *Chronica de Mailros* (Edinburgh, 1835); *Melrose Chronicle*, in J. Stevenson ed., *The Church Historians of England*, volume 4 part 1 (London, 1853), pp. 77-242.

examination of these sources opens up the variety of responses to the Carthusians, tensions in the way in which they were portrayed, and the context of both praise and criticisms directed towards the order.

The second half of the thesis turns to two distinctive case studies of hagiographical and theological-devotional works produced at the specific request of the monks of Witham: the *Magna Vita* of Adam of Eynsham and the *De quadripertito* of Adam of Dryburgh. The *Magna Vita* is the subject of the third chapter and this chapter examines the way in which Hugh of Lincoln's membership of the Carthusian order was interpreted and depicted by his hagiographer. Specifically, it considers how uses Hugh's identity as a Carthusian monk is used by Adam of Eynsham to bolster his depiction of his subject's sanctity. The work is also compared to the *vitae* of Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley, two other Carthusian bishops, which offer an insight into the extent to which Adam was engaging with pre-existing models of Carthusian sanctity.

The fourth and final chapter considers an internal view of the order. The *De quadripertito* offers a window into the Carthusian mind in the late twelfth century that is lacking elsewhere, presenting an interpretation of the observances of the order by one of its members. A particular focus within this chapter is upon the relationship between Adam's work and the theological works of his Carthusian predecessors, specifically those of Guigo I and Guigo II, with additional comparison to *The Golden Epistle* of William of St Thierry. Adam expresses similar sentiments towards the observations of the order as Guigo I and Guigo II but independently builds upon them. In so doing, Adam offers an exceptional portrait of what it meant to be a Carthusian in the twelfth century.

These four chapters offer the framework for a more nuanced approach to the Carthusian order in England than that which is found in previous scholarship. The focus is not on whether they really were, as they have sometimes been considered, the paragons of monastic existence. Rather the chapters are linked by concerns as to how Carthusians and their lifestyle were depicted, presented and interpreted in this period. In this endeavour the English evidence is a central significance. To explore its implications is to add considerable depth to an overwhelmingly two-dimensional picture of the Carthusian order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The foundation of Witham: tradition and evidence

It is certain that the charterhouse of Witham was founded at the instigation of King Henry II. The events and motivations that led to this foundation are not, however, clear and questions remain surrounding the foundation of Witham. These concern not so much the physical construction of the charterhouse but rather the impetuses and motivations behind the act. In examining the landscape of scholarly literature that has developed around this first English Carthusian community, it becomes evident that the accounts of the introduction of the Carthusians into England are based strongly upon a particular historiographical tradition.

While there are multiple variations to the recitation of the tradition, the core account asserts that the charterhouse of Witham was founded as a direct result of the murder of Thomas Becket, specifically as part of a commutation for the crusader vow that Henry II took at Avranches in May 1172. As shall be expanded upon below, this tradition has been repeated in the modern era by numerous English historians, most notably Knowles, Thompson, Warren, and Barlow, without substantial criticism and there is an equally complex narrative of the tradition to be found in the French historiography. The establishment of this connection between Thomas Becket and the early history of the charterhouse as a truism ultimately has its roots in the late medieval and early modern period. Whether the repetition of this tradition is due to an absence of alternative evidence or whether there are further conclusions on the foundation that could be drawn remains to be explored. What is clear, however, is that the study of the early history of the charterhouse has been subsumed beneath the retelling of this tradition.

One indicator of the pervasiveness of the connection made between Becket and the establishment of the Carthusians in England through the foundation of Witham is found at the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St John Baptist and All Saints at Witham Friary.¹

The last standing physical evidence of the charterhouse that once dominated the site, the main body of the church itself remains largely unchanged from its original construction.² It contains a strong reminder of the preeminent place given to Becket in the history of Witham in the form of a Victorian window depicting the saint alongside Hugh of Lincoln. There are nine stained-glass windows in the church. Those along the nave, dating from the early twentieth century, depict the life and career of Hugh.³

The Carthusian saint is also found depicted in the chancel window, originally dating from 1860 and renovated in 1909, which is formed from three parts. The central panel is dominated by the figure of Christ in majesty. Under him are the identifiers of the Carthusian

¹ When the charterhouse was dissolved in 1539 the lay brothers' chapel was converted for parochial use. The rest of the charterhouse was then utilised as building materials and incorporated into houses. There are no other standing remains of the house and, although archaeological evidence has been examined, the parish church provides a unique source for English Carthusian history. The church itself was built before the charterhouse. Witham charterhouse was founded on land in which the Augustinian priory of Bruton also had an interest. Coppack and Aston have argued that that chapel was built by the Augustinians in the village and then reused by the Carthusians as the focus of their lower house. The Carthusians made a few changes to the church, such as thickening the walls and replacing the timber nave roof with a stone vaulted one, but the church remained much as it had been. Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, p. 28. For further studies on the church at Witham Friary see R. Wilson-North and S. Porter, 'Witham, Somerset: From Carthusian Monastery to Country House to Gothic Folly', *Architectural History*, 40 (1997), pp. 151-156.

² M. McGarvie, *Whitham Friary: Church and Friary* (Frome, 1989), pp. 17-18.

³ Four windows run down the nave and those on the south side depict the life and career of St Hugh of Lincoln. These were designed by the Scottish Gothic Revival architect Sir Ninian Comper (1864-1960). The windows at Witham Friary clearly harken back to scenes from the *Magna Vita*. The first window depicts Hugh begging Bishop Reginald of Bath, who had been sent by Henry II as an envoy to summon Hugh from the Grande Chartreuse, to be left in peace. The second shows Hugh receiving the charter of foundation for Witham from Henry II. The third depicts Hugh and his pet swan, an episode to which the *Magna Vita* devotes several chapters. The fourth and final window is devoted to Hugh's supervision of the building of Lincoln Cathedral, a key event in his career as Bishop of Lincoln from 1186 until his death in 1200. These windows date from 1923. McGarvie, *Whitham Friary*, p. 8.

order: the cross, orb and stars, as well as the Latin text ‘Stat crux dum volvitur orbis’.⁴ To the right, a window contains a kneeling Hugh of Lincoln in prayer, identified by the arms of the See of Lincoln, with the figure of John the Baptist behind. To the left, the window shows the figures of the Virgin Mary and Thomas Becket who, like Hugh of Lincoln, is kneeling and praying and can be easily identified by the arms of the Archbishopric of Canterbury. All the other figures have a direct connection with the house. Christ, of course, is the saviour of mankind. The Virgin Mary and John the Baptist are the patron saints of the church, as was common for a Carthusian house.⁵ Hugh of Lincoln was the prior of the house and later, as bishop of Lincoln, its patron. The placement of Becket in the same scene as figures of such significance for the order is indicative of the engrained culture of what can be labelled the ‘Becket tradition’.

The historical convention of the ‘Becket tradition’ is well established within early modern and modern historical literature, unlike their medieval counterparts. As shall be shown, the evidence for the tradition is based upon the work of Gerald of Wales rather than a direct approach towards the available contemporary evidence regarding Henry’s penances at Avranches. A survey of these texts, those of Gerald of Wales and his contemporaries, shows that they themselves are inconsistent and unclear about the expectations of Henry’s penances regarding the crusading vow that the king is recorded as undertaking in 1172, a lack of clarity that has informed a number of differing interpretations about Henry’s religious patronage, which themselves have an impact upon how the early Carthusians in England can be viewed.

⁴ This phrase, translated as ‘The cross is steady while the world is turning’, continues to be the motto of the Carthusian Order. Much like ‘Nunquam reformata’ and ‘Cartusia sanctos’, this phrase does not have any clear origin.

⁵ Witham is dedicated to the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. The foundation charter for Witham states that it was dedicated ‘...in honore Beate Marie et Beati Johannis Baptiste et omnium Sanctorum...’ Armitage Robinson, ‘The Foundation Charter’, p. 3.

It becomes clear that the political background within which the foundation took place, specifically Henry II's sphere of political action and the implications of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204) and the marriage of his sons, was of especial importance for the history of Witham. The question of whether or not the foundation of Witham was connected to the aftermath of the murder of Thomas Becket in fact cuts off the house from these wider arguments about the complex religious and political landscape of the late twelfth century. Through a re-examination of the 'Becket tradition', the study of the early history of Witham can be approached so as to remove it from the historiographical shadow of Becket and to allow new interpretations of the Carthusian order's introduction into England to be developed.

The 'Becket tradition'

To turn to the conflict between Henry II and Becket and foundation of the charterhouse of Witham, after Becket's murder the king was held culpable for the crime, regardless of his actual involvement.⁶ Although England escaped an interdict, Pope Alexander III placed an interdict upon the king's personal possessions and sent two legates to pass judgement on the king's guilt. Two main penances were imposed by the papacy, first in May 1172 at Avranches and then in July 1174 at Canterbury Cathedral.⁷ The first of these penances is

⁶ There is a huge body of work on the relationship between Henry II and Thomas Becket, the conflict between them, and the events leading up to Becket's murder. One recent study are the later chapters of F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London 1986). A classic study remains Z. N. Brooke, 'The Effect of Becket's Murder on Papal Authority in England', *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1928), pp. 213-228 as does Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy: From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1931). For significant modern studies on Thomas Becket, in addition to Barlow's *Thomas Becket*, see J. Guy, *Thomas Becket: Warrior, Priest, Rebel, Victim: a 900-year-old story retold* (London, 2012); D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1970); and A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London, 2004).

⁷ For a fuller study on the consequences and impact of Avranches specifically upon Henry's relationship with the papacy and the Church, and his immediate relationship with the papacy after the agreement see W. Warren, *Henry II* (London 1977), pp. 530-536 and Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy*.

argued to have had a major impact upon the foundation of Witham. Negotiations with the papal legates Albert and Theodwin had begun on 17th May 1172 at the abbey of Savigny. In a public ceremony of reconciliation at Avranches on 21st May 1172 Henry was impelled to agree to numerous clauses that impacted upon his relationship with the Church. The king repeated these promises at a larger assembly at Caen shortly afterwards.⁸ This saw the readmission of Henry into the Church and also established the terms of his penance for the murder of the archbishop.

These terms of penance included a vow from the king to go on crusade, a vow that Henry never fulfilled. There are very few contemporary sources that make reference to this failure but those that do have attracted considerable historiographical attention. Specifically, there are two near-contemporary writers, Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger, who describe how Henry commuted his crusading vow for the foundation of monasteries. Ralph Niger in his *Chronica*, probably written in the 1190s, simply stated that Henry founded three monasteries as compensation for not going on this pilgrimage.⁹ Gerald of Wales, in contrast, goes into much greater detail in his *Liber de principis instructione*, written around 1193.¹⁰ In this work Gerald describes Henry II's vow and its commutation to the foundation of religious houses, 'He founded three monasteries, which he was bound to establish as a compensation for his pilgrimage.' Gerald then names the three monasteries that he founded,

⁸ A. Duggan, 'Diplomacy, Status, and Conscience: Henry II's Penance for Becket's Murder', in K. Borchartd and E. Bunz eds., *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 265.

⁹ Ralph Niger says that Henry had to build 'tria monasteria' as penance for Becket's murder. Ralph Niger, *Chronica*, p. 168. Ralph Niger (b. c. 1140) was a Paris-educated chronicler who was friends with John of Salisbury and known in the court of Henry II and the Young King. Due to his support for Becket during the 1160s he was denied later re-entry to England and spent time devoting himself to theology and teaching at Paris. Upon Henry II's death in 1189 he returned to England, where his two chronicles were probably written in the 1190s. For more information, see A. J. Duggan, 'Niger, Ralph (b. c.1140, d. in or before 1199?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20192>, accessed 2 Feb 2016].

¹⁰ As cited above.

The canons of Waltham, who from ancient times had served God in a singularly holy manner, he reduced by the royal power to a conventual and common life and rule. The nuns of Ambresbury, (so called after the court of Ambrosius) who had been settled there from ancient times, he extirpated, and violently introduced others who came from beyond the sea from Fontevrault. But in regard to the third, he did nothing at all, or no more than what he did for the former, which was useless to him in every respect; unless, perhaps, in addition to this, he may be said to have founded, at his own moderate expense, the conventual house of the Carthusians at Witham, and that, indeed, a small one; thus endeavouring, by human sophistry and craftiness, to circumvent the sincere and merciful patience of God.¹¹

Gerald goes on to criticise the king for believing that he could fool God with such a paltry effort to fulfil his vow.¹²

It is this statement by Gerald, that in commutation for his crusading vow Henry II founded three monasteries, one of which was Witham, which is repeated throughout Carthusian historiography. The 1693 edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* alludes clearly to Henry's penance within his description of Witham charterhouse.¹³ Thompson similarly

¹¹ 'Tria vero monasteria, quae in peregrinationis compensationem facere debuerat, sic fecit. Canonicos apud Waltham ab antiqua singulariter et sancta Deo servientes in conventualem communemque vitam et regulam regali potestate redegit; moniales de Ambresbire, hoc est de Ambrosii curia, antiquitus plantatas extirpavit et alias, id est transmarinas de Fonte Efrardi, violenter intrusit. Tertium vero vel nullum nel simile prioribus sibi que prorsus inutile fecit; nisi forte domum conventualem tantum ordinis Kartusiensis de Witham scilicet modicis sumptibus et exilem ad hoc fecisse dicatu, simplicem atque benignam Dei patientiam humanis in hunc modum sophisticè versutiis circumvenire contendens.' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 8, p. 170. For the English translation, see J. Stevenson, *Church Historians of England*, volume 5 part 1 (Keeleys, 1858), p. 147.

¹² Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 8, pp. 170-172.

¹³ 'King Henry the II, founded this Monastery in the honour of the blessed Mary, St John Baptist, and all Saints, for the Order of Carthusians, and endow'd it with divers Lands and Franchises. Imprecating on the Violator of that his pious Donation, the wrath of Almighty God, and his own Curse, unless the Party made Condign Satisfaction; but to all such as augment his Gift, or favour the Peace of the House, he wisht the Peace and Reward of the Eternal Father for ever.' W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 volumes, ed. S. Keble (London, 1693), p. 113.

supports the tradition in both her works of the Carthusians in England. In *The Somerset Carthusians* she states,

...when in A. D. 1172 Pope Alexander III commuted the form of Henry's penance for the murder of St Thomas à Becket from a three years' crusade into the building of three monasteries, it was judged to be for the spiritual welfare of the king and his kingdom that one of them should be a house of Carthusians, whose Order as yet possessed no convent in England.¹⁴

Thompson similarly repeats this assertion in *The Carthusians in England*.¹⁵

The tradition continues as part of the canon of English Carthusian history for later historians.¹⁶ In their edition of the *Magna Vita*, Farmer and Douie describes how after the murder of Becket Henry's penance included a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When this proved impossible the vow was 'commuted to one of founding monasteries. Carthusian tradition is witness that Witham is one of these.'¹⁷ Two examples of more general historians utilising the 'Becket tradition' are Barlow and Warren. In his biography of Becket, Barlow, within his description of the compromise of Avranches, states that Gerald of Wales informed the reader that the crusader vow was commuted for the building of monasteries and that Henry founded a 'modest Carthusian priory at Witham in Somerset in 1178-9.'¹⁸ Likewise Warren utilised the Carthusian tradition, stating that 'As part of his penance for the death of Becket Henry II introduced the Carthusians to England and established them on a site at

¹⁴ Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians*, p. 6.

¹⁵ 'The commutation of a personal act of penance led in the first place to the foundation of the earliest charterhouse [of England]...The murder of St Thomas of Canterbury (if the tradition of the Order is correct) supplied the origin of the first English charterhouse.' Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 49.

¹⁶ James Hogg, for instance, wrote that Witham was founded as 'une partie de la pénitence impose au roi Henri II pour la responsabilité qu'il avait prise dans le meurtre de l'archevêque Thomas Becket.' J. Hogg, 'Les chartreuses anglaises: maisons et bibliothèques' in A. Girard and D. Le Blévec eds., *Les Chartreuse et l'art, XIVe-XVIIIe siècle* (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1989), p. 208.

¹⁷ Douie and Farmer, *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. xxiv.

¹⁸ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, p. 272.

Witham in Somerset.¹⁹ Knowles is most probably the source of the tradition within recent English historiography as he repeats it within *The Monastic Order in England*. Knowles asserts the connection between the foundation of Witham and the murder of Becket, stating that Henry had vowed to go on crusade but his vow was instead commuted to the foundation of religious houses and that ‘it is the constant tradition of the [Carthusian] order that two of these were charterhouses, of which one was Witham.’²⁰

Here, Knowles says that *two* charterhouses were founded as part of Henry’s penance for Becket’s murder. A series of inconsistencies emerges around this tradition surrounding Witham’s foundation. The lack of a clear-cut definitive narrative of the ‘Becket tradition’ has led to qualifications like those of Thompson who supplemented her description of the tradition with the phrase ‘if the tradition of the Order is correct’ and Knowles who, likewise, did not go so far as to present the tradition as fact. It is telling that the connection between the Carthusians and Henry’s penance for the murder of Becket is almost universally referenced to as a ‘tradition’ rather than without any qualification. Cowdrey, for instance, stated that it was an ‘unconfirmed Carthusian tradition’ that linked Witham to the expiation of Henry’s crusader vow.²¹ This hesitance can be explained partly by the lack of any contemporary or near-contemporary indication, beyond that of Gerald of Wales, that Henry founded Witham, specifically, as part of his penance for Becket’s murder, and partly by reliance on secondary authorities.

¹⁹ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 212. Other historians who refer to the tradition include Aurell, who notes that Henry commuted his crusader vow for the foundation of three houses. M. Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire* (Harlow 2007), p. 276; Coppack and Aston similarly, in describing the foundation of Witham, stated that the house was founded by Henry II ‘as a part of his penance for the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury.’ Coppack and Aston, *Christ’s Poor Men*. p. 27.

²⁰ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, p. 381.

²¹ Cowdrey stated that ‘According to an unconfirmed Carthusian tradition it [Witham] was one of the houses that he [Henry] established in commutation of his vow of pilgrimage to the Holy Land after Becket’s murder.’ H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘The Carthusians in England’, in B. Blyny and G. Chaix eds., *La Naissance des Chartreuses* (Grenoble, 1986), p. 348.

While the most common appearance of the tradition, as found in the works of English historians such as Thompson, Knowles, Warren, and Barlow, repeat the Gerald of Wales version of the narrative, French historians assert a slightly different version of events, that Henry founded not only the charterhouse of Witham but also other Carthusian houses, including that of Le Liget, situated near Loches in Touraine. Le Couteulx records in the *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis* that the Carthusian historian Henry of Calkar (1328-1408) wrote:

After the death of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, the king of England was enjoined by the Pope for this to undertake before others, to found three houses of the Carthusian Order as punishment.²²

Le Couteulx notes that Calkar did not name these charterhouses.²³ He also cites Joannes Chauvet (1607-1667), another historian of the Carthusian Order.²⁴ Like Calkar, Chauvet suggested that Liget was founded along with two other religious houses by Henry for Becket's murder.²⁵ Le Couteulx also cites the tradition of English writers that the three houses founded as commutation for Henry's crusader vow were Witham, Waltham, and Amesbury, quoting Henry Knighton's *Chronicon*.²⁶

Thompson refers to this alternative tradition in *The Carthusians in England*,

²² 'Post occisionem sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, Regi Angliae pro tunc a Papa injunctum fuisse praeter alia, tres Domos Ordinis Cartusiensis facere pro poenitentia.' *Annales ordinis cartusiensis*, volume 2, p. 451. Also see 'Egher de Kalkar, Henri', *Nouvelle Bibliographie Cartusienne, deuxième partie*.

²³ 'Tres illas Domos Calkar nomine non indicat.' *Annales ordinis cartusiensis*, volume 2, p. 451.

²⁴ See 'Chauvet de Martigny, Jean', *Nouvelle Bibliographie Cartusienne, deuxième partie*.

²⁵ 'Item Domus Ligeti quam Dominus Papa, cum duabus aliis, jussit Henrico regi Angliae fieri in poenitentiam peccatorum suorum, eo quod jugulaverat S. Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum.' *Annales ordinis cartusiensis*, volume 2, p. 450.

²⁶ 'Canonicos, inquit, seculares de Waltham sanctae Crucis, ad conventualem redegit vitam; Moniales de Amesbrusbury extirpavit, alias de transmarinis partibus introducendo; Domum Cartusiensis Ordinis apud Wytham juxta Sarisburiam exiliter instauravit.' *Annales ordinis cartusiensis*, volume 2, p. 452.

But the rebellion of his sons and other affairs prevented the fulfilment of his vow, wherefore the condition was commuted to the erection of religious houses. Considering the occupation of the Carthusian priors in the...meditations between the king and the archbishop, there is a not unnatural tradition of the Order that two of these foundations were the chartreuse at Liget...and the charterhouse at Witham.²⁷

In a footnote she states that 'Some accounts put the foundation at Liget as far back as 1153, but a persistent tradition of the Order assigns the origins of it to the king's penance for the murder of Becket'.²⁸ It is difficult to ascertain which version of the tradition Thompson prefers.

Raymonde Foreville also asserts this variation on Gerald of Wales' version of the 'Becket tradition', attributing the foundation of more than one charterhouse to Henry's penance.²⁹ In one of the most detailed studies on Henry's religious foundations, she discusses the various religious houses that Henry founded after 1170 and divides those foundations after Becket's death in 1170 into two main groups. The first group, which were rather more by the way of rededications and reconstructions, were connected with praising Becket's role in the defeat of the Scottish invasion and the establishment of relative stability in the realm, including the house of Mont-aux-Malades in Rouen and the church of Saint-Thomas in Argentan.³⁰ Foreville's second group was composed of the houses of Le Liget, Witham, Waltham, and Amesbury, which were, according to Foreville, established as commutation for Henry's crusader vow. She postulates that the commutation took place during the legation of Hugh of

²⁷ Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, pp. 50-51.

²⁸ Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 51.

²⁹ R. Foreville, 'La place de la Chartreuse du Liget parmi les fondations pieuses de Henri II Plantagenet', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine*, 9 (1975), pp. 13-22.

³⁰ Foreville, 'La place de la Chartreuse', pp. 16-17. The Scottish invasion Foreville is referring to that of William I of Scotland in 1173-1174, which ended with the Battle of Alnwick and the signing of the Treaty of Falaise in December 1174.

Pierleone in England between 1175 and 1176.³¹ Crucially, Foreville describes the connection between these four houses and the crusader vow as being supported by a ‘strong tradition’ rather than charter evidence.³²

Amongst both French and English historians, then, the ‘Becket tradition’ is repeated without significant supporting evidence. Respected historians of the order such as Le Couteulx, Foreville, Knowles, and Thompson are frequently used as sources of subsequent studies and as such perpetuate the ‘tradition’. There has been little subsequent investigation as to its veracity. It is not possible for Witham to have been founded at once as both part of the terms of commutation as expressed by Gerald of Wales, that is three monasteries of which only one was a charterhouse (Witham), and as part of the tradition that there was more than one charterhouse founded as part of the commutation.

Moreover, it appears that both traditions rely primarily on Gerald’s testimony. Ralph Niger’s account is in turn used as supporting evidence for Gerald’s account of events. The version of the ‘Becket tradition’ offered by Foreville also draws heavily from the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis* of Le Couteulx. In his description of the commutation of Henry’s crusader vow, Le Couteulx uses the English chronicler Henry Knighton (d.c.1396), an Augustinian canon at the abbey of St Mary of the Meadows in Leicester, as his source.³³ When composing his *Chronicon*, Knighton borrowed from the work of others. For instance, he directly quotes

³¹ Foreville, ‘La place de la Chartreuse’, p. 17.

³² Foreville also notes that the Carthusian order was the first to write Thomas Becket in their martyrology and that they held his relics in high regards. She considers this admiration evidence that Liget was founded as a satisfaction for his murder. Foreville, ‘La place de la Chartreuse’, p. 19.

³³ Two manuscripts of this work survive at the British Library in the Cottonian collection. The chronicle is a history of England from 1066 until 1396, probably as an original author from 1378. He used the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden as a major source for the period preceding this. For more information on Knighton’s life and works see G. H. Martin, ‘Knighton, Henry (d. c.1396)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15747>, accessed 9 Feb 2016]. Calkar and Chauvet’s sources are not apparent.

from the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden in his description of Henry's crusader vow.³⁴ Given that Higden is known to have used Gerald of Wales' *De principis instructione* as a source elsewhere in his *Polychronicon*, specifically in his account of the discovery of the body of King Arthur, it is reasonable to suggest that Higden used the *De principis instructione* as his source of information in this instance as well.³⁵ This inference means that Le Couteulx's information about the tradition of Witham being founded as one of three houses founded by Henry likely derives from Gerald of Wales.

Sources beyond Gerald of Wales

While Gerald of Wales asserted the 'Becket tradition', the mere suggestion that Liget and Witham constituted part of Henry's penance are insufficient statements concerning the foundation of Witham.³⁶ The present argument does not call into doubt Henry's role in the foundation of Witham. It is certain that Henry did found Witham, as attested to by numerous sources including chronicles, the *Magna Vita*, and the charterhouse's foundation charter. Likewise, it is clear that Henry did found, or reform, Waltham and Amesbury. The

³⁴ 'Crucis obsequium quod dudum rex Henricus in partibus transmarinis sumperat, et postmodum coram duobus cardinalibus se post triennium prosecuturum juraverat, lapso triennio misit Roman ad protelandum frustatorio fallax propositum, sub eo tamen colore ut tria moansteria constructueret in Anglia quod est isto modo fiet, canonicos saeculares de Waltham sanctae crucis ad conventualen redegit vitam; moniales de Ambresbury extirpavit, alias de transmarinis partibus intrudendo; domum Cartusiensis ordinis apud Whetham juxta Sarisburiensem exiliter instauravit.' H. Knighton, *Chronicon*, volume 1, ed. J. R. Lumby (London, 1889), p. 149. Identical Latin is found in Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, ed. J. R. Lumby (London, 1882), p. 58. Higden's *Polychronicon* was a popular work, which survives in Latin in one hundred manuscripts and first translated into English in the 1380s by John Trevisa. For further information on Higden, see A. Gransden *Historical Writing in England volume 2: c. 1307 to the early sixteenth century* (London, 1982), pp. 43-57. Also see John Taylor, 'Higden, Ranulf (d. 1364)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13225>, accessed 3 Feb 2016].

³⁵ Higden, *Polychronicon*, p. xi. Antonia Gransden also includes Gerald of Wales' *De principis instructione* in a list of Higden's medieval sources. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England volume 2*, p. 48.

³⁶ As accepted by Hallem in E. Hallam, *Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal honours c. 1130-1270* (PhD diss., University of London, 1976), p. 107.

foundation, or refoundation, of these houses attracted considerable attention from contemporaries and their foundations are recorded by chroniclers other than Gerald of Wales.

The foundation of Witham is not discussed in detail by contemporary authors; Gerald and Ralph Niger identify the general period of this event, but within the context of the commutation of Henry II's crusader vow. Neither the *Magna Vita* nor Gerald of Wales' own *Vita Sancti Hugonis* speak of the foundation at all. Witham is first mentioned in both works within the context of Henry II wishing to seek a new prior for the house which, although a new foundation, was already faltering. The *Magna Vita* provides more detail than the *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, offering an description of the house in chapter one of book two entitled 'How the king of England founded a Carthusian monastery at Witham in the diocese of Bath, and sent the bishop of Bath to Chartreuse to secure Hugh as its prior.'

Having heard of its [the Carthusian order's] holy life some time before, he [Henry II] had received certain brothers from the monastery, and had given them a site selected by themselves, a vill named Witham in the diocese of Bath, with the lands and woods, pasture and fishponds and other appurtenances necessary for the foundation of a house of their order.³⁷

The *Vita Sancti Hugonis* does not give any indication of the circumstances of its foundation. This omission is curious given that this latter work was written by Gerald of Wales several years after the *De principis instructione* and yet does not give any indication that Witham was founded under specific circumstances.

³⁷ 'Quod rex Anglorum domum ordinis Cartusiensis in Bathoniensi territorio nomine Witham fundaverit, et Bathoniensem episcopum Cartusiam direxerit ut Hugonem ad illius regimen mitti optineret: Nam dudum sancte illius conversationis fama preventus, asciverat de domo prefata quosdam fraters, quibus et locum quem ipsi elegerant in Anglia contulerat, villam scilicet Witham appellatam in Bathoniensi territorio sitam, cum terries et silvis, cum pascuis et vivariis necnon et aliis fundande illius ordinis domui necessariis.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 46-47.

The foundation charter for Witham also survives.³⁸ The only motivation given for Henry founding Witham is a concern for the welfare of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors.³⁹ There is some debate as to the exact years of the composition of this charter. The editor of the charter, Armitage Robinson, argued that it was composed 6th January 1181 whereas Eyton and Thompson both argued for a date of September 14th 1186, the date that will be accepted within this thesis.⁴⁰ Either date places its composition several years after the foundation of the house.

There is similarly no connection made in chronicles between the foundations of Waltham and Amesbury. Roger Howden discusses Waltham and its foundation at length in both the *Gesta* and *Chronica*. In a general council held at Nottingham by the king in 1177, a certain dean Guigo resigned his deanery of Waltham to Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury. The *Chronica* describes how the inhabitants here had been canons secular but Henry imported new canons for the house,

After this our lord the king, by the authority of our lord the pope, placed in the same church of Waltham canons regular taken from various houses in England, and

³⁸ The Latin text of the foundation charter is provided by Armitage Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter', pp. 3-5 and Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians*, pp. 25-30. It can also be found in the appendices of the Carthusian section of William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, volume 6, pp. 1-2. The *Monasticon Anglicanum* records the charter as found in an *Inspecimus* of King Edward IV but Armitage Robinson transcribed the text of the original charter as he found in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Wells. Armitage Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter', p. 1.

³⁹ 'Sciatis me pro anima mea et antecessorum et successorum meorum construxisse Domum in honore Beate Marie et Beati Johannis Baptiste et omnium Sanctorum in dominio meo de Witteham de Ordine Chartusie.' Armitage Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter', p. 3.

⁴⁰ See Armitage Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter', p. 3; Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 60; and M. R Eyton, *Court, household, and itinerary of King Henry II* (Dorchester, 1878), p. 271 for this debate.

appointed Walter de Ghent, a canon taken from the church of Osency, the first abbot of that community, and enriched them with great revenues and very fine mansions.⁴¹

Howden then goes on to discuss the refoundation that the king made at Amesbury,

In the same year [1177], the same king, having expelled the nuns from the abbey of Ambrosebury, for incontinence, and distributed them in more strict charge in other religious houses, gave the abbey to Ambrosebury as a perpetual possession to the abbess and convent of Fontevraud; and, a convent of nuns being sent over from Fontevraud, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, introduced them into the abbey of Ambrosebury...⁴²

The *Gesta* narrates the foundation of Waltham in a slightly different way, with the addition that he made this change in devotion to God and Thomas of Canterbury the martyr and ‘in remission of his sins’.⁴³ The description of the foundation of Amesbury in the *Gesta* has no such similar phrases.⁴⁴ Neither the *Gesta* nor the *Chronica* make any reference to the foundation of the houses as constituting part of the commutation of a crusader vow.

This is the case in other chronicles. Roger of Wendover dedicates a section of his *Flores Historiarum* to the refoundation of Waltham in 1177, entitled ‘Of the removal of the secular

⁴¹ ‘Et in eodem concilio Gwuido decanus refutavit in manu Richardi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi decanatum duum de Walteham, et totum jus, quod ipse in ecclesia de Waltham habuit, quietum clamavit simpliciter et absolute...Deinde dominus rex auctoritate domini papae instituit in eadem ecclesia de Waltham canonicos regulares de diversis domibus Angliae sumptos, et constituit Walterum de Gaunt, canonicum sumptum de ecclesia de Oseneie, abbatem primum super congregationem illam, et magnis redditibus et domibus pulcherrimis ditavit illos.’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 118. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, pp. 437-438.

⁴² ‘Eodem anno idem rex expulset sanctimonialibus de abbatia de Ambresbiri propter incontinentiam suam, et per alias domus religiosas in arctiori custodia distributes, ipsam abbatiam de Ambresbiri dedit abbatissae et domui de Frunt Everout in perpetuum possidendam; et misso a Frunt Everaut uno conventu sanctimonialium, Richardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus introduxit eas in abbatiam de Ambresbiri...’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, pp. 118-119. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 438.

⁴³ ‘Voverat enim Deo et beato Thomae Cantuariensi martyri, quod in honore ipsius martyris, abbatiam quondam canonicorum regularium aedificaret in remissionem peccatorum suorum’ Roger Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, volume 1, p. 134.

⁴⁴ See Roger Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, pp. 135-136.

canons from Waltham church.’⁴⁵ The secular canons of this church were removed and ‘regular canons introduced in their places, by the authority of the supreme pontiff on Whitsun-eve, by the command of the king, who was also present on the occasion.’⁴⁶ Although Roger makes no mention of the motivation behind this foundation, the reasons for two foundations at Waltham and Amesbury are more clearly articulated than those for Witham. Waltham was a house of secular clerics that was considered to have fallen into disrepute. These inhabitants were replaced by regular canons. In the same way, Amesbury was a nunnery that was considered to have become corrupted. The house was repopulated by Henry with nuns from Fontevraud.

Gerald of Wales and Henry II’s alleged commutation of his crusader vow.

While Roger Howden and Roger of Wendover may have omitted the information surrounding Henry’s crusader vow and its commutation with respect to Witham, its prominence in Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger’s writings is striking. Neither can be considered impartial observers of Henry’s reign and this is particularly true for Gerald of Wales whose hostile attitude towards Henry II is well known.⁴⁷ The *De principis instructione*

⁴⁵ ‘De remotione ab ecclesia de Waltham canonicorum secularium.’ Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 387. For the English translation, see Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, volume 2, pp. 35-36. Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) was a monk at the monastery of St Albans and wrote his *Flores Historiarum* between 1204 and 1231. From the creation until around 1202 it is essentially a compilation of other sources including Roger Howden and Ralph Diceto. He was succeeded by Matthew Paris as St Alban’s principle chronicler. For further information on Roger of Wendover see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England volume one: c. 550-c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 359-360 and D. Corner, ‘Wendover, Roger of (d. 1236)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29040>, accessed 2 Feb 2016].

⁴⁶ ‘Anno Domino MCLXXVII., amotis ab ecclesia Walthamhensi canonicis, quos seculares vocant, introducti sunt regulares auctoritate summi pontificis in vigilia Pentecostes, rege procurante Henrico et praesente.’ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 387. For the English translation, see Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁷ As will be seen in greater detail in the second chapter of this thesis, Doney ties Gerald’s dislike of the Angevin kings with his attachment towards Hugh of Lincoln. Doney describes Gerald as having ‘no reason to be other than bitter towards Henry II, Richard I, and John.’ R. J. Doney, ‘Giraldus Cambrensis and the

is a work that vilifies Henry's actions as king and Gerald's comments on Henry's failure to fulfil his crusader vow and half-hearted attempts to rectify this through acts of commutation must be considered within this context. In citing the foundation of the Witham, Waltham, and Amesbury as part of penance for Thomas Becket, Gerald offered a 'scornful' approach towards Henry's penances.⁴⁸ Not only did Henry fail to observe the Compromise of Avranches by completing his crusading vow and going to Jerusalem but his attempt to fool God into accepting the foundation of three small houses as sufficient penance in fact incurred His wrath, saying, 'Therefore, how foolish, infatuated, perverse, and obstinate was thy folly, O king!...He will distinguish the emptiness of all fallacies, for He cannot be Himself deceived'.⁴⁹

Gerald's account of Henry as a poor and miserly patron of religious houses, including Witham, is borne out to an extent by other evidence. The amount of money that Henry offered for the foundation of Witham has been interpreted as limited. Forey argued that the £466 that Henry granted the house by 1186 was indicative of his 'inadequate support'.⁵⁰ Such an interpretation is also supported by the account of Witham found within the *Magna Vita*, in which Adam of Eynsham depicts the poor state of the charterhouse when Hugh of Lincoln arrived from the Grande Chartreuse, suggesting that Henry did not care about his foundation. Prior to Hugh's arrival, the king had done little for the house other than removing the

Carthusian Order', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 53 (1954), p. 341. Duggan noted that Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger supported the suggestion that Henry did not care about his penances but dismissed their value as evidence because 'their witness is tainted by strong anti-royal bias'. Duggan, 'Diplomacy', p. 266.

⁴⁸ Duggan, 'Diplomacy', p. 285. Duggan noted that Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger supported the suggestion that Henry did not care about his penances but dismissed their value as evidence because 'their witness is tainted by strong anti-royal bias' 'Diplomacy', p. 266.

⁴⁹ 'O stultas igitur, o fatuas, o pertinaces ineptias et obstinatas!...ipse distinguit omnium fallaciarum fantasias, qui falli non potest...' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 8, p. 171. For the English translation see *Church Historians of England*, volume 5 part 1, pp. 147-148.

⁵⁰ Forey, 'Henry II's crusading penances', p. 160.

previous residents.⁵¹ These descriptions support Gerald of Wale's damning opinion of the king.

Such a treatment of Henry's religious patronage is, however, not entirely fair. The hagiographical nature of the *Magna Vita* means that such a characterisation of events cannot be taken wholly at face value and must be viewed within the construction of Hugh's sanctity. The *Magna Vita* provides Hugh with a heroic narrative arc in which he provides security and salvation for the community through his actions. Such an assumed narrative of Hugh of Lincoln as the 'saviour' of the house can be challenged by the argument presented by Thompson which states that it can be inferred from the house's chronicle that building work had not yet been completed by the time of Adam of Dryburgh's entrance in approximately 1188, two years after Hugh's election as bishop of Lincoln.⁵² Moreover, in challenging Gerald of Wales' interpretation of Henry's religious patronage, Hallam showed that the provision of huge sums of money and land was no indication of the real support the king gave to his houses.⁵³ Hallam demonstrated that Henry in no way restricted his religious patronage to those named by Gerald but rather tended to support older institutions rather than founding new houses.⁵⁴ With this in mind, it is evident that the narratives of the foundation of Witham and the early history of the house have been closely tied to judgments of the king's overall piety and personality.

⁵¹ Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, pp. 27-28.

⁵² E. M. Thompson, 'A fragment of a Witham Charterhouse Chronicle and Adam of Dryburgh, Premonstratensian, and Carthusian of Witham', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 16 (1932), p. 482. Thompson refers to a passage in which the author of the chronicle implies that he shared a cell with Adam for ten years, saying 'Denique cum isto uenerabili patre magistro Adam comes indiuiduus et socius contubernalis in hac heremonastra de Witham amplius quam decem annis extiti, non quasi comes aut socius, sed potius sicut alumnus et pediseque, licet eiusdem habitus et ordinis.' A. Wilmart, 'Maître Adam chanoine prémontré devenu chartreux à Witham', *Analecta Praemonstratensis*, 9 (1933), p. 229.

⁵³ E. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28 (1977), p. 131.

⁵⁴ Henry was regarded as a 'patron and founder' of a number of religious houses for which he inherited familial links. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', p. 116.

There is not enough supporting evidence from contemporary chroniclers to accept uncritically the assertion of Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger that Witham was founded as commutation for Henry's crusader vow of 1172. Despite this, the foundation of Witham has been linked intrinsically to the aftermath of the murder of Becket to the extent that, in some respects, the history of the house is presented only as part of a wider debate about the legacy of Becket. In order to assess the foundation of Witham on its own terms, it is important, then, to consider the available evidence for the commutation of Henry's crusader vow and the consequences of the Becket controversy for Henry's religious patronage. The formal instruments of Henry's penance for Becket's murder offer some insight into the nature of Witham's place within the aftermath of the compromise of Avranches.

The penance of Henry II

The acts of the compromise of Avranches in May 1172 are the root of the 'Becket tradition'. Chroniclers reacted variously to the reconciliation of the king with the Church at this occasion. Some like Ralph Coggeshall and the Melrose Chronicle do not mention the event at all. Ralph merely mentions Becket's murder.⁵⁵ Likewise the Melrose Chronicle makes an emotive record of Becket's death saying 'Alas! What accursed wickedness, what a detestable crime, what a horrible deed, what an unheard of guilt!', but makes no mention of the events

⁵⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall only records Becket's murder, 'Beatus Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, quondam regis Henrici Secundi cancellarius, pro ecclesiastice dignitatis libertate tuenda...martyrio coronatus est.' Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 57. Ralph of Coggeshall was the abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall from 1207 until 1218. He was the principle contributor to the chronicle of the abbey, the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, possibly even its only author. For more information, see F. M. Powicke, 'Roger of Wendover and the Coggeshall Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, 21 (1906), pp. 286-296 and D. Corner, 'Coggeshall, Ralph of (fl. 1207-1226)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5816>, accessed 2 Feb 2016].

of the compromise of Avranches.⁵⁶ The chronicler simply records that ‘Henry, king of England, returned from Ireland after Easter’ in 1172.⁵⁷ In contrast, Henry’s penance at Canterbury in July 1174 made a much greater impact.

Other chroniclers do describe the events of Avranches. Robert of Torigni, Abbot of Mont St Michel, recorded that in 1172 after Easter,

From England, the king returned from Ireland into England with the greatest expedition, having heard that pope Alexander had sent two legates, Albert and Theodwin, to him respecting the case of Thomas, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, of pious memory. From England he crossed over into Normandy; and having sent men of rank before his own arrival, the matter was discussed with the papal legates, in the first instance at Savigni, next at Avranches, and lastly at Caen, where it was terminated as is attested by the public instruments which were framed thereupon, and which were in the custody of each of the various persons who there assembled.⁵⁸

Likewise, he makes mention of Henry’s visit to Becket’s shrine in 1174.⁵⁹ Robert does not, however, specify the penances imposed upon Henry. Roger of Wendover describes the terms

⁵⁶ ‘O scelus nefandum! O nephas detestandum! O flagitium execrandum! O cunctis retro feculis inauditum piaculum!’ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 83. *Melrose Chronicle*, p. 132.

⁵⁷ ‘Henricus rex Anglie de Hybernia post pascha rediit.’ *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 85. *Melrose Chronicle*, p. 134.

⁵⁸ ‘Post Pascha rex audiens duos legatos, Albertum et Theodinum, ex parte domini papae A[lexandri] ad se missos pro causa pia memoriae Thomae, quondam Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, cum esset in Hibernia citissime venit de Hibernia in Angliam, de Anglia in Normanniam; et praemissis ad eos honorabilibus personis, locutus est eum eis primo Savigneii, postea Abrincis, tertio Cadomi, ubi causa illa finita est, sicut litterae publicae testantur, quae inde factae sunt, et a multis personis, quae illuc convenerant, retinentur.’ Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, pp. 253-254. For the English translation, see Robert of Torigni, *The chronicles of Robert de Monte*, p. 778. Robert of Torigni, or Robert de Monte, was a monk and prior at Bec before becoming the abbot of Mont-St-Michel from 1154 until his death in 1186. He wrote two historical works, *Roberti accessiones ad Sigibertum* and *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. The latter has considerable original material from 1112 until 1186 and was used as a source by later writers, including Ralph Diceto and Matthew Paris. For further information, see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England volume one*, pp. 199-200; and D. S. Spear, ‘Torigni, Robert de (c.1110–1186)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23732>, accessed 2 Feb 2016].

⁵⁹ ‘Qua autem humilitate sepulcrum beati martyris Thomae visitaverit, notandum est. Ut autem vidit ecclesiam Cantuariensem, desiliens equo, in vest lanea et nudis pedibus, pedes usque ad illam per paludes et acuta saxa

of Henry's agreement with the legates in great detail. In 1172 Henry landed in Normandy after returning from Ireland and met the papal envoys Albert and Theodwine. The king asked for absolution and in return promised,

...to contribute enough money to maintain two hundred knights for a year in defending the holy land, to allow appeals to be made without impediment to the Roman see, to annul the customs which had been introduced his own times contrary to the church's liberties, and to restore to the church of Canterbury all that had been taken from it since the archbishop's departure, and to allow those of both sexes who had been exiled in behalf of the blessed martyr, to return home and resume possession of their property.⁶⁰

Ralph de Diceto's *Ymagine Historiarum* describes the events in a similar fashion.⁶¹ The king swore to support two hundred Templar knights to defend Jerusalem, to allow appeals without his interference, to revoke customs made in his own time and to restore the Church of Canterbury to its properties and, finally, to allow clerics and lay people of either sex who had

cum summa devotione perrexit...' Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 264. For the English translation, see Robert of Torigni, *The chronicles of Robert de Monte*, p.784.

⁶⁰ 'Promisit igitur rex ad mandatum legatorum, quod tantum daret de pecunia sua, unde ducenti milites ad defensionem terrae sanctae possent sustentari per annum; promisit insuper, quod permetteret deinceps appellaiones libere fieri, et quod consuetudines, quae suis errant introductae temporibus contra libertates ecclesiae, in irritum revocaret, et quod possessiones Cantuariensis ecclesiae, quae post recessum archiepiscopi ablatae fuerant, integrae redderentur; promisit praeterea, quod clericis et laicis utriusque sexus, qui pro beato martyre de regno exierant, cum pace sua recipere bona omnia et libere redire licebit; et hoc totum promittere et jurare ac facere ex parte domini papae regi injunctum est in remissionem omnium peccatorum.' Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, p. 368. For the English translation, see Roger Wendover, *Flowers of History*, p. 22.

⁶¹ Ralph Diceto was probably born in Norfolk in the 1120s (Diceto being derived from the place-name Diss). Appointed archdeacon of Middlesex in 1152, Diceto was probably present at Henry II's coronation and later served as part of the delegation sent to the pope to secure the lifting of the suspension of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, in 1171 after Becket's death. He was elected deacon of St Paul's in 1180. In addition to his universal chronicle *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, he also composed the *Ymagine historiarum*, which began in 1149. Diceto is very well informed on contemporary events from the 1170s. Given his use of document evidence and his range of contacts, Diceto is a valuable source of information for events on the Continent and beyond. For more information on Diceto see C. Duggan and A. Duggan 'Ralph de Diceto, Henry II and Becket', in B. Tierney and R. Linehan eds., *Authority and power: studies in medieval law and government presented to Walter Ullmann on his seventieth birthday* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 59-81; and J. F. A. Mason, 'Diceto, Ralph de (d. 1199/1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7591>, accessed 2 Feb 2016].

been exiled to return home.⁶² Neither Ralph de Diceto nor Roger Wendover, however, mention a crusading vow.

Roger Howden provided one of the fullest accounts in his *Gesta*, later revised as his *Chronica*, and, crucially, makes reference to the crusader vow.⁶³ Howden described how in a meeting with papal legates at Avranches, Henry swore several oaths, which Howden records. In addition to remitting his anger to the supporters of Becket and restoring the possessions of Canterbury, Henry:

...also made oath that, for a period of three years from the Nativity of our Lord then next ensuing he would assume the cross, and would in the following summer go in person to Jerusalem, unless he should remain at home by permission of Alexander, the Supreme Pontiff, or of his Catholic successors.⁶⁴

⁶² 'In facie igitur ecclesiae sollemniter absolutus, jura voluntatem et mandatum cardinalium promisit, quod ab instant festo Pentecostes usque in annum tantam pecuniam daret, unde ad arbitrium fratrum temple cc. milites ad defensionem terrae Jerosollimitanae per annum perquirentur. Promisit etiam quod licebit appellations libere fieri, et quod consuetudines quae suis temporibus contra libertatem ecclesiae fuerant introductae, revocabuntur in irritum, et quod possessions Cantuariensis ecclesiae, quae post egressum sanctae recordationis archiepiscopi fuerant ei ablatae, restituerentur in integrum. Et quod clericis et laicis utrius sexus, qui pro archiepiscopo Thoma de regno exierant, cum pace regis libere redire licebit, et bona sua recipere. Et hoc totum promittere et facere, ex parte domini papae regi injunctum est in remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum. Rex filius regis idem quod pater suus juraverat et promiserat, juravit et promisit.' Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, volume 1, p. 352.

⁶³ Roger Howden, originally a parson of Howden, was a clerk at the court of Henry II from around 1174 until the king's death in 1189. Following Henry's death Howden joined the service of Hugh du Puisset, bishop of Durham. During his service he undertook numerous important tasks on behalf of the royal court, including a diplomatic mission to Galloway in 1174 and the position of itinerant justice of the forest in 1185, 1187, and 1189. He also travelled further afield. In 1189 he was sent by Hugh du Puisset to the pope and then joined Richard I on the Third Crusade. During his career he wrote two chronicles, the *Chronica* and the *Gesta Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*. The latter was presumed for a long time to have been written by Benedict of Peterborough but is now attributed to Howden. Howden is particularly well-informed on the royal court given his experience in the bureaucracy there. For more information see D. Corner, 'The *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, parson of Howden', *British Institute of Historical Research*, 56 (1983), pp. 126-144; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England volume one*, pp. 222-230; F. Barlow, 'Roger Howden', *English Historical Review*, 65 (1950), pp. 352-360; and D. Corner, 'Howden, Roger of (d. 1201/2)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13880>, accessed 2 Feb 2016].

⁶⁴ 'Juravit etiam quod ab instante Nativitate Domini usque in triennium crucem accipiet, in proxima sequenti aestate in propria persona Jerosolimam iterum, nisi remanserit per Alexandrum summum pontificem, vel per catholicos successors eius.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, pp. 35-36. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 356.

In the end, however, the king did not go on this crusade to Jerusalem.

Substantial references to the penances imposed upon Henry at Avranches are also found in *vitae* of Becket. The *Lansdowne Anonymous* stated,

These then are the terms of the peace settlement between the most auspicious Pope Alexander and the most invincible King Henry of England, and the form of satisfaction of this king to the envoys Albert and Theodwin. The aforesaid king would abolish his Constitutions of Clarendon entirely, and none of them would be revived in the future. He would allow every church its liberties and privileges, and within forty days of his arrival in England he would provide canonically elected pastors to those thus deprived. In affliction he would pay for two hundred knights to fight against the pagans in Jerusalem in defence of the Christians. And finally, the king himself would fight against the pagan in person with every effort, unless he were diverted by another intervening necessity, and was given licence by the pope to remain.⁶⁵

Within these chronicles, then, only Roger Howden and the *Lansdowne Anonymous* discuss the crusader vow in any detail. In addition to the evidence of the contents of the compromise of Avranches as found in these chronicles, the clauses can also be found in more formal instruments.

65 'Haec est ergo forma pais et concordiae inter felicissimum papam Alexandrum et invictissimum regem Angliae Henricum, et modus satisfactionis ipsius regis Alberto et Teodino legatis: ut praefatus rex statute sua Clarenduniae ad unguem oblitteraret, nullum eorum in posterum resuscitaturus; et singulis ecclesiis libertates et dignitates suas concederet, et omnibus pastoribus orbatis infra xl. dies adventus sui in Angliam, canonical mediante electione, quam illis concesserat, provideret. Insuper ut ducentos milites armis instructos Jerosolimis per unum annum ad defensionem Christianorum contrapaganos stipendiaret; et demum ipse rex per seipsum cum toto conatu suo, nisi alia intercurrente necessitate avocaretur, et cum licentia domini papae remaneret, contra paganos militaret.' *The Lansdowne Anonymous*, in J. C. Robinson ed., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, volume 4 (London, 1879), p. 174. For the English translation, see M. Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 216-217.

The agreed clauses are recorded in the letter called *Ne in dubium* written by the papal legates Albertus and Theodwinus to Henry. Duggan summarised it as consisting of six main points and estimated the date by which these ought to have been achieved.⁶⁶ The king had to: provide sufficient money to support 200 knights for the defence of Jerusalem for a year from the following Pentecost [1173]; take the cross for three years from the following Christmas [1172], departing the following summer [1173] unless stayed by the lord pope or his catholic successors (he may if necessary substitute an expedition to Spain to fight the Saracens); not impede appeals in ecclesiastical causes to the Roman Church, but to allow them freely, in good faith, without fraud and bad intention, so that the Roman pontiff may try and terminate such cases; but any suspect appellants shall give security that they are not seeking injury to the king or kingdom; abrogate entirely any custom introduced into his land during his reign and not to demand them from the bishops; reinstate the church of Canterbury as it was one year before the archbishop left England, restoring to full any properties taken from it; grant peace and grace and to restore possessions to clergy, and laity of both sexes, who had been deprived on account of the archbishop.⁶⁷

66 A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket: friends, networks, text and cult* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 275.

67 'Ab instant quidem festo Pentecostes usque ad annum tantam pecuniam dabit, unde ad arbitrium fratrum Templi ducenti milites ualeant ad defensionem terre Ierosolimitane spatio unius anni teneri. Vos autem a sequenti Natiuitate Domini usque ad triennium, crucem accipietis, proxima tunc estate illuc in propria persona, ducente Domino, profecturi, nisi remanseritis per dominum papam, uel catholicos successors eius. Sane si contra Sarracenos in Hispaniam pro urgenti necessitate profecti fueritis, quantum temporis fuerit ex quo arripueritis iter tantundem supra dictum spacium Ierosolimitane profectionis poteritis prolongare. Appellationes nec impedietis nec permittetis impediri, quin libre fiant in ecclesiasticis causis ad Romanam ecclesiam, bone fide, et absque fraude et malo ingenio, ut per Romanam pontificem cause tractentur, et suum consequantur effectum; sic tamen ut si uobis suspecti fuerint aliqui, securitatem faciant, quod malum uestrum uel regni uestri non querent. Consuetudines que inducte sunt contra ecclesias terre uestre tempore uestro penitus dimittetis, nec ab episcopis amplius exigetis. Possessions Cantuariensis ecclesie, si que ablate sunt, plene restituetis, sicut habuit uno anno antequam archiepiscopus de Anglia egrederetur. Clericis preterea et laicis utriusque sexus pacem uestram et gratiam et possessions suas restituetis, qui occasione prenominati archiepiscopi destituti fuerunt.' Reconstructed text found in A. Duggan, 'Ne in dubium: The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172', *The English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), p. 658. Duggan's estimated deadlines are presented in square brackets.

The 'Becket tradition' in Carthusian historiography follows that Henry was unable to undertake his ascribed pilgrimage to Jerusalem and so had it commuted to the foundation of religious houses, the number and nature of which is not consistent in historians' accounts of events. This argument, if the evidence provided by Gerald of Wales is put aside, depends upon a particular interpretation of the compromise of Avranches and, more specifically, of Henry's attitude towards his penance. There is considerable historiographical debate concerning Henry's attitude towards and the motivation behind his penances. Concerning the latter there are two main schools of thought. The first focuses on the penances as merely a political act and not evidence of Henry's remorse. This approach is supported by Warren, who considered Henry's penitential visit to Canterbury Cathedral in 1174 as being intended to separate Thomas Becket from the cause of his rebelling sons.⁶⁸ This suggests that Henry's penances were superficially intended to restore the king's reputation rather than expressions of a genuine desire to be absolved for the murder of Becket.

The second, advocated by Duggan, argues that the king was genuinely concerned about the fulfilment of his penances after 1173. In contrast to Warren, Duggan argued that Henry's performance of penance was more complex than simply being a political exercise. While the king was at first dismissive of his penances, his attitude evolved and gradually 'gave way to conscientious acknowledgement of guilt.'⁶⁹ The compromise of Avranches saw a public acknowledgement of the king's indirect responsibility of Becket's murder but Henry did not want to attract incrimination in England. In a letter to the bishops of England, called *Sciatis quod*, that records the king's agreement with the papacy, Henry fails to mention any penitential aspects, and he 'glossed the penitential aspects of the Avranches reconciliation

⁶⁸ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 135.

⁶⁹ Duggan, 'Diplomacy', p. 266.

almost out of existence.’⁷⁰ Duggan argued that this attitude changed with the growth of Becket’s cult and the rebellion of the king’s sons in 1173. Henry recognised the rebellion as a form of punishment from God and subsequently took his penances more seriously.⁷¹ How Henry’s attitude towards the compromise of Avranches is interpreted has considerable impact upon whether the king would have deemed it necessary to commute his unfulfilled crusader vow, a consideration that has a major impact upon the intention behind the foundation of Witham.

Another factor to consider is the implications of the crusader vow of 1172. The exact meaning of the crusader vow as found in *Ne in dubium* has been questioned. Duggan’s assessment and dating of the text was that Henry vowed to take the cross from 1173 until 1176 but an alternative interpretation was postulated by Forey, who questioned the interpretation that Henry was to take the cross at Christmas 1172 for three years and to leave in the summer of 1173.⁷² He suggested another interpretation, that Henry was ‘to take the cross within three years from Christmas 1172’ and this meant that he would have to leave by summer of 1176.⁷³ This reading of events shifts Henry’s deadline for leaving on crusade to after the collapse of his sons’ rebellion. If this interpretation of the expectations surrounding the vows is correct, Henry would not have been required to commute his vow as a consequence of his sons’ rebellion. Rather, he would have still been within the ascribed time limits.

⁷⁰ Duggan, ‘Diplomacy’, p. 289.

⁷¹ Duggan, ‘Diplomacy’, p. 289.

⁷² A. J. Forey, ‘Henry II’s Crusading Penance for Becket’s Murder’, *Crusades*, 7 (2008), p. 153.

⁷³ He would have to take the cross within three years of Christmas 1172 (i.e. Christmas 1175) and leave the following summer. Forey, ‘Henry II’s Crusading Penance’, p. 155.

This uncertainty surrounding the actual meaning of the crusader vow is important because, much like the interpretation of Henry's attitudes towards his penances, it has implications for whether Henry was required to commute the crusader vow or not and, crucially, whether he considered himself to be required to undertake them. Forey argues that Henry did not place much store by his crusader vow and when the king made grants and donations to the defence of the Holy Land these were not part of any imposed penance.⁷⁴ Henry would not commute his vow because the vow itself was not important. He therefore would not then found three houses as expiation for the vow.⁷⁵

Whether Duggan's or Forey's interpretation of Henry's obligations is the more convincing, the foundation of Witham within the circumstances described by Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger is still unclear. First, there are contemporary indications that Henry was not concerned about the time limit imposed by Avranches. Chroniclers record Henry as making subsequent crusader vows made later in his reign. Roger of Wendover describes an incident in 1177 when, while holding a conference with the French King in Normandy, Henry swore a treaty with Louis that '...we have, by God's inspiration, promised and confirmed on oath, to enter the service of our crucified Saviour, and, taking the cross, to go to Jerusalem.'⁷⁶ Likewise Robert of Torigni states that in 1178 Louis VII of France and Henry met for a conference and 'a firm agreement between them was decided that they should assume the cross and set out on an expedition to Jerusalem.'⁷⁷ This was in 1178, the same period in which Henry founded

⁷⁴ Forey, 'Henry II's Crusading Penance', p. 164.

⁷⁵ Forey, 'Henry II's Crusading Penance', p. 161.

⁷⁶ '...nos, Deo inspirante, promississe et juramento confirmasse, quod simul ibimus in servitium Crucifixi, et Hierosolyman suscipiemus signaculum sanctae cruces...' Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, p. 388. For the English translation, see Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, p. 36.

⁷⁷ '...et ibi tractaverunt de pace et firma Concordia inter eos, et de susceptione Crucis, et de itinere eorum in Jerusalem...' Roberti de Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 279. For the English translation, see Robert of Torigni, *The chronicles of Robert de Monte*, p. 792.

Witham. The question remains of why, then, would Henry found monasteries in commutation for a crusading vow when he was continuing to make such vows. Two possibilities emerge. The first is, of course, that the crusading vow did not matter at all and Henry never intended upon going to the Holy Land. The vows were political acts to foster support. The second is that Henry did desire to go on crusade but circumstances prevented him. After the vow at Avranches ran out, he made another crusader vow, although this was also eventually unfulfilled upon his death. Both these scenarios cast doubt upon the foundation of Witham as commutation for the vow made at Avranches in 1172.

The alternative model is that the crusading vow at Avranches did carry spiritual weight with Henry in 1172, and that the king did commute his crusading vow with the foundation of monasteries as indicated by Gerald of Wales and Ralph Niger. By Duggan's argument, Henry was genuine in his penances for Becket's murder in the late 1170s. The question can then be raised of why, if this was true, did Henry not make a greater display surrounding the foundation of Witham, Waltham, and Amesbury as being part of his penance for Becket's murder. Had the king have founded Witham as a fulfilment of his penitential acts, it is reasonable to assume that there would be some reference in the documentation surrounding Witham to explicitly link the house back to Thomas Becket or at least Henry's penance for his death. These indications are, however, absent even in the most detailed literary source for the early history of Witham, the *Magna Vita*. There is no clear evidence that the foundation of Witham was actually part of Henry's penance for the murder of Thomas Becket as indicated in official instruments or chronicles. The king's actions in commuting the crusading vow would have been more explicit had the vow of 1172 been considered by Henry to be sincere or had been in dire need of commutation by 1176-1178.

The debate surrounding the acts of Avranches and the realisation of the crusader vow offers two more factors that contribute to the general uncertainty that surrounds the tradition that Witham was founded as commutation for Henry's vow. The first is the complete lack of formal confirmation of the action. Witham's own charter gives no indication of any link between the house and Becket, nor do contemporaries outside Gerald of Wales, since Ralph Niger does not actually name the houses, nor do any formal instruments appear that would indicate that Henry's crusader vow was ever commuted. The issue does not lie in whether Witham was founded as part of Henry's penitential actions after Becket's death in 1170. It is rather with the specific tradition that it was a direct part of the process that reconciled the king with the papacy, for which there is insufficient evidence to assert with any confidence.

The second factor concerns the nature of the Witham community. With regards to Henry's general penitential attitude following 1170, it is undeniable that Henry's religious foundations increased after the death of Becket. The majority of his foundations (or re-foundations) took place in the late 1170s and early 1180s.⁷⁸ While there is no evidence that the foundation of Witham was designed as an act of commutation for the crusader vow that Henry made at Avranches, the house was founded as part of a pattern of increased religiosity following the archbishop's death.⁷⁹ Hallam's statement that post-Becket foundations constituted an 'attempt by the king to regain the favour and support of the Church' remains accurate.⁸⁰ This statement, however, does not satisfactorily answer the key question, that of why Henry founded a Carthusian house in particular.

⁷⁸ Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', p. 131.

⁷⁹ Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', pp. 131-132.

⁸⁰ Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', p. 132.

Choosing the Carthusians

The Carthusian order had no tradition in England before 1178. Cowdrey suggested that one reason for the order's absence was a pre-existing eremitical tradition in England with quite different emphases to that promoted by the Carthusians.⁸¹ Instead of absolute solitude and withdrawal, hermits in England were not isolated and had a social purpose as 'holy men' who had important influence over the population.⁸² In this environment, the Carthusians had no position to fill. Cowdrey argues further that very variety of opportunities for patronage of religious orders open to the Anglo-French nobility in England, including Normandy, militated against the adoption of the Carthusians.⁸³ For instance, in 1109 Bernard of Tiron established the Tironensians in Brittany. Vitalis of Mortain also founded Savigny and the order of the Savignacs in Maine in approximately 1112. Likewise, Gilbert of Sempringham founded the only medieval English monastic order, the Gilbertines, in around 1130. By this argument, there was little reason to turn to patronising the Carthusian order with such a plethora of possibilities closer to home. Cowdrey ties the subsequent introduction of the Carthusians to England with the declining rate of Cistercian foundations, marking the death of Aelred of Rievaulx in 1167 as the end of the Cistercian 'Golden Age' in England and arguing that it was only then possible to turn to other religious models.⁸⁴

Support for the Carthusians, came, as Cowdrey posits, from two principal sources. The first, and weaker, argument concerns the influence of Henry of Blois, cousin of Henry II, monk of

⁸¹ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians in England', pp. 345-346.

⁸² For further information about the role of the recluse in England see T. Licence, *Hermits and recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford, 2011). Mayr-Harting's classic work also remains useful. H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History*, 60 (1975), pp. 337-352. This was reprinted in his collection of essays, *Religion and society in the medieval West, 600-1200: selected papers* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 39-53.

⁸³ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians in England', p. 346.

⁸⁴ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians in England', p. 347.

Cluny and then bishop of Winchester between 1129 and 1171, for whom the monks at Chartreuse observed liturgical commemoration. Bishop Henry's connections with the king provide at least a possible context for the king to encounter the Carthusians in a positive light.⁸⁵ The second source is the Becket controversy which brought the Carthusians into further and closer contact with the king of England through letter writing and intercession.⁸⁶ The earliest date of contact between Henry and the Carthusians appears to have been 1165. At this point members of Becket's close circle were in exile and John of Salisbury, then a member of the archbishop's household, sought the hospitality of the charterhouse of Mont Dieu, which is located near Rheims. From here he wrote a letter to the prior of the charterhouse of Val Saint Pierre, near Soissons, in which he bemoaned the state of the English Church.⁸⁷ Knowles suggests that this letter could have been transmitted to the Grande Chartreuse since in the same year the monks of the Grande Chartreuse also wrote a letter to Henry rebuking him for his conduct.⁸⁸ The Prior of Mont Dieu, Simon, and the Prior of Val Saint Pierre, Engelbert, did the same.⁸⁹

This contact between the Carthusians and the king continued in 1168 when two major Carthusian figures, Basil of Burgundy, then prior of the Grand Chartreuse, and Antelme of Belley, former prior of the Grande Chartreuse, were appointed as papal envoys to Henry II, carrying a letter from the pontiff to the king.⁹⁰ Thompson argues that this contact between the

⁸⁵ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians in England', p. 347.

⁸⁶ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians in England', pp. 347-348.

⁸⁷ The text of this letter can be found in J. C. Robinson (ed.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, volume 6 (London, 1882), pp. 531-532. The full text of the letter is also found in *Annales ordinis cartusiensis*, volume 2, pp. 264-265

⁸⁸ Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 380. It also survives in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, volume 6, pp. 165-166.

⁸⁹ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians in England', pp. 347-348.

⁹⁰ The text of this letter can be found in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, volume 6, pp. 394-395.

Carthusians and Henry therefore meant that the Carthusians were the appropriate choice for his new foundations,

Considering the occupation of the Carthusian priors in the attempted meditations between the king and the archbishop it is not an ‘unnatural tradition’ that Henry founded two charterhouses as penance for Thomas Becket’s murder.⁹¹

From this point of view, Henry chose the Carthusians due to their connection with the Becket controversy. He was either impressed by their piety and their holy reputation or their connection with Becket, by acting as mediators between the archbishop and the king, made the Carthusians a particularly effective means by which to undertake his penance.

As an extreme ascetic monastic order, the Carthusians would have been a suitable means to satisfy Henry’s spiritual anxieties. By the 1170s, the Carthusians were a well-respected order who, as shall be seen in the next chapter, elicited a (mostly) positive reputation from their contemporaries. If Henry was sincere about his spiritual wellbeing and identified it as being at serious risk following Becket’s murder, an association with a monastic order of this magnitude makes sense. However, it is important to recall that there is no direct evidence for Henry II’s motivations for the foundation of Witham and it is important to not rely solely upon a supposition that links Witham’s foundation back to Thomas Becket’s murder without investigation. Instead, the foundation of Witham can also be set within the background of Henry’s political manoeuvring in south-western and central France in the 1160s and 1170s. This context provided greater contact and extra impetus for the king’s later interactions with the order.

⁹¹ Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, pp. 50-51.

The emphasis on the Carthusians as intercessors for Becket ignores the activity of other religious and monastic orders in interceding on Becket's behalf or chastising the king for his actions. The Grandmontines are a striking comparison with the Carthusians.⁹² After Becket's murder Henry had lost the support of many of those who had been sympathetic towards him, including the monks at Grandmont. This is evident by their letters written to the king (from whom no reply survives). Prior William de Treignac, the prior of Grandmont, had written to Henry to inform him that he had dismissed the masons who were building a church for the monks due to his disgust at Henry's behaviour.⁹³ Similarly, Peter Bernard, who was William's successor as prior at Grandmont, wrote a letter to Henry in which he compared his treatment of Becket with his behaviour towards the Grandmontines.⁹⁴ Moreover, Bernard of Corilo, the prior of the Grandmontine house of Le Bois de Vincennes, played a role in the papal delegations of 1168, alongside the Carthusians Simon, prior of Mont Dieu and Engelbert, prior of Val Saint Pierre and so were part of the process of papal intercession within the Becket crisis.⁹⁵

The Grandmontine reaction to the Becket controversy, poses some questions as to why Henry should found a Carthusian house. Members of both orders chastised Henry for his actions; the Grandmontines were recipients of Henry's patronage before and after Becket's death. As concerns the Carthusians, at the foundation of Witham in 1178, there were no charterhouses in Angevin territory; the majority were located in the south-east of modern-day France.⁹⁶

⁹² The main English-language work on the Grandmontines remains C. Hutchison, *The hermit monks of Grandmont* (Kalamazoo, 1989). Also see E. Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), pp. 165-186; and J. Martin and L. E. M. Walker, 'At the feet of Stephen Muret: Henry II and the order of Grandmont redivivus', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), pp. 1-12.

⁹³ This letter can be found *PL* 204, cols. 1168-1169

⁹⁴ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire*, p. 260. This letter can be found *PL* 204, cols. 1169-1176.

⁹⁵ A. Duggan ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170, volume 1*, (Oxford, 2000), p. 1.

⁹⁶ For a map of the distribution of charterhouses before 1200, see Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, p. 18.

Knowles noted that without the invitation of Henry II it 'was hardly to be anticipated that a semi-eremital order, whose native seat was in the south of France, would found a house in England.'⁹⁷ The Carthusians were essentially an alien order within the territories Henry II ruled.

The *Magna Vita* states that it was the Earl (or Count) of Maurienne who informed Henry about the Carthusian Order. He appears in chapter one of the second book that states,

Once when the king was across the sea, a nobleman from Maurienne came to him and in the course of their conversations the king questioned him about the Carthusian order.⁹⁸

This episode probably dates to a period of marriage negotiations conducted by the earl and Henry, which took place between 1171 and 1173. A later episode, related in the *Magna Vita* and dating to after the foundation of Witham, in which the king then tells this same nobleman, who was almost certainly Humbert III of Maurienne, about the difficulties experienced by his charterhouse of Witham. The count of Maurienne in reply stated that 'there is only one means of freeing yourself from these difficulties' and that is to summon Hugh of Lincoln, the procurator of the Grande Chartreuse.⁹⁹ The advice the count gave Henry with respect to Hugh of Lincoln must have come after 1178 and therefore yields an

⁹⁷ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, p. 380.

⁹⁸ 'Quadam die rege in transmarinis agente, uenit ad eum uir quidam nobilis de Morienne partibus. Rex uero de ordine Cartusiensium, inter alia mutue sermocinationis uerba, pleraque ab eodem inquirere cepit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 46.

⁹⁹ 'Ab hiis,' inquit,' domine mi rex, fluctibus, unico uos et efficacissimo liberare potestis consilio.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 47. In response to these accounts, Carthusian historiography, as represented by Thompson, treated Humbert III as responsible for familiarising Henry with the Carthusians. Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 54; Thompson, *The Somerset Carthusians*, p. 9. In *The Somerset Carthusians*, Thompson states that it would have been in 1173 that the count would have heard about Henry's difficulties at Witham and introduced him to the figure of Hugh of Avalon because the count and Henry were engaged in marriage negotiations for their children in this year. This does not make chronological sense since Witham was not founded at this point.

interesting perspective into the continued contact between Henry and Maurienne after the failed marriage contract of 1173-1174, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Regardless of how Henry originally came into contact with the order, it is apparent that the order itself does fit into Henry's pattern of patronage. His tendency towards patronising ascetic communities is well known and the king was accustomed to favouring orders and communities such as the Grandmontines, a monastic order which shared many features with the Carthusians, and the house of Fontevraud, which also had a reputation for strictness. The question arises of why Henry patronised the Carthusian order with the foundation of Witham and not one of these communities. He had direct existing links with these institutions in the late 1170s. Both Grandmont, the motherhouse of the Grandmontines, and Fontevraud were located within the Angevin possessions: Grandmont in the Limousin, Fontevraud in Anjou.

Henry's patronage of Fontevraud and Grandmont were dictated to a certain extent by familial links. Fontevraud had been favoured and endowed by the counts of Anjou and the Dukes of Aquitaine since its foundation in the late eleventh century.¹⁰⁰ Henry continued this dynastic connection to the house. In 1154 he reconfirmed all the gifts which the Counts of Anjou had

¹⁰⁰ Fontevraud was founded by Robert d'Abrissel in 1101 as a double monastery that included both men and women. Studies upon this community include C. T. Wood, 'Fontevraud, dynasticism and Eleanor of Aquitaine', in B. Wheeler and J. C. Parsons eds., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (New York, 2002), pp. 407-422 and B. L. Venarde ed., *Robert of Abrissel: a medieval religious life* (Washington, D.C., 2003), as well as a short treatment in Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism*, pp. 132-133. There is also a considerable body of French historiography regarding Fontevraud. See particularly the work of J-M. Bienvu, including J-M. Bienvu, 'L'Ordre de Fontevraud et la Normandie au XII siècle', *Annales de Normandie*, 35 (1985), pp. 3-15; J-M. Bienvu, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et Fontevraud', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 29 (1986), pp. 15-27; J-M. Bienvu, 'Henri II Plantagenêt et Fontevraud', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 37 (1994), pp. 25-32; and J-M. Bienvu, *Les premiers temps de l'ordre de Fontevraud (1101-1189). Naissance et évolution d'un ordre religieux* (Sorbonne, 1980). Also see J. Dalarun ed., *Robert d'Abrissel et la vie religieuse dans l'ouest de la France* (Turnhout, 2004) and J-M. Bienvu, R. Favreau, and G. Pon eds., *Grand cartulaire de Fontevraud* (Poitiers, 2005).

made to the house.¹⁰¹ He also released the sisters of Fontevraud from contributions towards military aid in 1165.¹⁰² He continued to provide the house with financial assistance throughout his reign. For instance, between 1156 and 1173 the king gave the sisters his rights and possessions of the island of Choze as well as land for use as meadows.¹⁰³ The house eventually became the burial place of Henry, his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine, and his brother Richard I.¹⁰⁴ By refounding Amesbury with nuns from Fontevraud and its daughter priory of Westwood, in Worcestershire, Henry showed considerable favour towards Fontevraud.

Similarly, Henry had strong familial links to Grandmont. The order had been supported significantly by his mother Matilda. After her death in 1167 her will made reference to the order and Martin and Walker argue that Matilda had a huge influence on Henry's patronage of religious houses, supported by the fact that 'several religious houses benefited from grants made jointly by mother and son'.¹⁰⁵ Henry was also linked to the Grandmontines through his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose lands included La Marche, where Grandmont is situated.¹⁰⁶ Henry's investiture as Duke of Aquitaine at Limoges in 1157 has been seen, traditionally, as a turning point in Henry's patronage of the order.¹⁰⁷ He became a valued patron of the order and his enthusiasm was noted by contemporaries.¹⁰⁸ Roger Howden in the *Gesta* records that in 1170 during a bout of illness the king made his desire to be buried at Grandmont clearly known,

¹⁰¹ Hallam, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage', p. 103.

¹⁰² Hallam, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage', p. 103.

¹⁰³ Hallam, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage', p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ Hallam, 'Henry II as a founder of monasteries', p. 117.

¹⁰⁵ Martin and Walker note that 'Geoffrey of Vigeois relates that she [Matilda] left thirty thousand shillings Angevin to the order'. Martin and Walker, 'Henry II and the order of Grandmont', p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ It is notable that Eleanor also exposed her first husband King Louis VII of France to the Grandmontines. Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', p. 167.

¹⁰⁷ Martin and Walker, 'Henry II and the order of Grandmont', p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', p. 168.

And he [Henry] showed them a charter, which the good-men of Grandmont had drawn up arranging to bury his body at the exit of the chapter house of Grandmont...¹⁰⁹

Although Henry was eventually buried at Fontevraud, the *Gesta* shows that Henry in fact originally chose Grandmont as his burial place. This ‘was to afford it [Grandmont] a mark of singular respect.’¹¹⁰ Henry’s will, which was composed in 1182, reiterates this desire. He was to be buried at Grandmont, which was also to receive 3000 marks. His later burial at Fontevraud was perhaps a product of practicality. Henry died in July 1189 at Chinon and given the summer heat it may have been considered too far to carry his body to Grandmont, nearly one hundred miles to the south.¹¹¹ Fontevraud was physically much nearer, only ten miles away from Chinon. His support for Grandmont was also manifested physically and he helped to endow and rebuild the house, granting a wide range of privileges and pensions.¹¹² Despite these close links, there is no tradition that Henry II founded a Grandmontine house as part of his penance. His very familiar contact with the order, which seems to have been far closer than that he had with the Carthusians, suggests the Grandmontines would have been more obvious choice as the recipients of his patronage through the foundation of a new house. Given his ties with the order, it is interesting that Henry did not use the opportunity of founding Witham to establish a Grandmontine house in England. Instead, he broke his existing pattern of patronage to found a charterhouse, a monastic order that was foreign both to his lands and his family.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Et ipse ostendit eis quondam cartam, quam Boni-homines de Grandi Monte ei fecerunt de corpore suo sepeliendo, in exitu capituli domus Grandis Montis...’ Roger Howden, *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, p. 7.

¹¹⁰ Hallam, ‘Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont’, p. 168.

¹¹¹ Wood, ‘Fontevraud, dynasticism and Eleanor of Aquitaine’, p. 413.

¹¹² Hallam, ‘Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont’, p. 182.

Familial and dynastic interests influenced Henry's patterns of religious patronage and it is also arguable that this spread to his more political and diplomatic actions. Given the lack of family or ancestral connections to the Carthusians, it is important to offer an explanation for why Henry chose to found a charterhouse that does not simply refer back to the tradition based upon the work of Gerald of Wales, and Henry's own activities in southern and eastern France present an opportunity to suggest this alternative factor behind Witham's foundation.

The Maurienne marriage

Henry II's inheritance of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and England was augmented through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine and his subsequent acquisition of the duchy of Aquitaine and its associated territories.¹¹³ Henry also acquired an interest in his wife's territorial rights and the claims of her ancestors. These included, significantly, the county of Toulouse.¹¹⁴ Henry's pursuit of these rights offers an explanation for the foundation of Witham in Somerset.

The question of protecting the interests of Aquitaine was not straightforward. Territorial interests in the southern France were constantly changing and the political landscape in flux. Henry's task was made more difficult by 'the vagueness of its [Aquitaine's] boundaries, the confusion of history about its political structure, and the imprecision of tradition about ducal

¹¹³ Eleanor of Aquitaine has been the focus of a substantial corpus of research and there are a number of major histories of her life. In particular, see R. V. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine* (New Haven, 2009). Also see B. Wheeler and J. C. Parsons eds., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady* (New York, 2003) and M. Bull and C. Léglu eds., *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2005).

¹¹⁴ J. Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London, 2001), p. 29.

authority.¹¹⁵ The ducal claim of authority extended to the county of Toulouse. In order to explain Henry's interest in the area, it is necessary to consider some of the complicated history of the south of France in the twelfth century, which is characterised by the continuous negotiation of political jurisdiction and regional influence. Since the late eleventh century the county of Toulouse was engaged with a jurisdictional dispute with the kingdom of Aragon and the county of Barcelona over lands in this region. The reign of Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona saw the expansion of Catalonian power that threatened the authority of the count of Toulouse. In 1112 Ramon Berenguer married Douce, heiress to the county of Provence, and as such acquired much of Provence, the county of Gevaudan, the viscounty of Millau, the viscounty of Carlat, and honours in Rouergue. Through this marriage, a Catalonian power-block across the south of France emerged. In the following years the count of Toulouse, Alphonse-Jourdain, reacted by moving to secure his rights over surrounding regions, such as Narbonne and Carcassone, and a clash inevitably occurred between the counties of Barcelona and Toulouse. This land dispute was eventually settled in 1125 with a partition of territory. The 'county of Provence', the area between the Rhone, the Durance, the Alps, and the sea, went to the count of Barcelona. Toulouse acquired the smaller land block to the north of the Durance called the Marquisate of Provence.¹¹⁶

However, existing tensions continued and newer tensions emerged. In addition to Aragon and Barcelona, Aquitaine equally posed threat to Toulousan authority. William IX of Aquitaine married Phillipa of Toulouse, the only surviving child of William IV of Toulouse. Upon the death of William IV in 1094 Phillipa's claim had been put aside for her uncle Raymond of

¹¹⁵ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 116.

¹¹⁶ J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* (Oxford, 1985), p. 300. Dunbabin remains the main reference work for the history of France in the twelfth century and provides a strong synthesis of the historiography in the exceptional survey from pp. 419-430. Of particular interest for this thesis is chapter twelve of this work 'The Principalities 1108-1180', pp. 295-357, which deals with the lands outside the Kingdom of France itself.

Saint Gilles. In response, her husband William IX took control of Toulouse in 1112, then vulnerable due to the minority of Count Alphonse-Jourdain, Raymond of Saint-Gilles having abjured his rights to Toulouse at his participation in the First Crusade. William was eventually expelled in 1122, Phillipa having died in 1118. While William did not try to retake Toulouse, Phillipa's claim over the county passed to their daughter Eleanor and was the cause of subsequent military action by both her husbands. In 1141 Louis VII of France besieged Toulouse without success and Henry II repeated this action with the siege of 1159.¹¹⁷ Although Henry was also unsuccessful, he remained invested in the claim to the county of Toulouse and sought to impose his authority in the region.

The late 1160s saw conflict again erupt in the south of France over Count Raymond V of Toulouse's plan to marry the heiress Douce, daughter of Ramon Berenguer II and heir to the cadet branch of the county of Barcelona that then held the lands of Provence, Gevaudan and Millau as Counts of Provence. At this point the Kingdom of Aragon and the County of Barcelona were merged under the rule of Alfonso II of Aragon (who was also Alfons I of Barcelona). The son of Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona and Petronilla of Aragon, he became both King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona in 1164. In response to the proposed marriage between Raymond and Douce, Catalanian forces moved to threaten Raymond's Provencal lands, the Marquisate of Provence, from the County of Provence. Raymond retaliated by supporting dissent in Beziers and Nimes against the Viscounts Trencavel. The reigning count, Raymond I, was killed and Raymond of Toulouse moved to have his son Roger prevented from inheriting his father's position.¹¹⁸ Raymond of Toulouse was

¹¹⁷ For a full study of the background and events of the 1159 siege of Toulouse, see A. Martindale, 'An unfinished business': Angevin politics and the siege of Toulouse, 1159', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XXIII (2000), pp. 115-154.

¹¹⁸ Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, p. 301.

eventually forced to accept the land divisions as ascribed in the 1125 settlement. In return for renouncing his ambitions for the lands beyond the Rhone, Alfonso II accepted Toulousan overlordship over the Trencavel viscounts and Roger II Trencavel married Raymond's daughter.

Pressure still remained, however, and Henry II continued to campaign for recognition of Eleanor's inheritance of the county of Toulouse. By 1173 Raymond V had recognised some Angevin overlordship, performing homage to Henry at Limoges in February 1173.¹¹⁹ Raymond later made an alliance with Henry the Young King due to the continued Aragonese-Barcelonan threat but the king's death in 1183 ended this abruptly.¹²⁰ Henry strengthened his position in the southeast of France through alliances. In pursuing his southern French interests, Henry made political alliances that bolstered his position in the region and particularly against Toulouse. This is evident from the marriages that he arranged for his children. In 1170 he married his daughter Eleanor to King Alphonso VIII of Castile. This prevented the French king from continuing his influence in the region as established by his marriage to Constance of Castille, which had been developed to counter the Aragonese-Barcelonese hostility towards Toulouse.¹²¹ The marriage of Eleanor and Alphonso also increased the political weight that Henry carried in this region when he was asked in 1176 to arbitrate on disputed border territories between Castile and Navarre.¹²²

¹¹⁹ T. Keefe, 'England and the Angevin domains, 1137-1204', in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith eds., *New Cambridge Medieval History volume 4, c. 1024-c. 1098, part two* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 570.

¹²⁰ Matthew Strickland's recent book *Henry the Young King, 1155-1183* (New Haven, 2016) is a seminal study of Henry the Young King.

¹²¹ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 117.

¹²² Warren, *Henry II*, p. 143.

More importantly for the history of Witham, he sought an alliance with Humbert III of Maurienne (mentioned above), which was solidified by marriage negotiations for Henry's youngest son, John, to marry Humbert's eldest daughter and heiress Alice.¹²³ The count was a powerful neighbour of Provence who held considerable lands in Savoy and, importantly, controlled all the western passes across the Alps.¹²⁴ It made good political sense for Henry to seek a good relationship with the count because Humbert was an opponent rather than an ally of Raymond V of Toulouse.¹²⁵ Humbert controlled the land to the east of Provence and seeking an alliance with Maurienne would secure another regional ally for the Angevin king.

The marriage negotiations appear in several contemporary chronicles and these were concluded at Montferrat in early February 1173.¹²⁶ The count had no sons and so the conditions of the marriage were very favourable towards Henry. They were described by Roger of Wendover in his *Flores Historiarum*, and similarly repeated by Matthew of Paris in his *Chronica*.¹²⁷ In a chapter entitled 'Of the marriage of John the king's son and of the election to the see of Canterbury', Roger states,

A.D. 1173 King Henry obtained in marriage for his son John, named Lack-land, the eldest daughter of Hubert count of Maurienne, by his wife the widow of Henry duke of Saxony, though she was hardly seven years old.¹²⁸

Roger Howden expands upon this episode in both the *Chronica* and the *Gesta* and provides a detailed description of the conditions of the marriage.

¹²³ Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 30.

¹²⁴ Keefe, 'England and the Angevin domains', p. 570.

¹²⁵ C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Early History of the House of Savoy (1000-1233)* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 338.

¹²⁶ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 221.

¹²⁷ Matthew Paris based his *Chronica* upon Roger of Wendover's earlier *Flores Historiarum*. It also served as a basis for Paris's own *Flores Historiarum*, which was an abridged version of his *Chronica*.

¹²⁸ 'Anno Domini MCLXXIII. Rex Anglorum Henricus Johanni filio suo, cognomento Sine-terra, vix septennem filiam Huberti comitis de Moriana primogenitam, quam ex reclita Henrici ducis Saxioniae sustulerat, in sponsam accepit.' Roger of Wendover, *Flores*, p. 369. For the English translation, see Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, p. 23.

According to Howden, around Christmas 1173 Henry was at Chinon in Anjou and then proceeded with the Young King to Montferrat in Auvergne. Here they were met by Humbert, the earl of Maurienne, ‘who brought with him Alice, his eldest daughter.’¹²⁹ The elder Henry then procured Alice as the future wife of his son John ‘for the sum of four thousand marks of silver.’¹³⁰ Through this marriage Alice would bring the ‘whole earldom of Maurienne’ if Humbert did not have a son in the future by his wife.¹³¹ Humbert only had two daughters at this time and if he did have a son, John and Alice would receive a portion of the Maurienne possessions. Howden lists the lands that the couple and all their heirs would receive in perpetuity:

Rousillon, with all his [the count of Maurienne’s] jurisdiction therein, with all its appurtenances, and the whole of the county of Le Belay, as he then held the same; likewise, Pierrecastel, with all its appurtenances, and the whole of the valley of Novalese, and Chambery, with all its appurtenances, and Aix, and Aspermont, and Rochet, and Montemayor, and Chambres, with the borough and the whole jurisdiction thereof, All these lying on this side of the mountains, with all their appurtenances, he granted to them immediately for ever. Beyond the mountains, also, he gave and granted to them and to their heirs forever, the whole of Turin, with all its appurtenances, the college of Canorech, with all its appurtenances, and all the fees which the earls of Cannes held of him, and their services and fealties. Also in the earldom of Castro, he granted similar fees, fealties, and services. In the Val D’Aosta

¹²⁹ ‘...et illuc venit ad eos Hubertus comes de mauriana, et adduxit secum Aalays filiam suam.’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 41. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 362. See also the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, which describes this incident in very similar language, pp. 35-41.

¹³⁰ ‘Quam rex pater comparavit pro quinque millibus marcis argenti ad opus Johannis filii sui.’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 41. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 362.

¹³¹ ‘...cum toto comitatus de Moriana, si praedictur comes filium ex uxore sua non habuerit.’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 41. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 362.

he granted to them Castiglione, which the viscount D'Aosta held of him, to hold the same for ever against all men.¹³²

Along with these considerable lands, John and Alice would also receive lands and rights around Grenoble,

Moreover, he granted to them and to their heirs for ever, all the right that he had in the county of Grenoble, and whatsoever he might acquire therein.¹³³

The provisions of this marriage alliance are significant. If Humbert had no son, John would control the entirety of Maurienne, and even if the count of Maurienne did produce a male heir John would still acquire significant holdings on both the north and south side of the Alps.

It is difficult to overemphasise the strategic importance of the Maurienne lands. While they were not necessarily as immediately profitable as the key trading regions and ports in Aquitaine or Toulouse, the possessions of the count of Maurienne encompassed important passes across the Alps. The marriage between John and Alice would provide an Angevin foothold into not just what is now south-eastern France but also northern Italy. The significance of this land was apparent to contemporaries. Robert de Torigni described the proposed marriage arrangement as follows:

¹³² ‘...Russilun cum toto mandato suo sive pertinentiis suis omnibus; et Pecastel cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et totum comitatum Belicensem, sicut eum habet, illus concedit; et totam vallem Novalesiae; et Camberiacum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et Aiz, et Asperum Montem, et Rochetam, et Montem Majorem, et Cameram cum burgo et toto mandato. Ista Omnia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis eis incontinenti citra montes concedit in perpetuum. Ultra montes quoque illis et haeredibus eorum donat et concedit in perpetuum, Taurinum totum cum omnibus pertinentiis euis, et Omnia feoda quae tenant de ipso comites de Canaveis, et eorum servitis et fidelitates. In comitatu quoque de Castro Amunt similiter feuds, fidelitates et servitia. In valle Augustensi concedit eis Castellionium, in perpetuum contra omnes homines, quod de illo tenet vicecomes Augustae.’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, pp. 41-42. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 363. Turin came under the control of the counts of Maurienne/Savoy through the marriage of Adelaide of Susa with Otto of Savoy in 1040.

¹³³ ‘Praeterea concedit eis, et haeredibus eorum in perpetuum, quicquid juris habeat in toto comitatu Gratianopolitano, et quicquid in eo adquirat poterit.’ Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 42. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 363.

Humbert, count of Maurienne, sent [Benedict], abbot of Saint Michael de la Cluse, to Henry, king of England, to settle a marriage between the king's son John and his own daughter, offering with her the whole of his possessions. This nobleman was the son of count Amatus, and exceedingly wealthy in the possession of cities and castles; and no one can go into Italy without passing through his lands.¹³⁴

The lands of Maurienne would mean that John and the Angevin dynasty would control the major passes over the Alps into Italy.

Through this marriage Henry not only secured an ally against Toulousan interests. He would secure for his family and descendants a foothold upon a key tactical region that stretched from the upper Rhone valley to Lake Geneva.¹³⁵ Gerald of Wales in *De principis instructione* described Henry's desires to expand his realm beyond his lands in France, even unto Italy and Rome. Although these comments appear in negative terms, he specifically mentions the Maurienne valley:

Nor, abusing the easy and simple nature of the holy man, king Louis, had he by his courage extended the sphere of his power to the empire of France only, but even also to that of Rome, invited as well by the whole of Italy, as more frequently by the city of Rome itself, by reason of the daily warfare, and the inexorable discord, which had arisen between the emperor Frederick and his subjects; having gained a way for

¹³⁴ 'Humbertus, comes Moriennae, misit abbatem Sancti Michaelis de Clusa ad Henricum regem Anglorum, pro componendo matrimonio inter Johannem filium regis et filiam suam, offerens ei totam terram suam. Fuit enim ideam comes filius Amati comitis, et ditissimus in possession urbium et castellorum; nec aliquis potest adire Italian, nisi per terram ipsius.' Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, p. 250. For the English translation, see Robert de Torigni, *The chronicles of Robert de Monte*, p. 776.

¹³⁵ A. L. Poole, *From Domesday to Magna Carta* (Oxford, 1955), p. 330.

himself, though not having effectually preserved it, for this purpose, through the valley of Maurienne and of the Alps.¹³⁶

Gerald, it can be suggested, connected the proposed marriage alliance with Maurienne with a design by Henry to extend his sphere of influence into the Italian peninsula. Henry's interest in Italy is made clearer by the fact that in 1177 he arranged a marriage for his third daughter Joan to William, King of Sicily.¹³⁷

There is little reason to doubt Henry's sincerity in 1173 for the marriage alliance. Roger Howden described the process of oath-taking at the conclusion of the marriage negotiations. The earl of Maurienne 'and the count of Devennes, and nearly all the other nobles of his territory made oath; to the effect that the earl of Maurienne would inviolably observe the said covenants...'¹³⁸ The penalty would be that the oath-swearers would offer themselves as hostages until the earl satisfied the arrangement. Moreover, the marriage alliance had ecclesiastical support. Archbishop Peter of Tarentaise, Bishop Ardune of Cevennes, Bishop William of Maurienne and the abbot of the abbey of Saint Michael all promised that 'they would excommunicate the person of the earl, and place his lands under interdict if the earl should not observe the agreement so made between them.'¹³⁹ They would also carry this out

¹³⁶ 'Nec solum ad Francroum, simplicis ac sancti viri Ludovici regis abutens commoditate, verum etiam ad Romanum imperium, occasione werrae diutinae et inexorabilis discordiae inter imperatorem Frathericum et suos obortae, tam Italia tota quam urbe Romulea saepius invitatus, comparata quidem sibi ad hoc Morianae vallis et Alpium via, sed non efficaciter obtenta, animositate sua ambitum extendit.' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 8, p. 157. For the English translation, see Stevenson, *Church Historians*, p. 138.

¹³⁷ Poole, *Domesday*, p. 331.

¹³⁸ '...omnes isti praeonominati juraverunt quod comes Maurianensis hanc conventionem firmiter servabit.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 43. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 364.

¹³⁹ '...de mandato comitis firmiter promiserunt, quod ad beneplacitum regis, et quando voluerit, personam comitis excommunicabunt, et terram ejus sub interdicto ponent, si comes hanc pactionem inter eos factam non servaverit.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 43. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 364.

against the earl's supporters and Henry also swore with witnesses to observe the covenant.¹⁴⁰

After a few days envoys from Maurienne including the Marquis of Montferrat and his son returned to Henry and swore an oath on the Gospels to ensure that the earl observed the agreement made and to offer themselves as hostages if the earl departed from the agreed clauses.¹⁴¹

In the end, however, the marriage never took place. Alice died soon after the agreement was settled. There had been a clause included in the agreement that meant that if Alice should die John would marry the count's second daughter,

...in case his eldest daughter above-named [Alice] should happen to die, whatever he had granted with the eldest, he did thereby grant the whole of the same, as therein written, together with this second daughter, to the son of the illustrious king of England.¹⁴²

It appears that Henry declined to marry John to the count's younger daughter and John was betrothed in 1176 to his future wife Isabel of Gloucester. Warren argues that the marriage alliance was a matter of convenience and that Henry's interest in an alliance with Maurienne waned because it was no longer seen as useful. The proposed marriage alliance had been intended to 'bring pressure upon the count of Toulouse; but the threat of it had been sufficient

¹⁴⁰ 'Idem facient de personis hominum comitis, et terris eorum...Dominus rex hanc fecit conventionemet concessionem praescriptam cum comite Maurianensi, et eam de mandato ipsius tenendam juraverunt comes Willelmus de Mandeville, Willelmus comes de Arundel, Radulfus de Faia, rillemus de Curci, Willelmus de Humez, Fulco Painel, Robertus de Briuecurt, Willelmus Maingot, Theobalds Chabot, Willelmus de Munluszun, Petrus de Muncassun, Gaufridus Forestarius.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 43.

¹⁴¹ 'Qui juraverunt tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, uod conventionem factam inter regem et comitem, de filio regis et filia comitis, sicut legitime facta, scripta et intellect est, facient firmiter comitem observare.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 44.

¹⁴² 'Si autem dilia sua primogenital supradicta in fata concesserit, quaecunque cum primogenital concessit, illustris regis Angliae filio, cum secunda filia sua, eadem sicut scriptum est cuncta concedit.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 42. For the English translation, see Roger Howden, *Annales*, volume 1, p. 366.

to induce the count of Toulouse to offer his homage.¹⁴³ The arrangement of the marriage between John and Alice was very much part of Henry's political activities in the region. Following the marriage negotiations, both Henry the Father and Henry the Young King had gone to Limoges, where Raymond of Toulouse (or Raymond, earl of Saint Gilles) came to the kings and swore homage to them and Richard, the earl of Poitou, for Toulouse.¹⁴⁴ Count Humbert of Maurienne was present at this meeting.¹⁴⁵

Unbeknownst to Henry, the terms of the marriage alliance would be the catalyst for the rebellion of Henry's sons in 1173 to 1174. As part of the possessions John would acquire through the marriage, Henry gifted him the properties of Chinon, Loudun and Mirebeau.¹⁴⁶ This caused Henry the Young King discontent since 'he was a crowned king and had received the homages of England, Normandy and Anjou, yet his father had not assigned him any lands...'¹⁴⁷ Henry the Young King therefore went to Louis VII of France, requested the aid of the French King, and the subsequent rebellion against Henry's reign erupted.

The foundation of Witham and other charterhouses such as Le Liget suggest, however, that Henry retained his interest in expanding his sphere of influence in southern and eastern France. It is also significant that John and Alice would acquire the count's interests in Grenoble, regardless of Humbert's production of a male heir. The lands surrounding Grenoble were, and are, the centre of Carthusian monasticism. The Grande Chartreuse is

¹⁴³ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 221.

¹⁴⁴ '...somes de Santo Aegidio venit illuc ad eors, et devnit ibi homo utriusque regis Angliae, et Richardi comitis Pictaviae, de Tolsa tenenda de eis jure haereditario, per servitium veniendi ad eos ad summonitionem eorum, et moram faciendi cum eis in servitio eorum per quadraginta dies sine alquo custamento illoru, sed si illi voluerint eum habere diutius in servitio suo, illi invenient ei expensas suas rationabiles.' Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 45.

¹⁴⁵ Keefe, 'England and the Angevin domains', p. 570.

¹⁴⁶ 'Et cum rex vellet ei dare castellum de Chinum, et castellum de Loudun, et castellum de Mirabel...' Latin from Roger Howden, *Chronica*, volume 2, p. 45.

¹⁴⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 117.

located in the mountains to the north east of Grenoble and the monks historically had very close relations with the bishop there.¹⁴⁸ The circumstances therefore existed for Henry to become more closely acquainted with the religious culture of this region and in particular the Carthusian order. The founding of Witham perhaps formed a link between the king and the south-east of France by creating a identifiable relationship with an influential and well-respected monastic order. This might provide additional depth to the traditional explanation for Henry's foundation of a Carthusian house which emphasises in a singular fashion of Thomas Becket and Henry's reconciliation to Church. Becket is almost inescapable in the history of the foundation of Witham, but as has been shown this narrative is not as clear cut or simple as has previously been stated.

The case study of the historical literature surrounding Witham serves as a caution for future studies. It shows how the image of a community became subsumed under untested conventions in a manner that consequently altered the later consideration of the group. The historiographical tradition has dictated that this house and its inhabitants were intimately linked with Thomas Becket, the source of which has been Gerald of Wales and, to a lesser extent, Ralph Niger; this tradition has then been repeated by subsequent historians, perhaps because, despite the lack of substantial evidence to support this assertion, there is very little other immediate motivations behind the foundation of the house and no indications of these appear in contemporary chronicles. The argument is not that Witham was not founded as a result of Becket's death. There are certainly some indications that contemporaries regarded the foundation of this house as in part a means by which Henry may atone for his sins.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Hugh I of Grenoble is a particularly clear example of the close Grenoble-Chartreuse relationship. The Grande Chartreuse only came to be founded through his patronage and support, as is well attested in Carthusian historiography.

There is, however, a lack of a demonstrable and direct link between the foundation of Witham and Henry's formal penances for the murder of Thomas Becket, as asserted by Gerald of Wales. This is supported by the fact that neither the accounts of the foundation of Waltham nor those of Amesbury, those houses supposedly founded alongside Witham, give any indications of their link with Henry's penance at Avranches. Moreover, the variations of the tradition that are found, such as those within the French historiographical tradition, mean that it is not entirely clear what version of the tradition might be the most authentic.

It is clear that Henry's pattern of religious patronage changed after 1170. While it has been suggested that the Carthusians were chosen by Henry as an object of his patronage due to their involvement in the Becket conflict, the political events in the years prior to Witham's foundation must also be considered. Henry's efforts to assert his authority in the lands of southern France beyond his immediate borders created a strong link with the region in which the Grande Chartreuse lay, a link brought about by the proposed marriage between Alice, the daughter of Humbert III of Maurienne, and John in 1173. These temporal concerns cannot be dismissed as a contributing factor to the introduction of this hitherto alien order to Somerset. That the Carthusians reputation may have preceded them will be demonstrated in what follows.

Satire, Polemic, and Apology: Responses to the Carthusians at Large and in England

The substantial amount of literary evidence surrounding the Carthusians in England is a strong indicator of the significant attention that the order received in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries from their contemporaries. There are two main groups of works composed by authors active in England during this period (c.1178-c.1220) that discuss Carthusian monks. The first are polemical and satirical works written in the second half of the twelfth century: John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Nigel Longchamps' *Speculum stultorum*, Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, and Gerald of Wales' *Speculum ecclesiae*. This group of works all consider the Carthusians broadly as an international institution rather than making direct reference to Witham and the Carthusians specifically in England. Conversely, the second group of texts do refer directly to the Carthusians at Witham and were predominantly written as hagiographical works devoted to Hugh of Lincoln and written after his death in 1200. These comprise of Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita*, Gerald of Wales' *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, and the *Metrical Life of St Hugh*, ascribed to Henry of Avranches. To these works can be added Richard of Devizes' *Chronica*, which directly discusses Witham within its prologue.¹ None of these authors were Carthusians.

While it is the second group of texts only that directly refer to the Carthusian experience in England within the chronological bounds of this thesis, it is important to consider the first group as well because they provide evidence for the broader

¹ This prologue is found in *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, pp. 1-3.

attitudes to the order by writers active in England. An examination of all of these works speaks to the reception of the order in England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and specifically the characterisation of the order and its practices and purposes.

Such an examination is made more important by the fact that the position that the Carthusians maintained in the mind of their contemporaries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not necessarily clear-cut, especially given their unusual practices that emphasised both institutional and individual solitude. Late twelfth- and thirteenth-century authors were the inheritors of a positive reception of the order that immediately followed the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse in 1084, as exemplified by the testimony of monastic writers of the earlier twelfth century such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable. Earlier witnesses generally depicted the Carthusians as a positive force and an institution whose virtues they could contrast with the corruption of both contemporary monasticism and the Roman Church. Nevertheless, and in this context significantly, the praise awarded to the order was not without qualification, especially in connection to the rigours of solitary life.

There are, in the current survey, a disparate variety of literary genres to be considered, including hagiographical works, *specula*, satirical poetry, and polemical tracts. While these works are very different in nature, they are connected by their examination of the nature of monasticism, a discussion of the values that a monk should embody and how the different traditions of monasticism that emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries might relate to one another. This applies even to hagiographical works relating to Hugh of Lincoln where, although they were composed with the intention to

praise Hugh's saintly qualities and to present a positive record of his life, they cannot be separated from a discourse on monastic virtues.

Within the general body of works to be considered the Carthusians emerge as an essential part of the critique of monasticism. The discussion of the Carthusians, should, however in the context of the authors' intentions. It is important, then, to identify not just where and when the Carthusians were mentioned by these authors but to examine how the Carthusians were regarded within the specific contexts of these works and the background behind these comments, particularly the preceding traditions of commentary on the order.

Moreover, the influence of these different descriptions of the Carthusians upon each other, whether contemporary or not, warrants examination to explore whether the descriptions of the Carthusian order found within the works were independent from one another or merely a stereotypical model adopted as part of a shared tradition of monastic commentary. This is a particular issue for the first group of writers: the polemical and satirical works of the late twelfth century written by John, Nigel, Walter, and Gerald. The striking similarities amongst and between the satirical works of the late twelfth century, and their authors, have led to the suggestion that they represent a cohesive literary category in themselves.² In itself, this judgement has much to recommend it, but with respect to the Carthusians it is important that the assessment of their depiction treats each author individually.

² Mozley and Raymo, the editors of the *Speculum stultorum*, for instance, described Nigel's work as being part of a tradition of monastic satire that they called 'The Review of the Religious Orders.' Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 6.

The first work to be considered, the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury completed in 1159, predates the foundation of Witham by twenty years. Later familiarity with the work amongst other English commentators on the Carthusians and John's central position within the overall genre of monastic satire makes it an essential starting point.³ Nigel Longchamps, or Nigel of Canterbury, whose *Speculum stultorum* was written in the late 1170s or early 1180s, follows.⁴ The next author to be considered is Walter Map, who included the Carthusians within his survey of contemporary monastic orders in his *De nugis curialium*, probably written in the 1180s and subject to later revisions and editing.⁵ The final work is Gerald of Wales' *Speculum ecclesiae*, written in around 1220.⁶

These four figures were not only near-contemporaries to one another but also had similar social backgrounds and career trajectories, especially in the case of John, Walter, and Gerald. They were all secular clerks who were active in the royal or ecclesiastical courts of the mid to late twelfth century and later went on to occupy not

³ For biographical information on John of Salisbury and for a description of his life and works, see C. J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury* (Tempe, 2005), M. Wilks ed., *The World of John of Salisbury* (Oxford, 1984), and the various articles of C. Grellard and F. Lachaud eds., *A companion to John of Salisbury* (Leiden, 2015), especially Grellard and Lachaud, 'Introduction', pp. 1-28. Also see D. Luscombe, 'Salisbury, John of (late 1110s–1180)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14849>, accessed 25 Jan 2016]; A. G. Rigg, *A history of Anglo-Latin Literature* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 73-76; and the introduction of the Nederman edition of the *Policraticus* (1990), pp. xv-xxvii.

⁴ For biographical information on Nigel Longchamps see A. G. Rigg, 'Canterbury, Nigel of (c.1135–1198?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20191>, accessed 25 Jan 2016]; Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 102-105; Regenos, *Daun Burnel*, pp. 3-9; and Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, pp. 1-2.

⁵ For biographical information on Walter Map see Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 88-93; J. Hinton, 'Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium: its plan and composition', *PMLA*, 32 (1917), pp. 81-132; and C. N. L. Brooke, 'Map, Walter (d.1209/10)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18015>, accessed 25 Jan 2016].

⁶ For biographical information on Gerald of Wales see R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982); M. T. Hayden, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 24 (1935), pp. 96-110; R. Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales (c.1146–1220x23)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10769>, accessed 25 Jan 2016]; and Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 93-96.

insignificant positions in the Church hierarchy. These were men educated in the burgeoning cathedral schools and universities of Northern France where they received an education in the Liberal Arts, and, though not in all cases, theology, that provided them with the skills to administer the growing ecclesiastical and royal courts and also with the literary tools to compose satirical works directed towards the criticism of the ills of the day.⁷ The inheritance of the classical genre of satire and mirrors for princes, as found in the works of Juvenal and Horace, was particularly significant in this respect.⁸ In their deployment of these literary forms, the four twelfth- and thirteenth-century authors under scrutiny in this chapter aimed not only to criticise but also to promote improvement. The shared educational background between John, Walter and Gerald, and, in more general terms, the monastic Nigel Longchamps, had a strong influence upon their subsequent portrayals of the Carthusian order.

⁷ With the development of secular and ecclesiastical bureaucracies came the need for a very literate and educated class of clerks to be employed within these administrations. These men were sometimes characterised as ‘curiales’ or ‘courtiers’ but one of their main identifiers was their embodiment of new forms of learning and the expansion of a Latin education. The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw a revival of the study of classical sources. Described by Haskins as the ‘Twelfth-century Renaissance’, this period was one in which classical sources, both previously accessible or rediscovered, were studied in greater depth and more widespread. This revival of classical sources was seen in the wide reading of Latin authors and study of grammar and rhetoric. The expansion of education in the schools and burgeoning universities also had a huge impact upon the field of theology as is seen with the rise of scholasticism and the emergence of figures such as Peter Abelard, Peter Cantor, and Baldwin of Forde. C. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cleveland, 1957) remains a classic work on the literary and cultural changes that occurred in the twelfth century. See more recently, I. O’Daly ‘An Assessment of the Political Symbolism of the City of Rome in the Writings of John of Salisbury’, *Medieval Encounters*, 17 (2011). C. S. Jaeger’s work *Scholars and Courtiers: Intellectuals and Society in the Medieval West* (Aldershot, 2002) is also essential reading as is R. L. Benson and G. Constable eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the twelfth century* (Toronto, 1991).

⁸ Within this context of Latin learning the cultural importance of Rome and the idea of being Roman increased. In addition to the study of Latin texts there was a concurrent imitation of Roman culture, including the imitation of Roman art, ‘the revival of Roman rhetorical practices, the revivification of Roman law, and a renewed interest in Roman philosophical and historical sources.’ It was not just the revival of Roman texts then, but of Roman concepts and ideas as well. Roman law was most famously studied at Bologna but its influence is seen elsewhere in the emphasis on Roman rhetorical practices, both literary and verbal. O’Daly, ‘City of Rome’, p. 514.

The main critics of monasticism in the later twelfth century were these increasingly outside figures, secular clerks rather than monks. The target of their works was what they considered to be the corruption of the Church, both secular and monastic. As far as the monastic world was concerned, all of these satirical works operate with basic division between the larger, and corrupt, orders, and the smaller ones, such as the Carthusians and the Grandmontines, who were generally seen as having maintained their purity. Sharp criticism was reserved for those monks who were considered to have failed in their religious duty. The Cistercians received particular criticism because they themselves were supposed to have been a reformation of the Benedictine order and were not considered, by the later twelfth century, to have maintained their original values.⁹ When Cistercians acted like Benedictines they could be accused of hypocrisy.¹⁰

In addition to sharing similar backgrounds and discussing comparable issues within their works, John, Walter, Gerald and Nigel were also linked through personal or professional ties, where these can be discerned, such as the clear relationship that existed between Gerald and Walter.¹¹ In terms of access to each another's works, it is probable that Nigel Walter and Gerald had some knowledge of John's *Policraticus*.

The *Policraticus*, *Speculum ecclesiae*, *De nugis curialium*, and *Speculum stultorum* exhibit similar positions with respect to the Carthusians in two broad areas. First, an acceptance that they were much to be admired, especially in relation to other monastic

⁹ For an overview of criticism laid against the Cistercians, see G. Constable, *The reformation of the twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 32-34.

¹⁰ E. Coleman, 'Nasty habits – satire and the medieval monk', *History Today*, 43 (1993), p. 38.

¹¹ The closeness of this relationship is not entirely certain. For a discussion of the nature of this relationship see L. Thorpe, 'Walter Map and Gerald of Wales', *Medium Aevum*, 47 (1978), pp. 6-21.

foundations, and particularly the Cistercians. The Carthusians were considered to have rejected the vices which other institutions were considered to embody, such as avarice. Second, amongst the authors, a personal familiarity with, or contemporary knowledge of the order, prompting independent judgement rather than the simple repetition of traditional tropes.

Polemicists and satirists

John of Salisbury

Chronologically the first writer to consider is John and his *Policraticus*, one of the most prominent works of political thought from the medieval period.¹² The product itself of the development of government, the *Policraticus* considered the behaviour of the court, both secular and ecclesiastical.¹³ More specifically, it considers man's 'alienation from his true self by the ways of life found in the higher ranks of society.'¹⁴ The central books form a treatise on kingship and bureaucracy but the final two books, seven and eight, focus on the vices of contemporary behaviour. In these books, John establishes that the Epicurean desire for freedom from sadness and trouble, which was fundamentally admirable, had been marred by the introduction of

¹² Rigg described it as '...a serious work on political morality.' Rigg, *Anglo-Latin literature*, p. 75. The *Policraticus* and John's political theory is the subject of an extensive corpus of works. For instance, see K. L. Forhan, 'A Twelfth-Century "Bureaucrat" and the Life of the Mind: The Political Theory of John of Salisbury', *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, 10 (1985), pp. 65-74. Also see the work of Cary Nederman, including C. Nederman, 'The Aristotelian Doctrine of the Mean and John of Salisbury's Concept of Liberty', *Vivarium*, 24 (1986), pp. 128-142. Also see Q. Tanner, 'John of Salisbury, the *Policraticus* and Political Thought', *Humanitas*, 19 (2006), pp. 133-157.

¹³ R. W. Southern, *Medieval humanism and other studies* (Oxford, 1970), p. 176.

¹⁴ H. Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London, 1950), p. 23.

pleasure as a driving force for human life.¹⁵ This desire for temporal wealth and position led to the dominance of vices such as pride, envy, avarice, and ambition.¹⁶ In the seventh book, John gives numerous examples of the corrupt lives of clerks who, driven by avarice, ‘turn into parasites’ as they are reliant on their lords for money and subsistence.¹⁷

John discusses the Carthusians and Grandmontines within these descriptions of the breakdown of the purity of the Church in chapter twenty-three of book seven, entitled,

The Carthusians in that they hold avarice in check with the reins of moderation, and that new order of Grandmont in that its scorn of all mundane affairs and its lack of thought for the morrow spurn all things and exclude avarice, are the farthest removed from the stigma and name of hypocrites; who the secular priests are and those of the regular orders; the rule of active and of idle monks; the end of hypocrisy.¹⁸

In this chapter, John sees them as worthy of praise, specifically identifying the main virtue of these orders as being their lack of avarice. They were, along with the Grandmontines, at the ‘summit of ancient virtues’ because they ‘display the greatest caution and conscientiousness in avoiding the name and stigma of hypocrites.’¹⁹ For John, the label of hypocrite applies to those who hide their ambitions, pretending that

¹⁵ Liebeschutz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, p. 28.

¹⁶ Liebeschutz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, p. 28.

¹⁷ Liebeschutz, *Mediaeval Humanism*, p. 31.

¹⁸ ‘Quod Carthusienses, dum moderationis habent avaritiam cohibent, et Magni Montis nova religio, dum omnia mundane contemnens, et de crostino non cogitans repellit omnia, avaritiam excludit, ab hypocritarum nota et nomine longins absunt: et qui sunt saeculares aut religiosi: et quae regalia activorum, et quae otiosorum: et quis sit finis hypocriseos.’ *PL* 199, col. 698. For the English translation, see *Policraticus* (1972), p. 281. For the textual history of the *Policraticus*, see C. J. Nederman’s edition (1990), pp. xviii-xix.

¹⁹ ‘Hypocritarum autem nomen et notam cautissimo et fidelissime declinant Carthusienses. Et Magni Montis nova profession, in antiquae virtutis culmine, Salvatore praevio, solidata.’ *PL* 199, col. 698. For the English translation see *Policraticus* (1972), p. 281.

they do not want self-gain and promotion. Moreover, the Carthusians have managed to avoid not only this label of hypocrite but also have avoided the vice of avarice because they practice self-control and moderation:

...they have indeed fixed limits to their desires, nay even to their necessities, hold in check avarice with the reins of moderation, and at times even deprive themselves of necessities for fear that avarice under cover of necessity may plot against them.²⁰

While John notes that all monks are capable of correct behaviour in their order, whether they are Carthusian, Grandmontines, Cistercian, or Cluniac, and are praiseworthy for this, the character of the Carthusians and Grandmontines mean that they avoid two fundamental vices: ambition and avarice.

While neither ambition nor avarice were ignored as vices before the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the social and cultural changes that emerged during these centuries increased the focus on these vices within satirical and moral criticism.²¹ Ambition was particularly heavily linked to the changes in education. This was, as Alexander Murray memorably put it, the ‘golden age for careerism via the schools’ and the resulting pursuit of ambition was seen as a fault.²² John spends a considerable amount of the *Policraticus* discussing the vice of ambition, for instance in chapter seventeen

²⁰ ‘Siquidem Carthusienses, cupiditati suae, imo necessitate, limites praefixerunt, et moderationis habenis omnem avaritiam conhibent, et interdum ipsi necessitate aliquid subtrahunt, ne sub obtentu illius quidpiam avaritia molitur.’ *PL* 199, col. 698. For the English translation see *Policraticus* (1972), p. 281.

²¹ For work on virtue and vice in the medieval period, the work of Richard Newhauser is seminal. See particularly *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007) and *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge, 2000).

²² A. Murray, *Reason and society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002), p. 220.

of book seven, entitled ‘Of ambition, and that passion accompanies foolishness; and what is the origin of tyranny and of the diverse paths of the ambitious.’²³

John also identifies avarice as a key corrupting vice found amongst his contemporaries that the Carthusians had managed to avoid. In the eleventh century denunciations of avarice had been attached principally to the act of simony but, with the gradual monetisation of the economy, avarice became increasingly associated with money as well.²⁴ Avarice is the ‘incapacity to conform with moderation’ and O’Daly sees John’s constant concern for moderation throughout the *Policraticus* as being derived by his engagement with the Roman Stoic tradition that emphasised an internal orientation towards moderation at all times.²⁵ The Carthusians, for John, acted moderately at all times and were therefore removed from avarice. This vice was especially dangerous because it was ‘not simply a perversion of Christian virtues, but a very perversion of the Christian order.’²⁶ As the importance of money within society increased, it became a threat to Christian culture since ‘...the elevation of money as a thing of worship threatened to overturn God’s position.’²⁷ John throughout the *Policraticus* presents the Church as becoming filled with simoniacs and the corrupting influence of money.

²³ ‘De ambitione, et quod cupiditas stultitiam comitatur: et quis sit orius tyrannidis: et de diversis vitiis ambitiosorum’, *PL* 199 cols. 674-678. For the English translation, see *Policraticus* (1990), pp. 162-167.

²⁴ L. K. Little, ‘Pride goes before Avarice: social change and the vices in Latin Christendom.’ *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), pp. 20-21.

²⁵ O’Daly, ‘City of Rome’, pp. 524-525.

²⁶ O’Daly, ‘City of Rome’, p. 526.

²⁷ O’Daly, ‘City of Rome’, p. 526.

For the house of prayer is made, God forbidding, into a house of business affairs; and the temple founded upon the rock of assistance is transformed into a den of robbers.²⁸

While the virtue of the Church itself was not diminished by these acts, it was, however, controlled by hypocrites who desire only power and actively encourage secular authorities to deprive the Church of its rights, including by the purchase of ecclesiastical office. In contrast to these people, the Carthusians were the ‘vanquishers of avarice’.²⁹

By withdrawing from the world, the Carthusians avoided vices connected engagement with the world. In their established moderate behaviour, rejection of worldly ambition and cultivation of austerity, the Carthusians acted in a way that John believes the rest of the Church would benefit from imitating. The Carthusians are a counterbalance in the *Policraticus* to highlight what the Church should embody and what it lacks. John’s praise of the order must therefore be situated within his thesis of the corruption of the Church and the scale of the challenges presented by ambition and avarice.

Nigel Longchamps

Nigel Longchamps was similarly concerned with the corruption of clerical behaviour. Longchamps stands apart from the other subjects of this chapter as a monk, rather than a secular clerk, but he had the same concerns about the Church and was involved

²⁸ ‘Domus namque orationis, negotiationis, Domino prohibente, facta est domus, et templum fundatum in lapide adjutorii, in latronum speluncam versum est.’ *PL* 199, col. 676. For the English translation see *Policraticus* (1990), p. 164.

²⁹ ‘...quasi avaritiae triumphatores...’ *PL* 199, col. 692. For the English translation, see *Policraticus* (1990), p. 168.

in the same literary traditions. It is likely that Nigel had access to a copy of the *Policraticus* when he was writing his work entitled *Tractatus contra curiales et officiales clericos*, in which he argued that the English clergy was corrupt.³⁰ Lachaud argues that Nigel probably used the *Policraticus* extensively in the section of this treatise that deal with false and ambitious clerks, especially from chapters eighteen and nineteen of book seven.³¹ Nigel's concern for the state of the clergy continued into his more famous work, the *Speculum stultorum*. This work is a satirical poem targeted at the Church and its institutions, including the schools. It concerns Brunel, an ass who wants to make his tail longer. He first goes to the schools but, finding no answers there, decides to become a monk. It is at this point of the poem that we find a description of various monastic orders that Brunel might want to join.

In describing the various virtues of these orders, Brunel emphasises the solitude of the Carthusian cell. In becoming a Carthusian and living in a charterhouse:

A cell I'll have in which to live alone, no roommate nor a servant shall I have.
I'll sing alone, alone shall eat my meals, and without lamp I'll find my bed
alone.³²

This repetition of 'alone' is stark in the Latin with the repeated use of *solus*:

I'll always have a three-room cell alone, in which there'll never step a foot but
mine.³³

³⁰ F. Lachaud, 'Filiation and context: the medieval afterlife of the *Policraticus*', in C. Grellard and F. Lachaud eds., *A companion to John of Salisbury* (Leiden, 2015), p. 385.

³¹ Lachaud, 'Filiation and context', p. 386.

³² 'Cella mihi dabitur quam solam solus habebō, Nemo mihi socius, nemo minister erit. Solus enim psallam solusque cibaria sumam, et sine luce meum solus adibo torum.' Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 80. For the English translation, see Regenos, *Daun Burnel*, p. 109.

³³ 'Semper solus ero cella retinente trimembi, in qua continuo pes meus alter erit.' Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 80. For the English translation, see Regenos, *Daun Burnel*, p. 109.

For Nigel, the defining feature of the Carthusians is this ‘aloneness’ but he also gives details of other aspects of their lives, specifically their asceticism and fasting; they eat only bread and water three times a week and do not eat meat except on holy days. Moreover, they do not perform Mass frequently. They only perform it ‘if they have time and so desire.’³⁴ In the end, however, Brunel decides to create his own monastic order instead, taking the best part of each order. Ironically, the best part of each order is what he considers to be the most luxurious or comfortable. The lack of performance of Mass appears again in Brunel’s final creation of his monastic order. Given that Brunel creates his order based upon the luxuries or comforts of other monastic orders, it is a given that Nigel considers their lack of Mass to be a negative, ‘Carthusians we ought to imitate because they think one Mass each month enough.’³⁵

It would be a mistake to characterise this poem as simply being a work of farce.³⁶ It is instead a polemical work directed against the state of the Church, which is seen by Nigel as having turned away from its previously pure state. He uses the work to criticise the excessive ambition shown by the clergy and the desire for worldly knowledge expressed within the schools. In the story, Brunel the ass is trying to exceed his natural limitations, absurdly wanting his tail to grow longer despite the impossibility of this act. He fails inevitably and humorously at every turn but the seriousness of the poem should not be underestimated. The final section of the poem

³⁴ ‘...si vacat atque volunt.’ Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 81. For the English translation, see Regenos, *Daun Burnel*, p. 110.

³⁵ ‘Cartusiae fratres in eo decerno sequendos missa quod in mense sufficit una satis.’ Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 85. For the English translation, see Regenos, *Daun Burnel*, p. 116.

³⁶ In considering *Speculum stultorum* to be part of an Anglo-Latin satirical tradition, Mozley and Raymo also declared that Nigel had not contributed to the tradition since ‘most of the charges brought by Nigel against the monks and the details he offers of their lives are also found in the works of Walter Map, John of Salisbury and Gerald of Wales.’ Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 6. In describing the work as derivative, historians risk masking the overall importance of the criticism of the Church by Nigel.

shows just how passionate Nigel was towards his belief that the Church had faltered. Now in Rome, Brunel descends into a tirade in which he attacks the tyranny of kings and their lust for power and possessions, brands bishops as false prophets and complains that 'like wolves the shepherds of today come forth, each one to kill the choicest of their flock'.³⁷ Nigel's comments on the Carthusians must be seen within this context: no one is exempt from criticism in his pursuit of the pure state of the Church. In structuring his criticisms of the Church as a 'mirror of the ass' or 'mirror of the fool', Nigel created a humorous means of teaching others the follies and corruption of the contemporary Church and the Carthusians were very much part of the same corrupt institution. The satirical and humorous nature of the text should not detract from but should rather underline Nigel's serious concerns about contemporary monasticism.³⁸

While writers of satirical works, such as Nigel, include considerable historical material, the importance of these aspects have been largely minimised; a heavily literary focus on the treatment of these works is more dominant in modern scholarship.³⁹ This applies equally in the literature surrounding Walter's *De nugis curialium*.

³⁷ 'More lupi veniunt pastores temporis hujus, mote gregem primum perdere quisque suum.' Mozley and Raymo, *Speculum stultorum*, p. 91.

³⁸ Coleman, 'Nasty habits', p. 37.

³⁹ J. Wood, 'Walter Map: the contents and context of *De nugis curialium*', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1985), p. 101. Davenport in fact criticised Antonia Gransden for treating them in her survey of medieval English historical writing 'as satirists and journalists who were historians only incidentally'. T. Davenport, 'Sex, Ghosts, and Dreams: Walter Map (1135?-1210?) and Gerald of Wales (1146-1223)', in R. Kennedy and S. Meecham-Jones eds., *Writers of the Reign of Henry II* (New York, 2006), pp. 134-135.

Walter Map

The *De nugis curialium* of Walter has been the subject of extensive literary debate. Walter's one surviving work, it was probably unfinished at the time of his death and has attracted considerable amount of attention due to its disordered construction. In these circumstances the historical context of the work is vital. One particular issue that surrounds *De Nugis* is the extent to which the surviving form of the work corresponds with Walter's overall intention, if he actually had one at all. It has been suggested by Thorpe that a later editor is responsible for the current organisation of the text, who copied them out in 'quite an arbitrary order' and created the chapter headings.⁴⁰ Thorpe strongly believed that the work is unfinished and that 'one almost comes to doubt whether Walter ever saw them as the rough material which might one day form a single properly coordinated book.'⁴¹

Whether Walter is the originator for the structure and organisation of *De Nugis* is significant because this would influence the conclusions that can be drawn from the work. On the one hand, there is a tendency to suggest that, since *De Nugis* was constructed as piecemeal from disparate extracts, the work had no overall intent and thereby lacked an overall argument. M. R. James argued against this in saying that by giving it the name *De nugis curialium*, Walter intended it to be a parody of the *Policraticus*, which has the subtitle 'Of the frivolities of courtiers and the footprints of

⁴⁰ Thorpe, 'Walter Map', p. 6.

⁴¹ Thorpe, 'Walter Map', p. 6.

philosophers' and as such could be considered to be part of the genre of mirrors for princes and a series of *exempla* for his readers.⁴²

In a similar fashion, the anecdotal nature of the text has been emphasised.⁴³ This interpretation of *De Nugis* as something trivial or meant as light entertainment also detracts from the reading of the work as a serious, if sometimes humorous, work of commentary. Levine vehemently argued against this depiction of *De nugis curialium* as trivial and stated that the work should be treated as a much more serious treatise. The title '*de nugis*' is misleading because not only does it make the work sound trivial but Walter did not even give the work this title, which breaks down James' argument that it was a parody of *Policraticus*.⁴⁴

Walter, in common with all the writers considered so far in this chapter, discusses the Carthusians as part of a survey of contemporary monastic orders. He did not explicitly compare the Carthusians to other orders, but considered each order in turn. He particularly criticised the Cistercians and his comments on this order have been described as 'a memorably acrid contribution to the many criticisms aimed at the Cistercians in the late twelfth century.'⁴⁵ In contrast, Walter identifies the Carthusians as being particularly admirable and emphasises their austerity. Walter then gives a

⁴² *De nugis curialium*, p. xxxiii. 'De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum', *PL* 199, col. 485.

⁴³ Edwards described the work as being 'the work of a gifted anecdotalist.' R. R. Edwards, 'Walter Map: authorship and the space of writing', *New Literary History*, 38 (2007), p. 274. Rigg similarly described *De nugis* as 'satirical and anecdotal'. Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, p. 88. In fact, James argued that the work was intended to be treated as entertainment, and stated that 'if one is entirely sober when one reads it, it is easily misunderstood. *De nugis curialium*, p. xlv. This opinion was shared by Kealey who said that '...certainly these trifles should not be taken too seriously.' E. J. Kealey, 'Review of M. R. James (ed.) *De nugis curialium*', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 71 (1985), p. 627.

⁴⁴ R. Levine, 'How to read Walter Map', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, XXIII (1988), p. 92.

⁴⁵ M. Sinex, 'Echoic Irony in Walter Map's Satire against the Cistercians', *Comparative Literature*, 54 (2002), p. 275.

description of the life that the monks lead at the Grande Chartreuse. They have ‘thirteen cells, one for the prior, and a single brother in each of the others.’ Their food is distributed by the prior every Saturday and their diet is intentionally austere:

They eat no meat, even when ill: fish they neither buy nor eat unless they have enough given to them to divide among their whole number.⁴⁶

Walter also refers back to the innate equality of the lifestyle at the Grande Chartreuse. The prior lives by himself in a cell like his brother monks and everyone must be granted the same amount of food. Their clothing is also austere: ‘they always wear the hair shirt and girdle, and are always engaged in prayer or reading.’⁴⁷ Significantly, Walter lists what the Carthusians do not do, with the implication that other monks did act in this fashion. They ‘do not plot against their neighbours, nor gossip, nor defraud. No woman may approach them, nor do they go out to receive a woman.’⁴⁸ In this way, for Walter, the Carthusians embody the austere monastic ideal and avoid everything corrupt that other monks did.

Gerald of Wales

These same concerns are found in Gerald’s treatment of the Carthusian order in the *Speculum ecclesiae*. Like the *Policraticus*, *Speculum stultorum*, and *De nugis curialium*, the *Speculum ecclesiae* is particularly concerned about the corruption of the contemporary Church. Gerald’s comments on the Carthusian order within this

⁴⁶ ‘Non comedunt carnes nec infirmi; non emunt pises nec comedunt, nisi dati fuerin eis unde possit omnibus distribui.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁷ ‘...semper induti cilico, semper cincti, semper orant aut legunt.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 50-51. The significance of the hair shirt within Carthusian *vitae* will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴⁸ ‘Hii non insidiantur uicinis, non cauillant, non rapiunt; non ingreditur ad eos femina, non egrediuntur ad eas.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 50-51.

work are found within the context of a broader commentary on contemporary religious institutions, various kinds of religious life and monastic orders, episcopal positions, and the Roman Church.⁴⁹ The work is separated into four distinct parts. The second and third of these include descriptions of abuses of Gerald's monastic contemporaries, particularly the Cistercian order. In this work, Gerald is not universal in his criticism of the Cistercian order and spends some time describing two Cistercian monks who he considered to be outstanding, Baldwin of Forde and Serlo of Wilton.⁵⁰ Like John, however, he identifies smaller monastic orders, the Carthusians, the Gilbertines, and Grandmontines, as being deserving of praise in contrast to bigger and more corrupt organisations like the Cistercians.⁵¹ They are praiseworthy because they are not guilty of the same abuses of which Gerald accused the Cistercians. Gerald focuses on what he considered to be the three main vices of the Cistercians: avarice, medical malpractice, and gluttony and intemperance and laments that the Cistercian had fallen from their spiritual heights due to the temptations of the Devil.⁵²

He contrasts the good and modest observances of the Carthusians to these perceived abuses of the Cistercians. In chapter twenty of the *Speculum*, entitled 'Of the Carthusian order, its honest life and praiseworthy austerity', he provides a brief sketch of the history of the order and their foundation under Bruno.⁵³ He then describes the austere rule that kept the Carthusians secluded from the world and states that 'while supported by community life...a community keeps them from accumulating too much

⁴⁹ *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. xx.

⁵⁰ J. C. Castora, 'The Cistercian order as portrayed in the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Gerald of Wales', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 53 (1997), pp. 73-74.

⁵¹ *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. xxi.

⁵² Castora, 'The Cistercian order', p. 73.

⁵³ 'De Cartusiensium ordine, vitae honestate et austeritate laudabili.' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 4, pp. 248-254.

property.⁵⁴ The Carthusians along with the Grandmontines and Gilbertines, emerge as a ‘benchmark for excellence’.⁵⁵ The Carthusians are the perfect embodiment of monasticism in their rejection of greed and corporate possessions to such an extent that they are even better than the arguably more austere Grandmontines, whom Gerald presented as being more attached to their property, more litigious in their defence of it, and more likely to offer hospitality.⁵⁶ In his conclusion of his praises of the Carthusians and Grandmontines, Gerald summarises his attitude towards the different monastic orders as the Cistercians being ‘perfect’, the Grandmontines as ‘more perfect’, and the Carthusians as being *perfectissimus*, the ‘most perfect’ of the monastic orders.⁵⁷

Gerald has, however, been accused of allowing his personal interests and agenda to cloud his judgement of these monastic orders and these accusations serve as a reminder that the treatment of the Carthusian order in these works cannot be taken as reflective of reality. Just as Gerald has been criticised for his unfair treatment of the Cistercian order, Doney has argued that his attitude towards the Carthusian order was heavily influenced by his admiration for Hugh of Lincoln to the extent that he ignored abuses and hypocrisies equivalent to those for which he reprimanded the Cistercian order.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ R. Loomis, ‘Giraldus de Barri’s homage to Hugh of Avalon’, in M. Sargent ed., *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 39.

⁵⁵ B. Golding, ‘Gerald of Wales and the monks’, *Thirteenth Century England*, V (1995), p. 58.

⁵⁶ Golding, ‘Gerald of Wales and the monks’, p. 59.

⁵⁷ ‘Perfectus igitur originaliter ordo videbatur Cisterciensis, perfectior autem quoad aliquod Grandimontanus, perfectissimus autem omnium quantum ad humanum spectat examen Car[tusiensi]s.’ Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 4, p. 259.

⁵⁸ The following argument of Doney is found in full in his article, ‘Giraldus Cambrensis and the Carthusian Order’, pp. 334-346.

Doney sees the chief reason for Hugh's high standing in Gerald's eyes as related to his, Gerald's, negative relationship with Henry II and his sons. According to this interpretation, Gerald considered the events surrounding his failed elections to the see of St David's to be caused by Angevin interests.⁵⁹ In his relationship with Henry, Hugh 'was able to turn Henry's mood to his own account and to achieve his own ends' which were inevitably good.⁶⁰ Gerald 'could admire Hugh for having achieved what he himself could not, for being independent in his episcopacy as, say, Baldwin of Canterbury was not.'⁶¹ Since Hugh of Lincoln was Gerald's primary contact with the Carthusians, it follows then 'to expect Giraldus' statement on the Carthusian Order to be tempered by his knowledge of – perhaps acquaintance with – the monk-bishop of Lincoln'.⁶² This admiration for Hugh means that his account of the Carthusians contained 'none of his characteristic denunciations, nor does he repeat tales of misbehaviour on the part of individual monks.'⁶³ There would have been ample opportunity for Gerald to criticise the Carthusians since although prohibited from possessing lands outside their immediate territory this occurred in practice. Similar criticisms of Gerald identify him as a flawed writer who cannot be considered to be objective in his treatment of his targets.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Doney, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 341.

⁶⁰ Doney, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 342.

⁶¹ Doney, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 343.

⁶² Doney, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 343.

⁶³ Doney, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', pp. 344-345.

⁶⁴ Doney goes so far as to describe the *Speculum ecclesiae* as being 'an insufficient, inexact, and highly prejudiced account', Doney, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 334. Powicke similarly described it as being an 'unbalanced diatribe', F. M. Powicke, 'Gerald of Wales', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 12 (1928), p. 408. J. S. Brewer, the editor of the work in the Roll Series, is open about his criticism of the text, which not an adequate representation of the state of the Church in general, or of the Church in England in particular.' Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 4, p. xiii. More modern historians have also seen the *Speculum* through a critical eye, with Golding saying that, 'Though Gerald's condemnation of the white monks are clearly to be regarded in the context of contemporary anti-Cistercian writing they are presented through the distorted mirror of his own personal antipathies.' B. Golding, 'Gerald of Wales and the Cistercians', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 21 (1995), p. 22.

This criticism of the relative worth of Gerald's comments on the Carthusian order is misjudged because these satirical and polemical works are, in themselves, primarily motivated by personal sentiment. All those considered in this chapter were driven by disappointment and dissatisfaction with the state of the contemporary Church, both secular and monastic, and within this context the Carthusians emerge as worthy of praise precisely because they are seen as having resisted these behaviours. The study of these polemical works must go beyond the search for representative truth and instead focus on the text as an instrument of a much larger agenda.

Negative responses

This admiration and praise for the Carthusian order should also not be seen as infinite. While John and Gerald depict the Carthusians as being particularly virtuous in comparison to other monastic orders, Walter and Nigel are equally critical about the order. Walter is particularly disapproving. While the Carthusians are more praiseworthy in comparison to other monastic orders, it is evident that Walter's compliments towards the order were limited by the broader purposes behind the *De nugis curialium*. He makes positive comments about monastic orders such as the Carthusians and the Grandmontines but 'he normally introduces a religious order to chastise it.'⁶⁵ While the Carthusians escape his harsh condemnation of the Cistercian order, of whom 'he has almost nothing good to say', the Carthusians do not escape without some negative comment.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *De nugis curialium*, p. xliii.

⁶⁶ *De nugis curialium*, p. xliii. For his complaints about the Cistercians, see chapter twenty-five entitled 'A digression of Master Walter Map on Monkery'. Ibid, pp. 85-113.

Walter makes reference to a failed foundation of the order, or rather a house founded following the model established at the Grande Chartreuse. This occurred ‘at the request of a certain magnate in the diocese of Saint-Jean de Maurienne’.⁶⁷ However, this house ‘has followed the devil’ and has greedily ‘got together property from every possible quarter; its charity is changed to burning avarice and, fertile in evil purpose, it has not been slack to satisfy its itching.’⁶⁸ Such is the disgrace of this house, it did not respond to the chastisements of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse and became a Cistercian house instead.⁶⁹ Despite their virtuous lifestyle, the Carthusians are just like all the other monastic orders in that they could fail. Even the ‘best’ monastic orders are set up to fall from their lofty heights, they are perfect at the beginning but then inevitably become corrupted by sin and their observance becomes increasingly lax.

Walter then returns to the topic of the Carthusian order in chapter twenty-eight of the same distinction. In this, he describes their way of life as being ‘very well known’ but Walter does not discuss the Carthusians at any great length in this chapter and argues rather that God is not deceived by clothing and apparel but is rather concerned with the soul and mind of man.

And though these times vie in drawing God to them in every fashion, he seems to be less with us than in days when he was sought out of a simple heart without peculiarity of dress or worship. For as he is a searcher of hearts, not

⁶⁷ ‘Ad petitionem cuiusdam uiri potentis in terminis episcopatus sancti Iohannis de Moriana...’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁸ ‘...censum ex quibusquocumque potuit auarissime collegit, et in ardorem auaricie caritate mutata, locuplex pessimi propositi pruritus implere non destitit.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁹ ‘Recessit, et sibi simile matrem domum Cisterciensem aduocauit, que sibi uiscera cupidissime caritatis aperuit, et in iniuriam prioris matris in specialem filiam adoptauit, manuque forti uiolenter obtinet.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 52-53.

clothes, so is he the lover of a well-disposed mind, and not of apparel.

Therefore let them not despise us who are clad in cheap attire, for he who could not be entrapped in speech will not be deceived by dress.⁷⁰

He then goes on to discuss Henry II who, though dressed in fine clothes, 'is not also proud, does not take upon himself to think high thoughts; his tongue never swells with elated language.'⁷¹ In this chapter, Walter does not actually discuss the Carthusians but sets up the argument of universal sanctity and questions the exclusivity of sanctity of monks.

In the same way, in his treatment of other monastic orders, Walter contrasts his basic descriptions of a monastic institution with negative asides to show the failures of the order. With the Grandmontines for instance, he particularly notes their austere lifestyle and their strict enclosure,

None of them might go out alone: they might not have any outside property; and, inside, no creature except bees, which do no harm to neighbours. They live on what is given to them in charity, or what they can prepare within doors.⁷²

Walter then, however, comments upon their internal divisions and specifically the issues with the lay brothers to the extent that the papacy had to be brought into arbitrate: 'This provision [the lay brothers managing external matters] has given rise

⁷⁰ '...et cum omnibus modis hec tempora Deum attrahere contendunt, minus nobis adesse uidetur quam cum de corde simplici sine uestium aut cultus artificio petebatur. Sicut enim cordium scrutator est, non pannorum, sic animi bene dispositi amator est, non uestimenti. Non ergo nos contempnant qui uilibus uestiuntur quia qui capi non potuit in sermone non decipietur in ueste.' *De nugis curialium*, pp. 116-117.

⁷¹ '...non apponit superbire nec aliquid altum sapere presumit, nec unquam elacione aliqua lingua eius intumescit...' *De nugis curialium*, pp. 116-117.

⁷² 'Nemo solus exeat; nichil extra possessionis habeant; nullum animal intra preter apes, que uicinos non ledunt. Quod eis caritatiue datur comedunt, et quod intus elaborare poterint.' *De nugis curialium*, pp. 52-53.

to a formidable disagreement, on which the lord Pope has been approached.⁷³ The same pattern occurs with his description of the Hospitallers: a lofty beginning and then degradation. Walter states that this order ‘had a good beginning in their religion, the aim of succouring the poverty of pilgrims’, and this was very admirable. However, in order to avoid accusations of simony, the order had people to join the order and give them their land and ‘By such – let me now say frauds, but – pleasantries of law they evade simony, lest the Lord should not how their houses are enriched: the sons and nephews of the knights and, what seems harder, many worthy parsons, go without a parsonage to their dying day.’⁷⁴

The entire commentary on monastic orders in *De nugis curialium* is dominated by the degeneration of the contemporary Church and the failure of Man to live up to the standards left by Christ. The inadequacies of the monastic orders and the religious culture of the day for Walter were shown by the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. In chapter fifteen of distinction one, Walter is aghast that his contemporaries are totally ineffectual,

A few prayers uttered by two women were enough to move the Lord to raise a man four days dead: but so may thousands of men and women, whether they belong to an old order or a new, whom do they avail to raise?⁷⁵

The priorities of the religious have become warped as they turn to the active rather than the contemplative lifestyle:

⁷³ ‘Unde grauis orta sedicio dominum Papam adiit.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 52-53.

⁷⁴ ‘Huiusmodi fallaciis non dicam sed faceciis auertunt simoniam, ne Dominus aduertat unde domus eorum ditantur; militum nepotes et filii, quodque magis iniquum uidetur, multe digne persone sine personatu pereunt.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁵ ‘Suffecerunt due femine mouere Dominum paucis etiam precibus ad suscitacionem quadriduani; tot autem hominum et feminarum milia noui uel ueteris ordinis quem suscitant?’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 48-49.

What do we gain by all their assiduity in alms, in fasts, in prayers? – with which, sitting at Christ’s feet with Mary, as they say, they do not cease to entreat him?...Yet perhaps, in their anxiety to fulfil all righteousness they are cumbered, like Martha, about much serving, in their entertaining of Christ, lest anything should be lacking while she waited single-handed, and they seek that one thing needful with less zeal than is needful for us.⁷⁶

Within this context the Carthusians in *De nugis curialium* become part of an anti-monastic discourse criticising the state of contemporary monasticism. Even though the order was in some ways praiseworthy, it was part of the corruption of the Church in which all monks had become like Martha rather than Mary.

For John, Gerald, and Walter, the Carthusians are shown to be one virtuous part of the corrupt institutions of the Church. While these authors discuss the Carthusians in similar ways and within similar contexts, these depictions of the Carthusians are not inevitably stereotypical or necessarily able to be reduced to a monolithic Anglo-Latin literary topos. Instead, the writers include their own personal nuances in their accounts which, while originating within the same tradition of monastic satire, should be considered as being the product of individual authors rather than being subsumed into some literary void.

Individually, the authors considered here had some form of personal contact, whether direct or indirect, with the Carthusian order. These men were active, high-ranking

⁷⁶ ‘...quo nobis elemosinarum, ieiuniorum, precum assiduitas, qua secus pedes Domini cum Maria sedentes, ipsum sollicitare non cessant, ut aiunt? Sed forsan omnem impere iusticiam cupientes in hospitando Christum cum Martha satagunt circa frequens ministerium, ne quid desit dum sola ministrat, et illus unum necessarium accurate / minus quam nobis esset necessarium appetunt.’ *De nugis curialium*, pp. 48-49.

churchmen, aware of events in the world and with contacts throughout the ranks of the Church. As discussed in the previous chapter, John wrote letters to both the charterhouse of Mont Dieu and Val Saint Pierre during the 1160s on the topic of his exile from England during the Becket controversy.⁷⁷ It has also already been established that Gerald had some familiar contact with Hugh of Lincoln, as did Walter. There is also some evidence of inter-textual reference between Gerald and Walter in the former's accounts of the Grandmontines and the Carthusians, which may derive from the latter.⁷⁸ That Gerald enjoyed closer personal familiarity with the Carthusians emerges in his *vita* of Hugh of Lincoln, written a few years before the *Speculum ecclesiae*.

Without reducing the depictions of the Carthusians to simple stereotypes the Carthusians are used by all these authors in a very similar way: as examples to illustrate their overall points, whether that be in describing the Carthusians in positive or negative terms. These works are all *specula*, intended to provide a mirror for contemporary society, although whether the authors imagined any practical effect as a result is not clear.

The circulation of these works is difficult to estimate. The *Policraticus* was certainly read by contemporaries, including Peter of Blois and Nigel Longchamps, but only

⁷⁷ There are three surviving letters from John of Salisbury to Carthusians, found in W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke eds., *The letters of John of Salisbury, volume two (1163-1180)* (Oxford, 1979). These are letter 183 *To Engelbert, prior of Val-Saint-Pierre* (pp. 208-211); letter 206 to the same recipient (*Ibid*, pp. 306-309); and letter 286 *To Simon, prior of Mont-Dieu, and Engelbert, prior of Val-Saint-Pierre* (*Ibid*, pp. 628-631).

⁷⁸ Golding, 'Gerald of Wales and the monks', p. 60.

gained popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁹ *De nugis curialium* only survives in one fourteenth-century manuscript, the MS. Bodleian Library Oxford 851, written for a monk of Ramsey who seems to have lived in Oxford at some point.⁸⁰ Similarly, the *Speculum ecclesiae* only survives in one known manuscript, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B. XIII, which was probably copied in the early thirteenth century.⁸¹ Likewise the *Speculum stultorum* is unlikely to have had wide circulation in the late twelfth or thirteenth centuries. There are thirty-four surviving manuscripts but only one comes from the thirteenth century and seven from the fourteenth.⁸²

All these works approached the Carthusian order in a broad manner and applied their criticism and comments to the order as a whole institution. As a result, none of these authors discussed directly the Carthusians in England, with the exception, and in different circumstances, of Gerald of Wales.

In addition to his general treatment of the Carthusian order, Gerald wrote directly about the monks of Witham in his *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Vita Sancti Remigii*, discussing the Carthusians in relation to Hugh of Lincoln. The hagiographical works inspired by Hugh of Lincoln, the *Magna Vita*, *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, *Vita Sancti Remigii*, and *Metrical Life*, form the majority of the literature that explicitly discusses

⁷⁹ I. Dines, 'The Earliest Use of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*: Third family bestiaries', *Viator*, 44 (2013), p. 107.

⁸⁰ *De nugis curialium*, p. xxxii.

⁸¹ Although MS Cotton Tiberius B. XIII is the only known surviving manuscript of the *Speculum ecclesiae*, and was edited by Brewer for the Roll Series' volume of Gerald's *Opera* in 1873, it is likely that other copies were still extant in the nineteenth century. R. W. Hunt, 'Preface to the "Speculum Ecclesiae"', *Viator*, 8 (1977), p. 191.

⁸² It is likely that the work became more popular into the fourteenth century, when it is referred to in Chaucer's *Nonnes Preestes Tale* as 'Daun Brunel the Ass'. Regenos, *Daun Burnel*, p. 15.

the twelfth-century English Carthusians. Moreover, these works promote the community at Witham and adopt an apologetic tone towards certain aspects of Carthusian practice. The *Magna Vita* is the primary subject of the next chapter, but the implications of whole corpus will be considered below.

The English apologists

It is evident that there were some aspects of Carthusian practice that were not received with universal praise, as found in both the sources of the first and second halves of the twelfth century. Guigo I, for instance, made considerable efforts to explain certain tenets of his *Consuetudines*, particularly in his extended assertion of the importance of stability within the charterhouse and the benefits of solitude to those who lived within its walls. Similar apologies can be found in the literary works of this period that directly discuss the Carthusian order in England. These works are primarily valuable because they contain unique descriptions of Witham charterhouse and the practicalities of life for Carthusians in England in this period that supplement that broader commentaries on the order discussed above. They also present a defence of the order, an emphasis that is in part influenced by the literary genre that they were written within. As hagiographical texts, these texts were written to praise Hugh of Lincoln's virtues and were therefore invested in defending the Carthusian order against any accusations of vice, degeneration, or corruption so as to bolster the image of Hugh's sanctity. This is especially true in the case of Adam of Eynsham whose depiction of Hugh's holiness was heavily bound to his past as a Carthusian monk.

Although these works established Hugh's virtues through his status as both a monk and a bishop, it is abundantly clear that their authors were aware of criticisms against the order and strove to defend them against such accusations. This is especially true in the case of the *Magna Vita*. This is the text written with the greatest familiarity to the Carthusian order in England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Adam of Eynsham cites Hugh himself as a direct source at many points in the work and Adam himself probably visited Witham in his capacity as Hugh's personal chaplain. He certainly includes episodes that took place at Witham itself, such as the interaction between Hugh of Lincoln and Adam of Dryburgh, which will be discussed more fully in later chapters. Through this intimacy with Hugh of Lincoln and the Carthusians at Witham, Adam of Eynsham was very aware of several points of debate around their vocation.

Solitude

In the second book of the *Magna Vita*, Adam related the conflict between Hugh and two monks of Witham, Alexander and Andrew, which took place when Hugh was still prior and before his election as bishop of Lincoln in 1186. The conflict occurred when Alexander and Andrew decided to leave Witham due to dissatisfaction with the way of life at the house. Adam relates, 'At the instigation of the ancient serpent they both hissed with viperfish spite frequently against Hugh and all the time against the holy

order, which they were unworthy to join.⁸³ Alexander then levied these criticisms against Hugh and the Carthusians:

‘Wretch, you have deluded us,’ he [Alexander] said, ‘and have brought us to this wild and lonely place, taking us away from our pleasant dwelling and a civilised way of life. You have forced us to lurk amongst beasts and thorns, as if there were not places of monastic retirement in the world. The whole land is full of communities of monks, and the mutual support provided by the communal life provides us with a sufficiently good example of religious perfection. Here alone and without companionship, we become torpid and dull through boredom, seeing no one for days at a time whose example can inspire us, and having only the walls which shut us in to look... We are going to seek something saner, and absolutely refuse to stay for a further period.’⁸⁴

There are two main issues that emerge from Alexander’s criticism of life at Witham: the withdrawal of the monks to a wilderness and the issues directly caused by Carthusian solitude.

Alexander sees Witham as being a ‘wild and lonely place.’ Alexander bemoans his withdrawal into a place where he is ‘forced to lurk amongst beasts and thorns’ in an uncivilised state, in full knowledge that more pleasant places existed elsewhere. Alexander also sees himself as lonely and dull, a state caused by boredom in the solitude cell, a state that also denies the monk mutual support from his fellow monks,

⁸³ ‘Vterque istorum sibilo instigatus serpentis antiqui, sepius in Hugonem, semper uero in sanctum quem indignus subierat ordinem, dente uipero seuiebat.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 80.

⁸⁴ ‘Seduxisti nos’ inquit ‘pessime, et induxisti nos in locum horrois et uaste solitudinis, priuatos et exutos habitationibus amenis rebusque opimis, et quasi non essent religiose quietis habitacule in seculo, ita hic inter feras et frutices nobis ferino more delitescendum prescriis... Hiis ergo salubriora quesituri, ulterius recusamus addici.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 81.

‘seeing no one for days at a time whose example can inspire us.’⁸⁵ He had no one to whom he could turn to as an exemplar, or inspirational figure.

Such concerns echo those found in the earlier twelfth century towards the solitary life. The letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to a nun of the convent of St Mary of Troyes, is a key gauge of these sentiments.⁸⁶ In this, Bernard advises the nun, who wanted to become a solitary, to remain inside the cenobitic community. His chief concerns were similar to those of Alexander. Rather than allowing people to become more holy, solitude instead presented opportunities for sin since ‘The woods afford cover, and solitude assures silence.’⁸⁷ In contrast, a communal setting enabled discipline to be imposed,

No one can censure the evil no one sees...In a convent if you do good there is no one to stop you; if you would do evil, you are not able.⁸⁸

In addition to censure, the community provided examples of good behaviour because those who behaved well could encourage the wicked to live better,

Either you are one of the foolish virgins...or you are one of the wise. If you are one of the foolish, the convent is necessary for you; if you are one of the wise, you are necessary for the convent.⁸⁹

In effect, Bernard held that the solitary life was subordinate to the communal life in the pursuit of spiritual progression.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ See Chapter Four, pp. 243-244 and pp. 252-255 for further insights into Carthusian attitudes towards boredom or tedium.

⁸⁶ This letter of unknown date is found in *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, pp. 179-180.

⁸⁷ *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 180.

⁸⁸ *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 180.

⁸⁹ *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 180.

⁹⁰ M. Casey, ‘In communi vita fratrum: St Bernard’s teaching on cenobitic solitude.’ *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 46 (1990), p. 243.

Similarly, William of St Thierry in his *Epistola ad fratres* expressed reservations about the universality of praise towards the solitary life and reiterated the need for caution and watchfulness. In this work, he argued that the act of solitude itself was not what was significant and the act of being alone was not sufficient in itself to elicit spiritual progression. William was wary of people who only acted like they deserved their robes:

If anyone among you does not possess this [substance of the habit] in his heart, display it in his life, practice it in his cell, he is to be called not a solitary but a man who is alone, and his cell is not a cell for him but a prison in which he is immured. For truly to be alone is not to have God with you. Truly to be immured is not to be at liberty in God.⁹¹

To be a solitary, it was not enough to be alone but it was necessary to embody the appropriate internal state of solitude. The tendency to fall into hypocrisy and to become a false monk was a constant risk in the cell. Given Alexander's criticisms of Carthusian practice, it seems that these concerns did not abate into the later twelfth century and early thirteenth century. In the conclusion of this episode within the *Magna Vita*, Adam does emphasise that Alexander and Andrew were mad and that Alexander later regretted his criticism.⁹² It is, however, apparent that criticisms such as these continued to be significant enough to warrant comment.

⁹¹ 'Hanc quicumque estrum non habet in conscientia, non exhibet in vita, non exercet in cella, non colitarius, sed solus dicenus est: nec cella ei cella, sed reclusion et carcer est. Vere enim solus est, cum quo Deus non est: vere reclusus est, qui in Deo liber non est.' *PL* 184, col. 313. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 19.

⁹² 'Talibus sacrum ordinem illum agebat blasphemiiis, talibus uirum Dei afficiebat conuiciis hominis peruicacia uesani...Vidimus autem postea hunc ipsum Alexandrum, iam Cluniacensem monachum, rebus aliquantulum sibi cedentibus contra uotum, permutatonis sue penitudine ductum...' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 81-82.

Throughout the *Magna Vita*, Adam describes the Carthusian way of life in a manner that guarded the order against such disapproval. In doing so, Adam echoes the writings of Guigo I, specifically the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, in which Guigo I seems to address these matters. Adam's description of Hugh's early career as a canon is a passage of particular note. Having joined the canons at Villarbenoit from a young age, Hugh was then entrusted by his Augustinian superior with the cell of St Maximus. Adam provides this description of the life there,

...although its small estate [St Maximus'] barely sufficed for the adequate maintenance of one canon and a small household, Hugh understanding 'that two men together were better than one' did not wish to be alone, lest it should be said of him 'Woe to the solitary since if he should fall he has none to raise him up.'⁹³

The last line here is of particular interest: 'Woe to the solitary since if he shall fall he has none to raise him up.' The implicit concern within the text is that solitude was not considered to provide the security that a communal life did. The solitary monk was exposed to all sorts of temptation and corruption that would, had he had companions, have been identified and disciplinary acts prescribed. The passage sets the foreground for Alexander's later criticisms of the issue of community. In addressing the issue, Adam goes to some lengths in the *Magna Vita* to ensure that his readers understood that while the Carthusians are alone in their cells in contemplation of God, they were

⁹³ 'Loci sane ipsius possessiuncule uix unico ad honestam uidebantur habitatori sustentationem cum familia parua sufficere. Verum Hugo sciens 'melius duos simil esse quam unum,' noluit esse solus, ne sibi quandoque dici potuisset: 'Ve soli, quia si ceciderit non habet subleuantem.'" *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 18.

still firmly grounded within a community that could provide the appropriate support for the monk.

In describing the life that Hugh encountered at the Grande Chartreuse itself, Adam emphasises the point that the Carthusian monk might be alone but that this did not imply, necessarily, that he was isolated. Although Carthusians lived in cells, they were also in a community. When Hugh first visited the house,

He observed the physical austerities of the inhabitants [of the Grande Chartreuse], their untroubled spirit, their freedom of mind, their cheerful countenances and the simplicity of their words. Their rule encouraged solitude, not isolation. They had separate cells but their hearts were united. Each of them lived apart, but had nothing of his own, and did not live for himself. They combined solitude with community life. They lived alone lest any should find his fellows an obstacle to him, they lived as a community so that none of them should be deprived of brotherly help.⁹⁴

Adam emphasises that the monks lived eremitical lives alone in their cells but they were provided with brotherly support by the community through his constant contact with them: 'They combined solitude with community life.' This can be seen as addressing both Bernard of Clairvaux and Alexander's issue with solitude, which was the apparent absence of opportunities for the performance of brotherly love and the ability of the monk to support each other. Just as Hugh was not alone at St Maximus,

⁹⁴ 'At in loci habitatoribus attendebat carnis martificationem, mentis serenitatem, spiritus libertatem, hilaritatem frontis, puritatem sermonis. Instituta eorum solitudinem non singularitatem commendabant. Segregabant mansiones set mentes sociabant. Vnusquisque habitabat secum, nec habebat nec agebat aliquid suum. Omnes seorsum, et communiter quisque degebat. Seorsum manebat unusquisque ne impedimentum experiretur ab aliquot; communiter degebat ne fraterno priuaretur solation.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 23.

he was not alone at the Grande Chartreuse, despite their pursuit of solitude alone in the cell.

Stability

In the passage quoted above, Adam addressed the issue of the provision of brotherly support and exemplars for the Carthusian community. He also found himself addressing the potential criticism of the Carthusians being undisciplined as monks. He first asserts that the way of life at the Grande Chartreuse was built around obedience and discipline. Rather than being at risk due to their solitude and apparent isolation, in the charterhouse the monks remained wholly disciplined. Adam presents this characteristic as being in complete contrast to hermits,

He [Hugh] noticed these things there and also the security caused by obedience, of which many hermits are frequently deprived and so are exposed to great peril.⁹⁵

The charterhouse was able to provide the discipline to which the hermits had no access. The prior had complete control over all aspects of the monks' lives, including the extent to which they were permitted to undertake mortification exercises. The prior was all-powerful in the charterhouse and to be deferred to on all occasions.

Throughout the *Magna Vita*, Hugh's absolute obedience to his superiors is evident, for example, through his deference upon election as prior of Witham and then as bishop of Lincoln towards the prior of the Grande Chartreuse. Hugh refused to

⁹⁵ 'Hec et huiusmodi notata ibidem ac etiam obedientie secure munitio, que multos sepe solitarios destituit et extreme perniciem exponit...' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 23.

consent to be the prior of Witham, citing his insufficiency, and ‘left the decision to his prior.’⁹⁶ In a like manner, the prior of the Grande Chartreuse deferred the decision to the bishop of Grenoble, saying ‘Do what seems best to you, since you are our bishop, our father, and our brother. If you order and enjoin it, I will neither gainsay you nor resist.’⁹⁷ Similarly, Hugh only agreed to be confirmed as bishop with the confirmation and order of Guigo II, continuing to defer decision making in this process to his Carthusian superior. After Hugh was elected, envoys had to be sent to the Grande Chartreuse because Hugh refused to listen to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

The lord archbishop of Canterbury is certainly primate and head of the church in England under the lord pope, but in my case I am not immediately subject to him but to another. Therefore you must either give up your intention and petition, or undertake the long and strenuous journey to Chartreuse, for no one shall lay this heavy burden upon my shoulders except my own prior.⁹⁸

Upon the reception of an order from the prior of the Grande Chartreuse that Hugh must obey the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh then was ‘without further hesitation or delay to accept humbly the yoke which had certainly been laid on him by Christ.’⁹⁹

The refusal to accept his election as bishop fits into the idea of Hugh’s absolute humility, being unwilling to take on these positions of responsibility except when forced. It also displays a relinquishment of will in the face of his recognised superior,

⁹⁶ ‘Hugo, assentire flagitatus a cunctis, in priorem cum aliud non posset, transfundit sententiam.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 57.

⁹⁷ ‘Tu iam uideris, tu episcopus noster es, tu et pater et frater noster. Si hoc ei iniungas, si precipias, ego non contradico, non resisto.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 57-58.

⁹⁸ ‘Dominus quidem Cantuariensis primas et princeps ecclesie Anglicane sub pontifice summon est; attamen in huiusmodi alius inter nos medius est. A uestre igitur petitionis huiuscemodi intentione desistendum est, aut itineris onerosi usque ad Cartusiam fatigatio subeunda. Nam citra prioris nostril iussionem, oneris tanti sarcinam humeris meis nullus imponet.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 98.

⁹⁹ ‘...ut, hesitation omni seu dilation postposita, suscepiat humiliter quod ei diuinitus constabat imponi iugum Domini.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 99.

here the prior of the Grande Chartreuse. Hugh's obedience to the command of his prior, even when it forces him to cease pious acts, is also seen in Gerald's *Vita Sancti Hugonis*. In a telling episode Hugh attracted little birds and squirrels to his table at the Grande Chartreuse as result of his innate kindness, but the prior ordered him to stop 'lest these practices please him too much and disturb his prayer.'¹⁰⁰

The *Magna Vita* also relates the story of the monk Einhard who, when he was one hundred years old, was ordered by his prior to go from the Grande Chartreuse and establish a charterhouse in Denmark. Einhard objected to this 'because he had for a long time hated and despised that barbarous nation' and begged the prior to not force him to go. Einhard declares that he must disobey the prior on this point,

After I have tried so hard to cultivate obedience for so many years, I am now compelled either to be disobedient or for the sake of obedience undertake a duty a thousand times worse and more hateful to me than death itself. I am ready, God help me, to do penance for this disobedience, but I declare once and for all that I will never see Denmark as long as I live.¹⁰¹

In response to Einhard's refusal to follow the order of the prior, he was expelled from the house without pity. The Carthusian order here had 'in its wisdom condemned the sin of disobedience so rigorously that anyone, whoever he might be, was expelled for the most trifling act of disobedience.'¹⁰² In search of re-entry into the house, Einhard

¹⁰⁰ '...quod ab his de cetero cessaret mandatum suscepit.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 12.

¹⁰¹ '...nunc compellor aut inobediens inueniri, aut notium milies supra mortis supplicium michi semper exosum propter obedientiam experiri. Ceterum istam, ut Deus adiuuerit, expiaturus inobedientiam, semel dico, Danemarchiam in hoc corpore mortali degens numquam certe uidebo.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 67.

¹⁰² 'In tantum quipped prouida illius sacri ordinis censura inobedientie persequitur uitium, ut quemlibet etiam in re leuissima obedientie limites excedentem, a sua cum uoluerit societate eliminat.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 67-68.

sought to obtain the intercession of the other charterhouses and walked almost naked between them. Having obtained letters of supplication from the charterhouses, he returned to the Grande Chartreuse and was eventually readmitted, but not without hardship.

Not only was the spiritual (and institutional) stability of the charterhouses secured by this absolute obedience towards the prior, they were also defended from instability and corrupt behaviour by the observance of harsh discipline. There was an awareness that the Carthusian way of life was not suited to all members, as seen with the exodus of Alexander and Andrew previously mentioned, and it was considered to be better for these monks to leave the house rather than spread discontent amongst other inhabitants. William of St Thierry in *Epistola ad fratres* also makes reference to monks who failed to live in the cell,

Therefore, as has been said, the cell quickly expels as an abortion the man who does not belong to it, is not its true son: it vomits him forth like useless and harmful food.¹⁰³

Once a monk had left the order, he was not allowed to return. Alexander sought to return to Witham and begged Hugh to reconsider his position but Hugh remained rigid in his decision, because he wanted to get rid of the ‘chaff’ from within his house, refusing his re-entry for their own sakes and those who remained at Witham.

Hugh was always found to be very reluctant to re-admit monks or lay brethren who had once left the order. He declared that the levity and instability of such chaff must be most guarded against in his order. Such was his term for those

¹⁰³ ‘Ideo, sicut dictum est, alienum, qui non est filius, citius a se projicit quasi abortivum, evonu tanquam inutilem ac noxium cibum.’ *PL* 184, cols. 312-313. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 22.

who when faced with the slightest temptation deserted the society of the good, and were winnowed from the threshing-floor of monastic life.¹⁰⁴

Not only is it clear that the Carthusian way of life is unsuitable for some, it was also forbidden to leave the charterhouse and then return. Leaving the house even for a good reason breaks the fundamental principle of the order: absolute enclosure for the monks.

A concern for stability was a centrepiece of the codification of the Carthusian way of life from its earliest instantiation. Guigo I particularly emphasised the subject in the *Consuetudines*, stressing the Carthusians' place within the taxonomy of good monks and disassociating them from 'gyrovagues' or wandering monks. Discussed in the first chapter of the *Regula Benedicti*, these were monks who were not stable in a particular community, and therefore not under the obedience of a particular house,

The fourth kind of monk are called gyrovagues. They spend their whole lives wandering through various provinces, staying in the cells of different monks for three or four days at a time. They are ever on the move and never stable...It is better to be silent than to speak of the wretched lifestyle of these monks.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ 'Semper quidem Hugo difficulius inueniebatur ad recipiendos semel egressos ab ordine, seu monachos seu conuersos, asserens huic quam maxime religioni cauendam sedulo instabilium leuitatem palearum. Hoc siquidem nomine illos exprimebat, qui ad facilem motus temptationis separantur a collegio bonorum, excussi ab area inite professionis.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 83. This is found within the second book, chapter twelfth entitled 'Hugh's extreme reluctance to re-admit those who had once left the order, and its cause.'

¹⁰⁵ 'Quartum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diuersorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stabiles, et propriis voluntatibus et gulae illecebris seruietes, et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis.' T. Kardong ed., *The Rule of St Benedict* (Liturgical Press, 1996), pp. 33-35. Kardong utilised the Latin text from A. De Vögue and J. Neufville, *La Règle de Saint Benoît, Sources Chrétiennes*, 181-186 (Les Éditions du Cerf, 1971-1977) in the making of his edition.

This concern towards stability is seen through Guigo I's anxiety to maintain the economic resources of the charterhouse. Chapter twenty of the *Consuetudines*, entitled 'On the poor and alms', states that while the charterhouse may send some food to the poor in a nearby village, they must never accept them under their roof. Such a provision was in place because the Carthusians 'have not escaped into the solitude of this desert for the material care of the bodies of strangers, but for the eternal salvation of souls.'¹⁰⁶ The monks at the Grande Chartreuse were to be like Mary, not Martha. There was also a strongly practical component to this chapter as well. To focus on almsgiving as a regular activity was to imperil the solitude of the monk. The monks would be forced to leave their cells in order to provide adequate provisions for the poor and, crucially, Guigo I cites the 'gyrovagues',

So should I, leaving my cell, my cloister, and forgetting all my engagements, make myself a wanderer for the wanderer, a beggar for the beggars, and a secular to receive and feed the seculars?¹⁰⁷

Guigo I restricted the amount of hospitality the monks could provide for outsiders and the number of inhabitants who were permitted at the charterhouse for the same reason.

In chapter nineteen, 'On the mounts of the guests', and chapter seventy-eight, 'The number of inhabitants', Guigo I emphasised that these policies were based upon his fear that economic instability caused by the over-stretching of resources would inevitably lead the monks to be forced to beg and therefore break their self-imposed isolation.

¹⁰⁶ 'Non enim propter alienorum temporalem curam corpoream, sed pro nostrarum sempiterna salute animarum, in huius heremi secessus, aufugimus.' *Coutumes*, p. 206

¹⁰⁷ 'Ergo ego relicta cella mea, claustro meo, et quid proposuerim oblitus propter girovagus girovagus, propter paltonarios paltonarius, et propter suscipiendos pascendosque seculars efficiar secularis?' *Coutumes*, p. 208.

Now we have chosen this small number for the same reason that has driven us to not assure the care of the horses of our guests and to not have a house for the distribution of alms: knowing that doing so would mean that the expenditure would exceed the resources of this place which would constrain us to start to beg and wander which horrifies us.¹⁰⁸

Seeming to allow or condone the act of breaking the practice of solitude by a monk would allow the house to be open to accusations of being wandering monks or ‘gyrovagues’. The order sought to defend its lifestyle against criticism of lack of discipline and emphasised stability over all else, as expressed by Adam’s continued confrontation of these issues throughout the *Magna Vita*.

Adam’s defence of the Carthusian way of life was an active process, which saw the continuing justification of Carthusian practice against detractors. He echoes the sentiments of Guigo I throughout the *Magna Vita* and emphasises the same fundamental points with regards to the order. The solitude of the Carthusians was neither isolated nor dangerous but rather grounded in the support structure of a community. This provided both opportunities for brotherly love and appropriate companionship but also ensured the imposition of discipline by a superior member of the community, the prior. Through these tenets, as well as policies towards almsgiving and hospitality, the Carthusians were disciplined and stable in their community. These assertions were as relevant in the later twelfth and early thirteenth century as they had been in the first half of the twelfth century.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Hanc autem numeri paucitatem eadem consideration delegimus, qua nec hospitum equitaturas procuramus, nec domun elemosinariam habemus, videlicet ne ad maiores quam locus iste patitur expensas coacti, querere et vagary quod horremus incipiamus.’ *Coutumes*, pp. 284-286.

Poverty

Unlike the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, the *Magna Vita* does not directly discuss the importance of the economic stability of the house as part of the preservation of the Carthusian way of life. Carthusian policies towards the material economy were, however, criticised in the twelfth century. The hypocrisy of the apparent engagement of the Carthusians with the outside world and the money economy was noticed by writers outside the order. The *Epistola ad fratres* of William of St Thierry contains an important passage in which William criticises the monks of Mont Dieu for not only engaging with the worldly economy by employing craftsmen but, moreover, coming into contact with coinage itself. For William, the Carthusian engagement with money was indicative of the monks abandoning their virtuous vocation.

We abandon that holy rusticity which, as Solomon says, was created by the Most High and we create for ourselves dwelling-places which display a sort of religious respectability. In these such compassion is shown to men in the animal state that we have almost all been made animal in this respect [i.e. our progression towards God is stunted].¹⁰⁹

William's comments in the *Epistola* seems to have been caused by building projects at the Grande Chartreuse,

Banishing from ourselves and from our cells the pattern of poverty and the model of holy simplicity, the true beauty of God's house, bequeathed to us by our Fathers, we build for ourselves by the hands of skilful craftsmen cells

¹⁰⁹ '...et abjecta sancta simplicitate et rusticitate, sicut Salomon dicit, ab Altissimo create, quasi religiosa quasdam nobis creamus habitationum honestates. In quibus tantum compasum est animalibus, ut pene omnes in hoc effecti simus animals.' *PL* 184, col. 331. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 59.

which are not so much eremitic as aromatic, each of them costing a hundred golden pieces. They are the delight of our eyes but they come from the alms of the poor.¹¹⁰

William criticises the Carthusians for two things. First, the Carthusians were engaging with money when the Carthusians are supposed to focus on transitory things, as William of St Thierry says,

I beg you therefore, while we are pilgrims in this world and soldiers on earth, let us not build for ourselves houses to settle down in but make tents we can leave at a moment's notice...to the home where we shall spend our eternity.¹¹¹

Second, the monks were using money for incorrect purposes when it could be spent on virtuous purposes like charity.

Take away, Lord, the reproach of these hundred golden pieces from the cells of your poor men. Why not rather a hundred copper coins? Why not rather nothing at all? Why do not the sons of grace rather build for themselves free of cost?¹¹²

The fundamental question that is being brought up in these texts and their comments on the Carthusian order is how the Carthusians, who are characterised as 'Christ's Poor Men', were able to engage in considerable economic activity without this becoming an act of hypocrisy.

¹¹⁰ 'Dimissam enim nobis a patribus nostris jure haereditario formam paupertatis, et sanctae simplicitatis speciem, verum decorum domus Dei, alienantes a nobis et a cellis nostris, per manus artificum exquisitorum cellas, non tam eremiticas, quam aromaticas aedificamus nobis, singulas in titulo centum solidorum, concupiscentias oculorum nostrorum de eleemosynis peuperum.' *PL* 184, col. 331. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, pp. 59-60.

¹¹¹ 'Ergo, obsecro, in peregrinatione hujus saeculi, in militia hae super terram, aedificemus nobis, on domos ad habitandum, sed tabernacula ad deserendum: utpote cito inde vocandi, et emigratori in patriam et civitatem nostrum, et in domum aeternitatis nostrae.' *PL* 184, col. 332. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 60.

¹¹² 'Amputa, Domine, opprobrium centum solidorum a cellis pauperum tuorum. Cur non potius centum denariorum? Cur non potius nullorum? Cur non potius gratis filii gratiae ipsi sibi aedificant?' *PL* 184, col. 331. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 60.

One solution to this problem as found by apologists is in the distinction between physical poverty and the concept of poverty in spirit. There is no contradiction between being ‘poor in spirit’ and having money since poorness in spirit is not related to physical poverty, essentially separating the concept of ‘poor’ from being a physical concept. Carthusian apologists instead asserted its mental aspects. This attitude is expressed by the author of the *Metrical Life* who, in his description of Hugh’s construction of the charterhouse of Witham, sought to explain why he could spend considerable time and effort in ensuring the physical wellbeing of the house in an episode that alludes, whether intentionally or not, to the criticisms levied by William of St Thierry to the monks of Mont Dieu in their construction of cells. He spent considerable time and resources focusing on rebuilding the house and solving the ongoing issues with the pre-existing tenants on the site. The criticism could be that Hugh should have been focusing on the spiritual care of his flock, not physical objects. In explaining why Hugh could focus on the physical concerns of the charterhouse of Witham without diminishing his sanctity, the author writes that,

For the human mind cannot be forced to earn the kingdom of heaven, and it is poorness of heart not the lack of material goods that crowns the needy.¹¹³

Physical poverty does not lead the monk towards spiritual achievements, rather their internalised state of poorness. Moreover, the author makes an important distinction between voluntary and involuntary suffering,

¹¹³ ‘Mens hominis compulsa potest, mentisque coronat paupertas, non materiae defectus, egenos.’ *Metrical Life*, p. 31.

Freedom of the will perishes when there is no facility for using it, and fasting does not win praise, nor does suffering confer merit, unless it is born voluntarily.¹¹⁴

Poverty must be voluntarily sought by the monk rather than being imposed by necessity or external factors. To be poor must be an intended act to merit praise. In this section the author of the *Metrical Life* seemed to deem it to be necessary to show that the Carthusian engagement with the world, and specifically with the temporal economy, was not hypocritical but was in fact an essential part of their continuing holiness and the preservation of their way of life. Physical poverty or, worse, involuntary poverty would hinder rather than encourage the cultivation of the poorness of spirit within the monks.¹¹⁵

By ensuring the physical health of the house, Hugh was supporting the spiritual poorness and merits of both himself and his monks. The author emphasises that Hugh prioritised his own spiritual health, and that of other men, but that the physical state of the charterhouse was also of great importance. It was an issue of ensuring that the Carthusian monks had the appropriate tools to survive physically:

This was not because he wanted to be using wealth but because he wanted the possibility of using it.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ ‘Libertas perit arbitrii, cum nulla facultas suppetot utendi, nec habent jejunia lauden Passio non confert meritum, nisi sponte feratur.’ *Metrical Life*, p. 31.

¹¹⁵ The debate as to the proper observance of poverty is one that had a huge influence over monastic history. Not only did new monastic orders in many ways emerge in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in response to the perceived wealth of traditional monasteries, and seek to embody more ascetic tendencies, but the Mendicant orders in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries then reacted to abandon all material wealth, both personal and institutional, so as to properly defend themselves from the vices of avarice and pride. Little, ‘Pride goes before avarice’, p. 49.

¹¹⁶ ‘Non quia divitiis velit uti, sed quia posse vult uti.’ *Metrical Life*, p. 31.

Again, the emphasis turns to the distinction between physical and spiritual aspects of virtue; it is more important to live in stable solitude than to have those virtues expressed through physical actions and interactions with the physical world such as alms and hospitality.

The Carthusian practices that derived from this concern for the economic and physical stability of the house made them exposed to the criticism that they were uncharitable. Just as Bernard of Clairvaux stated that solitude gave few opportunities for brotherly love, the Carthusian attitude towards alms and the preservation of resources within the house as seen in the *Consuetudines* gave them an air of meanness. No other monastic order in the medieval period denied the practice of alms-giving and, moreover, along with a discussion on the treatment of guests, charity towards the poor is laid down in chapter fifty-three of the *Regula Benedicti*, in which he states that:

The greatest care should be exhibited in the reception of the poor and pilgrims, for Christ is more especially received in them; for the very fear of the rich wins them respect.¹¹⁷

In contrast to the Carthusians, Cistercian houses made considerable provision for the needy poor, including legislation that gave the gatekeeper responsibility for distributing bread to passers-by.¹¹⁸ In addition to its resistance towards standard monastic practice towards charity, the Carthusian attitude towards almsgiving was considered by some observers as being hypocritical. Although they were meant to be an enclosed order, the Carthusians were clearly visited by outsiders and had close

¹¹⁷ 'Pauperum et peregrinorum maxime susceptioni cura sollicite exhibeatur, quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur; nam divitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem.' J. McCann ed., *Rule of St Benedict* (London, 1952), pp. 120-121.

¹¹⁸ J. Burton and J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 192.

contacts with the outside world, as seen with their engagement with their contemporaries. Their adherence to their policy on almsgiving and not on absolute enclosure could be seen as contradictory.

This contradiction is identified sharply by Richard of Devizes in the prologue of his chronicle, addressed to his former prior Robert of St Swithun's in Winchester, who had left his position in 1191 to become a monk at Witham.¹¹⁹ He states his past desire to visit his prior there 'to see for myself what you were doing, how you were living, and by how much a Carthusian cell is loftier and nearer Heaven than is the cloister at Winchester.'¹²⁰ He goes on to say that 'There must be some great and profound mystery about a door that stands open and yet no one is allowed to come in or go out through it.'¹²¹ Richard then addresses the Carthusian performance of charity and noted that,

You [the monks at Witham] are abounding in all temporal goods, since you have nothing and yet possess everything; you are more merciful and kinder than all other men, since you have perfect charity towards each other.¹²²

¹¹⁹ For general biographical information on Richard of Devizes, see G. H. Martin, 'Devizes, Richard of (c.1150–c.1200)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23516>, accessed 25 Jan 2016]. Richard of Devizes' chronicle survives in two manuscripts, probably in draft form and not revised after 1198. These are no. 339 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and Cotton MS. Domitian A. xiii of the British Museum, both written at the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth. Appleby provides an analysis on the manuscripts in J. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', *Historical Research*, 36 (1963), pp. 71-77.

¹²⁰ 'Postquam bono imine de nostra Wintoniensi ecclesia Cartusiam profectus es, multum et sepe desideravi subsequi sic profectum tecum forte remansurus, certo autem uiurus quid agrees, qualiter uiueres, quanto cella Cartusie celsior sit et cello uicinior claustro Wintonie.' *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, p. 1.

¹²¹ 'Magnum et profundum sacramentum debere hostium habere quod pateat, per quod intrare uel exire non liceat.' *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, p. 1.

¹²² 'Omnibus bonis temporalibus habundantes, tamquam nichil habentes et Omnia possidentes, omnibus misericordiores hominibus et humaniores, plenissimam ad uos inuicem caritatem habentes...' *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, p. 2.

However, this ‘perfect charity’ was not extended to outsiders: ‘...and yet you cut your charity to strangers in half, by giving them a blessing without a meal.’¹²³ The Carthusians are here shown to be out of touch with the actual needs of the people. Just as Guigo I said that the Carthusians had fled to the Grande Chartreuse for the care of souls rather than bodies, the Carthusians at Witham would give the poor a blessing but no physical sustenance.

Richard then marvelled at the contradiction between the principle of enclosure and the Carthusians’ access to up-to-date gossip:

...you are men living by yourselves, secluded and alone, away from the world; and yet you know everything that is done in the world as soon as it takes place, and sometimes you know about it in advance, even before it is done.¹²⁴

He has cutting comments to make about those who have joined the order, including his own prior Robert who ‘having given up his office of prior and disregarded his vows of religion, through grief – or should I rather say through devotion? – cast himself down into the Carthusian sect at Witham’ and Walter, prior of Bath who ‘had taken the same step before him, through the same fervour (or madness), but once he had got himself out, nothing seems so far from his mind as to think of going back.’¹²⁵

¹²³ ‘...caritatis effectum dimidiat ad aduenas, ‘benedicte’ sine prebenda dantes hospitibus.’ *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, p. 1.

¹²⁴ ‘Viri uiuentes uobis extra speculum secreto ac singulariter, omnes res gestas in seculo scitis ut fiunt, et quandoque prescitis antequam fiant.’ *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, p. 2.

¹²⁵ ‘Roberto prior sancti Swithuni Wintonie, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witteham dolore – an dicam deuotione? – deiecit se in sectam Cartusie. Walterus prior batonie prius ididem simili feruore (uel furore) presumpserat, sed semel extractus nichil minus uidetur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare.’ *The chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, pp. 26-27. Both statements are found within Richard’s account of the year 1191.

In these comments about the practices at Witham, Richard of Devizes criticised Carthusian economic policies which drove them to deny the acts of charity and hospitality that would have been accepted within more regular monastic communities. In fact, Richard argues, the Carthusians should be seen as being inferior to the Benedictines in this respect because, while the Carthusians claim to pursue a higher aim, their plain austerity achieved little in comparison to the moderation of a Benedictine community.¹²⁶ Of course, not all would consider the Carthusian denial of alms as a negative. Gerald, for instance, may have considered the restriction of external charity to be a virtue because he criticised the Cistercians' policies about the provision of resources for guests in his *Speculum ecclesiae*.¹²⁷ In this work, he argued that the desire to provide good hospitality drove the Cistercians to expand their holdings and resources to cover their needs.¹²⁸ Moreover, the Cistercians should remember that good acts do not justify wicked means.¹²⁹ It is better to be considered uncharitable than engage in activities that would risk the virtues of the house. This Carthusian austerity, to the point of lack of charity, was one of the primary points of praise from other authors like John who, as stated above, said that the Carthusians' austerity and their setting of limits for themselves was actually a key point of their superiority over other groups like the Cistercians who were dominated by avarice.

These criticisms of Richard of Devizes were addressed in the hagiographers of Hugh of Lincoln who, much like Guigo I in the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, can be seen as formulating apologies for Carthusian practice. Adam of Eynsham particularly

¹²⁶ 'The drift of the prologue is that Carthusian austerity compares badly with Benedictine moderation.' Gransden, *Historical Writing in England volume 1*, p. 251.

¹²⁷ Golding, 'Gerald of Wales and the monks', p. 58.

¹²⁸ See Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, volume 4, pp. 120-121.

¹²⁹ Castora, 'The Cistercian order', p. 84.

addresses one main point of hesitation: the benefits and consequences of solitude. He showed throughout the *Magna Vita* through various episodes in Hugh of Lincoln's life that the Carthusian practice of solitude, while not suitable for all people, was not only admirable but also safe. The Carthusians were not at risk of falling into ill discipline or instability. Like Hugh of Lincoln, the Carthusians held absolute obedience to superiors in supreme regard and through their institutionalised lifestyle were never denied opportunities for the provision of correction or exemplar. Likewise, although Richard of Devizes raised the issue of the Carthusian provision of charity, these practices are linked to the ultimate security of the house, so as to provide the best and most stable setting for the Carthusian pursuit of contemplation in solitude.

These late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century writers form a cohesive assemblage of external responses to the Carthusian order that specifically consider the Carthusians in England. When considered alongside more general attitude towards the order as evident in the works of John of Salisbury, Nigel Longchamps, Walter Map and Gerald of Wales, a picture develops of some of what contemporaries thought about the Carthusians in England in this period. In this respect the sources discussed here offer a considerable documentation which demonstrates that, for the most part, the reception of the order by writers in this region was positive and, for these more general commentators on the order, Carthusian practices were laudable due to the rigorous purity of their life, the maintenance of this purity, and their representation of reform aspirations all dominant features for approbation.

However, in other respects, the reputation of the Carthusians amongst writers in England seems to have been mixed. Walter Map, who was writing about the Carthusian order as an international institution, certainly had reservations about the order and Richard of Devizes' comments in his prologue offer similar sentiments. Moreover, while John, Nigel, Map, and Gerald all considered the Carthusians within written works of a similar genre and it is evident that they approached the Carthusians in direct comparison to other groups, such as the Cistercians. Their opinions of the Carthusians must therefore be weighed against the tendency to use this image of the order to critique their contemporaries.

Later considerations of the order similarly compare the Carthusians to other orders, such as Richard of Devizes' comparison between the Carthusians and the Benedictines and the disgruntled monk Alexander's criticism of life at Witham in the *Magna Vita* being based upon the observances of the Carthusians in contrast to other groups. The general sources considered in the first half of this chapter provide essential tools for contextualising such later studies of the order in England. Against this background and given that those sources external to the order that specifically consider the Carthusians in England, although remaining external documents, were more inclined towards a defence of the order, their desire to justify or apologise for certain aspects of Carthusian practice provides another indication that there was some level of criticism directed towards the order. Within these works, the Carthusians emerge as an institution whose appearance prompted apparent needs or desires to justify the practices and ethos of the order.

Such criticism, and the responses it inspired, goes well into the Carthusian past and the context of the order's early years, as seen with parallel apologies found in the *Consuetudines*. In the earlier twelfth century, in the context of a positive reception of the order by their monastic contemporaries, Guigo I had seen the need to explain Carthusian practices such as solitude and the denial of alms. That such apologies continued into the later twelfth century is, perhaps, telling. These two groups of sources discussed above regarding the Carthusians both as a general order and in England show that there was an active dialogue throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries about the place of solitude within monasticism and its consequences towards obedience, stability, and poverty. Within the general attitude towards the order was positive, critical caveats remain, and the more intimate view of the order, as shown by the hagiographers of Hugh of Lincoln, matches this assessment.

The reputation of the Carthusians, even those occupants of one house, is revealed by the substantial, and in some aspects unmatched, commentary that surrounds Witham. This house is a reflection of the strengths and weaknesses that the order exhibited to contemporary eyes throughout the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Moreover, in seeking to justify Carthusian observances, the hagiographers of Hugh of Lincoln, and Adam of Eynsham in particular, behaved in conformity to Guigo I. Tensions continued to exist with regards to the solitary life that the Carthusians pursued and these heavily influenced depictions of the Carthusians of England. Satirical and polemical observers of the order were similarly influenced by much deeper concerns about Church reform and anxieties about the state of the Church and ecclesiastical leadership. Witham was founded at a period of considerable anxiety in Church reform within which criticism was growing even for reformed monastic

communities such as the Cistercians. In inspecting the English literature surrounding the Carthusians, both concerning the order as a whole and the order in England, the nuances of the reception of the Carthusian order in this region emerge. To continue this examination, the argument will now turn to two case studies in order to assess the order in England through the eyes of two witnesses: Adam of Eynsham and Adam of Dryburgh.

Adam of Eynsham and Carthusian hagiography

As outlined in the introduction of this thesis, although the Carthusians in England were represented by only one charterhouse in the twelfth century, they were the driving force behind significant sources for the order. The previous chapter has shown that the order was the subject of a considerable breadth of satirical, polemical, and apologetic works composed by authors active in England. To these can be added two highly significant works that owe their existence to the Carthusians themselves. One, also discussed in the wider context of satire and apology, is the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*. The other is the *De quadripertito exercitio cellae*. Both were produced at the instigation of the monks of Witham; the former being Adam of Eynsham's hagiography of Hugh of Lincoln, the first Carthusian saint and leading figure of the order in England, and the latter a theological work composed by Adam of Dryburgh, a Premonstratensian turned Carthusian. As stated previously, these works make up a significant proportion of the surviving Carthusian works of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹ Only the Grand Chartreuse produced more literary works in this period. They also provide exceptional opportunities to examine the construction of textual and literary identities within the order, as opposed to those formed by external observers. Adam of Dryburgh's Carthusian theological work offers a unique lens into the conceptual framework of a Carthusian monk of this period, and is the subject of a detailed analysis in the next chapter. Adam of Eynsham's *vita* of Hugh is used, in what follows, to examine attitudes towards the image of Carthusian sanctity that the author projected.

Hugh of Lincoln is the figurehead of the Carthusians in England and dominates studies of the order in this region as a result of the composition of the three hagiographical works

¹ As discussed above in the introduction of this thesis, especially pp. 12-14.

previously mentioned: the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* of Gerald of Wales, the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* of Adam of Eynsham, and the *Metrical Life*, ascribed to Henry of Avranches. To these can be added the *Vita Sancti Remigii*, an earlier work by Gerald of Wales which includes a short biography of Hugh. These *vitae* offer vital information about the Carthusian order in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but, of Hugh's *vitae*, it is the *Magna Vita* that has been the principal source for later studies. It was written by Adam, a monk at the Benedictine abbey of Eynsham, near Oxford, where he rose first to the position of prior and then, in 1213, to abbot.² Adam left the monastery for a period of three years from 1197 to 1200 during which he acted as Hugh's personal chaplain, Hugh's death terminating the arrangement. After that point, he wrote the *Magna Vita* at the instigation of the monks of Witham.

Although the *Magna Vita* presents the most detailed account of Hugh's life, both before and after his election as bishop of Lincoln in 1186, all of the *vitae* contribute individual insights onto the subject. The precise record of Hugh's place and date of birth is not clear; a composite account from the available sources suggests that this was Avalon near Grenoble in south-eastern France in around 1140.³ He became a canon at the nearby Augustinian house of Villarbenoit while still a child.⁴ His father, who had been a knight, had decided to leave the

² *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. xii.

³ The *Vita Sancti Hugonis* describes him as being born in Burgundy, 'de remotis imperialis Burgundie finibus, haut procul de Alpibus.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 9. The *Magna Vita* does not explicitly mention where Hugh was born. *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. vii. Adam of Eynsham, however, refers to Hugh as being 'Hugh of Avalon' in the second book of the *Magna Vita*, *Ibid*, p. 47. Adam also refers to Hugh's brother William as owning the castle of Avalon, *Ibid*, p. 131. William is similarly called 'William of Avalon' by Adam, *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 164. The date of c.1140 is established by Douie and Farmer. *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. vii.

⁴ 'Cum autem iam quasi decennis existeret, pia patris providencia in loco qui Villa Benedicta vocatur, cenobio conventuali et canonico, discipline regularis habitum simul et animum suscepit.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 9. The *Magna Vita* contradicts the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and states that Hugh joined the canons' community when he was 'barely eight'. 'Et genitricis quidem solation, cum prime necdum etatis metas excessisset, orbatus est, collegioque regularium clericorum una cum genitore breui postmodum sociatus. Erat ferme octennis cum militia spiritualis subiit tyrocinis.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 5.

secular world and become a canon, taking the young Hugh with him.⁵ Hugh flourished as a canon here and was put in charge of his own cell of St Maximus, which was located nearby.⁶ As he matured, however, Hugh was increasingly dissatisfied with his vocation. Gerald of Wales ascribes Hugh's subsequent conversion to the Carthusian order and entrance to the Grande Chartreuse, which lay nearby, as being driven by the presence of women at St Maximus, as does the *Metrical Life*.⁷ The *Magna Vita* presents a very different version of events in which Hugh became attracted to the Carthusian lifestyle after visiting the monks at the Grande Chartreuse.⁸ Inspired by their way of life Hugh, despite his prior's explicit disapproval, left his Augustinian cell and joined the order.⁹ Both the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and the *Magna Vita* are clear that the Carthusian way of life suited Hugh; its austere and ascetic nature satisfied his inner holiness. Gerald describes him as embracing the austerity of the order 'with willing and holy devotion.'¹⁰ The *Magna Vita* describes Hugh similarly,

⁵ 'Ubi et pater ipsius, paucis postmodum annis, habitu suscepto, secularique milicia pro celibe et celesti prorsus abiecta...' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 9. 'Boni quippe parentis salubriter pro eo inuigilante sollertia, prius docetur militare Deo quam addisceret uiuere mundo.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 5-6.

⁶ The *Vita Sancti Hugonis* stated that this happened when he was fifteen years old, 'Cum autem etatis sue quintum decimum iam annum ageret... in cella domus sue que Sancti Maximi dicitur prior est effectur ceterisque prefectus.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 11. The *Magna Vita* presents a different version of events. When Hugh was nineteen, he was raised to a diaconate, 'Annum uero etatis iam ingressus nonum decimum, petente omni cetu fratrum, per uenerabilem Gratianopolitanum antistitem gradum coactus et inuitus ascendit leuiticum.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 16. After proving to be a talented preacher, he was then made the prior of Saint Maximus, 'Vicinam igitur cellulam quam uocant Sanctum Maximum, eo quod eius loci basilica sancto est Maximo, regentium nobili patron, consecrate, ei committit regendam.' *Ibid*, p. 18.

⁷ 'Videns itaque nimiam mulierum ad locum illum ex antique latrerie more frequentiam, qui de facili vel absque scandalo deleri vel absque periculo gravi sustineri non posset, cum fugiendus sit hostis huiusmodi, et arte magis quam Marte vincendus, austerioris vite causa et ar[c]tioris religionis gracia, Cartusiam non procul inde distantem se felici propositione transferre curauit.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, pp. 10-13. The *Metrical Life* goes into even more detail, describing Hugh being pursued by a beautiful woman who 'made an attempt upon the heart of Saint Hugh.' This episode can be found in *Metrical Life*, pp. 17-23.

⁸ Adam presents a much more extensive account of Hugh's conversion, which occupies chapters seven and eight of book one, *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 22-28. He had heard the reputation of the Grande Chartreuse and arranged to meet them with his prior, '...optinere studuit ut simul cum priore suo iam superius memorato illorum mereret aspect et affatu potiri.' *Ibid*, p. 22.

⁹ The description of these events can be found in *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 25-27. Hugh's prior tried to prevent him from joining the Grande Chartreuse with an oath, but Hugh chose to disobey, arguing that 'an oath thoughtlessly exacted from you which endangered your soul and your eternal welfare should not be kept.' '...et certificans te plenissime sacramentum non esse obseruandum inconsideratius extortum contra utilitatem anime aut in detrimentum uere salutis.' *Ibid*, p. 27.

¹⁰ '...spontanea sanctaque cum deuotione suscepit.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, pp. 12-13.

Having attained at last to the desired embraces of the lovely and glowing Rachel, Hugh, the new aspirant to the eremitical life was like the most holy Mary in his cell alone.¹¹

Adam, unlike Gerald, then proceeds to give further details of Hugh's career as a Carthusian. After adapting enthusiastically to the Carthusian way of life, Hugh was eventually made procurator of the Grande Chartreuse, the official in charge of the lay brothers and the day-to-day running of the charterhouse.¹²

In explaining his relocation to the charterhouse of Witham, both the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Magna Vita* emphasise that Hugh's holiness became so well known throughout Western Europe that Henry II called upon him to become the new prior of his struggling charterhouse in Somerset, which had lost its first two priors in the first year or so of its foundation.¹³ The first prior had returned to the continent and the second had subsequently died of an illness.¹⁴ Although, as outlined in the previous chapter, Hugh was reluctant to take this post, he acquiesced to the king's demand once his Carthusian superiors had ordered him to obey the

¹¹ 'Potitus igitur cupitis tandem amplexibus formose et lumine Rachel, sedebat nouus heremi accola tamquam religiosissima Maria, Hugo in cella solitaria.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 30-31.

¹² Only the *Magna Vita* describes Hugh becoming procurator, an office that he accepted very reluctantly 'Post hec cum iam Hugo in quietis sue nidulo per bina circiter lustra moratus, et mundo plene mortuus plumis undique et pennis fultus solidissimis ad uolatum esset aptissimus, procuracionem totius domus ei in quantum licuit renitenti prior suus delegauit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 41.

¹³ 'Cum igitur ordinis austeritati tante rigorem etiam in se quantum potuit vir Deo ex toto datus adiceret et, tanquam inter nebulas glorie solare lumen erumpens, Cartusiense cenobium sanctissima conversacione sua iam aliquamdiu feliciter illustrasset, ad cellam quondam ordinis eiusdem ab Anglorum rege Henrico secundo nuper in Anglia fundatam...' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 12. The *Magna Vita* presents a more developed account in volume 1, pp. 46-49. The circumstances of the foundation as discussed in Chapter One.

¹⁴ The first prior was 'too sensitive to bear the responsibility which the business of the new foundation demanded' and the 'guileless' men of Witham permitted him to return home. Soon after he arrived the second prior 'ended his trials by a holy death and entry into life eternal.' The Latin text, 'Qui uero predictor fratribus prior fuerat designatus, ad breue uix tempus in Anglia de grege adqueuit. Vacationi namque et quieti solitudinis assuefactus, negotium sollicitudinis tante constructioni debitum mente delicate non ferebat... Quem indigenarum aduersum se uiri innocens motum pullulare sentientes et in futurum precauere quieti sue satagentes, piorem suum ad domum suam redire permiserunt, quatinus, communicato cum uiris sanctis consilio, uel animequior ipse redirect siue alium loco suo ad hec magis sufficientem destinari optineret. Rediit ergo, et loco eius alius mittitur, qui tedio simili affectus, morte beata finem laborum et uite initium citius accepit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 47.

sovereign.¹⁵ So began the English career of Hugh of Avalon who, having been prior of Witham for about seven years, was elected bishop of Lincoln in 1186 and remained in this position until his death in 1200.¹⁶

The *Magna Vita* is the only such work to discuss Hugh's monastic career or sympathies in detail. It emphasises Hugh's status as a Carthusian monk even after his election as bishop, describing his continuing links with the order and his continued observance of their practices. While the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Metrical Life* make little reference to the order after this point, Adam of Eynsham underlines the bishop's continuing attachment to the tenets and traditions of his order. Adam describes, for example, Hugh's regular retreats to Witham after he became bishop, 'sometimes once [per year] and sometimes more often, whenever he had an opportunity.'¹⁷ The question remains as to why, precisely, these aspects of Hugh's life appear in this work. It is clear from the omission of this characterisation of Hugh from the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Metrical Life* that his membership to the Carthusian order was not necessarily seen as a universally essential aspect of his life and apparent sanctity. These alternative *vitae* instead focus upon his career as bishop of Lincoln and his episcopal successes.

¹⁵ The arrival of the king's envoys and Hugh's resistance to his election can be found in chapters three and four of book two of the *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 53-60. Hugh chose to leave the decision to his prior, Guigo II, who in turn, left the decision to the bishop of Grenoble saying 'Iam quidem ratum est quod de me dixi: Hugonem a me uox mea aut mens mea numquam remouebit. Tu iam uideris, tu episcopus noster es, tu et pater et frater noster. Si hoc ei iniungas si precipias, ego non contradico, non resisto.' Ibid, pp. 57-58. The bishop of Grenoble then commanded Hugh to take the priorship of Witham, saying 'Perge itaque sospes et felix cum uenerabilibus uiris istis qui te uocare uenerunt, curamque suscipe domus Withamie in Anglia, fauente Domino construende.' Ibid, p. 59.

¹⁶ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. viii.

¹⁷ ...postquam uir sanctus ad pontificatum accessit, calamus noster Withamiam scribendo attigeret; ad quam ipse, toto pene quo episcopatum gessit tempore, nunc semel nunc sepius, prout oportunum ei fuit, singulis annis uenire consueuit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 70-71.

Two explanations for such variation between the *vitae* can be suggested: the background of the authors and their connections to Hugh. For example, as a secular cleric, Gerald of Wales was more likely to be interested in Hugh as a bishop and his defence of his episcopal rights than his career as a monk. Conversely, Adam of Eynsham's position as a Benedictine monk would have had a significant impact upon the contents of his work.¹⁸ In terms of personal knowledge, that Adam lived in close proximity to Hugh during the final few years of his life might be thought to have exercised some influence on the structure and content of the *Magna Vita*. Throughout, Adam asserted his close connection with the bishop after he became Hugh's chaplain,

Thenceforth until his death, which took place three years and five days later, I never left him except for one night, but always with him, ministering to him night and day. The things I have here set down are what I saw with my own eyes during this time, or what I heard from his own venerable lips.¹⁹

The level of detail that Adam provides for Hugh's life, character and insights can be ascribed to this contact. He explicitly refers to Hugh as being his principal source throughout the *Magna Vita* and there are numerous points in the work at which Adam directly reports what Hugh said about a subject, purporting to quote him directly. Such a level of detailed reporting stands in stark contrast to that which a work like the *Metrical Life* would have been able to achieve, being written over twenty years after Hugh's death by an author for whom there is no evidence that he knew Hugh. Likewise, Gerald of Wales was unlikely to have had such personal information to hand when writing either the *Vita Sancti Remigii* or *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, given that there is no evidence of close contact between the bishop and Gerald.

¹⁸ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. xv.

¹⁹ 'A quo tempore per annos tres et dies quinque, quamdiu scilicet in corpore postea uixit, ab eius numquam nisi per unam solam noctem abfui comitatu, die semper et nocte adherens ipsi et ministrans ei. Huius igitur spatii temporis omnia fere que de eo libellus presens continebit aut propriis uidi oculis aut a sanctis ipsius labiis audiui.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 45.

Although certainly influential, these two explanations for the monastic emphasis of the *Magna Vita* are not entirely satisfactory. Adam's personal intimacy with Hugh cannot be assumed to be the reason for his depiction of Hugh as a Carthusian within his work, nor can this be solely ascribed to Adam's own status as a monk. A crucial aspect of the composition of the *Magna Vita* that cannot be overlooked is its commission. In the preface to book one, Adam states that the work was written at the behest of the community of Witham.

To his lords and most dear friends prior R[obert] and the holy community of Witham...You ordered me, I say, and would take no refusal, to ensure their survival I should report certain particulars concerning that most saintly man Hugh, bishop of Lincoln...²⁰

In contrast, the *Vita Sancti Remigii*, *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, and *Metrical Life* had very different origins. In particular, the *Vita Sancti Remigii* and *Vita Sancti Hugonis* can be placed centrally within the process of remembrance and history-making at the cathedral community of Lincoln.²¹ Gerald of Wales had close connections with the community of Lincoln, having written the *vita* of Saint Remigius, the first Norman bishop of Lincoln, and had lived in the city between about 1196 and 1199. These links meant that the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* was as much a part of the history of Lincoln as the biography of Hugh.²² Within this context Hugh's achievements as bishop of this community were more significant than those relating to his career as a Carthusian monk. In a similar vein, by their commissioning of the *Magna Vita*, the

²⁰ Dominis et amicis in Christo carissimis, R. priori et qui cum eo sunt sanctis Withamensibus monachis...Iubetis, inquam, nec a iubendo flecti adquiescitis, quantis non nudis loquendo uerbis perfunctory transeuntibus, immo tenacibus scribendo literis ex his que de uiro beatissimo Hugone Lincolnensi presule...? *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 1.

²¹ For a full study on the culture of remembrance at the community of Lincoln cathedral, see W. Kay, *Living Stones: the practice of remembrance at Lincoln Cathedral (1092-1235)* (PhD diss., St Andrews, 2013), especially pp. 127-145.

²² For instance, the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and *Metrical Life* include descriptions of the construction of Lincoln cathedral, an act that is omitted in the *Magna Vita*, see *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, pp. 20-23 and *Metrical Life*, pp. 52-61.

Carthusians of Witham were invested in the composition of a work that presented an exaltation of the order and, in doing so, presumably chose an author who was in the best position to engage with, and place Hugh within, the literary traditions of their predecessors. As will be seen with the composition of *De quadripertito exercitio cellae*, rather than being passive recipients of external attitudes towards their order, the community of Witham was actively patronising works that can be seen as defining parts of the corpus of the Carthusian order in the twelfth century and as reflective of the charterhouse community's internal attitudes.

The relationship between the *Magna Vita* and the community of Witham must surely have influenced Adam's inclusion of Hugh as a Carthusian within the work. How Adam achieved this is a significant issue. Kleinberg described the composition of a saint's *vita* as being 'an exercise in persuasion' and as such Hugh's membership of the order may well have been considered by Adam to be an additional factor that built up the image of his holiness in a specific way and convinced the audience of his merits.²³ Although the *Magna Vita* was written before Hugh's canonisation in 1220, its subject's sanctity is never in any doubt.²⁴ It

²³ A. M. Kleinberg, 'Proving sanctity: selection and authentication of saints in the later middle ages', *Viator* 20 (1989), p. 185. The work of Kleinberg is only one small part of the considerable corpus of work that is dedicated to the concept of sainthood in the medieval period. A seminal work remains Andre Vauchez's *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, which was translated by Jean Birrell in 2005. In this, Vauchez maps significant changes in hagiographical presentations of saints, such as a tendency in the twelfth century towards placing greater emphasis on a saint's monastic qualities. At the same time, an increasing monopolisation of the papacy of the canonisation process resulted in a concurrent growth in the standardisation of what it meant to be a saint in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Other significant works concerning developments in hagiography include T. Heffernan, *Sacred biography: saints and their biographers in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988) and D. Weinstein and R. M. Bell, *Saints and society: the two worlds of western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982). More recently, see M. Goodich, *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Aldershot, 2004).

²⁴ The process surrounding Hugh of Lincoln's canonisation is a clear example of the increased monopolisation of the papacy of the canonisation process. A commission was gathered to assess Hugh's sanctity at the behest of a petition made by the archbishops and bishops of England to the papacy (interestingly the Carthusians had no involvement in the process). The resulting document, the commissioners' report, gathered evidence for the sanctity of Hugh. This dossier of evidence collected by the commission was then sent to Rome in order to be approved by the pope. It was quickly accepted and Honorius III issued the bull of canonisation on 16th February 1220 at Viterbo in Italy. For studies on the development of the canonisation process, the work of E. W. Kemp

was his actions as bishop of Lincoln, rather than as monk and prior, that were the driving force behind his canonisation and the composition of his *vitae*. Precisely why and how Hugh appears as a Carthusian monk in the *Magna Vita* is therefore important for understanding how Adam considered these aspects of his life to be persuasive in the creation of Hugh as a saint when his monastic career appears to have had little influence over his formal canonisation.²⁵

The extent to which the *Magna Vita* reveals the sentiment of Hugh as a Carthusian monk towards his order and its guiding principles should not, however, be overemphasised. Although a crucial source of information about the Carthusian order and written at the encouragement of the community of Witham, the *Magna Vita* remains at its heart a Benedictine account of a Carthusian monk's life and should not be read, strictly speaking, as an internal product of the order. More importantly, it should never be considered uncritically as an authoritative representative of actual Carthusian practice. It can instead be read as the creation of the textual identity of a Carthusian monk.

Comparative works of Carthusian origin are essential because it is difficult to excise a specifically 'Carthusian' identity from larger monastic and religious traditions. Although there are certain identifiers within Carthusian practice, such as the isolation of the monks within individual cells, as D. D. Martin identified in a study of sanctity in the Carthusian tradition, their fundamental principles differ little from those of other religious groups,

remains classic, such as E. W. Kemp, 'Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (1945), pp. 13-28 and E. W. Kemp, *Canonisation and authority in the Western Church* (London, 1948). For the specific process of Hugh's canonisation see D. H. Farmer, 'The Cult and Canonisation of St Hugh' in Mayr-Harting ed., *St Hugh of Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 75-87 and D. H. Farmer, 'The Canonization of St Hugh of Lincoln', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 6 (1956), pp. 86-117.

²⁵ Farmer, 'The Cult and Canonization', p. 80.

...the essentials of sanctity for Carthusians are no different from the essentials of sanctity for all Christians: utterly self-donative *caritas*; simplicity, humility, complete reintegration of what sin has torn apart, disintegrated, rendered conflicted; love of God and neighbour; putting creatures in their proper, God-given place...; the *utilitas* of all things insofar as they point us toward love of God for his sake alone.²⁶

Within the wider tradition of concepts of sanctity, ‘None of this is original or unique to the Carthusians.’²⁷ In identifying how Adam considered Hugh to be ‘Carthusian’, the *Magna Vita* can be compared to two Carthusian hagiographical works of the twelfth century.

By virtue of the emphasis of Hugh as a Carthusian in the *Magna Vita*, the *Magna Vita* is one of three biographies written in the twelfth century that could be considered ‘Carthusian’. Barring the first five priors of the Grande Chartreuse, whose lives were recorded very briefly in the *Magister Chronicle*, Hugh of Lincoln is one of only two Carthusian monks in this period that were the subject of hagiographical works, the other being that of Antelme of Belley, who, like Hugh, had been a Carthusian monk before becoming bishop.²⁸ The *vitae* of these two Carthusians-turned-bishops provide pictures of sanctity directed at Carthusians. To this pair can be added the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, which concerns another Hugh, the bishop of Grenoble from 1080 to 1132. While Hugh of Grenoble was not himself a Carthusian monk, his *vita* was written by Guigo I in 1134 and can therefore be considered within the Carthusian literary corpus.²⁹ These works must be treated with the same caution as the *Magna Vita*. The *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* can be regarded as the most

²⁶ Martin, ‘Sanctity in the Carthusian order’, p. 200.

²⁷ Martin, ‘Sanctity in the Carthusian order’, p. 200.

²⁸ The text of the *Magister Chronicle* is found in Wilmart, ‘La chronique des premiers chartreux’, pp. 117-127. This chronicle is fragmentary at best with no complete edition. In this article, Wilmart presents two versions of the text in parallel. The *Magister Chronicle* was used by Charles Le Couteaulx within the *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis* for information about the earliest history of the Grande Chartreuse but it does not provide overly detailed portraits of its subjects. *Vie de saint Antelme* as cited above.

²⁹ As cited above.

‘Carthusian’ of these works, even though Hugh of Grenoble himself was not a member of the order, because it was written by Guigo I. In contrast, the author of the *Vita Sancti Antelmi* is not known but is considered to have been written by a Carthusian, identified in the title of the work as being ‘William, Carthusian of Portes’.³⁰ A comparison between the *Magna Vita* and these works is particularly apt because, as will be seen, Adam self-consciously referenced both Antelme of Belley and Hugh of Grenoble in his work. In addition to these Carthusian *vitae*, the theological and legislative works of Guigo I present more authoritative accounts of Carthusian tenets and ideas of sanctity. The *Consuetudines* and the *Meditationes* are indispensable to the scholarly identification of Hugh of Lincoln as a Carthusian monk in the *Magna Vita*. Given the significance of Guigo I as the main legislative force behind the early Carthusian order, these provide the theoretical and conceptual framework in which to approach to what it meant to be ‘Carthusian’ in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Adam and Carthusian *vitae*

While Adam is certain about the superiority of the monastic life over all others, saying that ‘the monastic life was always the ideal one’, he is emphatic throughout the *Magna Vita* that

³⁰ The identification of the author of the *Vita Sancti Antelmi* has, however, been the subject of some debate, which has a significant impact upon how it can be used as a source. The editor of the *vita*, Jean Picard, identifies two main theories about the author of the work. The first stated that the author was a Carthusian of the charterhouse of Portes who was writing in 1178. *Vie de sainte Antelme*, pp. 72-74. The second, as put forward by De Meyer and De Smet, argued that the work was not written by a Carthusian but by a canon at the cathedral of Belley and was written in the 1220s. This latter argument was put forward in De Meyer and De Smet’s article, ‘Notes sur quelques sources littéraires relatives à Guigues Ier, cinquième prieur de la Grande Chartreuse’, pp. 168-195. The evidence that De Meyer and De Smet present for this conclusion include the reference by the author to Hugh of Lincoln as a saint. Since he was not canonised until 1220 this would suggest that the *vita* was written at this time. Moreover, they suggest that the author of the *Vita* was ignorant of Carthusian principles because there were several points where Antelme acted contrary to Carthusian practice, for instance the speed at which he became a full monk. De Meyer and De Smet use this as evidence that the author was not a Carthusian, that the text of the *Consuetudines* was not accessible to him and that he did not respect the ‘Carthusian spirit’. Picard does not support this opinion and instead asserted that the work was written by a Carthusian of Portes.

Hugh's membership of the Carthusian order marked him out favourably.³¹ Specifically, Adam asserts that the Carthusian way of life was loftier than other forms of religious life and Hugh's decision to become a Carthusian monk appears as a form of spiritual promotion or progression. In describing Hugh's departure from Villarbenoit, Adam says that 'Hugh, in the opinion of all, had already attained to the height of perfection aspired to by his order, and far in advance of his years.'³² To achieve more, Hugh turned towards the Carthusians to satisfy his religious desires. Hugh '...already knew the reputation for extreme sanctity enjoyed by the monks of Chartreuse and wished with all his heart for the inspiration of their example.'³³ Similar themes are found in the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* but Adam makes it clear that Hugh's desire to lead a Carthusian way of life and his suitability for their travails was only a manifestation of his inherent holiness.³⁴ Adam is at pains in his description of Hugh's early life to show that Hugh's capacity for piety had existed since his youth (a common enough trope in hagiographical writing) but he emphasised also that, while being a Carthusian was not the reason that Hugh became holy, his status in this order was a reflection of his overall sanctity.³⁵ Hugh's Carthusian way of life was thus an expression of his holiness rather its cause.

In becoming bishop of Lincoln, Hugh continued a long-standing Carthusian tradition of close links with the episcopacy that had existed since the foundation of the order, as reflected in Bruno of Cologne's departure from the Grande Chartreuse in 1090 for Rome at the behest of

³¹ 'Erat numque ei, sicut et patron suo beato Martino, semper gloria in ordine monastico.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 43. Also see the previous chapter, which discusses the external reception of the Carthusians and occasions of hesitation towards Carthusian practice.

³² 'Iam Hugonem pro modo sue professionis ac supra modum sue etatis prefecte consummatum...' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 22.

³³ 'Comperta uero sancta et sublimi opinion Cartusiensium monachorum, inexplebili cordis desiderio eorum anhelabat informari exemplo.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 22.

³⁴ Particularly see *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 13.

³⁵ 'Videre erat dona gratie et dotes nature quemdam in eius prerogatiua sibi assumpsisse conflictum, ut uix discerneres quenam earum partes in eo ageret potiores. Set uincebat naturam gratia, dum bona indoles accipiebat gratiam pro gratia, superantem, preuentricem, subsequentiuam.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 10.

his former pupil Urban II to help him in his administration.³⁶ It is also reflected in the very close relationship that the Grande Chartreuse community maintained with Hugh of Grenoble. Hugh of Grenoble played a crucial role in the initial foundation of the house in 1084. When Bruno of Cologne came to Grenoble in this year looking for land to build a new community, Hugh of Grenoble gave him the resources necessary to complete his task.³⁷ This support for the house continued throughout his lifetime, as can be seen in Hugh of Grenoble's close relationship with Guigo I, which culminated with Guigo's composition of the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*.³⁸ The composition of this *vita*, in addition to the close ties that he had with the house throughout his lifetime, has led to scholars to regard Hugh of Grenoble as 'imbued with its [the Carthusian order's] spirituality and aspirations' and as a significant part of the early history of the order.³⁹

Carthusians themselves also became bishops, as exemplified by the life of Antelme of Belley in addition to that of Hugh of Lincoln.⁴⁰ Antelme was a Carthusian monk before he was elected bishop of Belley in 1163, a position he held until 1178. He had previously entered the charterhouse of Portes in 1135 or 1136 after a short career as a secular clerk. He was subsequently sent to the Grande Chartreuse where he became first procurator and then prior, from 1139–1151.⁴¹ Antelme was not canonised until 1368 by Urban V but his life is recorded

³⁶ Knowles, *The Monastic Orders*, p. 376. Cowdrey also demonstrated the close links between the Carthusian order and the papacy in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, particularly noting that the Carthusians 'disseminated the spiritual, moral, and political demands of the papacy.' H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Gregorian Papacy and Eremitical Monasticism', in P. De Leo ed., *San Bruno e la Certosa di Calabria* (Soveria Mannelli, 1995), p. 54.

³⁷ The narrative of this dream in the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* can be found in *PL* 153 cols. 769–770.

³⁸ In addition to writing the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, Guigo I also spoke about the final sickness of the bishop in a letter to Innocent II in 1131. *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 166–171.

³⁹ Cowdrey, 'The Carthusians and their contemporary world', p. 27.

⁴⁰ Hugh of Grenoble's own successor, Hugh II of Grenoble, had been a Carthusian monk before his election in 1132. Cowdrey, in fact, referred to the Grande Chartreuse as being a 'nursery of outstanding diocesan bishops'. H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and bishop', in M. Sargent, *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 42.

⁴¹ As described in *Vie de sainte Antelme*, p. 22.

by the near-contemporary *vita*. The *vitae* of Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley provide evidence for a tradition of bishops intrinsically linked with the Carthusian order into which Adam of Eynsham's depiction of Hugh as a bishop and Carthusian can be situated.

Adam refers explicitly to these men within the *Magna Vita*. Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley both appear in this work as personal models for Hugh of Lincoln. Hugh of Grenoble appears twice by name. Adam first cites him as a figure who had encouraged Hugh of Lincoln to regard the Benedictines in a positive light:

The example of Hugh of Grenoble had given him [Hugh of Lincoln] a greater enthusiasm and a closer affection for them. This blessed bishop had formerly been the special friend and patron of the venerable and wise founders of the Carthusian order, and from his youth onwards devoutly followed and imitated its way of life.⁴²

Adam quotes Hugh of Grenoble explaining why he did not convert to become a Carthusian. He said 'I have never been ashamed of this cowl [the black one], however drab it seems, so why, by abandoning it should I bring it into disrepute?'⁴³ Adam's description of Hugh of Grenoble serves to emphasise the worth of Cluniac or Benedictine monks and their mutual respect with the Carthusians but he also states that Hugh of Lincoln was the 'inheritor' of Hugh of Grenoble's sanctity.⁴⁴

The second time that Hugh of Grenoble appears in the *Magna Vita* is when he is discussed alongside Antelme of Belley as an excellent example of the possible virtues of bishops in

⁴² 'Hoc autem artioris erga istos dilectionis studium emulatio sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani indiderat ei. Hic enim beatus episcopus, precipuus olim adiutor et informatior eorum qui prouide atque sanctissime ordinem Cartusiensem primitus instituerunt, huius ab adulescentia sua conuersationis professor extitit et deuotissimus obseruator.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 43.

⁴³ 'Numquam profecto cuculla ista, quamlibet pulla uideatur, uerecundie iniuriam fecit michi; et ego qua ratione repudii contumeliam facerem illi?' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 44.

⁴⁴ '...et nominis et sanctitatis herede...' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 43.

chapter twelve of book four.⁴⁵ While on an annual retreat at Witham, Hugh of Lincoln was in the habit of talking to Adam of Dryburgh about various religious and spiritual subjects.⁴⁶ During one discussion, recorded by Adam of Eynsham, Adam of Dryburgh bemoaned the state of the contemporary episcopacy.⁴⁷ Through the lethargy and profit-seeking of modern bishops, he lamented that ‘the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts remains uncultivated and neglected, and the briars have grown up.’⁴⁸ In response, Hugh ‘would often cite the exemplary virtues of the monks, hermits and bishops of his own region, who in comparatively recent times had lived an almost perfect life.’⁴⁹ Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley are Hugh’s first examples.⁵⁰ It is evident from this discussion that Hugh of Lincoln regarded Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley as admirable examples of how a bishop should act and, consequentially, that they were direct personal models for him.⁵¹ Hugh of Lincoln identifies these men as being admirable specifically because he considered them to be bishops who were the opposite of corrupt modern bishops.

Adam of Eynsham knew about both men directly from Hugh of Lincoln. This familiarity expressed in the *Magna Vita* is supplemented by circumstantial evidence. Hugh of Lincoln was born near Grenoble and became a monk at the Grande Chartreuse in around 1165 and Hugh of Grenoble died in 1132. It is by no means impossible that there would have been monks living at the Grande Chartreuse who would have been alive during his episcopacy

⁴⁵ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 54-61.

⁴⁶ Adam of Dryburgh will be the subject of the next chapter. His meeting with Hugh of Lincoln is found in chapter eleven of book four of the *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 52-54.

⁴⁷ ‘Ingerebat heremita pontifici ex cripturarum eloquiis exempla perfectorum et dicta prelatorum, incusans modernorum inertiam pstorum quorum adeo mores et studia ab eximiorum uestigiis exorbitarent suorum decessorum, adeo degenerarent a uirtutibus eorum.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 53

⁴⁸ ‘Vnde uinea Domini Sabaoth inculta iacet, sentibus operta sqalet.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 54.

⁴⁹ ‘Sepissime ergo de sue regionis, quos modernis pene temporibus perfectam duxisse uitam nouerat, et monachis et heremitis et episcois admiranda retexebat uirtutum monumenta.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 54.

⁵⁰ The other two men are Gerard, the former count of Nevers, who became a lay brother with the order, and an unnamed ‘excellent man who came from Maurienne.’ Accounts of their sanctity are found *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 55-61.

⁵¹ Cowdrey, ‘The Carthusians and their contemporary world’, p. 34.

when Hugh of Lincoln was a monk there. If this was not the case, the communal memory of the bishop, as exemplified and recorded by the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, is likely to have still been strong. Similarly, Antelme of Belley was prior of the Grande Chartreuse from 1139 until 1151 and was still alive while Hugh was a monk at that house. It is reasonable then to presume that Hugh of Lincoln would have been familiar with him, especially given that Antelme maintained a close relationship with the community after he left his position as prior there, retaining a cell in the house during his career as bishop.⁵²

With regards to physical access to the *vitae* of Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley, although there are no indications of a surviving twelfth-century manuscript of the *Vita Sancti Antelmi* either at the Grande Chartreuse or in England, and the exact date of the composition of the work is unknown, the only known copy of the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* on the British Isles comes from Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library as manuscript no. 107 and it has been suggested that it was owned at some point by Hugh of Lincoln.⁵³ Given these points of access, Adam's knowledge of the personal and communal history of the monks of both the Grande Chartreuse and Witham can be posited strongly alongside a concomitant awareness of the heroic figures of their recent past. Adam of Eynsham had access to an established body of evidence, textual and oral, for what it meant to be a good Carthusian, or to be virtuous from a Carthusian perspective, upon which he could draw upon in any discussion of Hugh of Lincoln's sanctity.

Hugh as a Carthusian bishop

⁵² *Vie de sainte Antelme*, p. 27.

⁵³ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. xv.

The close similarities between the *vitae* of these three bishops has been discussed by Cowdrey, who concluded that the overwhelming characterisation of these men as found in these works presented them as models of ecclesiastical reform, particularly emphasising the close relationship between charterhouses and bishops.⁵⁴ As a summary, Cowdrey described the Carthusian model for monk-bishop as being ‘amongst the most authentic, effective, and attractive expressions of the aspirations for reform which multiplied in the Latin Church of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries’.⁵⁵ He found close comparative behaviour between the bishops, which he considered in the *vitae* to represent the reinforcement of the ideals of eleventh century ecclesiastical reform, specifically the need ‘to secure the celibacy of the clergy in body and spirit’ and ‘to seek the obedience and service of lay rulers through the pursuit of peace and accord.’⁵⁶ All three bishops, for instance, asserted ecclesiastical rights and concerns over secular politics, even when this brought them into conflict with secular rulers. Hugh of Grenoble came into conflict with Guy of Albon and Antelme of Belley had issues with the local nobility, often troubled by Humbert III of Maurienne who attempted to assert himself over Antelme.⁵⁷

Cowdrey noted similar conflicts in the *Magna Vita* such as Hugh’s assertive attitude towards Richard I. In one anecdote, Adam praises Hugh’s resistance to Richard’s monetary demands to fund an army abroad. According to Adam, it had become clear to Satan that Hugh would not ‘impose monetary exactions of his subjects, nor allow any other authority to make similar demands upon his church on any pretext whatsoever’.⁵⁸ He therefore caused the royal clerks

⁵⁴ Cowdrey, ‘The Carthusians and their contemporary world’, pp. 26-43.

⁵⁵ Cowdrey, ‘The Carthusians and their contemporary world’, p. 43.

⁵⁶ Cowdrey, ‘The Carthusians and their contemporary world’, p. 35.

⁵⁷ *Vie de sainte Antelme*, pp. 23-27.

⁵⁸ ‘Sciens namque serpens uirulentus uirum Dei libertatem ecclesie impensius zelare, qui nec subiectis sibi ecclesiis pecuniarias ullatenus exactions imponeret, nec quibuscumque potestatibus, tale quid a sua exigentibus ecclesia, ulla ratione adquiesceret...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 34.

to cause the king to make new demands upon the Church, namely the collection of allegedly uncollected arrears. Hugh, after some negotiation, decided to pay a sum of three thousand marks to free himself and his successors from the tribute. He did this because, while it was difficult to raise this amount of money,

Nothing seemed to him more shameful and intolerable than that the bride of the King of Heaven, or he himself, her temporary steward, should pay taxes or tribute to any human being.⁵⁹

By paying a great deal upfront, he thus ‘freed the church from an ignoble bondage.’⁶⁰ Moreover, since the money was offered freely by the clergy of his diocese and Hugh did not seize it himself, Hugh was then praised as a ‘liberator and manumitter’.⁶¹ These firm but respectful relations with the king assert Hugh’s commitment to maintain the independence and authority of the Church against those who sought to encroach upon it.

The close association of Carthusian figures with sentiments of ecclesiastical reform is unsurprising given the links between the Carthusian order and the desire to reform the Church. As an order whose very foundation reflected the late eleventh-century emphasis upon the need for greater asceticism within monastic life, it follows that the depiction of the ideal bishop for Carthusian monks would integrate both monastic and episcopal aspects of the reforming programme, as asserted by Cowdrey. Adam of Eynsham provides a clear example of what he considered to be Hugh’s embodiment of the ideal monk and bishop in the saint with an epitaph, which is repeated twice in the *Magna Vita*,

Here lies Hugh, model of bishops,

⁵⁹ ‘Nichil enim indignius, nichil sibi intolerabilius fore estimabat quam sponsam Regis eterni aut seipsum, illius pro tempore custodem, homini mortali censualem constituere et quodammodo uectigalem exhibere.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 35.

⁶⁰ ‘Exemit igitur ecclesiam a seruitute degeneri...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 35.

⁶¹ ‘...redemptor et manumissor...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 37.

Flower of monks, friend of scholars,
And hammer of kings.⁶²

In asserting these sentiments, Adam self-consciously links Hugh to the fluid model of monastic and episcopal ideals in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Imbued with monastic ideals, these bishops excelled in their episcopal duties not only in their personal virtues but also in their protection of the health of the Church.

The synthesis of both monastic and episcopal ideals within a member of the order had no sense of contradiction within Carthusian circles as shown in the monk-bishops recorded in the *vitae* tradition. These were men who, despite their interactions with the world, were not corrupted by it either mentally or physically. In order to understand the fact that it was entirely possible to live according to Carthusian principles, while fulfilling episcopal duties in the world, it is important to consider why the Carthusians sought to withdraw from the world. For this, the *Meditationes* of Guigo I provide elucidation.

Within this work Guigo I establishes why exactly it is that the Carthusians sought to limit their interaction with the world and emphasise the significance of solitude. In Guigo I's vision of the proper organisation of the world, the world occupies the lowest position, man is in the middle and God at the top.⁶³ Each level demanded a specific response and as such each had to be loved as it was meant to be loved.⁶⁴ Ultimately man must value God above all

⁶² 'Pontificum baculus, monachorum norma, scholarum Consultor, regum malleus Hugo fuit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 232.

⁶³ The masculine 'man' is being employed throughout this description of Guigo's schema, rather than a gender-neutral term, in order to reflect the nature of the original text.

⁶⁴ Meditation 466, 'Rationalis creaturae vera perfectio est, unamquamque rem tanti habere, quanti habenda est. Nam pluris vel minoris eam habere, errare est.' *Les Méditations*, p. 294. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 187.

things and should love him as he should be loved, which is infinitely.⁶⁵ Man must then hold those who are equal to him [his neighbour] as companions and those below him as servants. Meditation 471 summarises this point saying ‘He [man] will be the servant of God, the companion of man, the lord of the world.’⁶⁶ This hierarchy in practice has become inverted, however, because man has raised the world to God’s position. Man has then become enslaved by the world to the extent that man is in no way free.⁶⁷ In order to achieve the freedom to love God as is correct, man must release itself from this attachment to the world and to accomplish this man must first fully apprehend what is good for himself.⁶⁸ However, man does not want what is good for himself and instead desires worldly things. In short, the most apparent solution to this problem is withdrawal from the world.⁶⁹

This emphasis on the importance of withdrawal could be considered as a call to the monastery or the cell. The cell provides not only the withdrawal from the world needed to resist temptation but also the solitude which allows contemplation of God. Withdrawal from the world was equally withdrawal from a flawed attachment to the world and dedication of a human life to God. However, while Guigo I presents an uncompromising position towards the dangers of worldly things, the world itself is not presented in the *Meditationes* as being inherently either good or bad. It is merely an instrument by which man can attain his end,

⁶⁵ Meditation 468, ‘Deo nihil praefertur, nihil aequatur, nihil pro media, nihil pro tertia, vel pro quantacunque usque in infinitum parte comparator.’ *Les Méditations*, p. 298. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 188.

⁶⁶ Meditation 471, ‘...Dei servus, hominis socius, mundi dominus...’ *Les Méditations*, p. 300. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 189.

⁶⁷ Meditation 30, ‘Ignoras te ligatum et non resistis vinculis sicut canis.’ *Les Méditations*, p. 122. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 70.

⁶⁸ Meditation 449, ‘Cum vera salus hominis nil aliud sit quam id velle, id est amare quod debet, et tantum velle, id est amare quantum debet...’ *Les Méditations*, p. 282. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 179.

⁶⁹ Meditation 46, ‘In voluptate es. Maleigitur es. Quid ergo dubitas recedere quolibet, etiam ad aspera.’ *Les Méditations*, p. 118. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 73.

which is the love of God.⁷⁰ The world itself is not corrupting but our experience of it is. In placing an inappropriate value on the world, man cultivated an incorrect attitude towards it. With the correct attitude, it is therefore possible in theory to live well in the world, although such a state would be arduous due to the constant presence of temptation.⁷¹ This is an ability reflected in the *vitae* of Carthusian bishops, and most notably those of Hugh of Grenoble and Hugh of Lincoln.

In the *Magna Vita*, Adam specifically declares that it was not necessary to be absolutely withdrawn from the world to be saved. Hugh of Lincoln rejects the idea that it was necessary to have to be a monk in order to attain salvation, saying that,

The kingdom of God is not confined only to monks, hermits, and anchorites. When at the last, the Lord shall judge every individual, he will not hold it against him that he has not been a hermit or a monk, but will reject each of the damned because he had not been a real Christian.⁷²

He also specifically dismissed the idea that only Carthusian monks could attain salvation and instead asserted that married people could reach heaven if they behaved correctly.

⁷⁰ The world is an instrument by which we attain our end. Meditation 308, ‘Maxima utilitas corporum est, in usu signorum.’ *Les Méditations*, p. 204. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 132. The world was, then, a way of comprehending God as seen in meditation 373, ‘Rememora modos cognoscendi Deum, per considerationem creaturae de signis institutis, sicut sunt cruces, voces et caetera, et de naturalibus, ut rubor subitus in facie, vel pallor, et caetera...’ *Les Méditations*, p. 242. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 155.

⁷¹ Guigo I saw particular merit in living in the world without being corrupted by it. Meditation 22, ‘Para te ad cohabitandum malis, mente incorrupta: quod est angelicum. Quae autem gloria est, hoc facere cum sanctis?’ *Les Méditations*, p. 110. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 68.

⁷² ‘Haut solum,’ inquit, ‘monachi set nec heremite tantummodo atque solitarii consequentur regnum Dei. Denique cum unumquemque iudicabit Dominus, nequaquam id expostulabit quod heremita quisque non fuerat aut monachus, set hoc potius reprobo cuique exprobrabitur quod minime extiterit ueraciter Christianus...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 46.

He taught that even married people, who never rose above the natural obligations of their state, should not be considered to be devoid of the virtue of chastity but equally with virgins and celibates would be admitted to the glory of the heavenly kingdom.⁷³

The idea of the universality of salvation is also found elsewhere in the *Magna Vita*. As discussed above, in his first mention of Hugh of Grenoble, Adam used the bishop as a means of asserting that the vocation of the Benedictines was also a way to salvation and that while the Carthusians were the most perfect monastic order, they were not the only way towards salvation.⁷⁴ Although this is a recognition of the validity of other forms of religious life, of which Adam himself as a Benedictine monk was a member, it is also reflective of tenets found in the work of Guigo I. Throughout the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, Hugh of Grenoble's sanctity was not diminished in his *vita* by his decision not to become an avowed Carthusian. Guigo I never dismisses the possibility of sanctity for those living within the temporal sphere and within his work it was not necessary to become a monk to experience salvation.

Instead, an internalisation of attitudes towards the world was deemed necessary and Hugh of Lincoln is positioned in the *Magna Vita* within a Carthusian tradition of being able to live in the world without being corrupted by it. Although man's attitude towards the world, as seen in the *Meditationes*, is fundamentally flawed, the world itself is not inherently corrupting. The emphasis on the universality of sanctity is found in both the *Magna Vita* and the work of Guigo I and this opens up the question of how sanctity was to be achieved in the world. The

⁷³ '...docens etiam coniugatos, mensure sue limites minime transcendentis, castitatis decore nequaquam priuandos, set cum uirginibus partier et contentibus superne beatitudinis gloria donandos.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁴ Adam asserted that the Cluniacs or Benedictines were Hugh of Grenoble's second favourite monastic order. 'Inter cuius multiplicem ac misticam uarietatem post Cartusienses carius et familiarius amplexabatur Cluniacenses ceterosque illius habitus, quos silentia claustra sub negotioso otio spiritualiter nouerat excolentes.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 43.

answer lies in the required ability to reorientate one's attitude towards the world so as to resist the tendency to place it above the love of God. One realisation of this, considered above, lay in the reforming aspirations of the Carthusian *vitae* that show the bishop rejecting secular superiority over spiritual matters and prioritised the fulfilment of religious duties over temporal ones. Carthusian bishops resisted the draw of secular society, prioritising the spiritual over the temporal, and as such remained detached from worldly cares. A second means of reorientating oneself away from the world was to subject mind and body to a rigid programme of ascetic behaviour in order to achieve the total control over mind and body. As will be seen below, Adam identifies such ascetic behaviour as performed by Hugh as being explicitly and emphatically 'Carthusian'.

Carthusian virtues and the temptations of the world

In his description of Hugh's ascetic behaviour, Adam specifically refers to certain actions as being a continued expression of Hugh's identity as a Carthusian. He finds three main examples of Hugh's 'Carthusian' identity: the wearing of the hair shirt, the abstinence from meat, and a hesitation towards the virtues of miracles. These first two behaviours are also those that Gerald of Wales single out as defining features of the order, commenting upon 'the austerity of that Order which, besides other abstinences and heavy corporal penances, avoids eating meat everywhere and at all times and maintains rigor by always wearing haircloth.'⁷⁵ Adam goes further than Gerald, however, in his characterisation of Hugh as continuing to observe Carthusian practice during his episcopacy. In so doing, Adam portrayed Hugh as embodying the virtues of harsh asceticism and the proper attitude towards the world.

⁷⁵ 'Sed tanquam archam Domini usque Bersames mugiendo ferens, nec colla reflecens aut rescipiens, dicti duiciam ordinis, qui preter abstinencias certeras et afflictions corporis graves, omni loco et tempore cranium esum abhorret, et iugi cilio riget, spontanea sanctaque cum devocione suscepit.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 12.

Neither the wearing of hair shirts nor the abstinence from meat are unique to the Carthusian order. The consumption of meat by all except ill members of a community is, for example, forbidden by the *Regula Benedicti*.⁷⁶ Both the abstinence from meat and the wearing of the hair shirt also have great importance within the eremitical tradition.⁷⁷ A clear example of this is in the *vita* of the hermit Wulfric of Haselbury, which shows him not only tightly restricting his diet but also seeking out rough clothing as part of his increasing austerity, to the extent that he wore a hauberk under his clothing.⁷⁸ There are also numerous examples of other religious figures or saints wearing a hair shirt, especially upon their death bed.⁷⁹

Adam situates his comments on Hugh's attitudes to food, clothing and miracles directly within a Carthusian context. First, in discussing Hugh's stance towards food and drink, Adam describes how he was 'somewhat less abstemious in the matter of food after his assumption of the episcopal office than had been his wont before.'⁸⁰ As part of this softening of his austerity, Hugh ate fish although he 'never touched flesh meat whether in sickness or health' and it is this absolute rejection of the consumption of meat that Adam identifies as being

⁷⁶ For a study on diet in monasteries, see J. Kerr, *Life in the medieval cloister* (London, 2009), pp. 46-55 and Burton, *Monastic and religious orders*, pp. 166-167. For more general studies see B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England, 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (New York, 1993); C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeanston, T. Waldron eds., *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford, 2006).

⁷⁷ See D. Alexander, 'Hermits and hairshirts: the social meanings of saintly clothing in the *vitae* of Godric of Finchale and Wulfric of Haselbury', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), pp. 205-226 for the significance of the wearing of a hair shirt in the eremitical tradition.

⁷⁸ P. Matarasso, *The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite* (Minnesota, 2011), pp. 102-104.

⁷⁹ Thomas Becket, for instance, is found to have been wearing a hair shirt after his murder. Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, p. 205. Bernard of Clairvaux is also described in the *Vita Prima* as 'For a long time and as far as possible he [Bernard] kept secret the shirt next to his skin, but when it became known, he immediately relinquished it and went back to the common usage.' H. Costello trans., *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux* (Ohio 2015), p. 44. 'Multo tempore, et quamdiu occultum esse potuit, cilicio ad carnem usus est. Vbi uero sciri aduertit, continuo illud abiiciens ad communia se conuertit.' *Vita Prima Sancti Bernardi Claraevallis Abbatis, Liber Primus*, ed. P. Verdeyen (Turnhout 2011), p. 63.

⁸⁰ '...nequaquam duximus retiendum quia in uictus parsimonia, post susceptum pontificatus laborem, solito minorem uisus est tenuisse districtiorem.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 125.

Carthusian.⁸¹ In his description of Hugh's final illness and deathbed, Adam depicts Hugh's continuing denial of meat as being derived from the rules of the Carthusian order which 'forbade meat-eating altogether and that this applied without exception not only to the healthy but also to the sick and the dying.'⁸² Within the *Consuetudines*, Guigo I lists the food that Carthusians are permitted to eat and indicates that their diet was dominated by the consumption of bread, beans and vegetables, although other foodstuff such as eggs and cheese were sometimes permitted.⁸³ Meat is never found in the *Consuetudines* as a permitted food but ill members of the order are permitted to eat some fish if the illness was sufficiently severe.⁸⁴

In the *Magna Vita*, there is a further explanation of Hugh's refusal to eat meat. After being exhorted by the archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, to relax this practice during his final illness, Hugh finally consented to eat meat but cited his obedience to the archbishop rather than his own will for this change of heart. He said,

Please realise that neither my own inclination nor any hope of recovery would persuade me to eat meat. However, as I do not want to offend so many reverend persons, and still less when at the point of death not to follow in the footsteps of the One who was made obedient even unto death, let meat be brought to me.⁸⁵

⁸¹ 'A canis siquidem et sanguinis omnismoda perception et sanus et egrotus abstinens, piscibus crebro uesebatur.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 125.

⁸² 'Ille uero prescriptum obiciens ordinis Cartusiensis, quo in commune omnibus, mordibus, sanis et moribundis esus carniū inhietur, id sibi illicitum fatebatur.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 195.

⁸³ For the chapters dictating the Carthusian diet in the *Consuetudines*, see especially chapter thirty-three 'On fasts and food'. *Coutumes*, pp. 234-235.

⁸⁴ 'Propter hos solos, sit anta fuerit aegritudo: pisces emere solemus.' *Coutumes*, p. 242.

⁸⁵ 'Sciatis quia nex desidio nec remedio nobis aliquatenus esse poterit adeo suasus iste carniū esus. Verumptamen, ne tot uenerabiles uiros scandalizemus, immo ne ab illius uestigiis uel in morte iam positi recedamus, qui factus est obediens usque ad mortem, denture nobis carnes.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 195.

Even when Hugh did consent to being served meat in this instance, he only ate very little. In another episode, Hugh berated heads of monasteries ‘who forced their monks to abstain from all sorts of meat, when this was not part of the rule.’⁸⁶ He explained his criticism,

Brother...you who should be a consolation and an example to your monks, by this unnecessary abstinence will sin against them in both these respects. You are not refusing delicate fare, but merely having a different sort and thus cannot easily be acquitted of hypocrisy and scrupulosity. Rare vegetables, fish which is much more costly than meat and a variety of sauces and highly spiced dishes will be prepared for you by your servants instead of meat...The reason why I do not eat meat is because it is the rule of the order to which I submitted myself and not because of my own wishes.⁸⁷

Hugh did not refuse to eat meat because he considered it to be necessarily an expression of abstinence. A diet of vegetables and ‘poor’ food could be just as luxurious as one that included meat. Rather, while abstinence from meat was part of the Carthusian rejection of worldly pleasures and excess, Hugh did not eat meat because it was part of his obedience to the tenets of the Carthusian order and not his own will. His self-identification as a member of the Carthusian order is the dominant impulse for his rejection of meat rather than his own desire to undertake this abstinence. Just as Hugh consented to eat meat when compelled to do so by the archbishop of Canterbury, he rejected meat because he was compelled to do so by the principles of his monastic order.

⁸⁶ ‘Solebat, dum fuisset incolumis, quosdam uiros religiosos maximeque rectores cenobiorum arguer qui, preter consuetudinem fratrum suorum, a carnibus omnimodis ducerent abstinendum.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 196.

⁸⁷ ‘“Tu,” inquit, ‘frater, a quo solatium et exemplum sumere debent subiecti tui, propter abstinentiam istam extraordinariam in utroque peccaberis in eos. Tu ipse non delicias ressecabis tibi, set mutabis et in hoc quidem uanitatis crimen et superstitionis non facile euadis. Tibi enim ab officialibus aut legumina peregrine aut pisces carnibus pretiosiores, et uices sagiminis uaria condimenta, pigmentis et caris confecta rebus parabuntur...Nam quod ego carnibus non utor, non tantum mei arbitrii est quantum ordinis decreti cui semel ceruicem subicei.’” *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 196-197.

It has been noted by Dianne Bazell that Hugh of Lincoln is unique within the *vitae* of Carthusian bishops in that his *vitae* are the only ones that specifically mention an abstinence from meat rather than general fasting. The *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* and *Vita Sancti Antelmi* both only mention fasts, rather than any specific dietary requirements.⁸⁸ In contrast, Hugh's abstinence from meat is presented as being 'illustrative of the greatness of Carthusian spirituality.'⁸⁹ Bazell suggests that the lack of specific references in Carthusian hagiographical works to abstinence from meat, in contrast to the prescription of Carthusian legislation, can be explained by the fact that these Carthusian saints were all men. Different expectations relating to the gender of saints meant that the authors of these *vitae* were less concerned about detailing the specifics of the extreme fasting of these saints, in contrast to those of female saints.⁹⁰ Another interpretation for the specific emphasis that Adam places upon Hugh's abstinence from meat is that Adam identified the practice as a means of linking the bishop inextricably to the Carthusian order by showing that his desire to continue his obedience to monastic principles outweighed the expectations placed upon him as a bishop. Abstinence from meat was a key part of the continuation of his monastic lifestyle into his career as a bishop, which in turn continues to assert his identity as a Carthusian monk.

The wearing of the hair shirt is similarly described by Adam as being an essential part of Hugh's identity as a Carthusian. Adam describes how Hugh never removed his hair shirt throughout this final illness,

Never during his whole sickness were these garments [his hair shirt] or rather wrappings removed. Neither the heat of the fever nor the excessive perspiration

⁸⁸ D. M. Bazell, 'The genres of Carthusian abstinence', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 139 (1999), p. 575.

⁸⁹ Bazell, 'Carthusian abstinence', p. 575.

⁹⁰ Bazell, 'Carthusian abstinence', p. 579. A seminal study on the importance of food and fasting for female saints remains C. Walker Bynum, *Holy feast and holy fast: the religious significance of food to medieval women* (Berkeley, 1987).

caused him to lay them aside. Once or twice he reluctantly allowed us to change his hair-shirt which we found had become as stiff as mud because of the perspiration, and was twisted like rope between his tunic and his body because he tossed and turned so much.⁹¹

Adam identifies the wearing of the hair shirt to the extent that Hugh did as being even beyond the precepts of the order,

As we knew that often among the Carthusians it was the custom to remove the hair-shirt in sickness, we said to him, ‘My lord, this hairy garment is tormenting you grievously, as you lie there, always perspiring, and is causing sores. It is only right that we should take it off, as it is customary in your order to be without it during serious illnesses.’⁹²

Adam also describes the hair shirt of the Carthusians earlier in the *Magna Vita*, in book one. When Hugh first visited the Grande Chartreuse as a canon in his youth, an older monk tested him and warned him about the harshness of their life there, saying,

The very aspect of this place is frightening, but our way of life is even harder. The roughness of the hair-shirt which you would wear would cut through skin and flesh to your bones.⁹³

The wearing of the hair shirt is identified in these paragraphs as being a key component of the Carthusian lifestyle and a reflection of their acts of self-mortification.

⁹¹ ‘Hiis inuolucris potius quam indumentis, nullo egritudinis sue momento caruit. Non arbor febris, non corporis tantus sudor, aliquid horum ei detraxit.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 190.

⁹² ‘Et quia nouimus apud Cartusienses plurimum infirmis cilicia ex consuetudine tolli, dicebamus ei, ‘Domine, nimium ledit uos et exulcerat in continuis iacentem sudoribus hispida uestis hec. Oportet uos illam exuere et ea, iuxta morem ordinis, dum egritudo infestat, penitus carere.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 191.

⁹³ ‘Locus iste horridus ipso uisu est, ordo usu grauissimus; ipsius cilicii asperior amictus cutem et carnes desuper ossibus uiuo tibi abraderet...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 23-24.

The hair shirt is also specifically mentioned when Adam described Hugh's annual retreats to Witham. In joining the charterhouse community, Adam emphasises that he put aside his role as bishop by changing his clothes. More specifically, he mentions Hugh wearing a hair shirt,

He laid aside the outer cloak of black or russet cloth lined with white lambswool which he wore in public, and wore sheepskin without a cloth covering. The hair-shirt which he wore, as always, next to his skin was concealed by a tunic worn under his leather cloak.⁹⁴

Hugh changed from his role as bishop to that of a Carthusian monk by changing his clothes. While this outer garb is changed, however, the hair shirt is shown to be a constant presence. It is always under his clothing, just as Hugh's Carthusian virtues are ever-present. The constant wearing of the hair shirt was an indication by Adam of Hugh's constancy in his Carthusian observances, even when bishop.

The hair-shirt is included within the list of objects that the Carthusian monk was permitted in the cell, found in chapter twenty-eight of the *Consuetudines*.⁹⁵ The *Consuetudines* also describe the role of the hair shirt within the events surrounding the death-bed. In the description of the treatment of a deceased Carthusian monk, found in chapter thirteen 'In what manner those who die will be treated.'⁹⁶ In this chapter, Guigo I dictates that the monk - as opposed to a lay brother - should be 'dressed in a hair-shirt and cowl, stockings and shoes.'⁹⁷ In this work, there is no indication of whether a sick member of the order was expected to wear one. In contrast, Adam shows that Hugh refused to remove his hair shirt during his illness and in so doing went beyond what was expected from a Carthusian.

⁹⁴ Deposito quiddem exterius pallio quo utebatur in public, quod ex nigro erat uel subrufo panno candidis agnorum pellibus foratum, pelles induebat arietinas nullo panni tegmine cooperates. Cilicio, ut semper, tegebatur ad nudum, hinc tunicam in medio superinducto uelabat pelliceo.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 49.

⁹⁵ Guigo I lists the clothing permitted to the monk as including 'duo cilicia'. *Coutumes*, p. 222.

⁹⁶ 'Quomodo tractandus sit qui moritur.' *Coutumes*, p. 188.

⁹⁷ 'Interea defunctus abluitur, et induitur. Monachus, cilicio et cuculla, caligis et pedulibus.' *Coutumes*, p. 190.

There is precedent for Adam's close identification of the Carthusian order specifically with these behaviours. While the rejection of meat, like the wearing of the hair shirt, was not unique to the Carthusians, these practices became identified as one of the defining features of the order.⁹⁸ Both are mentioned by Peter the Venerable in his description of Grande Chartreuse in his *De miraculis*.⁹⁹ Guibert of Nogent also noted that their diet consisted of bread and vegetables, though on Sundays and great feasts they were allowed cheese and fish.¹⁰⁰ He also described how the Carthusians 'wear hair shirts next to the skin: otherwise they wear few clothes.'¹⁰¹

The emphasis upon the undertaking of these actions had a significant effect upon the depiction of Carthusian virtue. In stating that these practices were 'Carthusian', Adam links Hugh of Lincoln to an image of the austerity that the Carthusians cultivated, calling back to the eremitical traditions of the Desert Fathers. The purpose of making an intrinsic link between the Carthusians and the hair shirt especially emphasises self-mortification as part of their lifestyle. The role of the abstinence from meat and the wearing of the hair shirt within Carthusian legislation is emblematic of the rigid programme of asceticism and austerity put forward in the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*. Through such fasting and mortification, the Carthusian monk could bring his body and mind under control so as to reorientate himself to the love of God alone. An example of these austerities is found in the *Vita Sancti Antelmi*.

While a monk at the Grande Chartreuse,

⁹⁸ This principle particularly went against the *Regula Benedicti*, which permitted ill monks to eat meat. Bazell identifies the abstinence from meat as being particularly identified as a key feature of the order in later writing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that sought to justify this practice. Bazell, 'Carthusian abstinence', pp. 571-572.

⁹⁹ In describing the customs of the Carthusians, Peter the Venerable states '...duris carnem cilicii semper exasperant...Ab orani canium esu, tam sani quam aegri, in perpetuum abstinent.' *PL* 189, col. 944.

¹⁰⁰ Guibert emphasises that the Carthusians had not bought this fish but they had received it through 'the generosity of a few devout people.' *A monk's confession*, p. 31.

¹⁰¹ *A monk's confession*, p. 31.

Every day he struck himself with innumerable lashes on his back and side to the point that, making wounds upon wounds, it was not possible to find his flesh without bruises and skin intact. He observed without failure the constancy of the cell, abstinences, silence, and all other practices of the order.¹⁰²

Acts such as these served, fundamentally, to restrain the monk's reliance on worldly goods by denying the monks access to them. In order to ensure a lifestyle that prevented monks from inappropriately interacting with the world, the *Consuetudines* controlled all aspects of the monks' life, including prescribing strict control over bedding, personal belongings, when the monk can leave their cell, talking, and what the monk could eat and wear.

Adam does note that the Carthusians tempered their 'great austerity with prudence, and thus, like the saints, achieved a happy mean'.¹⁰³ Likewise, Guigo I in the *Consuetudines* sought to carefully moderate this behaviour, and it is difficult to assess to what extent it was actively practised.¹⁰⁴ However, the textual image of the Carthusian in his hair shirt and his austere lifestyle tied the monk not only to the image of the asceticism of the hermit in the desert but also the state of martyrdom, so that through the mortifications and abstinences of the order, the Carthusian monk became martyr-like. Adam makes this connection explicitly. When Hugh was warned by a Carthusian monk about the harshness of the charterhouse and the extreme discomfort of the hair shirt,

This terrible picture only made the follower of Christ and devoted disciple and imitator of the most blessed Martin [Hugh] more determined and he pondered in

¹⁰² 'Crecerrimis quotidie virgarum correptionibus per dorsum caedebat et latera adeo ut, pagis pagas infligendo, nunquam caro ejus absque livoribus, nunquam cutis integra possit inveniri. Cellae assiduitatem, abstinentias, silentium, obedientiam, caeteraque Ordinis instituta intemerata servabat.' *Vie de saint Antelme*, p. 6.

¹⁰³ '...tanta in rigore seuabatur discretio, ut medium cum beatis tenendo...sineretur.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 32.

¹⁰⁴ As described in chapter thirty-five of the *Consuetudines*, the prior alone had the authority to permit additional abstinences, vigils and other religious exercises. In the same way, the prior also had the right to order a monk to eat more food if he deemed it appropriate. *Coutumes*, p. 236.

silence over the words of the invincible martyr Lawrence, who, when those who wished to terrify him displayed all the instruments of torture, said, ‘This is the banquet I have always desired.’¹⁰⁵

This passage inextricably links Hugh to the virtue of mortification and suffering as a means of becoming closer to God. In this sense of martyrdom through extreme austere behaviour, Adam also emphasises the actions of the Carthusian as being virtuous and that the virtues encouraged at the Grande Chartreuse made the Carthusian order the direct inheritors of the heroic Christian past.¹⁰⁶

Moreover, for Hugh to continue these practices as bishop shows the ability to continue the observance of Carthusian virtues within the world and exemplifies the contention in the theology of Guigo I that Carthusian practices were a particular means to a particular end, which was just as achievable in the world as in the cloister. This is no more strongly seen than in the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, which can be considered to be the realisation of Carthusian principles in the world. Guigo I provides a number of instances of how Hugh of Grenoble’s life was the practical application of the theology outlined in his *Meditationes* and the *Consuetudines*. The bishop could live squarely within the world because, although it was necessary to retreat from it for the sake of spiritual wellbeing, this withdrawal is not necessarily physical, merely sensory or spiritual. The most important aspect of the saint’s life was in his ability to overcome temptation and to be bettered by this struggle.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Had ego epulas semper optavi.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, Adam of Eynsham makes reference to Thomas Becket’s martyrdom in the *Magna Vita* but as part of a negative aside about Becket’s imposition of fines against offenders, saying ‘Believe me, this did not make him a saint, his other conspicuous virtues showed him to be one, and he deserved the martyr’s palm for another cause.’ The Latin, ‘‘Credute michi,’ inquit, ‘non iccirco sanctus fuit; alia enim uirtutum merita sanctum exhibuerunt, alio meruit titulo palmam reportare martirii.’’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 38.

The application of the implications found within these works shows that while Hugh's ascetic actions linked him to the heroic Christian past as exemplified by the Carthusian order, they also evoked a fundamental part of the Carthusian rejection of the world. Just as Hugh demonstrated these 'Carthusian' ascetic behaviours, he also regulated his relationships with women and narratives of Hugh of Lincoln's relationship with women demonstrate another facet of the difficulty of balancing monastic ideals with the responsibilities of the episcopacy.

Vaucher uses Hugh of Lincoln's 'simple and affectionate manner towards women' as an example of the increasing importance of purity in the hagiographical mind-set of the twelfth century in which the saint-bishop was increasingly expected to be completely chaste.¹⁰⁷ There is, however, more to Hugh's relationship with women than this thought. Gerald of Wales suggested that Hugh first entered the Grande Chartreuse due to the presence of women at his cell of St Maximus. He had seen that 'women frequented the place by an old local custom that could not be eliminated easily or without scandal nor tolerated without serious danger, since such an enemy should be fled and overcome by art rather than by fighting.' and as a result Hugh chose to become a Carthusian and flee the company of women.¹⁰⁸ This episode is also repeated at length in the *Metrical Life* but this depiction is omitted from the *Magna Vita*.¹⁰⁹ In this, Hugh of Lincoln's relationship with women is characterised differently. As opposed to actively rejecting the company of women, very literally fleeing from them, he is shown as having acted kindly towards women throughout his episcopacy and accepted them at his dining table,

¹⁰⁷ Vaucher, *Sainthood*, p. 296.

¹⁰⁸ 'Videns itaque nimiam mulierum ad locum illum ex antique patrie more frequentiam, qui de facili vel absque scandalo deleri vel absque periculo gravi sustineri non posset, cum fugiendus sit hostis huiusmodi, et arte magis quam Marte vincendus, austerioris vite causa et ar[c]tioris religionis gracia, Cartusiam non procul inde distantem se felici proposito transferre curavit.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, pp. 10-12.

¹⁰⁹ See *Metrical Life*, pp. 17-23.

The confidence given him by this exceptional favour [the gift of chastity] caused him to imitate the other bishops and occasionally invite devout matrons and widows to eat at his table. He used to lay his holy hands on their heads and make the sign of the cross and even sometimes reverently embrace them.¹¹⁰

To see this as merely being a part of Hugh's perfect fulfilment of his episcopal and pastoral duties ignores the Carthusian principles that lay behind his actions.

Hugh of Lincoln is shown by both Gerald of Wales and Adam of Eynsham to have been spiritually castrated before becoming prior of Witham.¹¹¹ Gerald of Wales, in chapter twenty-nine of the *Vita Sancti Remigii*, described how that in a period of torment Hugh had a dream where he was castrated by a 'man like an angel' who appears to Hugh in a dream and 'instantly seemed to cut off his genitals with forceps that he carried in his hand. In fact, it was a happy cure granted by God.'¹¹² From this time onwards Hugh 'never felt the attacks of carnal desire, or, what was a greater wonder, scarcely even the first impulses' and has achieved this through the grace of God.¹¹³ Although the episode is not related in Gerald's *Vita Sancti Hugonis*, he relates it in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, saying that,

¹¹⁰ 'De cuius priuilegii munere securus, religiosas interdum matronas similiter quoque et uiduas more eliorum episcoporum suo in mensa lateri assidere faciebat. Palmis etiam mundissimis capita illarum constringens atque consignans, aliquotiens etiam pectori suo castissimo leniter imprimens...' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 48.

¹¹¹ An interesting point of comparison here is to the self-castration of Origen, which is recorded by Eusebius in book 6, chapter eight of his *Ecclesiastical History* as being 'abundant proof of an immature and youthful mind'. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History, Volume II: Books 6-10, LCL 265*, trans. J. E. L. Oulton (Cambridge, 1932), p. 29. For studies of the significance of castration in hagiography, see the work of Jacqueline Murray, particularly J. Murray, 'Masculinizing religious life: sexual prowess, the battle for chastity and monastic identity' in P. H. Cullum and K. J. Lewis ed., *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 24-42 and J. Murray, 'Mystical castration: some reflections on Peter Abelard, Hugh of Lincoln and sexual control' in J. Murray ed., *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West* (New York, 1999), pp. 73-91. For more general studies, also see L. Tracy ed., *Castration and culture in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).

¹¹² '...tandem ei in visu vir angelicus apparuit, qui et forcipes, quam manu gestabat, statim virilia visus est illi resecurisse; felici quidem remedio, eique diuinitus indulto...' *Vita Sancti Remigii*, pp. 76-77. For the English translation, see *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. xxxii.

¹¹³ '...ullos carnalis illecebrae, vel, quod majus miraculum erat, primorum vix etiam motuum sensit insultus.' *Vita Sancti Remigii*, p. 77. For the English translation, see *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. xxxii.

Something similar to what happened to Eliah from who the angels removed all concern [about lust] also happened to Hugh of Lincoln, a Carthusian of our own times, who was raised to the episcopacy. He became a monk while still a youth and afterwards endured, with no small vexation and disgust, the struggle between the flesh and the spirit. At length an angel appeared to him in the semblance of a man and seemed to cut off his genitals in an instant with a pair of forceps he was holding in his hands. Hugh was given a divine remedy [for lust], and from that time on he never experienced any strong temptations or (and this is a greater miracle) hardly even the slightest attraction, even though afterwards, when he was bishop and in the vigour of youth, he was thrown among the excesses of English extravagance. Augustine says: “That it be given to a rational creature not to be able to sin is not an essential attribute of nature, but a gift.”¹¹⁴

Adam does not recount this dream in the same way. In the *Magna Vita*, just before he became prior of Witham, Hugh was assailed by ‘a great temptation of the flesh.’¹¹⁵ Hugh, ‘passed the whole night in gloom, and almost without sleep, for the angel of darkness fought with him to deliver him into the dark night of evil consent.’¹¹⁶ He is relieved of his suffering when, in a dream, Basil, Hugh’s former prior at the Grande Chartreuse, appeared before him and removed something like red hot cinders from his bowels.

¹¹⁴ ‘Item exemplo priori de illo, cuius angeli curam egere, simile contigit Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, qui nostris dies de ordine Cartusiensi in episcopum assumptus erat. Hic enim cum iuuenibilis annis monachus effectus repugnantes carnis et spiritus in se conflictus, non absque molestia gravi, saepe pertulerit, tandem ei in visu vir anglicus apparuit, qui et forcipes quam manu gestabat, statim virilia visus est illi resecurisse, felici quidem remedio eique divinitus indulto; quoniam ab illa nunquam hora, licet episcopus post creatas ad Anglicanae copiae superfluitates in feruenti aetate translates fuisset, ullos carnalis illecebrae quod vel maius miraculum erat, primorum vix etiam motuum, sensit insultus. Unde Augustinus: ‘Cuicumque rationali creaturae praestatur ut peccare non possit, hoc non est naturae propriae sed gratiae.’ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, volume 2, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1862), p. 247. For the English translation, see Gerald of Wales, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, trans. J. J. Hagen (Leiden, 1979), p. 188.

¹¹⁵ ‘Tanta ei carnis temptation subito exorta est...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 50.

¹¹⁶ ‘Egerat noctem illam sicut in tenebris, sic ipse insomnis pene totam; luctabatur namque angelus ille tenebrarum aduersus eum, ut eum traderet in teterrimam uesperam consensionis inique.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 50.

He immediately cut open his bowels with a knife which he seemed to be holding in his hand, and extracting something resembling red hot cinders, he flung it out of the cell a long distance away...He rejoiced exceedingly at the vision of the glory of his master [Basil], who had departed to God a few years before, and realized that he had been completely cured both in spirit and body.¹¹⁷

Unlike Gerald, who said that Hugh no longer felt any sexual temptation after his castration, Adam says that Hugh did continue to feel the first impulses of temptation but he was not violently tempted again. Since Adam explicitly states that he recorded Hugh's own version of events because 'I have heard that someone else gave another version in which our Lady, the blessed virgin mother of God, appeared to him and made him a eunuch, so that he was completely cured and did not thereafter experience the slightest carnal inclination', it is probable that this was meant as a correction to Gerald.¹¹⁸ The fact that this was emphatically an act of spiritual castration rather than a physical one points towards the Carthusian concern for internal and mental purity as much as external purity.

Carthusian legislation did seek to prevent any contact between Carthusian monks and women. The *Consuetudines Cartusiae* forbade women from entering within the termini of the Grande Chartreuse due to the risks that they presented to the community:

We do not permit any woman whatsoever to come inside our limits [the limit of the Grande Chartreuse] knowing that neither Solomon nor the Prophet nor the Judge nor

¹¹⁷ 'Moxque patefactis nouacula, quam manu tenere uidebatur, uisceribus eius quasi strumam igneam inde uisus est exsecuisse et longius extra cellam proieciisse...letatusque supra moddum de ostensa sibi claritate nutritii sui qui ante aliquot annos migraverat ad Dominum, omnimodis et in corde et in carne se repperit immutatum.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 52.

¹¹⁸ 'Hec iccirco dixerim quia alitre de his alium quemdam scripsisse accepi, asserentem uidelicet quod per beatam Virgindem dominam nostrum Dei genitricem, sibi apparentem uisitatus, eunuchizatus et curatus ita fuerit quod nullam deinceps carnis titillationem omnino expertus sit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 52.

Jacob nor the sons of God nor even the first man made by the hands of God could escape from the caresses and frauds of women.¹¹⁹

This is also repeated by the acts of Antelme of Belley, who reiterated the ban on women entering the lands of the Chartreuse, a decision also supported by the bishops of Grenoble.¹²⁰ In the *vitae* of Carthusian bishops, as in the *Magna Vita*, however, the ability of these men to interact with women without experiencing crippling temptation is emphasised as an intrinsic part of their sanctity. They are able to internalise their interactions with them. This ability is explained in two ways. First, as has been seen in the case of Hugh of Lincoln, by spiritual castration and second, in the case of Hugh of Grenoble, by complete control over one's physical senses. In both cases, the bishop was able to remove himself from these feelings of temptation and can therefore be placed in more dangerous situations such as that presented by the interaction with women.

Guigo I showed Hugh of Grenoble to be immune to temptations presented by women. Farmer suggested that Hugh of Lincoln's behaviour towards women was 'unusual' since it was 'rather different from the example of his own patron St Hugh of Grenoble and the recommendations of the Carthusian *Consuetudines*.'¹²¹ This is not entirely the case and, as described by Guigo I, Hugh of Grenoble was able to interact with women and remain uncorrupted and this was not achieved through spiritual castration but through sensory self-control. Throughout the *vita*, Guigo I describes Hugh of Grenoble's control over all his five

¹¹⁹ This passage comes from chapter twenty-one of the *Consuetudines*. 'Mulieres terminos intrare nostros nequaquam sinimus, scientes nec sapientem, nec prophetam, nec iudicem, nec hospitem dei, nec filios, nec ipsum dei formatum manibus prothoplastum, potuisse blandicias evadere vel fraudes mulierum.' *Coutumes*, p. 210.

¹²⁰ As described in the *Vita Sancti Antelmi*, Antelme expanded the limits of the Chartreuse and excluded women from this region as well, 'Terminos dilatavit et obstruxit. Mulieres, quas ingredi terminus ad id usque tempus non potuerant prohibere, exclusit.' *Vie de saint Antelme*, p. 11. Hugh of Grenoble ratified the original exclusion of women from the territory of Chartreuse in around 1100. This act survives in *Recueil des plus anciens actes*, pp. 16-20.

¹²¹ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. xi.

senses and the importance of the control over the sense of vision when interacting with women is particularly emphasised. Hugh of Grenoble did not look at the faces of women when taking confession from them, ‘...asserting that due to the traps of the devil one ought to only use one’s hearing for matters of this kind...’¹²² In a later interaction with Master Ayrald, who later became bishop of Maurienne, Ayrald stated that he remained uncorrupted by looking at women and saw them without distinction. Hugh reprimanded him, stating that the act of looking soon turned into sinning.¹²³ Guigo I then emphasises that even when Hugh of Grenoble saw the face of a woman he was incapable of recognising her by it.¹²⁴ Hugh of Grenoble’s sanctity, then, was intrinsically connected to his ability to control his senses since this self-control enabled him to interact with the temporal world without being corrupted by it through the face of women.

Hugh of Grenoble was explicit about the dangerous of looking at a woman, but proved that it was possible to still resist this temptation by total self-control. Adam of Eynsham, as proof of Hugh of Grenoble’s exceptional virtues, lists his relationship with women,

He was a man of amazing shamefacedness and great modesty, who never gazed on any woman, with only one exception, and she was in urgent need of spiritual counsel.¹²⁵

Similarly, Adam records the attitude of Antelme of Belley towards women,

¹²² ‘...sed potius ubi a pluribus conspici posset, et aurem quidem satis familiariter applicabat, oculorum autem in alteram partem vertebat aspectum, auditum solum, propter insidias diabolic, hujusmodi negotiis asserens applicandum.’ *PL* 153, col. 772.

¹²³ ‘Ad quod ille, non a muliereum tantum, sed a virorum quoque vultibus religiosae mentis avertendum respondit intuitum; asserens (quod experiential sua potest quisque conijcere), per communionem humae mutabilitatis atque compassionem, fieri ut affectionis conspecti frequenter ad conspicientem inaestimabili velocitate pertranseant...’ *PL* 153, col. 772.

¹²⁴ ‘...nullius se totius episcopatus sui mulieris, praetor unius, ita faciem aspexisse...’ *PL* 153, col. 772.

¹²⁵ ‘Ille atuem, cum mire esset uerecundie et summe pudicitie, nullam penitus feminarum dinoscibiliter intueri solebat preter unam solummodo, que eius, ob anime sue causam, nimium consilio indigebat.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 55.

When this same bishop of Bellay was present and the need for caution in looking at women was under discussion, he used generally to say, ‘I, indeed, see all women as one and the same, for I refuse to observe what they look like.’¹²⁶

Rather than fleeing from the world, both these men were able to be active within it while rejecting temptation, seen here through the example of their interaction with women. Adam explicitly shows Hugh of Lincoln to be their successor in these virtues. The Carthusian attitude towards the temptation of the world saw its members become resistant to the lusts and desires it could invoke, rather than never feeling temptation at all. Through this the Carthusian could become closer to God by removing himself from the risk of temptation by worldly goods. Although the sensory control of Hugh of Grenoble has applications for other aspects of Carthusian life, such as the consumption of food, its application to the appropriate interaction with women is one example of how Carthusian thought as asserted by Guigo I considered it possible to maintain a proper attitude towards the world whilst still living within it.¹²⁷ Within these examples, the bishop is able to live squarely within the world without being compromised. The bishop rejects its importance and is instead able to interact with it appropriately.

Adam places considerable importance upon the idea of temptation as a danger that could have a positive outcome. That Hugh of Lincoln was assailed in such a violent way at the age of

¹²⁶ ‘Cum super huiuscemodi cautela oculi in mulierem non figendi sermo haberetur coram memorato Belensi episcopo, dicere idem consueuerat, ‘Ego sane,’ inquit, ‘feminas indifferenter quaslibet aspicio, set mox uniuersas excorio...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 55.

¹²⁷ The *Vita Prima* is particularly emphatic about Bernard’s mental distancing from external things and, as in Guigo I’s description of Hugh of Grenoble, his disconnection from his external senses saying ‘He was totally absorbed in the spirit; his thoughts were often completely directed towards God, as were his spiritual meditations and his mind was totally occupied with God, so that what he saw he did not see, what he heard he did not hear, nor did he taste what he ate; he felt hardly anything with his bodily senses.’ *The First Life of Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 23. ‘Totusque absorptus in spiritum, saepe tota in Deum directa intentione seu in meditatione spirituali tota occupata memoria, uidens non uidebat, audiens non audiebat, nihil sapiebat gustanti, uix aliquid sensu aliquot corporis sentiebat.’ *Vita Prima*, p. 48.

forty when he had already tamed his body through austerities, for Adam, meant that this temptation must have been caused by God in order to prove Hugh's virtue. God,

...suddenly tempted him in order to send him consolation at dawn, so that through unlooked for temptation he might show him his weakness, and through his consolation at dawn give him confidence in his mercy.¹²⁸

This is in contrast to the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and the *Metrical Life*, which both depict Hugh of Lincoln as fleeing to the Grande Chartreuse in order to avoid the temptation of women at his previous house. Furthermore, Gerald of Wales sees Hugh as no longer feeling any sexual temptation after his castration while Adam emphasises that Hugh did feel temptation but was not affected by it, even seeking to correct Gerald of Wales' account. In a sense, Gerald of Wales wants to remove Hugh of Lincoln from feelings of temptation, while Adam of Eynsham wants him to fight such impulses.

Just as Adam of Eynsham depicted Hugh of Lincoln's torment at the hands of the angels of darkness as being an important indicator of his overall sanctity, so that his resistance of temptation advanced his worthiness to God, Hugh of Grenoble was shown similarly by Guigo I to have been improved by temptation and hardship. He described him as being purified like gold by torment and temptation.

As the gold heats it purifies in the pot, under the effect of these two torments, temptation and disease he made great progress in the spiritual love of God.¹²⁹

Guigo I then goes further in asserting that feelings of temptation and danger were proof of God's favour, saying,

¹²⁸ 'Visitaturus namque eum diluculo, subito probavit illum; in probatione subita infirmitatem eius ostendens illi, in uisitacione diluculi suam conferens salutem ei.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 49.

¹²⁹ 'Quantum autem his duabus afflictionibus, tentatione videlicet et aegritudine, tanquam aurum in furnace, decoctus atque purgatus, in spiritualen erga Deum devotionem, et in omnium afflictorum veram compassionem excreverit...' *PL* 153, cols. 770-771.

...God proved those who he loved and chastised all new sons who he received; it is because the harder the chastisement imposed upon the soul, the clearer is the mark of his preference. The Devil had foreseen from this moment the harm that he had subjected with his action and how much would grow by his action the virtue of the people of God; it is why he deployed the efforts of his inveterate machinisms to turn Hugh [of Grenoble] away from holy work. The Devil thus worked with the permission of God...¹³⁰

The Carthusian attitude towards the world, as established by Guigo I in his *Meditationes* and expressed in the above passages of *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, allows for the concept of positive temptation. The Carthusian conception of sin and temptation begins with the fact that sin is to be fought internally rather than to be blamed on external forces. In discussing the Carthusian conception of temptation and its links to the development of the internalisation of sin in the twelfth century, Leyser presented Guigo I as a chief example of an increased consideration of self and intention in this period. He was one who

...welcomed what one may call the challenge of the self, who did not attempt to externalise evil, to pass it on to someone else, who accepted that temptation could be a challenge, a part of the twelfth century's concern with self-knowledge and new learning.¹³¹

This concept of the 'challenge of the self' can be found throughout the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* as well as the *Magna Vita* in which these figures focused first on their own actions and saw temptation as a challenge rather than something to be innately shunned.

¹³⁰ 'Praesensisse etiam iam iamque diaboloum quanta per eum ipse damna passurus, quanta Dei populous virtutis foret incrementa sumpturus, et idcirco omnes inveterate malignitatis insumere conatus, ut a sacris eum quoque modo deterrere possit officii, permittente Deo, ad ipsius quidem ignominiam et poenam, ad hujus autem coronam et gloriam.' *PL* 153, col. 767.

¹³¹ H. Leyser, 'Two concepts of temptation', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser eds., *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), p. 326.

The essence of Carthusian theology, described by Mursell as a ‘theology of love’, is a flight for the world rather than from it. As a result, Carthusian withdrawal,

...is not a flight into negative theology, into the unknowability of God, but rather the first step on an infinite, eternal process of knowing God, who is not incomprehensible but infinitely comprehensible.¹³²

Withdrawal from the world has a central part of Carthusian theology since it enables the monk to understand ‘...man’s place in relation to God, namely, as a creature of God, and man’s place in relation to the rest of creation, namely, as the midpoint of or microcosm of creation.’¹³³ Such importance placed upon withdrawal does not, however, exclude those who live within the world from obtaining this understanding. Through ascetic behaviours, the Carthusian bishop is able to act correctly towards the world whilst resisting the temptation that it posed, as seen through the example of the attitudes of Hugh of Grenoble and Hugh of Lincoln towards women. The acts of wearing a hair shirt and abstinence from meat, on one level, embody Hugh’s ascetic holiness in the same eremitical tradition of the Desert Fathers and, in linking them back to the Carthusian order, Adam is providing the order as a shorthand for such ascetic virtues. On another level, these acts show Hugh as the representation of the Carthusian solution of how to maintain a proper attitude towards the world. In showing that temptations of the world were something to be overcome rather than avoided, Adam of Eynsham places Hugh within the traditions of Guigo I and the fundamental principles of the order.

The miraculous Carthusian

¹³² Martin, ‘Sanctity’, p. 212.

¹³³ Martin, ‘Sanctity’, p. 211.

In his writing, Guigo I insisted upon the importance of the provision of examples of human-based sanctity and imitable models of perfection, a fundamental concept that relates to the demonstrated ability of the Carthusian bishop to live uncorrupted in the world. The corresponding rejection of the importance of miracles is found throughout Carthusian literature as well as in the *Magna Vita*. This hesitation towards miracles is another feature that is hardly unique to the Carthusian order. Although the collection of miracle stories was a key part of the creation of a saint's cult, there was an increasing trend during the twelfth century to emphasise the connection of these miracles to the personal virtues of the saint. This was a development that Benedicta Ward argued that this made 'the saint himself and his reflections and his reactions' of central importance.¹³⁴ A key example of this for Ward was the *Vita Sancti Anselmi* by Eadmer of Canterbury. Although this work has miracles recorded within it, Ward argued that these concentrated upon Anselm's character rather than the miraculous and Anselm himself is shown to be reluctance towards the performance of miracles.¹³⁵ Importantly, the miracles found in the *Vita Sancti Anselmi* 'reflected the total character of Anselm for sanctity, the 'miracle of his life''.¹³⁶

The particular place of the performance of miracles in the overall tradition of canonisation and hagiography is multifaceted. On the one hand, the performance of miracles is essential for a saint to be considered as such. The devotion to a saint was intrinsically linked to their performance of miracles and the development of a cult centred around the expectation that a saint would intercede on the behalf of those still alive. Moreover, the performance of miracles was required for the process of canonisation, both before and after the papal monopolisation of this process. However, there was increasing debate during the late eleventh and twelfth

¹³⁴ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 173.

¹³⁵ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 172.

¹³⁶ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 172.

centuries as to the relative merits of the performance of miracles as opposed to acts of virtue in the saint's life and greater emphasis was placed upon showing the innate holiness of their lives rather than just the miracles they performed.¹³⁷ This tension between merits and miracles had deeper roots. Gregory the Great, for instance, regarded miracles as 'external signs of the grace possessed within.' but the tension increasingly found itself manifest in the standardisation of the process of canonisation and the production of hagiography.¹³⁸ Ward identified this as being a particular trait of the new monastic orders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as the Carthusians and Cistercians.¹³⁹

Concrete evidence of a virtuous life was increasingly required during the canonization process and the increased emphasis on the accuracy of such statements can be seen in Adam of Eynsham's repeated assertion of the accuracy of his own work. Pope Innocent III had a decisive role in asserting that 'merits without miracles and miracles without merits' were insufficient evidence for sainthood.¹⁴⁰ In correspondence regarding the canonisation of Gilbert of Sempringham, Innocent discusses the performance of miracles by saints with Archbishop Hubert Walter. For the pope, God 'manifestly performs wonders and powerfully works marvels, causing those who have held the catholic faith in heart, word, and deed to shine gloriously with miracles.'¹⁴¹ However, both holiness of life and mighty signs were

¹³⁷ For a study on the links between miracles and sanctity throughout the medieval period, see B. Ward, *Miracles and the medieval mind* (Aldershot, 1987), as well as B. Ward, 'Miracles in the Middle Ages', in G. H. Twelftree ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Miracles* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 149-164. For the period covering this thesis, particularly see Ward, *Miracles*, pp. 171-176.

¹³⁸ W. D. McCready, *Signs of sanctity: miracles in the thought of Gregory the Great* (Toronto, 1989), pp. 3-4.

¹³⁹ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 173.

¹⁴⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p. 36.

¹⁴¹ 'Nos ergo, frater archiepiscopo, quantas possumus etsi non quantas debemus omnipotenti deo gratiarum referimus actiones, quod in diebus nostris ad confirmationem catholice fidei et confusionem heretice praeiudicis, evidenter innova signa et mirabilia potenter immutat, faciens eos coruscare miraculis qui fidem catholicam tam corde quam ore necnon et operetenuerunt.' C. R. Cheney ed., *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III* (London, 1953), pp. 26-27.

essential in a saint's life 'so that each may reciprocally bear witness to the other.'¹⁴²

Importantly, merits should come before marvels,

But when sound merits come first and are followed by notable miracles, they afford a sure proof of sainthood – to inspire in us a veneration for the man whom God by preceding merits and following miracles presents as worthy of veneration.¹⁴³

The saint's life should edify rather than inspire awe. The dossier assembled for the canonisation of Gilbert of Sempringham by Innocent III was, for instance, rejected on the grounds of lack of evidence and the pope demanded a new investigation of Gilbert's life.¹⁴⁴

This importance of merits over miracles is a theme that was particularly pursued by the Carthusians. Throughout the *Magna Vita* the virtues of Hugh are emphasised as a means of self-edification and the importance of his miracles is reduced. While miracles are found within the *Magna Vita*, they are not singled out for the same treatment as in the *Vita Sancti Hugonis*. In this work, Gerald of Wales devotes a considerable amount of space to the recording of Hugh's miracles. The final two parts of the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* are devoted to relaying the various miracles that Hugh performed; part two deals with the miracles he performed outside the Interdict while part three deals with those miracles performed during it.¹⁴⁵ This account of Hugh's miracles is closely connected with the emergence of a devotional cult immediately after his death. The first miracle that Gerald describes, of a knight from Lindsay who had an ulcer, actually took place while the archbishops and bishops were still in Lincoln for Hugh's funeral. Having approached the body of Hugh and asked for

¹⁴² '...ad hoc tame nut ipse sanctus apud homines habeatur in ecclesia militante, duo sunt necessaria, virtus morum et virtus signorum, merita videlicet et miracula, ut hec et illa sibi invicem contestentur.' *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 27.

¹⁴³ 'Verum, cum et merita sana precedent et clara succedunt miracula, certum prebent indicium sanctitatis, ut nos ad ipsius venerationem inducant, quem deus et meritis precedentibus et miraculis subsequentibus exhibit venerandum...' *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁴ Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, p. 105. The Latin and English text for this letter from Pope Innocent can be found in R. Foreville, *The Book of St Gilbert*, trans. G. Keir (Oxford, 1987).

¹⁴⁵ *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, pp. 46-81 and pp. 82-99.

prayers, the ulcer slowly healed and this miracle, as with all the miracles that Gerald records, was examined and confirmed by the chapter at Lincoln cathedral.¹⁴⁶

In contrast, although Adam describes a number of miracles throughout the *Magna Vita*, such as the occasion when a woman regained her sight at the moment that she touched the saint's body and another when a woman regained money that had been stolen from her, Adam asserts throughout that the example that Hugh sought to present was more important than his performance of miracles.¹⁴⁷ At the beginning of chapter nine of book four, Adam justifies an earlier omission of 'a stupendous miracle wrought by God through the agency of His faithful servant'.¹⁴⁸ He says that,

...being anxious to select from so great a model of the virtues acts which should be a spur to the imitation of his goodness rather than those which merely arouse wonder and admiration, I had been on the point of omitting it as well as very many others. However, this incident ought to be a stimulus to virtue and not merely a cause of curiosity and amazement.¹⁴⁹

He omitted the description of the miracle because it might not act to stimulate virtue within the audience. Adam states that he intended the *Magna Vita* to inspire imitative behaviour through the description of Hugh's goodness rather than simply making Hugh a subject of admiration for the reader. Hugh is not to be treated as a curiosity to be observed. Instead he should be a didactic figure, encouraging spiritual growth and promoting the virtue of the

¹⁴⁶ *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, pp. 51-53. The canonisation report assembled by the council appointed by the papacy to investigate Hugh's sanctity also records such miracles; it probably used the same source as Gerald for their account of his miracles. Ibid, p xxxvii.

¹⁴⁷ These events occur in *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 230-231.

¹⁴⁸ '...Exigit casus recens ut sollempne miraculum, Domini uirtute patratum per fidelem ipsius famulum iam nunc recenseamus.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 123.

¹⁴⁹ 'Verum nos, ut prefati sumus, ea potius que edificant ad emulationem virtutis quam ea que excitant ad plausum admirationis de tanto virtutis exemplari prelibare cupientes, istud cum aliis satis innumeris sub silentio pene preteriuimus. In quo tamen opera plus eminent quod deuotum prouocet ad uirtutem quam quod curiosum excitet ad stuporem.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 123-124.

reader. This concern with instilling wonder rather than encouraging virtue is then explicitly shown to be also shared by Hugh himself.

There are two central examples of Hugh's involvement with the 'miraculous' throughout his life.¹⁵⁰ One such example is the occasion when a cleric of Hugh's manor of Buckden, in observing him during mass, saw the bishop holding the body of Christ. He reported this to the bishop saying,

My attention was fixed on the table of the Lord in front of you, and my sinful eyes saw clearly twice in your hands the body of our lord Jesus Christ in the likeness of a tiny child on the chalice as you elevated it.¹⁵¹

In response, Hugh told the clerk to 'take care out of reverence to conceal his vision' and that he should leave to become a monk.¹⁵² Hugh is even more assertive about not being boastful about the occurrence of miracles in another episode. A miracle took place in the village of Joi, which lay between Paris and Troyes, and the parish priest to whom it occurred sought out Hugh to report the event. He related how as a young man, despite committing a mortal sin earlier in life and not being cleansed of this, he continued to perform mass.¹⁵³ One time, he contemplated upon this whilst assisting with the Eucharist.¹⁵⁴ When he broke the host, this

¹⁵⁰ The famous episode where Hugh, after kissing a leper, is challenged for his inability to cure the man by William de Montibus, a reference back to that act of Martin of Tours, does not occur in the *Magna Vita*. It instead appears in the *Vita Sancti Hugonis*. In reply to de Montibus, Hugh states that 'Martin, by kissing the leper, cured him in body, but the leper with a kiss has healed me in soul.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 37.

¹⁵¹ '...celebrantem diuina sanctitatem uestram deuotus obseruauit, intendens quoque sollicitius ad mensam, dominicam coram uobis; et in minibus uestris corpus Domini nostril Ihesu Christi, sub specie infantis paruuli bis supra calicem a uobis eleuatum, indignis licet oculis euidenter conspexi.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 90-91.

¹⁵² 'Precepit itaque ei quatinus hec reuerenter celare meminisset. Preterea diligentius eum hortari studuit ut religiosus habitum suscipere et religiosis moribus Domino seruire ex integro maturaret.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 91.

¹⁵³ 'A cuius necdum contagion aut remedio penitentie aut confessionis lauacro mundatus, ita ut eram et corde pollutes et corpore, mente insuper cecus et fide infirmus, quod dictum horrendum est, ad sacri altaris ministerium impudens et temerarius accedere consueui.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 93.

¹⁵⁴ 'Cumque die quadam sacris misse assisterem secretis, et criminis mei enormitatem in ipsa hostie salutaris consecratione, mente reuoluerem tacita, inter alias tenedbrosi pectoris cogitationes hec mecum uersabantur in corde...' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 93.

blood flowed from it and, in shock, he allowed a piece to drop into the chalice.¹⁵⁵ He was amazed to see the wine change into blood.¹⁵⁶ He placed the chalice in this state behind the altar in order to preserve it for the future.¹⁵⁷ He then said that many people had come to see this miracle and ‘to praise and honour the Lord who alone worketh miracles.’¹⁵⁸ Those who were with Hugh when he was told this tale were then surprised to learn that he did not want to immediately go to see this miracle. Instead Hugh stated,

It is well in God’s name for him to keep for himself the proofs of his lack of faith. It is not our concern. Why should we gape at a sensory image of this divine gift, when every day we behold by faith this heavenly sacrifice, whole and entire?¹⁵⁹

In rejecting the importance of this miracle Hugh asserted the need for everyday belief rather than that encouraged by miracles,

Thus he restrained their idle curiosity and by directing their devotion to inner sight and sought, he instructed his listeners about the true and living food of their souls.¹⁶⁰

While the miracle was a sign of God’s gift, it was just that – a sign. Rather than focusing upon these occurrences, it was instead more important to consider the internal state of the soul.

Within this conceptual model, miracles had their place as signs of holiness but not as events to be venerated. Such use of miracles as signs can be found in the famous story of the

¹⁵⁵ ‘Quibus ego uisis pre timore totus dirigui; et pene exsensis effectus, perditio rationis consilio, quicquid de ipsis sacramentis in minibus tenebam in sacrum calicem decider permisi.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 94.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Erat tunc ibi uidere quod usque in presens cernitur, seculis omnibus stupendum miraculum; uinum scilicet in sanguinem et panem in carnem media sui partem conuersam...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 94.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Hinc populo dimisso, calicem cum sacrisque in eo adhuc hodie continentur, loco congruo secus altare reposui, debita reuerentia custodiendum.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 94.

¹⁵⁸ ‘...a quibus cum summa reuerentia magnificatur Dominus qui facit mirabilia solus.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 94.

¹⁵⁹ ‘“Bene,” inquit “in nomine Domini habeant sibi signa infidelitatis sue. Quid ad nos de his? Num miramur particulares ymagines huius diuini muneris, qui totum et integrum hoc celeste sacrificium cotidie intuemur fidelissimo aspectu mentis?”’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 95.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Sic itaque a proposito curiose uisionis illos cohercuit, et ad excitandum deuotionis aspectum partier et amplem, ad hec uera et uiuifica cordium alimenta mentes auientium erudiuit.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 95.

appearance of the swan near Stow, a short distance from Lincoln.¹⁶¹ A strange swan appeared at Hugh's manor here and killed all the other swans except for one female which 'it spared for company and not for breeding purposes.'¹⁶² This swan was strange due to its large size and the affection that it exclusively showed towards the bishop. Although it was aggressive to all others, it was tame towards Hugh and 'lost its wildness'.¹⁶³ The swan seemed 'determined to make it completely clear that it belonged only to him [Hugh], and was a symbol imparted to the saint alone.'¹⁶⁴ Adam draws upon the hidden meaning of the swan's attachment that the for the saint, making reference to the tradition that swans sang to announce their own deaths:

It must have had some hidden meaning that the white bird whose song heralds its own approaching death should have been sent as a messenger from God, to announce the death of this pure and holy man who did not fear its approach, for the saints desire death and merely endure life.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Accounts of Hugh's interaction with the swan at Stow occur in both the *Vita Sancti Hugonis* and the *Magna Vita*. Loomis considered Adam of Eynsham's account to be derived from Gerald of Wales' version of events. *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p xxxii.

¹⁶² 'Qui infra paucos dies, cignos quos ibidem repperit plures mole sue magnitudinis omnes oppressit et interemit, uno tantum feminei sexus ad societatis solatium, non fecunditatis augmentum, reseruat.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 104-105.

¹⁶³ '... omnem ut uidebatur siluestrem interim exuta naturam...' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 105.

¹⁶⁴ '... defendere solet, tamquam se propriam eius demonstrans eique soli in signum fuisse transmissam manifeste declarans.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 106.

¹⁶⁵ 'Non enim misterio carere potuit quod auis candida, imminentis interitus cantu nuntia uiro innocent, pio ac puro mortisque minas, quia sancti mortem habent in desiderio et uitam in patientia, nil formidanti, diuino tamquam oraculo destinata transmittitur.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 106. The swan is closely linked with its singing throughout medieval literature. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* contains the following description of the swan: 'The swan is the bird that the Greeks call κύκνος. It is called 'swan' because it is 'entirely' white in its plumage; for no one mentions a black swan; in Greek 'entire' is called ολος. The *cycnus* is named for singing because it pours out a sweetness of song with its modulated voice. It is thought to sing sweetly because it has a long curved neck, and a voice forcing its way by a long and winding path necessarily renders varied modulations. People say that in the Hyperborean regions, when musicians are singing to citharas, swans come flocking in large numbers, and sing with them quite harmoniously. *Olor* is the Latin name, for in Greek they are called κύκνος. Sailors say that this bird makes a good omen for them, just as Aemilius says: The swan is the most fortunate bird in omens. / Swans prefer this one, because it does not immerse itself / In the waves.'

This passage can be found in book XII.vii.18 of the *Etymologies*, see *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, eds. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 264-265. The primary critical edition of the *Etymologies* remains W. M. Lindsay ed., *Isidori Hisalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1911). Hugh of Fouilloy's *Aviarium*, written between 1132 and 1152, gives a description of the swan, mainly derived from Isidore of Seville. Hugh adds a passage concerning the swan's singing at the point of its death: 'But at last, when the swan is dying, it is said to sing exceedingly sweetly as it dies. Likewise, when the proud man departs this life, he delights still in the sweetness of this world, and dying,

The swan is an external sign of Hugh's internal virtues and holiness. Adam draws a comparison between Hugh and the swan. The swan does not grieve its death but shows 'its contempt for death by singing.'¹⁶⁶ In the same way, saintly men like Hugh 'are happy to leave the toils of this world.'¹⁶⁷ The swan is a sign of Hugh's virtue and his lack of fear of death, and also as a sign of Hugh's own approaching death. For Adam it was evident that,

...God sent it to him not merely for his consolation in this present life, and as proof of his absolute purity of heart, but also that it might in the end prophesy that his departure from this life would shortly take place.¹⁶⁸

The docility and affection that the bird showed towards Hugh were signs of his holiness rather than wonders to cause awe.

Adam then goes on to discuss other manifestations of Hugh's holiness, which are related to his abilities as bishop, such as his zeal in securing distinguished men for the church of Lincoln and his resistance of royal authority over the Church, but a point of interest for Adam was Hugh's naturally fond relationship with children. This was attributed to Hugh's own innocence,

he remembers the things which he did wrong.' Hugh of Fouilloy, *The Medieval book of birds: Hugh of Fouilloy's Aviarium*, ed. W. B. Clark (New York, 1992), pp. 241-245.

¹⁶⁶ '...funebria fata canendo contempnit.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 106.

¹⁶⁷ '...sic uiri uirtutum meritis candidate, ab erumpnis huius seculi leti discedunt...' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 106. Gerald of Wales describes this in a similar way, saying 'Non enim misterio carere potuit quod avis candida, imminentis interitus cantu nuncio, viro innocent, pio, ac puro, mortisque minas, quia sancti mortem habent in desiderio et vitam in paciencia, nil formidanti, divino tanquam oraculo destinata transmittitur. Quemadmodum enim avis ista, candour spectabilis, mortis discrimina docet non dolenda, et imminente letali articulo, tanquam de necessitate virtutem faciens, funebria fata canendo contempnit. Sic viri virtutum meritis candidate ab erumpnis huius seculi leti discedunt, solumque Deum fontem vivum sicientes, a corpore mortis huius liberati dissolvique cupient et esse cum Christo.' *Life of St Hugh of Avalon*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁸ '...ex quibus liqueat euidentiis, no solum in solatium uite presentis seu in testimonium intime puritatis, set etiam diuinitus ea sibi fuisse transmissam in presagium quoddam tandem imminentis leti temporalis.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 107.

Because of his unsullied innocence which made him set great store by sincerity and simplicity, the saint had an unusual affection for children because of their complete naturalness.¹⁶⁹

While this appeared miraculous, it was an external sign of Hugh's holiness and lead observers to consider this manifestation of purity,

Those present were amazed at the unusual spectacle of the bishop and the infant absolutely happy in each other's company. The sight of the attractive scene between the two of them turned men's thoughts to higher things. As they watched the bishop and the child they realized the aptness of the words of the gospel, 'Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.'¹⁷⁰

Beyond these signs, Hugh's holiness became manifest in his exceptional behaviour, which was the overarching miracle of his life. In discussing Hugh's dedication to his duties as bishop even during illness, Adam states that,

It was almost miraculous to see how at church consecrations, or ordinations, or other ecclesiastical ceremonies, or in the execution of any of his pastoral duties which were particularly tiring, his staying power was greater than that of his assistants.¹⁷¹

The concern of these examples is to create the picture of imitable admiration around Hugh and in doing so Adam returns to Hugh as a Carthusian.

¹⁶⁹ 'Ex multa quidem puritatis et innocentie habundantia ut erat simplicitatis et munditie et precipuus amator et custos, infantilem uir sanctus miro excolebat affect non modo sinceritatem set etiam etatem.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 129.

¹⁷⁰ 'Pontifice infanti et infant pontifici, inauditum de se inuicem spectaculum delectabiliter exhibente, stupebant qui aderant; et de gemino istorum spectaculo quod forinsecus erat mirabile in oculis suis, ad quoddam sublimius mentis spectaculum ducebantur intrinsecus. Videbant et considerabant illud de Euangelio exhiberi, tam in puero quam in episcopo, 'Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum uidebunt.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 130.

¹⁷¹ 'Videre quasi miraculum erat quamadmodum in dedicationibus ecclesiarum, in celebrationibus ordinum ceterorumque ecclesiasticorum officiorum seu quibuslibet pontificalis ministerii exercitiis, in quibus plurimum uideretur esse laboris, omnium sibi adherentium uires solus ipse excederet.' *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 127.

Hugh did not object to the performance of miracles as a concept. Adam shows that his reservation towards the value of miracles as a pedagogical tool did not stop him admiring those miracles performed ‘by holy men which he had read or heard about, and [Hugh] had a great veneration for them himself.’¹⁷² Importantly, Adam identifies this characteristic as being an intrinsic part of Hugh’s identity as a Carthusian. Hugh,

...had so wholeheartedly, completely and perfectly absorbed the reserve and humility of the holy founders of the Carthusian order that he thought miracles were the last thing to admire or wish to emulate.¹⁷³

The issue was that, instead of describing miracles for their own sake, Hugh’s desire and aim in discussing the example of saints was ‘to praise those who had performed them [miracles] and to arouse the interest of those who were impressed by such occurrences.’¹⁷⁴ The holiness of these holy men was ‘better than any miracle and alone provided an example to be imitated and alone provided an example to be imitated’.¹⁷⁵ Hugh of Lincoln himself provides an example of taking holy men as his model. In addition to Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley, Hugh of Lincoln explicitly considered Martin of Tours to be his personal model. In the *Magna Vita*, Adam dedicates a considerable amount of space in book five to discussing the ways in which Hugh was comparable to Martin of Tours throughout his lifetime, but it is also evident that this was a self-aware act for Hugh. Towards the end of his life,

We [his companions] heard Hugh frequently repeating this prayer with many tears and sighs, and remembering his emulation of and veneration for St Martin, and his

¹⁷² ‘...cum hec tamen de uiris sanctis lecta aut cognita suauiter referret et sublimis ueneretur.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 90.

¹⁷³ ‘Nam et in hoc etiam, traditam a sanctis ordinis Cartusiensis auctoribus grauitatem partier et humilitatem altius et perfectius mente tota imbiberat, ut nichil minus quam miraculorum prodiga mirari aut emulari uideretur...’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 90.

¹⁷⁴ ‘...cum illi sola esset sanctorum sanctitas pro miraculo, sola sufficeret pro exemplo.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 90.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Referebat, inquam, hec ad commendationem ea exhibentium et ad excitationem talia admirantium, cum illi sola esset sanctorum sanctitas pro miraculo, sola sufficeret pro exemplo.’ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, p. 90.

eagerness to celebrate his feast, his pleasure in dwelling on his virtues and the pains he took to follow his example...¹⁷⁶

Just as Hugh of Lincoln took Martin of Tours as his model, so others should emulate this behaviour by taking their own imitable models rather than simply being awe-inspired by the lives of the saints.

Hugh's abstinences towards meat and the wearing of the hair shirt can be placed within the ascetic traditions of the period but the identification of a reluctance towards the value of miracles as being Carthusian indicates that Adam was well-aware of the tenets of the order. Although not unique, the way in which this principle is embraced within broader Carthusian is very unusual. The significance of miracles is not directly discussed in the *Consuetudines* but the lack of emphasis on miracles and the converse laudation of imitable exemplars found in the *Magna Vita* has grounding in other Carthusian literature. In saying that Hugh of Lincoln's cautious attitude towards the benefits of miracles was reflected by 'the holy founders of the Carthusian order', Adam shows an awareness of Carthusian principles towards the idea of sanctity and virtue as laid out by Guigo I in his various works, particularly the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, the *Meditationes*, and the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*. Within the last of these, there is considerable reluctance towards placing emphasis on the performance of miracles by the saints and this trait has been considered to be one of the defining features of Carthusian writing throughout the medieval period.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Nos quoque, scientes quam deuota semper emulation Martinum coluisset, quam alacer in festiuitatum Martini celebrationibus extitisset, quam dulce habuisset uirtutes Martini referre, imitari mores et studia sectari...' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, pp. 199-200.

¹⁷⁷ A. Murray, 'The temptation of Hugh of Grenoble', in B. Ward and L. Smith eds., *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), p. 87.

Guigo I dismissed the need for the performance of miracles by a holy man, saying instead that the reader should be amazed by the ascetic behaviour and detachment of the bishop rather than seeking ‘marvels’:

There are people who think that there is no holiness without marvels, marvels which we should not set great store, since the elected like the reprobate realise, amongst the great patriarchs and many other saints who have greatly pleased God, we do not find any or few marvels. The lovers of marvels, what do they think if one is to ask a man to do an act more prodigious from the mortal flesh (which should not appear impossible), that to govern an immense diocese for more than fifty years and not recognise at all the face of a woman, except one and this woman who hardly had any beauty but she had great need of wisdom. And while women came to find him from his own diocese or from others, in order to confess or for innumerable other reasons, they came with piety and in great numbers because they knew him to be very saintly.¹⁷⁸

Essentially, the virtuous life and episcopal achievements of Hugh of Grenoble were superior to the simple performance of miracles, and could be compared to a miracle itself. An abundance of miracles was, moreover, in no way an indicator of extreme holiness. Hugh of Grenoble’s resistance of temptation and abilities as bishop are the miracles, not anything else.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Sed et qui sanctitatem sine miraculis nihili ducunt; quae nos ideo non magni facimus, quoniam ab electis haec et reprobis haberi communiter scimus, et in majoribus patriarchis multisque eliis qui Deo valde placuere sanctis vel nulla vel pauca reperimus: qui tamen, ut dicere coeperamus, miracula quaerunt, etiam atque etiam considerent utrum mirabilius ab homine, mortali carne circumdato, quidquam debeat exigi; et utrum cuiquam possit non impossibile videri, per quinquaginta et amplius annos grandem episcopatum a quolibet homine regi, et praetor unius, nullius omnino deminae faciem sciri. Et certe erat haec ipse parum quidem Formosa, sed consilii ejus satis indigo. Et tamen ad ipsius praesentiam, non solum ex suo, ed etiam ex aliis episcopatibus, seu pro confessione, seu aliis causis innumeris, tanto devotius frequentiusque veniebant, quanto sanctiorem cognoverant.’ *PL* 153, col. 773.

Guigo I also argued that Hugh of Grenoble's austere lifestyle was not just for the benefit of himself. He also acted in such a holy way because he wanted to encourage others to do the same by providing a good example,

And if he [Hugh of Grenoble] so methodically abstained himself from looking at women, it was not because he felt weak in the face of the vice which is carnal desire...but he behaved thus to observe perfection and austerity in his way of life, to give to the most weak examples of prudence to follow against the pitfalls of the ever-present enemy.¹⁷⁹

Hugh of Grenoble acts virtuously and resistant to temptation not just to keep himself pure but also to present an example to his flock and those present so that they too can attempt to achieve greater perfection in their lives. In a similar way, Antelme of Belley is presented by the author of his life as being the model of virtue who one should 'imitate his saintly life so that you will merit to reach, by his merits and prayers, the blessing he himself has reached.'¹⁸⁰ In this way, while miracles are simply distracting 'marvels', a virtuous life actually aids in the salvation of the audience by presenting an imitable example.

The importance of the provision of human-based models for perfection is found also in Guigo I's *Meditationes*. Unlike miracles, Guigo I argued, human actions were imitable and therefore more significant for the edification of others. In meditation 238 he states,

Prayer, instruction, and example – these are the things we long to be granted by the saints; and we should, with diligence and conscientiousness, grant them to others. To

¹⁷⁹ 'Nec ideo se suosque sensus ab intuitu feminarum tam disciplinate frenebat, quod circa libidinis vitium se sentiret infirmum...sed ut sui habitus et officii, qualem decebat, maturitatem severitatemque servaret; et contra inveterate hostis insidias...' *PL* 153, col. 774.

¹⁸⁰ 'Igitur quem habetis exemplar virtutum beatum Antelmum quasi speculum ponite ante oculis cordis et imitamini moribus sanctis ut ad quam ipse pervenit beatitudinem, ejus meritis et precibus vos pervenire mereamini.' *Vie de saint Antelme*, p. 32.

be unwilling to do good is actually to do harm, since the Lord says ‘Love your neighbour as yourself’.¹⁸¹

This emphasis on the importance of active imitable models takes on particular significance because of its centrality in Guigo I’s explanation of the Incarnation of Christ. The need for man to have a model to copy is precisely the reason why, for Guigo I, God became a man as Christ. This is explained in the final chapters of the *Meditationes*, which act as a summarising climax for the rest of the work. In the final meditation, numbered 476, he says:

Man should only follow God, but could only follow man. Thus human nature was assumed, so that by following someone he could, he might also follow the one he should. In the same way it was good for man to be conformed only to God, in whose image he was made; but he could conform only to man. Thus God was made man, so that while being conformed to a man, which he could, he might also be conformed to God, which was good.¹⁸²

God became Christ in order to allow man to ‘conform’ to him because it is impossible for men to ‘follow’ or imitate God due to the blindness of mankind to God’s nature. Through this imitative model of Christ, mankind was enabled to break the cycle of corruption and identify what was good for itself.

Guigo I’s depiction of Hugh of Grenoble can be seen as an extension of this stance. Hugh of Grenoble is a necessary example of the model first presented by Christ, providing an emphatic model to inspire men to live a perfect life as is good for them. Miracles were

¹⁸¹ ‘Haec sunt quae a sanctis nobis impendi desideramus: oratio, doctrina, exemplum. Haec et nos aliis impendere, diligenter ac pie debemus. Noluisse autem prodesse, nocuisse est, cum Dominus dicat: ‘Dilige proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.’’ *Les Méditationes*, p. 178. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 115.

¹⁸² ‘Non enim sequi debebat homo nisi Deum, nec poterat nisi hominem. Assumptus est igitur homo, ut dum sequitur quem potest, sequatur et quem debet. Item non prodeat conformari nisi Deo, ad cuius imaginem factus est, nec poterat nisi homini. Itaque Deus factus est homo, ut dum conformatur homini cui potest, conformetur et Deo cui prodest.’ *Les Méditationes*, p. 306. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, p. 192.

useless within this framework because they did not aid men in their journey towards salvation and enable them to imitate of Christ. If miracles only encourage admiration, they are not encouraging imitation and therefore do not serve a positive purpose. It was a sentiment expressed by many. For example, in his sermons on the feast of St Martin, Bernard of Clairvaux is emphatic about the subservience of the miraculous for virtuous behaviour.¹⁸³ He asserts that the miracles and signs that Martin showed were just as a part of Martin's divinity as his merits and virtues but it was important to consider what could be imitated.¹⁸⁴ What emerges in Carthusian literature, however, is a strong assertion of the order as the pursuers of virtues and absolute holiness throughout a temporal lifetime rather than relying upon miracles and marvels to prove the sanctity of the man.

Hugh of Lincoln's similar rejection of miracles and the increased concern for the didactic nature of his behaviour fits into this framework. Hugh throughout the *Magna Vita* is reluctant to ascribe much value to the importance of miracles and, as seen in the example of Hugh's relationship with the swan of Stow and children, Adam is inclined to present miraculous events as being external signs for his inherent virtues rather than marvels to inspire awe. Crucially, Hugh of Lincoln's rejection of the importance of miracles as indicators of holiness was considered by Adam to be very much based upon principles set forward by Guigo I and Hugh's Carthusian predecessors. This awareness is most strongly seen in Adam's self-aware references to Hugh modelling himself upon other Carthusians such as Antelme of Belley and Hugh of Grenoble, in addition to external ascetic models such as Martin of Tours. Not only does these references suggest that Adam of Eynsham integrated Carthusian practices into his work through an understanding of Hugh's own practices but also suggests that Adam was

¹⁸³ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 175.

¹⁸⁴ 'Dives est iste Martinus, dives in meritis, dives in miraculis, dives in virtutibus, dives in signis...Diligenter ergo considera quae apponuntur tibi, quatenam videlicet ad admirationem, quae vero ad imitationem.' *PL* 183, col. 495.

aware of the fundamental principles of the order laid down by Guigo I. In so doing, Adam particularly shows his awareness of Carthusian images of sanctity in these *vitae* in presenting this human-based model of perfection.

Adam of Eynsham presents Hugh's membership to the Carthusian order as being a core aspect of his sanctity. While the episcopal aspects of his life dominate throughout the work, references to Hugh as a Carthusian are found in two ways. First, Hugh is seen by Adam as linking himself to other major Carthusian figures, principally Antelme of Belley and Hugh of Grenoble, and using them as models of sanctity. Second, certain actions of Hugh are identified by Adam as being Carthusian, specifically the wearing of the hair shirt, the abstinences from meat, and the reluctance towards ascribing any value to miracles. The implications of these references to the Carthusians are strong indicators of the importance that Adam places upon these aspects of his life. The simplest reading of the references to Hugh's wearing of the hair shirt and the abstinences from meat shows that Adam uses the connection of these actions to the Carthusian order as a means of asserting the continued asceticism of Hugh's lifestyle. The appearance of the Carthusians within the *Magna Vita*, however, is more significant than this. Through his references to Hugh's personal connections to Hugh of Grenoble and Antelme of Belley and his description of Hugh's reluctance to give miracles value as being Carthusian, Adam shows an awareness of key aspects of Carthusian concepts of sanctity.

Moreover, in modelling himself after Antelme of Belley and Hugh of Grenoble, Hugh is explicitly shown to follow in the footsteps of these bishops whose *vitae* are the chief expressions of Carthusian ideas of sanctity. The ability to interact with the world without being corrupted by it - through the control over the body and the mind - and the pursuit of the

reforming programme of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are fundamental aspects of Carthusian episcopal sanctity as expressed in the three *vitae* considered within this chapter and Hugh of Lincoln embodies all of them. Moreover, Adam's description of Hugh's attitude towards miracles in the *Magna Vita* can be closely compared to the attitude towards the miraculous found in Carthusian literature. While miracles had their place as external signs of holiness, the greater miracle was the didactic model of extreme virtue that the bishops themselves were able to present to their audience. In emphasising the merits of the saint as being superior to the miracles of the saint, these *vitae* stress the importance of imitation and emulation of these figures. Importantly, this assertion is self-aware. Not only is Hugh acting as a Carthusian, he was actively and explicitly also modelling himself after Carthusians and as such provides an imitable model in this respect as well.

In a sense, Hugh's membership of the Carthusian order could be considered to be an external sign of his holiness. While the order was an ideal setting for the growth of Hugh's spiritual maturity, his holiness had always been manifest within him and the order was not the cause of his sanctity. It was not necessary to be a Carthusian monk to attain salvation and Hugh was proof that it was possible to embody such virtue whilst living within the temporal world, providing a case study to exemplify this. Hugh's acts of refusing meat and the wearing of the hair shirt as being 'Carthusian' then become part of the Carthusian tradition of the resistance of temptation and withdrawal from the world rather than merely being symbols of asceticism. While Adam asserts Hugh's monastic career within the context of a monastic-leaning hagiography, it is too simplistic to consider the Carthusians as merely being a means by which Adam can emphasise Hugh's continued commitment to his monastic identity. Hugh was also an exceptional example of the monk-bishop who was able to embody reforming aspirations that insisted upon the strength of the Church over secular powers. Within this

context, Hugh as a Carthusian goes a considerable way to showing how Hugh managed this achievement. The Carthusian can be both the monk and the bishop; in a distinctly Carthusian image of holiness, Hugh was able to embody a model of sanctity that was, crucially, imitable by all and achievable in the temporal world.

To examine of the *Magna Vita* of Adam of Eynsham without exploring the Carthusian nature of the text is to miss a significant element in its architecture and narrative strategy. Hugh's sanctity is presented within the work as being intrinsically related to Hugh's vocation as a Carthusian monk, and Adam presents this aspect of Hugh's life and holiness consistently throughout the work. While Hugh was canonized as a result of his episcopal career, the *Magna Vita* should also be read with Hugh's Carthusian heritage in mind. This work is, in a sense, a case study of sanctity in relation to Carthusian-ness. In this connection, the *Magna Vita* is one of only three texts that can be approached in this manner, the others being the *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* and the *Vita Antelmi*, those hagiographical works that are essentially Carthusian texts or exhibit Carthusian values. It is not unreasonable therefore to offer Hugh, as Adam portrays him, as a model of Carthusian behaviour.

The tradition of interpretation of the *Magna Vita* is distinguished. The arguments adduced here indicate that Adam tapped into past precedents of Carthusian depictions of sanctity and incorporated them into his vision of Hugh as a monk-bishop. In doing so, his composition of the *Magna Vita* is indicative of shared and accessible Carthusian culture. By using the example of bishops in the orbit of the Grande Chartreuse, Adam not only connects Hugh with the heroic age of the Carthusian order but also shows that traditions and sentiments were passed from the Grande Chartreuse to houses beyond its immediate area. The composition of the *Magna Vita* in this way has impact upon the perception of Carthusians in England more

generally. It supports the simple but important point that the Carthusians in England were not residents of a backwater and irrelevant house. The richness of the material found within the *Magna Vita* is a sign that the Carthusians in England interacted with and were open to exchange with the wider order in the later twelfth century.

Adam of Dryburgh and the Carthusian experience

Despite the prominent position of Hugh of Lincoln within the Carthusians, it is important to guard against reducing the history of the order in England to one extrapolated from the extant records of his life. Although the most visible English Carthusian of the High Middle Ages, he did not leave a record of his experience of the order himself and, as the previous chapter demonstrated, his involvement with the Carthusians is only conveyed through the work of Adam of Eynsham.¹ As the *Magna Vita* reveals, Adam was an exceptional witness to the order but he was an external one. The *Magna Vita* is to this extent a Benedictine description of a Carthusian monk-bishop and cannot be approached as reflection of the mental framework of a Carthusian without due recognition of its origin. For a case study of Carthusian thought, it is necessary to turn to a different witness: Adam of Dryburgh. As a Carthusian monk of Witham, Adam composed the *De quadripertito exercitio cellae* in approximately 1190.² The work discusses the principles and expectations of the Carthusian way of life and presents a detailed description and explanation of how a Carthusian monk should conduct himself.

¹ Hugh of Lincoln himself did not write any works about his experiences as a monk. As a bishop, he left behind 215 acts. These are recorded in David M. Smith ed., *English Episcopal Acts IV: Lincoln 1186-1206* (London, 1986), pp. 1-143. The only one of these acts that concerns the Carthusians is a lost letter to Witham in which Hugh recommended Adam of Dryburgh to the house, as will be referred to later in this chapter.

² Comments made by Adam about his inexperience in Carthusian practices suggests that the work was written near to the date of Adam's entry into Witham in c. 1186. Moreover, the salutation refers to a prior 'B' as a recipient of the work. This 'B' almost certainly refers to Prior Bovo, who died in 1201. The full text of the salutation is: 'Reverendissimo domino, et Patri in Christi visceribus dilectissimo, B. priori pauperum Christi, qui in Wittheam commanentes, ordinem sunt Carthusiensem professi, Dei servorumque Dei servus indignus, spiritualis uteri vestri filius, in praesenti sanctitatem in merito, et in futuro felicitatem in praemio', *PL* 153, col. 799. James Hogg has suggested 1190 as a reasonable date of composition and this will be presumed throughout the rest of the chapter. J. Hogg, 'Adam the Carthusian's *De Quadripertito Exercitio Cellae*', in M. Sargent ed., *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 72.

The preface establishes that it was the prior at Witham, Bovo, who requested that he recorded the exercises that the solitary Carthusian should undertake.³ In accomplishing his task, Adam uses as a framing narrative the convening of the General Chapter of Carthusian priors which regularly met at the Grande Chartreuse following its establishment in the 1140s under Antelme of Belley.⁴ Much like the General Chapter of other monastic orders, this meeting was intended not only as a means of deliberating and addressing issues with the order, such as those relating to discipline, but it was also a means of asserting a unified front in the order and ensuring homogenous observance throughout the houses of the order.⁵ He praises the priors for their continuous virtue and discipline in their Carthusian lifestyle and states that the main aim of the *De quadripertito* was to present the means by which they must maintain the rigour of their vocation.

Adam then presents a number of practices that would protect such virtue, extolling the ideals of solitude, the renunciation of physical wealth, and the importance of the cell. The second part of the work, from chapters seventeen to thirty-six, is then devoted to Adam's account of the eponymous four exercises of the cell: reading, which is introduced in chapter sixteen but is the main focus of chapter seventeen, meditation, which occupies chapters eighteen to thirty, prayer, running from chapters thirty-one to thirty-five, and manual labour, positioned

³ 'Haec idcirco praelibavi, quia injunxit veneranda paternitas vestra mihi, ut scripto conarer ostendere quibus potissimum exercitiis in cella debeat intendere, qui sanctum ordinem Carthusiensem professus, in ea debet solitaries manere...' *PL* 153, col. 801.

⁴ See Adam's description of the meeting of the priors in chapter one of *De quadripertito*, *PL* 153, cols. 804-805. Antelme of Belley called the first general chapter in 1141 as it attested to by a charter found in *Recueil des plus anciens actes*, pp. 53-56.

⁵ For information on the Cistercian general chapter, see B. P. McGuire, 'Constitutions and the General Chapter', in M. B. Bruun ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 87-99. Also see Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 159-160 and Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 213-214. Although the Cistercian General Chapter is more renowned, Benedictine abbots also held what could be considered to be General Chapters. For a discussion of this see S. Vanderputten, 'The First 'General Chapter' of Benedictine Abbots (1131) Reconsidered', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66 (2015), pp. 715-734.

at the end of the work in chapter thirty-six. This section of the work takes as its framework the rivers of Eden, with each exercise represented by one of the four rivers. The majority of the work is given over to consideration of these exercises, which Adam considered to be the essential part of the Carthusian monk's rigorous observance.

In devoting the work to these topics, Adam provides the only opportunity to examine the Carthusian order from the perspective of a member of an English charterhouse. In its explanation of, and meditation upon, Carthusian practices and principles, *De quadripartito* stands alone within twelfth-century Carthusian literature. As a witness to the order's devotional life and theology in this period, its importance is only matched or exceeded by the works of Guigo I and Guigo II and Adam's work offers more detail on the context and practice of Carthusian vocation. Moreover, having been written at the behest of the community of Witham, the composition of *De quadripartito* gives some insight into the intellectual demands and desires of this community. Only twelve years after their foundation, the community of Witham had begun to supplement pre-existing works on their profession with ones composed within their own house.

Despite the significance of the work within the Carthusian corpus, *De quadripartito* was characterised by Bulloch, in the only extended biographical study of his life to date, as unoriginal on the grounds that the work seems to lack any innovative aspects.⁶ Such a judgement stems from Adam's own judgement of his work, pleading humility, inexperience

⁶ J. Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh* (London, 1958), p. 160. Thompson similarly noted that 'Probably in what Master Adam says of meditation and prayer there is little innovation.' Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 365.

and unoriginality. Adam went to considerable lengths throughout the prologue of *De quadripartito* to describe himself as being inexperienced in Carthusian practices, stating that just as he knew that honey was sweet through listening to others rather than tasting it, he himself did not know about the sweetness of the cell.⁷ Likewise, in ending his treatise, Adam argued that he had not achieved anything new in the work, saying ‘Nothing is said that has not been said already.’⁸ To support this statement Adam continued, citing Ecclesiastes 1:10, ‘Nothing is new under the sun, neither is any man able to say: Behold this is new: for it hath already gone before in the ages that were before us.’⁹ These statements, however, should not be used to reduce the importance of the work. Such exhortations of humility are regular topoi and are reflective of the medieval ambivalence towards novelty.¹⁰

In contrast, a comparison of the contents of *De quadripartito* with the other examples of Carthusian theology and practice in the same period reveals that, although grounded within traditional Carthusian theological models, Adam was an active and creative author who expanded upon the work of his predecessors to produce exemplary Carthusian writing. This aspect of Adam’s writing has not been the focus of significant research. Studies have largely focused upon Adam’s career as a Premonstratensian and the works that date from this period of his life.¹¹ Those studies concerning *De quadripartito* were limited until very recently.¹²

⁷ ‘Ego autem non ignoro ad haec me idoneum non esse, qui scio quidem mel esse dulce, sed magis auditu quam gustu.’ *PL* 153, col. 801.

⁸ ‘Nihil est dictum, quod ante non sit dictum.’ *PL* 153, col. 884.

⁹ ‘Nihil sub sole novum: nec valet quisquam dicere: Ecce hoc recens est. Et adjungit, jam praecessit in saeculis quae fuerunt ante nos.’ *PL* 153, col. 884.

¹⁰ For studies on the subject of novelty in the Middle Ages, see B. Smalley, ‘Ecclesiastical attitudes to novelty c. 1100-c. 1250’, *Studies in Church History*, 12 (1975), pp. 113-131.

¹¹ Francois Petit, for instance, focused upon the Premonstratensian aspects of Adam in his volume *La spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, of which an English translation was published in 2011 as F. Petit, *Spirituality of the Premonstratensians: The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. V. Szcurek (Minnesota 2011). Bulloch’s biography of Hugh, cited above, also concentrates upon Adam as a canon. M. J.

The first English translation of the work was undertaken by a monk of Parkminster and published in 1924 but was heavily abridged.¹³ This translation does not provide an authoritative version of the text and the text found in *Patrologia Latina* 153 remains indispensable.¹⁴ The most significant recent work on the *De quadripertito* remains that undertaken by James Hogg and Francesco Palleschi.¹⁵ Hogg and John Clark have also very recently produced a critical edition of the Latin text of *De quadripertito*.¹⁶ The edition itself was not, however, intended as an extended analysis of *De quadripertito*; its value largely rests in the accompanying commentary and the identification of sources within the work.

As part of an examination of the Carthusian aspects of the work, it is important that it should be considered in terms of its relationship with the works of Guigo I and Guigo II, with additional references to the *Epistola ad fratres* of William of St Thierry, to provide an analytical comparison between these defining Carthusian works. Although William of St Thierry was never himself a Carthusian monk, he had considerable sympathy towards the Carthusian order and the *Epistola ad fratres* was directed towards the monks of the charterhouse of Mont Dieu as a laudation of their lifestyle. What emerges from such a

Hamilton's introduction to his work, *Adam of Dryburgh: Six Christmas Sermons* (Salzburg, 1974), gives an excellent survey of Adam's life and works but concentrates upon his Premonstratensian career.

¹² Focused considerations of the text can be found on *De quadripertito* and Adam as a Carthusian but these are on the whole increasingly dated. In addition to Thompson's chapter dedicated to the work in *The Carthusians in England*, M-M. Davy in 1933 published an article dedicated to the contents of *De quadripertito* entitled 'La vie solitaire cartusienne d'après le *De Quadripertito Exercitio Cellae* d'Adam le chartreux', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 14 (1933), pp. 124-145. Brief analyses and descriptions of the work can be found in Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh*, pp. 152-161 and Hamilton, *Adam of Dryburgh*, pp. 54-55.

¹³ A monk of Parkminster, *Eden's Fourfold River: An Instruction on Contemplative Life and Prayer* (Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1927).

¹⁴ *Patrologia Latina* remains indispensable because, upon the commencement of the composition of this thesis, PL 153 contained the only accessible text of *De quadripertito*. For this reason, PL 153 is used as the authoritative Latin text for *De quadripertito*, with reference to the recent Hogg-Clark edition, as cited above, as appropriate.

¹⁵ Hogg, 'De Quadripartito', pp. 67-79. Palleschi has also written a number of studies on *De quadripertito*, see F. Palleschi, 'La solitudine e i Quattro fiumi del paradiso in Adam Scot', *Analecta Carthusiana*, 130 (1996), pp. 5-44.

¹⁶ As cited above.

comparison is that Adam engages with the theological models found in these works in two ways, which will be expanded upon below and which are broadly represented by the two structural parts of *De quadripertito*. First, he discusses the general expectations of the order and defines the practices necessary to maintain the virtues of the charterhouse with close reference to the legislative texts of Guigo I. In particular, he reflects the teachings of Guigo I, Guigo II, and William of St Thierry in his teaching of the importance of the cell. Second, his schema of the four exercises of the cell can be compared to general ascent literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries but reflects particularly closely the *Scala claustralium* of Guigo II. Before such a comparison between *De quadripertito* and these works, the author himself needs some introduction.

Authorship and attribution

Adam's biography is intertwined with the community of Witham. Not only did this community instigate the composition of *De quadripertito*, but the majority of information about Adam's life is found in the chronicle of Witham, fragments of which survives in two fifteenth-century English manuscripts from the charterhouses of Sheen and London.¹⁷ The

¹⁷ These fragments were the focus of two independent studies in the early 1930s by E. M. Thompson and A. Wilmart. The first fragment to be described came from Sheen and was the subject of Wilmart's article 'Magister Adam Cartusienensis', *Mélanges Mandonnet*, volume 2 (Paris, 1930), pp. 145-161 in which he provided a transliteration of the text. It was also cited by E. M. Thompson in *The Somerset Carthusians*, p. 71. The manuscript came from Sheen charterhouse and is presently located at the British Museum as part of MS Cotton Vespasian D ix f. 167v. Wilmart identifies this as being written in the fifteenth century, a judgement supported by the listing at the British Museum. Thompson and Wilmart both independently also made editions of the London fragment. Thompson described and published the fragment in 'A fragment', pp. 482-506. Wilmart then provided his own edition in the article 'Maître Adam chanoine prémontré devenu chartreux à Witham', pp. 213-232. More recently, the manuscript was described in full in N. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries. Volume 1* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 9-12 and N. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries. Volume 2* (Oxford, 1977), p. 529. Thompson identifies the manuscript to which the fragment is attached as being fourteenth-century and estimates that the section with the Witham chronicle was written at the same time, Thompson, *The*

biography of Adam to be found in these fragments can also be augmented by works that he wrote as a Premonstratensian canon before he joined the community of Witham. A prolific author as a Premonstratensian, Adam wrote an estimated one hundred sermons during his time at Dryburgh and is also credited with the composition of five complete theological works, all of which were written in the 1170s or early 1180s: *De ordine et habitu atque professione canonicorum ordinis Praemonstratensis*, *De dulcedine Dei*, *De tripartite tabernaculo*, *De triplici genere contemplationis*, and *Soliloquium de instructione animae*.¹⁸ Together these sources give some detail of his life and allow a rough biography of Adam to be reconstructed.

He was probably born in around 1140 and the chronicle describes Adam as being born on the border of Scotland and England to ‘parentum mediocrum’.¹⁹ Thompson interpreted this

Carthusians, p. 482. The majority of other scholars who have written about the London fragment dispute this assessment. Wilmart and later commentators on Adam of Dryburgh dated this fragment, like the Sheen fragment, to the fifteenth century, see Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 209; J. Valvekens, ‘Adamus Scotus’, *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 8 (1932), p. 338; Hamilton, *Adam of Dryburgh*, p. 1. Although located in the possession of the Master of the London Charterhouse in the 1930s when described by Thompson and Wilmart, it is now located in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh as MS 9999. Hogg and Clark, *De Quadripetito*, p. v. The main differences between the Thompson and Wilmart versions of the London fragment is that Wilmart divides the text into four sections: The first chapter, according to Wilmart’s divisions, presents an account of Adam’s life from his childhood until his conversion to the Carthusian order and the later visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury Hubert Walter (1193-1205) to Adam at Witham. The second chapter consists of a short description of Adam’s life and a list of Adam’s work, as found in the Sheen edition of the fragment. The third section of the chronicle deals with the priorate of Albert, the successor to Hugh of Lincoln who was deposed. Finally, the fourth chapter describes other noteworthy men who had entered Witham around the same time as Adam, Robert of Winchester, Walter of Bath, and Theodorus.

¹⁸ All of these bar *De dulcedine Dei*, which is unfortunately lost, were published under the name of Adam of Premonstratensian in *Patrologia Latina* 198 by Migne. This volume also includes forty-seven sermons. Godfrid Ghiselbert, in his 1659 edition of Adam’s *Opera*, included a preface purportedly written by Adam that stated that he had composed one hundred sermons. This edition only contained forty-seven sermons and Ghiselbert stated that he could only find the first volume of Adam’s sermons. Out of the original one hundred sermons, eighty-eight are currently in print. In addition to those published by Ghiselbert in 1659, twenty were edited by W. de Gray Birch in 1901 under the title *Sermones de sanctis: Sermones de sanctis*, in W. de G. Birch ed., *Sermones fratris Adae* (Edinburgh, 1901), pp. 1-173. Another fourteen were edited and published by Francois Petit in 1943 under the title *Sermones de viros religiosos*, F. Petit ed., *Quatorze sermons d’Adam Scot* (Tongerloo 1934). For a fuller study of Adam’s Premonstratensian works and for a selection of his sermons, see Hamilton, *Adam of Dryburgh*, pp. 42-44. Also see R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 10-12.

¹⁹ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 215. See C. Holdsworth, ‘Dryburgh, Adam of (c.1140–1212?)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/97>,

phrase as ‘ordinary parents’, although the description may be more rhetorically charged to heighten Adam’s life of devotion rather than necessarily being an indicator of the family’s economic status. The chronicle asserts that he was a naturally clever boy and was better than his companions in his studies.²⁰ This natural cleverness was matched by his desire to lead a religious life after he saw the dangers of the secular life, with the chronicle citing temporal honours and pride as particular risks.²¹ Adam therefore left his home and travelled to the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh and joined the order there. This house was described by the chronicle as being in the same province as his childhood home, suggesting that this was located in Berwickshire.²² That Adam was Scottish is also supported by the description that Adam provides in one of his Premonstratensian works, *De tripartito tabernaculo*, of his origins.²³

He became a priest when he was twenty-five and the chronicle emphasises that he remained as he was before, humble and virtuous.²⁴ It also describes Adam as being especially skilled in

accessed 31 March 2016] for a recent biography of Adam. Hamilton shows that the earliest date of Adam’s birth is 1127. This was calculated because he was twenty-five when ordained as a priest at Dryburgh, which was founded in 1152 (although the Melrose Chronicle indicates that the Premonstratensians initially first came to Dryburgh in 1150). Hamilton, *Adam of Dryburgh*, p. 4. A canon called Roger was the first prior of Dryburgh. Roger resigned as prior in 1177 and was succeeded by a certain Girard. Girard was abbot in 1184 because he is named in a papal bull of Pope Lucius III in this year. Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh*, p. 9. Thompson argued that Adam was abbot after Girard but before a canon called Richard, who was abbot in 1190 when he witnessed a document relating to Kelso Abbey. Thompson, ‘A fragment’, p. 485. This suggests that Adam acted as abbot of the house at some point between 1184 and 1190.

²⁰ ‘Crescens itaque etate creuit et sciencia; et pueriles annos excedens, et in adolescencie annis iam floridus, studiis litterarum quibus addictus fuerat feruenter adhesit.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 215.

²¹ ‘...et eadem a nonnullis, magis propter honores seculi opumque uanitates, quam propter ipsam sapienciam, studiosius amplecti, eum quem in ingressu mundi posuerat retraxit pedem, ne si ampliora de sciencia eius attingeret, ipse quoque postea in immane precipitium totus iret.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 215.

²² ‘Erat autem in eodem tempore, quod etiam in presenti clarius effulget, in adem prouincia monasterium quoddam canonicorum ordinis Premonstracensis quod Driburga dicitur, fama quidem et religione notissimum.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 216.

²³ In this work the author is writing in a place that is in Scotland but under the influence of the English, ‘Hoc autem sciant inspectores picturae hujus, quod sicut nos pro eo quod in terra Anglorum, et in regno Scotorum sumus, Anglorum in ea, et Scotorum posuimus reges...’ *PL* 198, col. 723. The work is also dedicated to Abbot John of Kelso, who was head of this house from 1160-1180. Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh*, p. 11.

²⁴ ‘Unde quia ab ipso puericie sue tempore cor gessit senile et etate moribus transiens nulli uoluptati animum dedit, circa uicesimum quintum etatis sue annum sacerdotium promeruit. Factus igitur presbiter, idem mansit

preaching, for which he was well known, and as a result travelled with his abbot or other persons to preach and teach.²⁵ He was particularly adept at adapting his teaching to suit his audience, ‘lest he give a holy thing to dogs or throw pearls to swine.’²⁶ Adam was then elected prior of Dryburgh after the incumbent prior fell ill.²⁷ However, since his prior had not died, Adam refused to receive the benediction from the bishop, ‘For he loved him [his prior] well and he was with him in one heart and mind in God.’²⁸ Recognition of Adam’s skills in preaching and teaching led the abbot of Prémontré to summon him to his abbey.²⁹

The Witham chronicle then describes how during this visit Adam and the abbot of Prémontré set out on a preaching tour around the kingdom of France and visited a number of monasteries, towns, and cities.³⁰ It was this tour that the chronicle credits as fuelling Adam’s enthusiasm for the Carthusians and drove his desire to join the order. A Premonstratensian abbot, Roger, who was also a friend of Adam, had become a Carthusian monk at the nearby charterhouse of Val Dieu and as a result Adam desired to visit a charterhouse.³¹ He was able to visit Val Saint Pierre, where he was struck by the sanctity of their vocation and became

qui prius; eadem humilitate eademque obediencie uirtute peditus, isdem studiis quibus prius infatigabiliter adhesit.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 217.

²⁵ ‘Unde nunc cum abate suo, nunc uero aliis personis concomitatus, ecclesias et monasteria regionis illius longe lateque peragrando, uerbum dei predicabat.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 218.

²⁶ ‘...ne sanctum daret canibus aut margaritas spargeret ante porcos.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 218.

²⁷ ‘Cumque non modico tempore talibus et huiuscemodi floreret studiis, et sedulo lucrandis animabus inuigilaret, ac per hoc gratum deo munus exhiberet, abbas monasterii sui in egritudinem decidit incurabilem.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 218.

²⁸ ‘Diligebat enim eum ualde, et erat eis cor unum et anima una in deo.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 219.

²⁹ ‘Hiis itaque gestis, crica idem tempus fama eius abbati Premonstraci innotuit.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 219.

³⁰ ‘Pergebat eciam cum abate Premonstraci, lustrans prouincias regni Francorum, et in monasteriis, oppidis et ciuitatibus, precipue in dedicacionibus ecclesiarum, uerbum dei predicabat, et stupdbant qui eum audiebant, admirantes super his que procedebant de ore eius.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, p. 219.

³¹ ‘Inter hec audiuit quod in eadem prouincia quedam domus ordinis Cartusiensis haberetur. Denique eodem tempore ordo Cartusiensis deuotissime uenerabatur, tum propter celebrem fama et sanctitatem uenerabilis patris Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi, tum quia quidam abbas Premonstracensis, nomine Rogerus, nacione Anglicus et ipsi magistro Ade familiarissimus, in domo Vallis Dei ordinem Cartusiensem intrauerat, ubi pro sua deuota conuersacione a multis uenerabilibus et honestioribus uiris honore et reuerencia dignissime habebatur.’ Wilmart, ‘Maître Adam’, pp. 219-220.

determined to join the Carthusian order.³² The chronicle then explains that in order to achieve this end, upon his return to England, Adam sought the help of Hugh of Lincoln, who provided him with letters of introduction to the community at Witham.³³ He was first accepted as a guest of the charterhouse, and then explained his desire to join their community as a member of the order.³⁴

Although the abbot of Prémontré objected to his conversion to the Carthusian order, he eventually relented and Adam was allowed to remain at Witham, becoming a full monk there until his death twenty-five years later.³⁵ Given that Hugh was Bishop of Lincoln when he provided him with assistance, Adam entered Witham after Hugh's election in 1186.³⁶ Adam of Eynsham offers some additional insights into Adam's career at Witham. In chapter eleven of book four of the *Magna Vita*, Adam of Eynsham describes the Carthusian,

There was at Witham, a man of very great, I might almost say, incomparable knowledge and experience in the things of God, called Master Adam of Dryburgh,

³² 'Domus itaque illa ordinis Cartusie de qua audierat est domus Vallis sancti Petri, et est in regno Francorum in episcopate Lugdunensi. Ad hanc ingitur domum uidendam et uisitandam, affect uigente et non segni corporis labore, predictor Adam properauit.' Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', p. 220.

³³ 'Deinde modico post interuallo temporis ad dominum Lincolnensem se contulit, quem piis precibus sollicitauit, quatinus interuencione ipsius ac meritis in domum de Witham ordinem Cartusiensem intrare ac fratrum eiusdem loci consorcio mereretur adunari.' Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', p. 221.

³⁴ 'Sumptis igitur pontificalibus litteris, priori de Witham ac conuentui pro se directis, sepe dictus Adam Witham uenit.' Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', p. 221.

³⁵ The text of the letter agreeing to allow Adam to leave the Premonstratensian order can be found Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', p. 223.

³⁶ Adam must have entered Witham after 1186 as Hugh of Lincoln was bishop when he entered the house. As for his date of death, the fragment describes him as having died during the Interdict, which had been laid on for seven years, after twenty-four years as a monk at Witham: '...sub interdicto generali quod, imperante domino papa Innocencio tercio, propter uenerabilem patrem Stephanum, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et ob induracionem Iohannis, regis Anglorum, uniuersam Angliam et Walliam per septennium constrinxerat...' Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', p. 229. Thompson interprets this as meaning that Adam died in 1212 or 1213 and so entered the house in 1188-1189. Thompson, 'A fragment', p. 485.

who resigned the rule of the Premonstratensian house of which he was abbot, to embark upon a more perfect and exacting way of life.³⁷

More intimately, the Witham chronicle also offers a description of Adam's personality and appearance. It states that Adam 'was of middling height, handsome, quick-witted, pleasant and jolly in talk, charming in manners, and gifted with penetration and a good memory.'³⁸

The chronicle then provides crucial information about Adam's literary works as a Carthusian, of which only *De quadripertito* survives. The longer London recension of the chronicle contains a section in which the author lists Adam's works:

...before entering Witham, he [Adam] produced many works on holy rite which he gathered into two codices. These codices, because they have been digested in the way of homilies, are called the Sermons of Master Adam. He worthily produced many works in the house of Witham, where he lived as a monk of his order for twenty-four years, as a Carthusian, always holy and humble under its obediences. Of these is the book *Super canonem misse*. The book *De quadripertito exercicio cellae*. The book *Super dominicam oracionem* to Archbishop Hubert. The book called *Speculum discipline*. The book which is named *Dialogus magistri Ade*. The book called *Exameron*. The book *De consanguinitate beate Anne, matris beate Marie et beate Elisabeth, matris beati Iohannis baptiste*. The book which is called *Secretum meum*

³⁷ 'Erat uero apud Witham uir sumer, ac in rebus diuinis pene dixerim incomparande eruditionis et doctrine, qui dimissa abbatial ordinis Premonstrensis quam regebat, ad huius se conuersationis stadium mirabiliter sublimando deposuerat. Dicebatur magister Adam de Driburch.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 52.

³⁸ 'Erat enim statura mediocris, decorus forma, ingenio perspicax, dulcis et iocundus eloquio, et uenustate morum pro etate amabilis. Tantoque mentis uigebat acumine...' Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', p. 218.

michi. And he wrote and edited many other meritorious works and texts which do not appear in present memory.³⁹

There was a significant historiographical trend to ascribe *De quadripartito* to Guigo II but it is now firmly attributed to Adam on the evidence of the passage above.⁴⁰ *De quadripartito* itself does not survive in a significant number of manuscripts. There are five surviving manuscript copies of the work, only three of which contain the complete text and of which none originate from England or identify Adam as the author.⁴¹ The attribution to Adam as

³⁹ 'Quia uero idem uenerabilis uir magister Adam sacre scripture intelligencia non mediocriter effulsit, antequam Witham adueniret, plures tractatus diuine pagine edidit, quos in duobus codicibus magnis compegit. Qui codices, quia ea que in illis continentur in modum omeliarum digesta sunt, *sermonarii magistri Ade* appellantur. Plura eciam opera in domo de Witham, ubi per xxii pene iiiior annos monachus eiusdem ordinis, uidelicet Cartusiensis, sancta et humillime semper sub obediencia uixit, (opera) digne commemoranda elaborauit. Ex quibus est libellus *super canonem misse*. Item libellus *De quadripartito exercicio celle*. Item libellus *super dominicam oracionem* ad Hucbertum archiepiscopum. Item libellus qui intitulatur *speculum discipline*. Item libellus qui dicitur *dialous magistri Ade*. Item libellus quem uocauit *exameron*. Item libellus *de consanguinitate beate Anne, matris beate marie et beate Elizabeth, matris beati Ioanne Baptiste*. Item libellus qui dicitur *secretum meum michi*. Et plura alia opera meritoria et scripta fecit et edidit, que ad presens memorie mee minime occurrunt *dicit compiler, et cetera*.' Wilmart, 'Maître Adam', pp. 230-231.

⁴⁰ The modern editorial history begins with the French Jesuit Pierre-Francois Chifflet who included it along with a collection of Carthusian spiritual texts in 1657 under the title *Manuale solitariorum e veterum Patrum Cartusianorum cellis deprumptum*. Chifflet produced his edition of the *De quadripartito* using two copies of the manuscript: that from the charterhouse of Portes and another from the charterhouse of Parc d'Orques, which dated from the thirteenth century but is now lost. Davy, 'La vie solitaire', p. 124. Chifflet's edition formed the basis for the text re-produced in the *Patrologia Latina* and Migne published *De quadripartito* as one of Guigo's works in volume 153 (cols. 799-884) rather than amongst Adam's other works in volume 198. Charles Le Couteux also named Guigo II as the author in his *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis. Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, volume 3, p. 129. Francois A. Lefebvre came to the same conclusion in F. A. Lefebvre, *Saint Bruno et L'ordre des Chartreux* (Paris, 1883), p. 200. Hogg noted his surprise at this continuous attribution of *De quadripartito* to Guigo II, stating that 'The most cursory examination of *De quadripartito* shows clearly...that its style is very different to that of the works of Guigo and its preface indicates the circumstances of its composition – circumstances which would be difficult to reconcile with Guigo's supposed authorship.' Hogg, 'De *Quadripartito*', p. 68. Despite reservations as this, the authorship of *De quadripartito* continued to be uncertain well into the twentieth century. Andre Wilmart, for example, suggested that *De quadripartito* was written by Jancelin, the successor of Guigo II as prior of the Grand Chartreuse, although he later withdrew this attribution. Wilmart refers to this attribution in 'Magister Adam', p. 156. The first English translation of the work was attributed to an anonymous author.

⁴¹ The first of these complete texts is Grenoble Bibliotheque municipale 1089, which originated from the charterhouse of Portes and dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. It consists of 151 folios and has binding from the era with a very abbreviated script. Davy, 'La vie solitaire', p. 130; Hogg, 'De *Quadripartito*', p. 72. The second is Charlesville Bibliotheque municipale 181, which originated from the charterhouse of Mont Dieu and is dated from the fourteenth century. This manuscript also contains a copy of the *Vita beati Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi*. Hogg, 'De *Quadripartito*', p. 72. The third and final complete manuscript is Trier Stadtbibliothek 755, formerly numbered 588, which dates from the mid-fifteenth century and originated from the charterhouse of Trier. Hogg, 'De *Quadripartito*', p. 73. Two fragmentary copies are also extant: Merton College, Oxford 19 and British Museum Harley 103. These date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

found in the Witham chronicle is also supported by comparisons to his extant Premonstratensian works. In her article ‘A fragment of a Witham Chronicle’, Thompson provides numerous examples of similarities between these two periods of Adam’s work. In addition to having a similar literary style to these works, Thompson notes that the title of the work, ‘the fourfold exercises of the cell’, has a striking similarity to other works attributed to Adam such as *De tripartito tabernaculo* and *De triplici genere contemplationis*, giving an indication that they were composed by the same author.⁴²

***De quadripertito*: influences and structure**

The chief influence upon *De quadripertito* is the theology and principles of the Carthusian order as they had developed by the later twelfth century. Adam’s use of direct quotations from the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, often nearly verbatim, makes it highly likely that that he had access to a physical copy of the work at Witham.⁴³ His direct contact with the other works of Guigo I and those of Guigo II is less clear because their overall dissemination and impact in the twelfth century are unknown. It would, however, be unwise to discount Adam’s

respectively. Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, pp. 366-367. Hogg and Clark used the Grenoble MS as the basis for their modern critical edition, Hogg and Clark, *De Quadripertito*, p. xxii.

⁴² Thompson, *The Carthusians*, p. 354. The use of Adam’s Premonstratensian works as confirmation of the information provided by the author of the fragment is slightly complicated by the fact that, while the Witham chronicle discusses a man called Adam the Carthusian, his Premonstratensian works were written under the designation Adam the Premonstratensian or Adam Scotus. The connection between the authors is not immediately clear and Adam is also identified under the name Adam of Dryburgh in the *Magna Vita*. Thompson provides an exhaustive explanation of how these three figures are the same man in her article on a fragment of the Witham chronicle (cited above). To summarise her argument in brief, Thompson presented stylistic similarities between the works of Adam Scotus and Adam the Carthusian to indicate that they were written by the same man. In the same way, biographical similarities between Adam the Carthusian and Adam of Dryburgh as found in the Witham Chronicle and the *Magna Vita* suggest that these men are the same figure.

⁴³ Maurice Laporte, the anonymous editor of the *Consuetudines*, argued that in 1510, the year of the publication of the first printed edition of the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, there would have been at least one copy of the *Consuetudines* and later the Carthusian *Statuta* in every charterhouse. In fact, he suggests that every individual cell may have had their own copy and therefore before 1510 there would have been around 2625 copies of the *Consuetudines* in existence. *Coutumes*, p. 93.

knowledge of their teaching.⁴⁴ Regardless of his access to physical copies of these works, Adam would have had a strong familiarity with their contents as a result of the historical and personal links between the charterhouses of Witham and the Grande Chartreuse. The first monks of Witham, for instance, came from the Grande Chartreuse with personal experience of the ideas of Guigo I, orally if not textually. Similarly, there was considerable direct contact between the community of Witham and Guigo II himself. Hugh of Lincoln had been procurator of the Grande Chartreuse under Guigo II, who appears as a character in the second book of the *Magna Vita*, ordering Hugh to accept the position of prior at Witham.⁴⁵ A close relationship between these communities can be assumed, as can a reasonable network of communication and transmission of ideas between them. It is not known what books were present at Witham in the late twelfth century but the strength of oral traditions and transmissions means that it would be unreasonable to suggest the community at Witham had a deficient knowledge of Carthusian theology.⁴⁶

The closest comparison that can be made with *De quadripartito* is that with the *Scala* of Guigo II. The *Scala* and *De quadripartito* are incredibly similar in terms of aim, structure, and content. Both works aim to present the exercises that the monk must undertake in order

⁴⁴ Although it survives in four twelfth century manuscripts, the *Meditationes* of Guigo I appear most prominently in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts and often in edited form. For further information about the manuscript dissemination of this work, see Guigo I, *Meditations*, pp. 20-23. Neither of Guigo II's works were ever very popular. Copies of the *Scala* appears more frequently than those of his *Meditations*, which only survives in full in seven recensions of the text, but both works suffered from misattributions. The *Scala* was attributed to both Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine of Hippo and Guigo II's authorship of the work was not universally recognised until the twentieth century. For a full description of the attribution history of the *Scala*, see Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, pp. 6-11 and pp. 37-39. Wilmart was the first to identify Guigo II as author of the *Scala*. For his full argument of this attribution see A. Wilmart, 'Les écrits spirituels des deux Guigues', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 5 (1924), pp. 230-240.

⁴⁵ See *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 56-60.

⁴⁶ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, pp. 204-205. For studies on the contents of English charterhouse libraries see Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, pp. 313-334, with particular reference to pp. 317-322. Also see J. Hogg, 'Les Chartreuses Anglaises: maisons et bibliothèques', pp. 207-228.

to progress spiritually. In doing so, both present a hierarchical and progressional schema in which each exercise was the essential foundation of the next. These hierarchies do differ. Adam progresses through reading, meditation, prayer and, curiously, manual labour. In contrast, Guigo II presents contemplation as its own exercise and excludes manual labour, leading to the sequence of reading, meditation, prayer, and contemplation. The style of their writing is also very different. Guigo is far less loquacious than Adam. A comparison between the works is, however, natural, especially considering the long-standing attribution of *De quadripartito* to Guigo II.

De quadripartito can and should also be seen within broader and related traditions to which Adam can reasonably be thought to have some familiarity.⁴⁷ While the work is an in-depth and personal study on the expectations of the Carthusian life, the author had been a Premonstratensian for a number of years and composed a number of Premonstratensian texts within which corpus *De quadripartito* can be placed. Adam's work reflects the concerns of the Cistercian Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum*, as well as the wider devotional background that produced near-contemporary texts such as the *Ancrene Wisse*.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Hogg and Clark provide an exhaustive list of the authors quoted and alluded to in *De quadripartito*, first listing the ecclesiastical authors and then classical ones. Outside of references to the Carthusians, they show that Adam makes use of, or recalls, standard monastic authorities including Augustine, Bede, Bernard of Clairvaux, Boethius, Eusebius, Gregory I, Gregory of Nyssa, Hilary, Hugh of St Victor, Isidore of Seville, Ivo of Chartres, John Cassian, Leo I, Origen, Peter Damian, Peter Lombard, Rabanus Maurus, Richard of St Victor, and Sulpicius Severus. For the full list of allusions, see Hogg and Clark, *De Quadripartito* volume 2, pp. 73-85. As stated above, there is a significant corpus of work surrounding Adam as a Premonstratensian, which has placed Adam within the Augustinian tradition. In addition to Petit's *Spirituality of the Premonstratensians*, see J. F. Worthen, 'Adam of Dryburgh and the Augustinian tradition', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 43 (1997), pp. 339-347.

⁴⁸ For critical editions of these works see R. J. Hasenfratz ed., *Ancrene Wisse* (Kalamazoo, 2000) and J. Ayto and A. Barratt eds., *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: Two Middle English Translations* (London, 1984).

More specifically, the second part of *De quadripartito* is fundamentally a meditation on the *lectio divina*, the process of how Scripture is to be read, and as a result a close comparison can be made with the wider variety of monastic literature that emphasises spiritual progression towards God as a form of ascent.⁴⁹ Bulloch has noted the theological similarities between *De quadripartito* and the *Scala paradisi* of John Climacus but it can be more profitably be compared to the more contemporary Cistercian works of William of St Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux.⁵⁰ The *Epistola ad fratres* of William of St Thierry, which has already been cited as a work of close comparison for *De quadripartito*, has a close concern for the progression of man's soul towards God, describing the stages in the human soul between the animal and the perfect.⁵¹ Similarly, Bernard of Clairvaux's *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* were modelled upon both the twelfth steps of humility of Saint Benedict and the motif of Jacob's Ladder, a commonly used image which Adam utilises throughout his work.⁵²

⁴⁹ Beryl Smalley's *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952) remains a seminal work on the Bible in the medieval period. Important general studies on *lectio divina* and the reading of the Bible include M. Casey, *Sacred reading: the ancient art of lectio divina* (Liguori, 1996) and M. Magrassi, *Praying the Bible: an introduction to lectio divina* (Collegeville, 1998). For medieval studies, see E. Ramirez-Weaver, 'The monastic art of Lectio Divina', in R. Myers, M. Harris, and G. Mandelbrote eds., *The Cistercian arts: from the 12th to the 21st century* (London, 2005); B. Calati, 'Saint Gregory the Great and *lectio divina*', *Tjurunga Australasian Benedictine Review* 31 (1986), pp. 15-31; and D. Robertson, *Lectio divina: the medieval experience of reading* (Collegeville, 2011). See also E. Ann Matter, 'Lectio divina', in A. Hollywood and P. Z. Beckman eds., *Cambridge Companion to Christian mysticism* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 147-156.

⁵⁰ Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh*, p. 159. Since the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus had not been translated into Latin during Adam's lifetime – the first Latin translations were made in the sixteenth century – this is a theological comparison rather than actual literary indebtedness. For Gregory the Great and Cassian's influence on the *De quadripartito*, see Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 365. Other significant works of meditative ascent, the raising of the mind towards God, include Augustine's *Confessions* and Anselm of Canterbury's *Proslogion*. For a survey of such ascent literature, see R. McMahon, *Understanding the medieval meditative ascent: Augustine, Anselm, Boethius, and Dante* (Washington, D. C., 2006).

⁵¹ For an explanation of William's schema, see especially, *Golden Epistle*, pp. ix-xxxiii.

⁵² Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Steps of Humility*, ed. B. Pennington (Kalamazoo, 1989). See PL 182, cols. 939-972.

Victorine literature also employed the image of progression towards God and forms the broader framework of literature of ascent in which Adam's work is situated. In his *In Salomonis ecclesiasten*, Hugh of St Victor presented a hierarchical schema, laying out the three stages of the soul's ascent to God: thinking, meditation, and contemplation.⁵³ Hugh employed this image of ascent in his treatise on *De arca Noe morali*.⁵⁴ He identifies four ascending lines towards God: 'awakening', 'purgation', 'illumination', and a final ascent that passes through temperance, prudence and fortitude.⁵⁵ One of Hugh's main influences was the work of Pseudo-Dionysius, which set out the schema of purgation, illumination and union, and which Hugh composed a commentary upon his *De coelesti hierarchia*.⁵⁶ Similarly, Hugh's student Richard of St Victor described the spiritual progression of the monk through these various stages. In his work, *Benjamin maior*, which has been described as 'a comprehensive manual on contemplation', he follows a hierarchical model of contemplation from the lowest form of awareness, 'cogitatio', to the highest, 'contemplatio'.⁵⁷ Bulloch

⁵³ B. McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism: Gregory the Great through the 12th century* (New York, 1994), p. 375. The text of this work can be found *PL* 175, cols. 113-256.

⁵⁴ McGinn describes this work in great detail in McGinn, *Mysticism*, pp. 380-384. Hugh of St Victor wrote two other treatises devoted to Noah's ark: *De arca Noe mystica* and *De vanitate mundi*. C. Rudolph provides a detailed commentary and translation for the former in *The Mystical Ark: Hugh of St Victor, Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2014). The critical edition for *De arca Noe morali*, *De arca Noe mystica*, and *De vanitate mundi* is found in *PL* 175, cols. 617-740. There are a considerable number of copies of these works surviving from the medieval period. *De arca Noe morali* has 143 surviving copies, which were often paired with *De arca Noe mystica*, of which 81 copies survive. Rudolph, *The Mystical Ark*, p. 361.

⁵⁵ McGinn, *Mysticism*, p. 382.

⁵⁶ Phillipe Chevalier's edition of the corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius remains seminal, P. Chevalier, *Receuil donne l'ensemble des traditions latines de ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aréopage*, two volumes (Paris, 1937-1950). For a full study on Hugh of St Victor's theology generally, see B. T. Coolman, *The Theology of Hugh of St Victor: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, 2010). A forthcoming edition of Hugh's *In Hierarchiam celeste commentaris* is D. Poirel, *Hugonis De Sancto Victore Opera iii: Super Ierarchiam Dionysii*. (Turnhout, Brepols), CCCM 178. Also see D. Luscombe, 'The commentary of Hugh of Saint-Victor on the celestial hierarchy', in T. Boiadjev, G. Kapriev, and A. Speer eds., *Die Dionysius-Rezeption im Mittelalter* (Brepols, 2000), pp. 159-175. In discussing Hugh of St Victor's commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius, Luscombe notes that while it was 'difficult to comment with exactitude' the influence that the work had upon others, it was evident that there were over ninety copies listed from the medieval period. *Ibid*, pp. 174-175.

⁵⁷ A parallel Latin-English edition can be found in Richard of St Victor, *Twelve Patriarchs, Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*, ed. G. A. Zinn (Toronto, 1979).

especially noted that Adam's presentation of meditation 'resembles the threefold way of the mystic writers, purgative, illuminative, and unitive.'⁵⁸

Recognising Adam's indebtedness to both Carthusian and wider monastic traditions does not reduce Adam to a mere compiler of existing literature. As will be shown, the first part of *De quadripartito* is an ambitious survey of Carthusian principles, which builds in particular upon the writings of Guigo I. In the same way, his description of the four exercises of the cell is reflective of the work of Guigo II but, crucially, is not a summary of the *Scala*. Adam emerges here as an inventive writer who engaged with the work of his predecessors to produce an original treatise on the Carthusian vocation and in so doing raises questions about the corporate identity of the Carthusian order, how its observances were received by its members, and how its expectations were considered to be realised.

De quadripartito: exegesis

The *De quadripartito* begins with an exhortation of the virtues of the Carthusian priors assembled at the order's annual chapter. Adam considered the rigour of the order to be maintained by this act but warns against the risk of temptation and the easing of this Carthusian discipline. He attributes the priors' continued virtue and ability to resist temptation in their journey towards salvation to three particular practices: the perfect rejection of all secular things, 'perfecta saeculi abiectio', the withdrawal of the monk into the

⁵⁸ Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh*, pp. 160-161.

cell, ‘iugis cellae solitudo’, and the constant practice of external exercises.⁵⁹ The third of these practices is discussed only briefly. These external exercises are namely poverty, austerity, and frugality, ‘poverty in the habit worn, austerity in the wearing of the hair shirt, and frugality in provisions’.⁶⁰ Through these exercises, the Carthusian humbles the spirit and mortifies the body. Rather than being like the man who dresses in purple and fine linen every day, the Carthusians should be the beggar at the rich man’s gate.⁶¹

The greatest of these three practices is the pursuit of solitude in the cell and Adam’s discussion of the supreme importance of the cell occupies chapters five to eleven of the *De quadripertito*, a treatment that continues until the end of chapter eleven and draws heavily upon ideas found throughout the works of Guigo I, Guigo II, and William of St Thierry. Adam establishes immediately that the cell, and its spiritual goods, should be characterised as representing paradise. Adam emphasises the similarities between the words ‘cella’ and ‘coelum’, stressing the cell as heavenly.⁶² Within this space, the Carthusian could be close to God since ‘Truly, the Lord is in the cell, because it is nothing less than the house of God and the gate of heaven’.⁶³ In making this comparison between the cell and heaven, Adam echoes the *Epistola ad fratres* in which William states that the Carthusian monk is, by virtue of his withdrawn state, ‘dwelling in heaven rather than in cells’. William then draws upon the comparison between the written form of ‘coelum’ and ‘cella’. This similarity is,

⁵⁹ *PL* 153, col. 806. The original orthography of the *PL* edition has been retained.

⁶⁰ ‘Nos autem, ut primum hoc magnum bonum vel brevitur attingamus, ad externam exercitionem referimus vilitatem, asperitatem, parcitatem; vilitatem in habitu, asperitatem in cilicii usu, parcitatem in victu.’ *PL* 153, col. 807.

⁶¹ ‘Induebatur purpura et bysso, et epulabatur quotidie splendide. In purpura color, in colore species, in specie nitor, in nitore vanitas, in vanitate superbia est.’ *PL* 153, col. 809. Adam is here making direct reference to Luke 16:19.

⁶² ‘Cur enim verear cellam vocare paradisum, quam constat esse ipsum coelum? Ut enim ex re nomen habeat, et id vocetur quod sonat; quid cella nisi coeli aula?’ *PL* 153, col. 810.

⁶³ ‘Vere Dominus in cella, quia non est ipsa aliud nisi domus Dei et porta coeli.’ *PL* 153, col. 810.

...borne out by the devotion they both involve. For both *coelum* and *cella* appear to be derived from *celare*, to hide, and the same thing is hidden in the cells as in heaven, the same occupation characterizes both the one and the other.⁶⁴

The cell is where man can truly interact with the divine, transcend earthly love and attach himself wholeheartedly to God:

The cell is holy ground and a holy place in which the Lord and his servant often talk together as a man does with his friend; in which the faithful soul frequently has intercourse with the Word of God, the bride is in the company of the Bridegroom, the heavenly is united to the earthly, the divine to the human.⁶⁵

Adam similarly identifies the cell as being the point of connection between the temporal sphere and the heavenly one, adopting the image of a ladder upon which angels ascend and descend.⁶⁶ This image of the ladder appears later within the context of the four exercises of the cell but this characterisation of the cell as the place where heaven might touch the earth is a key element of the conceptualisation of Carthusian withdrawal.

Within the holy setting of the cell, the Carthusian monk will become the contemplative Mary. The Carthusians have fled from worldly cares, as represented by Mary's sister Martha, and

⁶⁴ 'Propter hoc secundum formam propositi vestry habitans in coelis potius quam in cellis, excluso a vobis toto saeculo, totos vos inclusistis cum Deo. Cellae siquidem et coeli habitatione cognate sunt; quia sicut coelum et cella ad invicem videntur aliquam habere cognationem nominis, sic et pietatis. A calando enim coelum, et cella nomen habere videntur: et quod celatur in coelis, hoc et in cellis.' *PL* 184, col. 314. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 20.

⁶⁵ 'Cella terra sancta, et locus sanctus est, in qua Dominus et servus ejus saepe colloquuntur, sicut vir ad amicum suum. In qua crebro fidelis anima Verbo Dei conjungitur, sponsa sponso sociatur, terrenis coelestia, humanis divina uniuntur.' *PL* 184, col. 314. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 22.

⁶⁶ 'In ea namque angelorum fit ascensus et descensus supra Filium hominis in scala charitatis.' *PL* 153, col. 810. This sentiment is also repeated in *PL* 153, col. 812 in Adam's description of Jacob's pursuit of solitude.

have devoted themselves to the spiritual goods of Mary.⁶⁷ As opposed to the constant turbulence of her active sister, Mary experiences a place that is the complete opposite: calm, tranquil, pleasant, and serene.⁶⁸ Adam's usage of the well-known Martha-Mary allegory for the contrast between the active and contemplative life recalls the description of the Carthusian way of life by Guigo I in chapter twenty of the *Consuetudines*, entitled 'On the poor and alms'. In this, Guigo I explains why the Carthusians do not engage in any significant level of almsgiving. He states that 'we have not escaped into the solitude of this desert for the material care of the bodies of strangers, but for the eternal salvation of souls.'⁶⁹ Moreover, the Carthusians are to be like Mary who,

...purified her spirit and collected her prayer into her heart. She listens in herself to the words that the Lord addresses to her, and thus according to the weak measure possible through reflection and mystery, she tastes and sees how much the Lord is good...⁷⁰

Bound within the usage of the metaphor of Mary and Martha is the tension that lay between the contemplative and active lives. In describing the Carthusians as Mary within his justification for the lack of almsgiving at the house, Guigo I draws a distinctive line between these ways of living.

⁶⁷ For a seminal study on the analogy of the sisters Mary and Martha see G. Constable, 'The interpretation of Mary and Martha', in G. Constable, *Three Studies in medieval religious and social thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-141.

⁶⁸ ...gaudet autem vehementer super placida, sed tranquilla, sed quieta, sed suavi, sed dulci, sed jucunda, sed bona, sed serena, sed amoena, sed speciosa, sed luminosa, sed deliciosa sessione Mariae...' *PL* 153, col 810.

⁶⁹ 'Non enim propter alienorum tempralem curam corporum, sed pro nostrarum sempiterna salute animarum, in huius heremi secessus, aufugimus.' *Coutumes*, p. 206.

⁷⁰ 'et quid sibi in se loquatur dominus audientem, sicque ex quantula per speculum et in enigmatate parte potest quam est suavis gustantem et videntem', *Coutumes*, p. 206.

Such a distinction is similarly found within Guigo I's 'Letter on the Solitary Life' where it finds further explanation.⁷¹ In this work, Guigo I compares the ambitious man, in search of honours, with the man who 'chooses to live humbly and poorly in the desert.'⁷² The life of the ambitious man appears to be happy since he wishes to 'shine in honours' and to be 'elevated in dignity' but this is not so. He is constantly exposed to perils, living a life which is dangerous and 'sure for no one.'⁷³ In his poor and solitary life, the man in the desert is the antithesis of the ambitious man. He 'loved to apply himself to meditation', living 'wisely in rest' and remains 'alone in silence'.⁷⁴ Despite its hardships the 'poor and solitary life...leads to a heavenly ending', in comparison to the life of the ambitious man, which is 'joyous in its start but sad at its end'.⁷⁵ The solitary life within the desert is, for Guigo, by far the most secure.

Adam echoes these sentiments throughout his treatment of the cell. In emphasising the cell as being the home of Mary, Adam makes use of the story of Cain and Abel.⁷⁶ The field in which Cain slew his brother, as Matthew 13:39 stated, was the world which the apostle John

⁷¹ The authenticity of this letter is assumed because Guigo I is named as author in the address and the style is similar to others of this works. Its recipient is unknown. A full analysis of the letter can be found in *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 135-149.

⁷² *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, p. 143.

⁷³ *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, p. 143.

⁷⁴ *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, p. 143.

⁷⁵ *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, p. 143.

⁷⁶ 'Quandiu sanctus Abel intus fuit, nimirum non in morte, sed in vita fuit. Ex quo certe ad suggestionem Cain foris exit, ipsam quoque mortem incurrit.' *PL* 153, col. 810. See Ambrose's interpretation of the story of Cain and Abel in *Hexameron, Paradise, Cain and Abel*, trans. J. J. Savage (Washington, D. C., 2003), pp. 359-437. The main critical edition for these works remains C. Schenkl ed., *Hexameron, De paradise, De Cain, De Noe, De Abraham, De Isaac, De bono mortis* (CSEL, 1896). Adam's treatment of Cain and Abel also alludes to Jerome and Isidore of Seville. The *Liber de nominibus hebraicis* describes Cain as being 'possessio, vel lamentatio', *PL* 23 col. 820, while Abel is 'luctur, sive vanitas, vel vapour, aut miserabilis', *PL* 23, col. 817. Similarly, Adam describes Cain and Abel as being 'possessio' and 'luctus' respectively. *PL* 153, col. 811. In comparison, Isidore of Seville in *Etymologies* book 7.6.7 states, 'Cain is interpreted as 'possession' whence, expressing this very etymology, his father says 'Cain' that is, 'I have gotten a man through God.' And the name name means 'lamentation' because he was killed for the killing of Abel, and he paid the penalty for his own crime. Abel means 'mourning', and by this name it was prefigured that he would be killed. Likewise, it means 'emptiness', because he was quickly removed and taken away.' *Etymologies*, p. 162.

described in 1 John 5:19 as being seated in wickedness.⁷⁷ It did not serve the Carthusian well to live within such a dangerous place. Adam develops the idea of the dangers of the world in the following chapters. One of the principal dangers was the temptation that the world presented for Carthusian monks to abandon their vocation. In chapter nine of *De quadripertito*, Adam states that the monastic spirit embodied by the Carthusian priors can only be maintained through discipline, which entailed absolute commitment to their vocation, and, most importantly, the Carthusian monk should not desire to return to the outside world and there should be an absolute division between the cell and those places outside it.

This separation is as much spiritual as it is physical. As discussed in Guigo I's *Meditationes*, it was necessary for the Carthusian monk to internalise his attitude towards the world and hold himself as mentally distant from it. The examples of Hugh of Lincoln and Hugh of Grenoble present a manifestation and realisation of such thought within a hagiographical context. Within the context of the Carthusian living within the cell, the monk was to be both physically and spiritually divided from the world and one cannot exist profitably without the other in this setting.⁷⁸ Adam is concerned to emphasise, heavily, the absolute necessity for the monk to remain within the physical confines of the cell as far as possible. Outside of this protective environment, the monk will be like a fish out of water and he will suffocate.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ 'Nec mirum quod interfectur fuit, qui foras in agrum exit: ut enim per semetipsam Veritas ait: Ager est hic mundus; qui cum totus (ut dicit apostolus Joannes) in malign positus sit, sit, quomodo mortem poterit evader, quicumque in eum per voluntatem, per voluptatem, per actionem nefariam moraturus introierit?' *PL* 153, col. 811.

⁷⁸ N. Narbert, 'Le cas du mot cellule', in J. Ganz and M. Früh eds., *Das Erbe der Kartäuser* (Salzburg, 2000), p. 156. William of St Thierry particularly makes the distinction between the internal and external cells, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 47.

⁷⁹ 'Considerate quia pisciculo illi, qui halec dicitur, unum idemque momentum est, et extra aquam esse, et exspirare' *PL* 153, col. 815. This analogy comes from Athanasius' *vita* of St Antony, in which the saint implores that 'Sicut enim piscis ex qua eductus moritur, ita et monachus si foras cellam suam tardare uoluerit.' P. Bertrand, *Die Evagiusübersetzung der Vita Antonii. Rezeption, Überlieferung, Edition. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vitas Patrum-Tradition* (PhD diss., University of Utrecht, 2005), p. 394. The English

Likewise, when the monk leaves the cell, he becomes like Naomi in the Book of Ruth. In effect, what was once sweet for him has now become bitter.⁸⁰ Just as Naomi became called ‘Mara’ due to this bitterness, the monk becomes empty when he leaves the safety of the cell and what was once pleasurable for him, the world, becomes fruitless.⁸¹ These sentiments can similarly be found in chapter thirty-one of the *Consuetudines*.⁸² In emphasising the importance of the cell for the Carthusian monk, Guigo I uses the same idea of the monk outside the confines of the cell as being a fish out of water:

The inhabitant of this cell ought to watch with diligence and solicitude to not make up nor accept occasions to go out of doors, except when these are instituted by the rule, but rather just as water for the fish and shepherd for the sheep, he will estimate the cell necessary for his salvation and life. The longer he would live there the longer he would remain voluntarily and if he makes a habit of leaving frequently or for trivial causes he would lead an odious life.⁸³

The Carthusian monk, then, must be confined to his cell and remain there for his own spiritual benefits.

translation, ‘Just as fish perish when they lie exposed for a whole on the dry land, so also the monks relax their discipline when they linger and pass time with you [a secular person].’ Athanasius, *The Life of St Antony*, ed. E. Griffin (New York, 1980), p. 74. Bertrand’s work provides the best modern edition of the Latin text of the *Vita Antonii*. Athanasius’ *vita* was translated from the original Greek into Latin by Evagrius of Antioch. In addition to Bertrand’s modern edition, the Latin text can also be found in *PL* 73, cols. 125-168. The critical edition of the Greek text can be found in *Patrologia Graeca* 26, cols. 833-976.

⁸⁰ ‘Quod si egressa fuerit, sciat se regressuram omnino amaram’ *PL* 153, col. 817.

⁸¹ ‘Accedit ad hoc quod de se quaedam ait, quia egressa est plena et vacuum reduxit eam Dominus...’ *PL* 153, col. 816.

⁸² This chapter, entitled ‘Items of the cell’, is found *Coutumes*, pp. 230-231.

⁸³ ‘His ita prelibatis, ad cella redeamus. Cuius habitorem diligenter ac sollicite decet invigilare, ne quas occasiones egrediendi foras vel machinetur vel recipiat, exceptis his quae generaliter, institutae sunt, sed potius sicut aquas piscibus, et caulas ovibus, ita suae salutis et vitae cellam deuptet necessariam.’ *Coutumes*, pp. 230-232.

The key benefit of the cell lies in the silence and solitude that it grants its occupant.⁸⁴ Through this silence and solitude, the monk is able to become closer to God and it is this spiritual characteristic of the cell that Guigo II considered to be essential in his *Meditationes*. Man cannot attain better things such as hearing the word of God if he is in the company of others. To hear God one must be silent and to be silent one must be alone.⁸⁵ The cell had the unique ability to grant a state of complete silence for the individual monk. This sentiment is also found within the *Consuetudines* in which Guigo I emphasised that the monk must constantly maintain their silence. In chapter fourteen ‘On the care of the dead’, Guigo I explains why the Carthusian monks do not perform mass regularly,

Because our principal application and our vocation are to attend to silence and solitude of all according to the saying of Jeremiah, ‘Solitude helps us and helps silence’. And in addition ‘I sit myself down alone under the influence of your hand because you have filled me with fear of your anger.’ We think in effect that nothing is more laborious in the exercise of the regular life than the silence of solitude and rest.⁸⁶

Silence is an integral element of solitude and it is this silent and solitary state that enables the monk inside the cell to turn himself towards God. The ability to hear God’s words and to turn the self entirely to God was essential because, according to Guigo II, only God can console man. Man must forsake others to rely on God alone and Guigo II uses the example of Hannah in 1 Samuel 1 bewailing her sterility and refusing the comfort of her husband. She is

⁸⁴ For general studies on the importance of the silence and the cell for the Carthusians, see the work of Nathalie Narbert, particularly ‘Le cas du mot cellule’, cited above and ‘Édification et silence dans quelques prologues de traités de contemplation cartusiens’, *Bien dire et bien apprendre: revue de médiévistique*, 19 (2001), pp. 167-180. Also see G. Hocquard, ‘La solitude cartusienne et la cellule’, *La vie spirituelle*, 355 (1950), pp. 277-290.

⁸⁵ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 90.

⁸⁶ ‘Raro quippe hic missa canitur, quoniam precipue studium et propositum nostrum est, silentio et solitudine celle vacare, iuxta illud iheremiae, Sedebit solitarius, et tacebit. Et alibi, A facie manus tuae solus sedebam, quia comminatione replesti me. Nichil enim laboriosius in exercitiis discipline regularis arbitramur, quam silentium solitudinis et quietum.’ *Coutumes*, p. 196.

rewarded for her reliance upon God with a child.⁸⁷ In the same way, the solitary will see future reward and fertility from the barrenness and sterility of their current life. Guigo II continues with this theme in his third meditation, in which he presents God's praise as the only real food.⁸⁸ Men who seek the things of the world in order to satisfy themselves would die of 'hunger for want of his word.' and, crucially, the true reliance upon God alone could only be achieved through solitude and withdrawal into the cell.⁸⁹ Guigo II uses Christ as a key exemplar of this need to turn to God through abandoning the world for solitude and silence, 'To abandon fleshly and worldly things for Christ, this is to feed Christ.'⁹⁰

In the *De quadripartito* and the *Consuetudines*, Adam and Guigo I both point to numerous examples of Biblical figures to illustrate the advantage of the cell. Adam devotes three chapters to enumerating the vast benefits of the solitary life as found through the example of these figures who sought solitude and silence in order to interact with God, from Enoch to Christ.⁹¹ Adam cites Noah as a prime example of the benefits of solitude because he hid himself in the ark.⁹² Guigo I's briefer listing of Biblical figures is almost identical in nature. In the final chapter of the *Consuetudines*, chapter eighty entitled 'On the praises of the solitary life', Guigo I explains the benefits of the Carthusian vocation:

⁸⁷ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 93.

⁸⁸ Guigo II's use of food and ingestion as a metaphor for man's relationship with God is a crucial conceptual framework within his *Scala*, as will be seen.

⁸⁹ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 95.

⁹⁰ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 96.

⁹¹ These the chapters entitled 'Qualiter suavis cellae quies, et quieta ejus suavitas in quibusdam sacrae Scripturae locis expressa sit.', 'Item de eadem quiete cellae, qualiter per viros sanctos a Moyse usque ad Isaiam ejus secretum sit expressum.' and 'De quibusdam viris sanctis qui ab Isaiam fuerunt usque ad Christum et de quibusdam qui fuerunt post adventum Christi, qualiter per eos figurate sit quies cellae.' *PL* 153, cols. 811-815.

⁹² 'Justus coram Deo Noe, ut juxta interpretationem nominis sui equiem habeat, quo vehementius inundare super terram aquas diluvia considerat, eo libentius ipsius se arcae latibulis occultat...' *PL* 153, col. 811.

...in the Old and especially in the New Testament almost all the most magnificent and profound secrets have been revealed to the servants of God, not in the commotion of the masses but when they found themselves alone.⁹³

To illustrate this claim, Guigo I then lists the Old Testament figures of Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and Jeremiah to detail the moments at which each prophet benefited from seeking solitude or an escape from the crowds of society in order to progress closer to God. He then moves on to present the New Testament examples of John the Baptist, who was commonly named as a patron of charterhouses and of hermits, and Jesus Christ.⁹⁴ Through these figures Guigo's reader could,

...see the spiritual profit that they received in solitude and you will recognise that the gentleness of the intonation [of psalms], the application of reading, the fervour of prayer, the depth of meditation, the rapture of contemplation, the baptism of tears, do not give any help more powerful than solitude.⁹⁵

Adam uses the same evocation as Guigo, utilising the standard bearers of eremitical life to underline how position of the monk in the cell, as a solitary, was more important than any other activity the monks could undertake, whether it be the recitation of psalms, reading, prayer, meditation, contemplation, or lamenting. The cell was to be the fundamental constant in the monk's life. It was not only the foundation upon which the monk could build towards a closer relationship with God but also the absolute necessity without which nothing else would matter. Without the cell, all other exercises of the monk would be useless.

⁹³ 'Nostis enim in veteri et in novo maxime testamento, Omnia pene maiora et subtiliora secreta, non in turbis tumultuosis, sed cum soli essent dei famulis revelata...' *Coutumes*, p. 288.

⁹⁴ Witham, for instance, is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and All Saints, '...in honore Beate Marie et Beati Johannis Baptiste et omnium Sanctorum.' Armitage Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter', p. 3.

⁹⁵ '...quantum in solitudine mente profecerint per vos considerate, et probatis suavitates psalmodiarum, studia lationum, fervores orationum, subtilitates meditationum, excessus contemplationum, baptisma lacrimarum, nulla re magis quam solitudine posse iuari.' *Coutumes*, p. 292.

Of lesser importance was the ‘perfection of all secular things’, which was to act as a support to the exercises of the cell and the spiritual goods that they gained from it. The Carthusian monk must undertake the external exercises of austerity and poverty. Adam enjoins the Carthusians to reject all secular ownership in chapter twelve: ‘On negotiating secular things (especially pertaining to the Carthusians), and disquiet, and casting away possessions.’ The Carthusians have removed themselves from secular society and must not possess anything outside their boundaries because ‘those who become rich fall into temptation’.⁹⁶ In this chapter, Adam quotes heavily from Guigo I and cites his source directly, describing him as ‘homo magnae religionis’. He quotes chapter forty-one of the *Consuetudines*, ‘We do not possess anything outside the desert and the burial of strangers’, closely:

Cutting short as much as possible all occasions of greed for ourselves, with the aid of God, and for those who follow after us, we have ruled by the writing of this text that the inhabitants of this place must not possess anything outside the limits of their desert, that is to say no fields, no vineyards, no gardens, no churches, no cemeteries, no oblations, no tithes, nor anything of this type.⁹⁷

The Carthusians are to reject all external properties but they are also to reject all secular links as seen through the rejection of writing the names of outsiders in their martyrology. Adam again directly follows Guigo’s prescription in stating that the Carthusians would only bury a

⁹⁶ ‘...qui volunt divites fieri, incident in tentationem’ *PL* 153, col. 821.

⁹⁷ ‘upiditatis occasiones nobis et posteris nostris, quantum, Deo juvante, possumus praecedentes, praesentis scripti sanctione statuimus; quatenus loci hujus habitates, extra suae terminus eremi nihil omnino possideant, id est, non agros, non vineas, non hortos, non ecclesias, non coemeteria, non oblationes, non decimas, et quaecunque hujusmodi’. *PL* 153, col. 821. The Latin is almost identical in the *Consuetudines*, except for the spelling of certain words, see *Coutumes*, p. 244.

stranger at Chartreuse if they were religious (in the sense of monastic) but they will not write them down in their martyrology:

Moreover, according to the content of this same text, it is proscribed to them to not bury in their cemetery any deceased who died either inside or outside the desert with the exception of those of our vocation who possibly came here to die. But, however, if someone of another religious order dies here, when the community cannot come or neglects to come to find them, they will bury them. But they will not write their name in the Martyrology nor perform their anniversary in the usual manner...In effect, we have been heard to say – and we do not approve of it – that the majority of religious folk are ready to host splendid banquets and celebrate mass all the time for those who want to offer them gifts for the deceased. This custom makes abstinence disappear and makes prayer venal, since it gives a place to banquets as it does for mass.⁹⁸

In the same chapter, Adam quotes Guigo's statute about the decoration of the cell, from chapter forty of the *Consuetudines*:

We do not have either ornaments made of gold or silver in the church with the exception of the chalice and the reed which serves to take the blood of the Lord. We do not have either hangings or carpets: we do not accept donations from usurers and excommunicants.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ 'Simili etiam tenore sancitum est, ut neminem prorsus sive intra, sive extra eremum istam defunctum suo sepeliant in coemeterio, nisi forte aliquem hujus propositi hic obire contigerit. Sed et caeterarum religionum, si quis hic defunctus fuerit, quem sua congregatio hinc asportare aut nequiverit, aut neglexerit, hunc sepelient. Nomen vero cujusquam in suo non scribent Martyrologio, nec cujusquam anniversarium ex more facient...audivimus enim, (quod non probamus) plerosque toties splendide convivari: missasque facere paratos, quoties eis aliquis pro suis voluerint exhibere defunctis. Quae consuetudo et abstinentiam tollit, et venales facit orationes; dum quotus pastuum numerus, totus est et missarum.' *PL* 153, col. 821. The Latin here is almost identical again to that found in the *Consuetudines*.

⁹⁹ 'Dicit autem et superius idem vir hoc modo: Ornamenta aurea, vel argentea, praeter calicem et calamum quo sanguis Domini sumitur in ecclesia non habemus; pallia tapetiaque relinquimus: feneratorum et

Such direct quotations concerning the assertion of the absolute separation from the secular economy within the charterhouse indicate that Adam consciously tied himself and his work to the dictats of Guigo I. In fact, these passages are the most sustained section of direct quotation from the *Consuetudines* found throughout the entire work. One possible explanation for this is that, since he was discussing the very physical and real renunciation of physical goods within the cell, Adam chose to refer to the very clear and concise decrees of Guigo. Moreover, the renunciation of physical wealth is of a much less personal nature than the spiritual goods that the cell grants and is not unique to the occupant in the cell. The main point that Adam is emphasising here is the need for the rejection of the secular world. In so achieving the withdrawal of the monk from the temporal world, and in ensuring the continued austerity and solitude of their life in the cell, the Carthusian order consequently created a paradise in which they were able to focus entirely on God.

Carthusian practices had to be maintained or rather, as Adam puts it, the garden of paradise must be watered. Adam describes the river that flowed from Eden as irrigating their land: ‘Therefore a river flows from the place of delight, to water paradise.’¹⁰⁰ Following the narrative of Genesis 2:10-14, the river that waters this paradise has four heads and becomes four rivers.¹⁰¹ These four rivers then represent the four exercises of the cell, the first of which

excommunicatorum munera non accipimus.’ *PL* 153, col. 822. Here again the Latin in Adam’s text is the same as in the *Consuetudines* apart from some divergence in the spelling adopted.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Igitur egrediatur fluvius de loco voluptatis, ad irrigandum paradisum’ *PL* 153, col. 806.

¹⁰¹ Adam’s description of the four rivers of Paradise can be compared to those found within the hexameron genre, which has its origins with the *Hexameron* of Basil of Caesarea. The third chapter of Ambrose’s *Paradise*, written in c. 375, presents a description of the four rivers in which they are presented as the four principle virtues, with Wisdom acting as their source. Phison is prudence, Gihon temperance, Tigris fortitude, and Euphrates justice. *Hexameron*, pp. 294-299. A similar structure is also found in Rodulfus Glaber’s *The Five Books of the Histories*. At the very beginning of book one, Glaber presents an ordering of the world as being structures in fours – the four Gospels, the four elements, and the four virtues. The four rivers correspond, as in

is reading.¹⁰² Meditation then follows.¹⁰³ The third is prayer and manual labour is the final exercise.¹⁰⁴ The greatest of these was prayer.¹⁰⁵ In chapter fifteen, Adam emphasises why the performance of these exercises was crucial. They are the foundation of the Carthusian way of

Ambrose, with the four virtues. *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, ed. N. Bulst and trans. J. France and P. Reynolds (Oxford, 1989) pp. 7-9. Augustine in *On Genesis* similarly provides a description of the rivers which identifies the four rivers with the virtues, 'This river is divided into four parts, and thus signifies the four virtues, prudence, fortitude, and justice.' In contrast to Ambrose and Glaber, Augustine identifies Gihon as fortitude and Tigris as temperance. Augustine of Hippo, *On Genesis: On Genesis: A refutation of the Manichees, Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis, The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, ed. J. E. Rotelle and trans. E. Hill (New York, 2002), p. 80. He also discusses them in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* but, given that he is concerned with the rivers in a literal sense, he does not discuss their allegorical meanings here. Ibid, pp. 355-356. Philo's *Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis* is likely a source for these works. Chapter XIX states 'By these rivers his [God's] purpose is to indicate the particular virtues. These are four in number, prudence, self-mastery, courage, justice.' Philo Judaeus, *On the Creation. Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3, LCL 226*, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, 1929), p. 189. Isidore of Seville also provides a description of the four rivers of Eden in chapter 14.3.2 of the *Etymologies*, 'A spring which bursts forth in the centre [of Eden] irrigates the whole grove and it is divided into the headwaters of four rivers' *Etymologies*, p. 285. He also discusses the rivers of paradise. Ibid, pp. 280-1. Bede's descriptions of the rivers can be found in Bede, *On Genesis*, trans. C. B. Kendall (Liverpool, 2008), pp. 113-116. Kendall's translation of Bede is based upon C. W. Jones's critical edition in *CCSL 118A* (Turnhout, 1967), pp. 1-242. Adam himself develops the idea of the significance of the four rivers of Eden in an alternative fashion in his *De Tripertito Tabernaculo*. In this work, rather than representing the four exercises of the cell or the four virtues, the rivers are allocated to each of the different types of monks in the community: *novitii*, *obedientiarum*, *praelati*, and *claustrales*. These allocations can be found in *PL* 198, cols. 616-619. See Hogg and Clark, *De quadripertito*, p. 7.

¹⁰² Reading was an essential part of the monastic vocation. For general studies on the act of reading during the medieval period see M. Carruthers, *The craft of thought: meditation, rhetoric and the making of images, 400-1200* (Cambridge, 1998) and S. Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: grammar, rhetoric and the classical text* (Cambridge, 1996). Case studies of specific monastic communities include A. A. Grotans, *Reading in medieval St Gall* (Cambridge, 1996) and D. J. Reilly, 'Education, liturgy and practice in early Citeaux', in S. Vanderputten ed., *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 85-114.

¹⁰³ There is a very considerable amount of literature upon monastic meditation and theological works surrounding it. Numerous works were written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries regarding meditation. In addition to the *Meditationes* of Guigo I and Guigo II respectively, other significant works include Anselm of Canterbury's *Orationes sive meditationes* and Bernard of Clairvaux's *De diligendo dei*. See Anselm of Canterbury, *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, trans. B. Ward (Harmondsworth, 1973). For the critical edition see *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi opera omnia*, volume 4, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 1-91. See Bernard of Clairvaux, *On Loving God*, trans. E. Stiegman (Kalamazoo, 1995), especially Stiegman's commentary pp. 45-153. The Latin text is in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, volume 3, eds. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1963), pp. 111-154. Also see, J. R. Sommerfeldt, 'Meditation as the path to humility in the thought of Bernard of Clairvaux', *Mystics Quarterly*, 15 (1989), pp. 117-183. Hugh of St Victor discusses meditation extensively in his works, see Coolman, *The theology of Hugh of St Victor*, pp. 163-191 as well as M. R. McWhorter, 'Hugh of St Victor on contemplative meditation' *The Heythrop Journal*, 55 (2014), pp. 110-122. McGinn also provides an excellent discussion of meditation and its relationship with reading in *The Growth of Mysticism*, pp. 132-138.

¹⁰⁴ Similarly, there is a vast corpus of work devoted to prayer. See McGinn, *Mysticism*, pp. 138-146. Also see Coolman, *The theology of Hugh of St Victor*, pp. 213-215. Studies on monastic prayer include S. Boynton, 'Prayer as liturgical performance in eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic Psalters', *Speculum*, 82 (2007), pp. 896-931 and A. de Vogüé, 'Prayer in the Rule of Saint Benedict', *Monastic Studies*, 7 (1969), pp. 113-140. For studies on monastic manual labour, the Cistercian comparison is particularly interesting. See C. J. Holdsworth, 'The blessings of work: the Cistercian view', in D. Baker ed., *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 59-76.

¹⁰⁵ '...major autem horum est oratio.' *PL* 153, col. 826.

life since without them the Carthusian life in the cell would be futile and an opportunity wasted.¹⁰⁶

Lectio

Adam begins his discussion of the four exercises of the cell with reading, which was represented by the river Pison as found in Genesis 2:11-12: ‘The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and the onyx stone.’ A central part of *lectio divina*, the importance of reading within the monastery throughout this period cannot be overstated. It was a ‘method by which reading and interior exploration of Scripture can open the soul to the possibility of union with God’ but also has a particularly significant place within the Carthusian experience of monasticism.¹⁰⁷ As will be shown, the act of reading was very important within the charterhouse. In placing reading at the beginning of the four exercises, Adam is mirroring the structure of the *Scala*, in which Guigo II describes reading as the start of man’s progression towards God within the analogy of eating a grape. Here, Scripture is the grape that is placed inside the mouth,

¹⁰⁶ ‘Nisi sanctis his quatuor exercitiis sanctitatis intendere diligenter e indesinenter curemus, fructuose in coelis nostris morari non valemus.’ *PL* 153, col. 826.

¹⁰⁷ Ann Matter, ‘Lectio divina’, p. 156. A comparable treatment of reading, in addition to those of Guigo I and Guigo II, is that of Hugh of St Victor, found in book five of his *Didascalion*. See Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalion*, trans. J. Taylor (New York, 1961), pp. 120-134.

So, wishing to have a fuller understanding of this [sacred Scripture], the soul begins to bite and chew upon this grape, as though putting it in a wine press, while it stirs up its power of reasoning to ask what this precious purity may be and how it may be had.¹⁰⁸

Through the process of eating this grape, as elucidated in Guigo's description of the acts of meditation and prayer, which represent chewing and swallowing, man was able to recognise the sweetness of the taste of God. Similarly, although Adam does not use the analogy of ingestion, reading was for Adam the process of recognising God's truth and enabled the following exercise of meditation to consider what was found in Scripture.

The Pison is described by Adam as being the mouth of the eye, the 'os pupillae', a designation that recalls Jerome's description of the river in his *Liber de nominibus hebraicis*.¹⁰⁹ Adam explains himself as such,

Just as sight may be understood to be the pupil of the eye, so too speech is of the mouth, for the tongue with which we speak is in the mouth, just like the pupil with which we see is in the eye.¹¹⁰

Just as sight is the pupil of the eye, reading is the action by which the monk sees the truth.¹¹¹ In identifying the truth by reading, the monk would therefore flee from the darkness of ignorance and sin towards the light illuminated within Scripture. Adam cites Psalm 119:105,

¹⁰⁸ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁹ The term 'os pupillae' was used by Jerome to describe the Pison in his *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis*, 'Fison, os pupillae, sive oris mutatio.' *PL* 23, col. 823. Compare this phrase to Ambrose's description of Pison as meaning the 'change of the mouth'. *Hexameron*, pp. 296-297. Similarly, Glaber uses the phrase 'oris apertio' or 'opening of the mouth' to describe the river. *The Five Books of the Histories*, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ 'Et si hoc verum est, sicut ad pupillam visio, sic ad os locutio referri potest; nam in ore lingua est qua loquimur, in oculo pupilla qua videmus.' *PL* 153, col. 828.

¹¹¹ 'Et ubi quod verum est videmus, ne in caligine falsitatis aberremus, nisi in studiosa sacrae Scripturae lectione?' *PL* 153, col. 153.

‘Your word is a lamp at my feet, and a light on my path.’¹¹² Reading leads to internal clarity, the edification of the monk, but this internal clarity must be matched by external behaviour. When the Carthusian monk was permitted to speak, they must guard against loquaciousness and idle words; to behave in such a way would be to make their spiritual exercises alien.¹¹³ He cites Benedict of Nursia, ‘the father and leader and advocate of monks’, who wrote in chapter six of the *Regula* ‘On the spirit of silence’,

But as for coarse jests and idle words, or words that move to laughter, these we condemn everywhere with a perpetual ban, and for such conversation we do not permit a disciple to open his mouth.¹¹⁴

Moreover, Adam warns that ‘the stories and idle talk, which are altogether incessant in the mouths of many secular men, in the mouths of religious men and especially the mouths of Carthusians, are blasphemy.’¹¹⁵ The question of speech for Adam seems to relate to the use of idle or useless words, those which are not absolutely required from the monk as seen in his quoting of the admonition of Matthew 12:36: ‘That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement.’¹¹⁶

This treatment of loquaciousness and the distinction made by Adam between edifying words and idle words can be profitably placed within the context of Carthusian works. The need for

¹¹² ‘De eo vero quod secundo, sanctu David ipsum communem Dominum omnium alloquens: *Lucerna*, inquit, *pedibus meis verbum tuum, et lumen semitis meis.*’ *PL* 153, col. 829.

¹¹³ ‘...haec enim monia, sed et omne verbum stultum et vacuum, mendax, dolosum, otiosum, impudicum, excusatorium, detractorium, comminatorium, iratum, superbum, ab illis spiritualibus exercitiis, quibus in cella intendere debes, prorsus aliena sunt.’ *PL* 153, col. 829.

¹¹⁴ ‘Scurrilitates, vel verba otiose, et risum moventia, aeterna clausura in omnibus locis damnamus, et ad tale eloquium discipulum aperire os non permittimus.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹¹⁵ ‘...quia fabulationes et nugae quae in ore multorum saecularium fere indesinenter sunt, in ore virorum religiosorum, et maxime in ore Carthusiensium, blasphemiae sunt.’ *PL* 153, col 829.

¹¹⁶ ‘Omne verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii’, *PL* 153, col. 829.

silence within the cell within Carthusian theology has already been discussed but within the *Consuetudines* Guigo I discusses the act of speech within the charterhouse. Unlike Adam, he does not discuss the practical exceptions for silence for the Carthusian monks. Instead, he discusses the points at which lay brothers were permitted to speak. There are no indications of the complex sign languages that could be found at Benedictine and Cistercian houses.¹¹⁷ Rather, the lay brothers outside of the confines of the walls of the Chartreuse were instructed to speak to those who wished to talk to them, especially when the stranger did not understand the lay brother's signs. Guigo I states,

...we do not know the signs of cenobitic monasteries or any little thing, we consider that it is sufficient to involve the tongue alone in the deed of talking without involving the other limbs and this is why if a great necessity presses we will prefer to indicate what the circumstances are in one or two words or at most in very little talking.¹¹⁸

In the same way, Adam in *De quadripertito* talks about 'verbum otiosum' or 'idle words', stupid and empty, which must be alien to the spiritual exercises that the inhabitant of the cell should be pursuing.¹¹⁹ These are idle words, not words per se. Adam's admonition is against loquaciousness rather than speech itself, thereby circumventing any use of sign language or overly ambitious acts of mortification through enforced silence.

¹¹⁷ For a study on monastic sign language in this period, see S. G. Bruce, *Silence and sign language in medieval monasticism: the Cluniac tradition c. 900-1200* (Cambridge, 2007). For monastic sign language more broadly, see J. Umiker-Seboek and T. A. Seboek eds., *Monastic Sign Languages* (Berlon, 1987).

¹¹⁸ 'Soli enim degentes, signa cenobiorum aut nulla aut pauca novimus, sufficere putantes linguam sola, non etiam caeteros artus reatibus implicare loquendi. Et ideo si tanta necessitas urget, uno vel duobus, aut certe paucissimis verbis quod res postulat malumus indicari.' *Coutumes*, p. 232.

¹¹⁹ '...ab illis spiritualibus exercitiis, quibus in cella intendere debes, prorsus aliena sunt.' *PL* 153, col. 829.

The control over the external mouth through the pursuit of silence and the rejection of idle words was intrinsically linked to the engagement of the monk with the ‘os pupillae’ and the edification of himself through reading:

If you behave in this way [avoiding loquaciousness], your perception will be made clear and your external mouth will be made beautiful; and this good thing will be joined to you through the study of reading.¹²⁰

Through reading man will ‘sing a new song to the Lord and bear always the newness of the holy life, because the Pison encircles the entire land of Evilath.’¹²¹ Through this, true wisdom is born gold and the gold of that land is the best.¹²² This gold, true wisdom, as found in Evilath is the result of reading. This wisdom is ‘first pure, then peaceful, modest, easy to be intreated, harmonising to all, full of mercy, and fruitful things, just without hypocrisy.’¹²³ Here in the gold of Evilath, there is nothing produced by the mouth except that which is pertinent to edification.¹²⁴ Adam finishes his description of reading here with a simple statement to emphasise this exercise as being like the Pison river, which ‘encircles the whole of the land of Evilath, where gold is found, and the gold of this land is the best.’¹²⁵

The edification of the Carthusian monk through reading is a central part of the characterisation of the order in the twelfth century. Contemporary descriptions of the lifestyle

¹²⁰ ‘Si hoc modo egeris, sensus tuus illustrabitur, et exterius os tuum venustabitur; et utrumque hoc bonum per studiosam tibi lectionem conferetur...’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹²¹ ‘...ut cantemus Domino canticum novum et sanctae semper vitae novitatem parturiamus, quia et Physon circuit omnem terram Evilath.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹²² ‘In hac sanctae novitatis parturiamus, verae sapientiae nascitur aurum, et terrae illius aurum horum (haud dubium quin Evilath) optimum est.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹²³ ‘...primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica modesta, suadibilis, bonis consentiens, plena misericordia et fructibus bonis, iudicans sine simulation.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹²⁴ ‘...et apud quam extrinsecus nihil proferetur in ore, nisi quod pertinent ad aedificationem?’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹²⁵ ‘...et sic circuit omnem terram Evilath, ubi nascitur aurum, et aurum terrae illius optimum est.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

at Chartreuse and in the order make frequent references to books and literacy. The letter of Guigo I to the monks at the charterhouse of Durbon gives some indication of the literary culture at Chartreuse. In this he describes his editing of a volume of the letters of Jerome, unfortunately lost, and his identification of genuine letters as opposed to false attributions.¹²⁶ The *Consuetudines Cartusiae* also reflect an urgency for the annual spiritual consumption of the entire Bible. In a manner similar to the *Regula Benedicti's* division of the reading of the Psalms throughout the week, the *Consuetudines* divide the reading of the Bible throughout the year as part of the description of the divine office at the Grande Chartreuse.¹²⁷ This was evidently a communal as well as individual act. These biblical texts would have been read as part of the divine office in the church and in a few instances reading takes place in the refectory, as is specified for the book of Daniel.¹²⁸ The monks in this instance would listen to the selected text being read rather than digesting them through sight. The monks still read in the cell and this is prescribed in the *Consuetudines* as part of the chapter describing the contents of the cell in which, as well as being granted the tools for the production and copying of books, each monk is provided with two books that they must guard and keep safe.¹²⁹

In a letter to the Grande Chartreuse, Peter the Venerable provides evidence for the process of book copying and distribution from Chartreuse. In this, Peter lists the books that he is sending to the monks and in return asks Guigo I to send a volume of Augustine's letters to Cluny so that they can be used to replace Cluny's own copy, the larger part of which was eaten by a

¹²⁶ *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, volume 1, pp. 211-219.

¹²⁷ The description of the Divine Office takes up chapters one to eight of the *Consuetudines*. See *Coutumes*, pp. 159-185

¹²⁸ '...nam danihelem in refectorio legimus...' *Coutumes*, p. 160.

¹²⁹ 'Adhuc etiam, libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos. Quibus omnem diligentiam curamque prebere iubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorte maculentur.' *Coutumes*, pp. 222-224.

bear.¹³⁰ In his description of the Grande Chartreuse as found in *De miraculis*, Peter also gives the following description of the monks' lives in the cell:

Like the manner of the ancient monks in Egypt, they constantly live in individual houses, where in silence they applied themselves without rest to reading, prayer, and the work of their hands, particularly the writing of books.¹³¹

Similarly, Guibert of Nogent emphasises the literary nature of the Carthusians in his *Monodiae*.

Though they live in the utmost poverty, they have built up a very rich library. The less they abound in bread of the material sort, the more they work at the sweat of their brow to acquire that food that does not perish but endures forever.¹³²

The copying of books and the act of individual reading were particularly important within the Carthusian order because, unlike orders such as the Premonstratensians, their isolation within the cell precluded them from other active work such as preaching. The act of book production was also, as will be shown, an essential part of the final exercise of manual labour but Adam particularly underlines the significance of reading by placing *lectio* at the forefront of his work and in so doing displays his intellectual inheritance from his Carthusian predecessors. While he absorbed the importance of books within Carthusian life as found in the *Consuetudines*, he also elucidated its importance in a fashion that recalled but was ultimately independent from Guigo II.

¹³⁰ Letter 25, 'Mittite et uos nobis si placet maius uolumen epistolarum sancti patris Augustini, quod in ipso pene initio continent epistolas eiusdem ad sanctum Iheronimum et sancti Ieronimi ad ipsum. Nam magnam partem nostrarum in quadam obaedientia casu comedit ursus.' *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, volume 1, p. 47.

¹³¹ 'Super haec omnia, more antique Aegyptiorum monachorum, singulas cellas perpetuo inhabitant. Ubi silentio, lectioni, orationi, atque opera manuum, maxime in scribendis libris irrequieti insistent.' *PL* 189, col. 945.

¹³² Guibert of Nogent, *A monk's confession*, p. 32.

The *Epistola ad fratres* provides another point of comparison for the *De quadripartito* in this respect. In this, William described how the monk should spend his time and places great importance on reading. The monk should spend time every day reading and instead of indiscriminately reading anything, there were specific works that were particularly appropriate for the monk to read. Particularly, the act of reading is active rather than passive. It involves mental power as well as the visual senses.

The Scriptures need to be read and understood in the same spirit in which they were written. You will never enter into Paul's meaning until by constant application to reading him and by giving yourself to constant meditation you have imbibed his spirit. You will never understand David until by experience you have made this very experience of the psalms your own.¹³³

There is the distinction between reading and 'attentive study', which William characterises as the difference between friendship and acquaintance. To read properly, the monk must actively digest the meaning of the words and their sense. More importantly, attentive study should lead to prayer which 'should interrupt your reading.'¹³⁴ Reading for William 'serves the purpose of the intention with which it is done' and by this, William means that reading should be approached with the intent of understanding God and this will lead to success. If this is not the intention behind reading, there would be misunderstandings.¹³⁵ Reading as a means for edification was at the heart of Adam's account of the exercise. It was the act

¹³³ 'Quo enim spiritu Scripturae factae sunt, eo spiritu legi desiderant: ipso etiam intelligendae sunt. Nunquam ingredieris in sensum Pauli donec usu bonae intentionis in lectione ejus, et studio assiduae meditationis, spiritum ejus imbiberis. Nunquam intelliges David, donec ipsa experientia ipsos Psalmorum affectus indueris.' *PL* 184, col. 327. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 51.

¹³⁴ 'Hauriendus est saepe de lectionis serie affectus, et formanda oratio, quae lectionem interrumpat...' *PL* 184, col. 328. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 52.

¹³⁵ 'Intentioni servit lectio.' *PL* 184, col. 328. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 52.

through which the monk could progress in his understanding of God and the world and was the foundation upon which the monk could edify himself within the cell.

Meditatio

From the sound foundation of reading, the monk could then proceed onto meditation, the second exercise of the cell. The river Gihon, which surrounds the whole land of Ethiopia, represented this exercise.¹³⁶ While this exercise is not seen by Adam as being the most important, that honour being given to prayer, it is to meditation that he devotes the most amount of space, a total of twelve chapters, representing a third of the work. Considered as a natural progression of reading, meditation preserves the soul from the ‘Ethiopian blackness’ that was sin.¹³⁷ Through the purity of internal meditation, the soul cannot be brought into subjection by any temptation, no matter how violent.¹³⁸ It is directly linked to the monk’s earlier exercises; the inhabitant of the cell cannot simply just read Scripture. He must also meditate upon what he had read.¹³⁹ It is not just that it is ‘neglectful’ for the monk to not understand what he has read. The monk must also remember what he had understood and commit his learning to memory through appropriate rumination.¹⁴⁰ The treatment of meditation by Adam that follows stands in strong contrast to those by his Carthusian predecessors.

¹³⁶ ‘...circuit omnem terram Aethiopiae.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹³⁷ ‘Ipsa est meditatio, quae quidquid est Aethiopiae nigredinis, ad peccati pertinentis deformitatem, priusquam per consensum animam deformem reddere possit, viriliter et valenter resistendo perrumpit.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹³⁸ ‘Cum enim internae meditationis puritati anima sancta ex omni parte se intendit, nulla eam sibi quantumlibet violenta tentatio per consensum subicere valet. Mox quippe ut ad ipsam mentis januam pulsare tentatio incipit, si in defaecata meditatione perfecte meus occupata fuerit.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹³⁹ ‘Nam nimis periculose evomis quidquid scribendo de aquis sumpsisti Physon, nisi statim de aquis bibas Gyon.’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Sicut enim legere et non intelligere negligere est, sic profecto lecta et intellecta oblivisci, quid aliud est quam omnino perdere quidquid legendo et intelligendo acquisisti?’ *PL* 153, col. 830.

Immediate comparison can be drawn with Guigo I and Guigo II and their *Meditationes* in which they consider very similar topics to Adam. All discuss the lowliness of man, the flawed position of mankind in relation to God, and the need to meditate upon this state in order to rectify this. However, a key difference between the discussion of meditation in the *Meditationes* of Guigo I and Guigo II and in the *De quadripertito* is that Adam discusses the actual process of meditation rather than presenting a product of meditative thought. A closer comparison to Adam's work is Guigo II's *Scala* due to the structural similarities between these works but the *Scala* does not present meditation in the same sequential manner as Adam. In both the *Scala* and *De quadripertito*, meditation is the act of revealing previously hidden truths. Following the analogy of eating as employed by Guigo II, meditation was the act of chewing, which released the sweetness of the grape of Scripture so that the monk could recognise, but not taste, the sweetness of God.¹⁴¹ In contrast, Adam divides meditation into eight individual stages.¹⁴² These stages can be followed to see the spiritual and mental progression of the monk who, in attaining greater knowledge of his own actions and sinfulness, became a master of himself and, by understanding his place within the world, was able to turn to the thought of God and his eternal creation. For Adam, the blessed height of meditation is one at which the pure mind comes to God and is no longer called meditation but is contemplation.¹⁴³ This stands in complete contrast to Guigo II who treats contemplation as

¹⁴¹ 'Do you see how much juice has come from one little grape...It [the soul] is consumed with longing, yet it can find no means of its own to have what it longs for; and the more it searches the more it thirsts,' Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 71.

¹⁴² '...octavo illum ponimus modum, quo in mente meditantis illa revolvuntur, quae sunt invisibilia et spiritualia; sed et illum nihilominus ponimus, quo mens sobria et sancta ab omni non solummodo affectione impura, sed et ab omni cogitatione otiosa prorsus expers effecta et aliena, per visionem non jam spiritualem, sed nec rationalem, sed per visionem potius intellectualem, in ipsis veris ipsam veritatem beatis conspicit.' *PL* 153, col 831.

¹⁴³ 'Hic purae mentis beatus fit excelsus in Deum, qui jam non simplex meditatio, sed excellens valet contemplatio vocari.' *PL* 153, col. 831.

a separate exercise. Adam's forensic description of the act of meditation, however, presents the exercise in a didactic manner in which the significance of each step is explained in detail to the reader. The launching point for his discussion is the concentrated meditation upon what the monk had read and Adam provides a structured journey from this very tangible point towards a consideration of the monk's place in the world and his relationship with God.

In a direct consideration from reading, the monk must consider what he has read within Scripture, 'let your mind run over all the pages of the Holy Works.'¹⁴⁴ The monk must think about the books of law, prophets, the historical books, the New Testament, the Gospels, and the 'narratives of the Catholic doctors' to consider what has happened within them. By doing so, the monk is no longer alone in silence, but will be surrounded by a great noise in his cell as all those things that he has read will be present with him.¹⁴⁵ Through meditation, the monk digests what he has previously read. This account is very similar to that found within the *Scala* where meditation is considered to be the application of the monk's mind to what they have read in order to understand the truths behind it. It is 'not detained by unimportant things' and 'climbs higher, goes to the heart of the matter, examines each point thoroughly.'¹⁴⁶ From this starting point, however, *De quadripertito* urges the monk to then proceed to turn this meditative application from the written word towards himself and a consideration of his own sinfulness.

¹⁴⁴ 'Itaque, ut primum de primo modo sermonem habeam ad te, sedens in cella tua, mente per omnes divinae paginae libros discurre'. *PL* 153, col. 832.

¹⁴⁵ 'Num quando haec omnia et singula intra te ruminas, esse solus in cella dicendus es?' *PL* 153, col. 832.

¹⁴⁶ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 70.

The second meditation begins a highly internalised consideration of the monk and his place within the world. Having considered the contents of Scripture, the monk must then consider his own sinfulness, thinking about what sins he has committed and their precise details: how many, where, when, with what will and intention, and for how long?¹⁴⁷ The purpose of this act was for the monk to realise his weaknesses in both body and soul.¹⁴⁸ It was only by the grace of God that he was not subsumed with temptation, ‘like a wax is before burning coals, or the lightest dust before a mighty wind.’¹⁴⁹ The conclusion of this self-criticism was the realisation that the monk must eventually stand before Christ: ‘For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ; that everyone may receive things done in his body, according to that he has done, whether it be good or bad.’¹⁵⁰ There was an urgency, therefore, for the monk to consider the end of his physical body in contrast to his soul, which will abandon the body,

Certainly the body lying there will appear horribly stinking, stanching with putridness, rotting with worms...so that after the soul’s passing there will arise a stink; after the stink, putridness; after putridness, worms; after the worms there will be dust, viler, filthier, and more fetid than all other dust.¹⁵¹

This exhortation for the meditation upon the fate of the body and the inevitability of judgement recalls meditation 451 of Guigo I,

¹⁴⁷ ‘Sedens itaque in cella tua recogita in amaritudine animae tuae annos et dies tuos; volvens intra te et revolvens quae et quanta et qualia mala, ubi et quando, qua voluntate et intentione, sed et quandiu sive in mente sive in carne tua commissisti.’ *PL* 153, col. 832.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Cogita et recogita intra te, quam sis et mente et corpore infirmus’ *PL* 153, col. 832.

¹⁴⁹ ‘...cogita quomodo sis ipse similis descendentibus in lacum: et nisi tibi gratuita Conditoris tui adsit gratia, talis es in tentatione, qualis est vel cera a facie ignis, vel pulvis levissimus in flatu vehementissimi venti.’ *PL* 153, col. 833.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Omnes nos manifestari oportet ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut unusquisque referat propria corporis, prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum’ *PL* 153, col. 833.

¹⁵¹ ‘Deserit corpus spiritus, ipsoque illud deserente moritur corpus...Certa apparebit cadaver horribiliter fetens, putredine scatens, vermibus scaturiens: et usque ad hoc deveniet istud de quo loquimus corpus, ut sit post exitum animae, fetor, post feotrem, putredo; post putredinem, vermis; post vermem, omni pulvere abjectior, vilior, fedior, et fedior pulvis.’ *PL* 153, cols. 833-834.

When you have said and done everything, good and bad alike, so as not to lose this life and to ensure that your body is neither killed nor destroyed, is there any way you can hold onto it? Won't your body inevitably die soon, and be consumed in a much worse and more hideous manner by worms than could ever be achieved by human beings?¹⁵²

From this starting point of the fate of the monk himself, Adam then urges the monk to consider the fate of all of mankind, the eventual Apocalypse, and the Second Coming of Christ, who the monk must fear as 'the Judge who shall then appear to lay bare all secrets.'¹⁵³

Adam's consideration of the monk's inevitable fate is protracted. He divides this meditation itself into eight of its own subcategories: meditation upon the sins of body and mind; meditation upon the miseries borne in body and mind; meditation upon the terrible judgement of God, the just and all-seeing Judge; meditation upon the 'terrible hour of dissolution', when the body is separated from the soul; meditation upon the inevitable presentation before the Judge; meditation upon the burial of the body and its return to earth and ash; meditation upon the resurrection of the dead and the terror of the reprobate as they are cast into the everlasting

¹⁵² 'Cum omnia feceris et dixeris sive bona sive mala, ut hanc vitam non amittas, ut haec caro non occidatur nec dissipetur, numquid hoc ullo modo poteris obtinere? Numquid non inevitabili necessitate moritura est cito, et deterius aut turpius a vermibus, quam ab ullis posset hominibus dissipanda?' *Les Méditations*, p. 282. For the English translation, see Guigo I, *Meditation*, p. 180. Similar sentiments are also expressed in Anselm of Canterbury's letter 169 to Gunhilda, daughter of King Harold in which he urges her to return to the monastic life and describes the fates of her parents and Alan Rufus saying 'Go now, sister, lie down with him on the bed in which he now lies; gather his worms to your bosom; embrace his corpse; press your lips to his naked teeth, for his lips have already been consumed by putrifaction.' Anselm of Canterbury, *The Letters of Anselm of Canterbury*, volume 2, trans. W. Fröhlich (Kalamazoo, 1993), p. 70. For the Latin, see *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis*, pp. 46-50. For a more recent critical edition, see S. Niskanen ed., *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury* (Turnhout, 2011).

¹⁵³ '...imo intra eam illum iudicis qui tunc apparebit, maximum terrorem, omnium occultorum aperitionem.' *PL* 153, col. 834.

fire; and meditation upon the everlasting torments awaiting the damned, forever.¹⁵⁴ In doing so, Adam recalls the admonition of the *Regula Benedicti* in the list of the Instruments of Good Works, for all monks to ‘fear the Day of Judgement. To be in dread of hell. To desire eternal life with the passion of the spirit.’¹⁵⁵

Adam also explores Guigo I’s concern throughout his *Meditationes* for the absolute uselessness of any attachment to the physical body. Instead of considering such temporal items as being the true objects of our love, Guigo I called for his reader to turn oneself only to the eternal and extemporal. Such concern for the eventual damnation of the soul is also reflected in the *Magna Vita*, in an episode where Hugh of Lincoln uses carvings of the damned on the porch way of the church of Fontevraud to urge the soon-to-be-king John to correct his sinful ways, saying,

¹⁵⁴ ‘Prima est; de multis quantum ad nos absque numero, et de magnis sine mensura excessibus, quos et in mente et in carne damnabiliter commisimus. Secunda, de miseriis, quae et ipsae mensuram excedunt, et numerum non admittunt, quas in corde et in corpore sustinemus; tam illis quae ad culpam pertinent qua polluimur, quam quae ad poenam qua cruciamur. Tertia est, de secretissima, severissima, et in aeternitate immobiliter fixa animadversione, qua ille terribilis super filios hominum, justus et oculatus, atque districtus iudex Deus vigilat super creaturam rationabilem reprobam; quam et ab aeterno reprobatur, et in aeternum damnatur. In qua meditationeprehendimus nos non absque grandi timore et terrore ignorare, in qua via habitat lux, et tenebrarum quis locus sit, et nescire utrum amore simus an odio digni. Quarta quoque est de illa resolutionis hora terribili, in qua corpus ab anima et animam a corpore continget separari. Quinta est de manifestatione animae ante tribunal iudicis; quando talis ibi praesentabitur, qualis hinc egredietur: cui apparebit et hostis, de omnibus eam quae commisit illicitis, quae per poenitentiam et confessionem et satisfactionem deleta non sunt, accusans: et conscientia iis attestans, et ipse iudex secundum sua ei merita reddens. Sexta profecto est de eo quod evacuatum anima corpus sepulturae traditur, terra terrae commendatur, cinis in cinerem revertitur, caro vermibus esca datur, in putredinem redigitur post putredinem abjectissimus pulvis efficitur. Septima est de generali resurrectione mortuorum, et de tremendo iudicio illo, ad quod ipsa congregabitur generis humani universitas; de terrore iudicis in quo reprobis apparebit; de prolatione terribilis sententiae, quae talis erit: Ite, maledicti, in ignem aeternum. Octava est de suppliciis eorundem reproborum in aeternum damnatorum.’ *PL* 153, col. 835.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Diem iudicii timere, gehennam expavescere, vitam aeternam omni concupiscentia spiritali desiderare...’ Kardong, *Rule of St Benedict*, p. 79.

Fix your mind always on their howls and perpetual torments, and let your heart dwell upon their unceasing punishment... This fate ought always to be dreaded whilst there is time to avoid it.¹⁵⁶

In this fashion, the monk has turned from the present state of reading, to the near-future inevitability of their death, to the eventual resurrection and the end of human time itself. These thoughts were intended to create feelings of sorrow and fear within the monk but Adam then urges, in the third kind of meditation, the monk to consider the sweetness, pity, and mercy of God.¹⁵⁷ His compassion was so great that he did not spare his own son, but rather gave him up for the good of mankind.¹⁵⁸ The horror that the second form of meditation enflamed in the soul will then be calmed by the consideration of God's mercy and his grace. In this way, these two aspects of God are balanced in the monk's mind. He is both just and merciful, and the monk does not have 'vain hopes' but is neither left 'trembling on the brink of damnable desperation.'¹⁵⁹

Following this consideration of God's pity and compassion, Adam again evokes the *Meditationes* of Guigo I in calling for the monk to have these same qualities, to imitate God. When the monk sees any man afflicted by troubles or sin, he should be quick to compassion

¹⁵⁶ 'Horum eiullatus et interminabiles cruciatus uobis indesinenter animus representat; hec perpetua supplicia uobis ante cordis oculos assidue uersentur... Hec dummodo uitare licet semper expedit formidare, ne cum non licet iugiter postmodum contingat tolerare.' *Magna Vita*, volume 2, p. 140.

¹⁵⁷ 'Idcirco repraesentet hic tertius meditationis modus tuae intrinsecus menti, quantae sit dulcedinis et pietatis, quantae clementiae et bonitatis ipse Deus.' *PL* 153, col. 837.

¹⁵⁸ 'Id autem quam maxime meditatio, haec menti tuae repraesentet, quod proprio Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum: omnia nobis in illo donans.' *PL* 153, col. 837.

¹⁵⁹ '...sed misericordiam pariter et iudicium, ut nequaquam in unam sui partem claudicet, ne (quod absit) a recta semita exorbitet, sed via recta incedere curet: non declinans, vel a dextris, insipienter in spe vana exsultans; vel a sinistris, damnabiliter in desperatione profunda trepidans.' *PL* 153, col. 838.

and pity rather than judgement and reprobation.¹⁶⁰ Adam comments on the behaviour of other avowed religious folk towards such men. Rather than acting in this way and presenting other men with compassion and pity, they are ‘more prone to judge than to compassion.’¹⁶¹ Although zeal and a sense of justice might push the monk towards judgement, they should resist and allow compassionate feelings to make excuses for them instead.¹⁶² He should ‘love him as a man but hate him as a sinner.’¹⁶³ The same strongly Christological message is found in Guigo I’s *Meditationes*. As seen in the previous chapter, Guigo I explained the incarnation of Christ as a man as being caused by the need to provide mankind with a perfect model of appropriate love that could be copied, since ‘Man should only follow God, but could only follow man’.¹⁶⁴ Only Christ could be imitated due to the human nature within him but here Adam is urging the monk to act as God himself in his relationships with his fellow man.

Adam is similarly concerned for the behaviour of the monk in the fifth kind of meditation, which continues to consider the monk’s approach to the world around him. Here, the monk must be aware of the constant dangers of temptation,

For if this statement of the sacred man [Job] is true: The life of man upon the earth is a warfare, because it is true, how can temptation ever be absent from you while you live on earth?¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ ‘...ut tu nimirum consolatus quoscunque videris vel miseria afflictos, vel culpa contaminatos magis prosilias ad compatiendum, quam ad iudicandum; magis ad consolandum te promptum exhibeas, quam ad exprobandum.’ *PL* 153, col. 838.

¹⁶¹ ‘Et illi multoties ad iudicandum potius quam ad consolandum concurrunt...’ *PL* 153, col. 838.

¹⁶² ‘Itaque tu qui habitator es cellae, cum nonnulla vel audieris vel videris a quibusdam mala committi, sic ea per zelum et rectitudinem accuses, ut ex nonnulla parte per pietatem et compassionem excuses.’ *PL* 153, col. 839.

¹⁶³ ‘Sic, sic diliges hominem, et persequeris peccatorem...’ *PL* 153, col. 840.

¹⁶⁴ As cited above.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Si enim vera est illa sancti viri sententia: Tentatio est vita hominis super terram imo, quia vera est, tentatio nunquam desse potest quandiu vita super terram est?’ *PL* 153, col. 840.

Only when the monk has died would he be freed from temptation. The body leads the monk towards pleasures, the world towards vanities, and the old enemy towards that which he is full of: the swelling of pride, envy, malice, anger, and animosity.¹⁶⁶ In presenting a solution to such danger, Adam again recalls the teaching of Guigo I and, particularly, Guigo's approach to the idea of temptation as seen expressed within Carthusian hagiography, as seen in the previous chapter. Adam emphasises that the monk must resist the temptations that the world presented by being the master of his own body, much as Hugh of Grenoble and Hugh of Lincoln became the masters over themselves. In so doing, just as the monk has had to consider the eventual fate of his physical body, he must again consider nothing to be as worthless as worldly things. These are inevitably transient, especially the body and this must be held in complete contempt so that the monk can only think lowly of himself.¹⁶⁷ This fifth meditation mirrors the teaching found throughout the *Meditationes* and *Vita Sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* of Guigo I in its treatment of the importance of turning away from worldly things and resisting the temptations found within it.

To achieve this rejection of worldly goods and resistance of temptation, so as to become closer to the ideal of God's love, the monk must conquer the appearance of idleness or 'taedium'. This was identified by Adam as a particular issue for those living by themselves in the cell due to the repetitive and difficult nature of their vocation: 'There often seizes you, when alone in the cell, a certain sluggishness, a dullness of mind, and a weariness of the

¹⁶⁶ 'Trahere te nititur caro ad voluptatem, mundus ad vanitatem, diabolus ad illum quo ipse plenus est, superbiae et tumoris, invidiae et livoris, irae, odii, et aliorum quae in hunc modum sunt vitiorum spiritualium horrorem...' *PL* 153, col. 840.

¹⁶⁷ 'Haec itaque meditatio est, causam tibi conferens cujusdam bonae despectionis et abjectionis...' *PL* 153, col. 841.

heart.¹⁶⁸ In essence, through inertia the exercises that the monk undertakes become ineffective. Reading does not have the same sweet flavour, prayer is no longer sweet and the monk no longer finds the same tears in his meditation.¹⁶⁹ The monk must not waver, however, from his exercises and must keep in mind the reward that they shall give:

Minister in your faith virtue, and in virtue knowledge, and in knowledge abstinence, and in abstinence patience, in patience piety, in piety brotherly love, in brotherly love charity.¹⁷⁰

In this then, the monk must stay constant in his vocation and not grow weak through idleness. He must keep in mind Christ and the help he gives mankind, ‘...he will command the winds of temperature and the heaving deep of that most bitter sea and there will come a great calm.’¹⁷¹

The previous three meditations, the consideration of how the monk can emulate God’s love, the exhortation for the monk to resist temptation, and the concern for the appearance of *taedium* for the monk, can be seen as an internal process within the monk to gain control over his own behaviour and his interactions with the world. He is not to be tempted by the world, nor is he to grow idle in his pursuit of turning himself only to God’s love so as to treat his fellow men in the same way that God treats them. Within the model of Guigo I’s three-fold hierarchy of the world, by achieving this, the monk could then correctly perceive his place

¹⁶⁸ ‘Apprehendit te multoties cum solus in cella es, inertia quaedam, languor spiritus, taedium cordis...’ *PL* 153, col. 841.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Non jam sapit tibi lectio, oratio non dulcescit, solitos meditationum spiritualium imbres non invenis...’ *PL* 153, col. 842.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Ministrate in fide vestra virtutem, in virtute autem scientiam, in scientia autem abstinentiam, in abstinentia autem patientiam, in patientia autem pietatem, in pietate autem fraternitatis amorem, in fraternitatis amore charitatem...’ *PL* 153, col. 842

¹⁷¹ ‘...et imperante tentationum ventis, et profundae atque tumidae amaritudinis mari, tranquillitas magna fiat.’ *PL* 153, col. 845.

within the world; he has become a master of the world, a friend to his neighbour, and become the servant of God. As such, the man could then, and only then, turn to the consideration of the works of creation and God himself. The final two meditations are a meditation upon consideration of eternity rather than transient things. The seventh kind of meditation should be the admiration of the world of creation.¹⁷² He should begin with the visible creations that emerged in ‘some rude and shapeless mass pertaining to the four elements.’¹⁷³ He must consider the process of Creation and God’s work over the six days and stand in awe at its scale.¹⁷⁴ As opposed to the consideration of the monk’s body and soul, both in the present and in the near-future, Adam seems to remove the monk from the consideration of the temporal to instead mediate upon things that occurred outside of time, the creation of the universe, and the awesome power of God.

The eighth kind of meditation goes further than this in that the monk must move his focus from the more physical creations of God to those that are spiritual and invisible.¹⁷⁵ Adam emphasises that man is made from two substances, bodily and spiritual. Although in his body he is like an animal, in his spirit he stands apart.¹⁷⁶ In comparison to animals, who hold themselves bent towards the earth to show that their desires are earthly, mankind holds

¹⁷² ‘...et quae in eis illae universae creaturae conditor, atque dispositor mirabilia mirabiliter, ipse mirabilis operatus sit, diligenter attendas.’ *PL* 153, col. 845.

¹⁷³ ‘Visibilis quoque creatura, primum in rudi, et quodammodo informi appartuit material; quae ad illa quatuor pertinent elementa.’ *PL* 153, col. 845.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Multitudinis vero testes sunt stellae coeli, arena maris, guttae pluviarum, dies saeculorum, horae dierum, momenta horarum, pili animalium, gramina camporum, folia arborum, squamae piscium, pennae volucrum, et universa hujusmodi. Magnitudinis vero testes sunt, moles montium, concava vallium, tractus fluminum, altitudo coeli, latitudo terrae, profundum abyssi, et innumerabilia in hunc modum...’ *PL* 153, col. 846.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Tempus est jam, ut ad illum accedamus octavum meditationis modum, quo diximus, in animo meditantis quae spiritualia et invisibilia sunt revolvi.’ *PL* 153, col. 848.

¹⁷⁶ ‘In quantum (ut ante nos longe dictum est) ex corporea est, cum caeteris animalibus communis naturae habet participationem: sed in formae compositione, ad alia animalia differentiam habet.’ *PL* 153, col. 849.

themselves upright to show how he must only savour those things above him.¹⁷⁷ In the same way, by reaching this height of meditation, the cell is not a prison in which the monk sits alone. Rather when in the cell he is never alone.¹⁷⁸ Although mankind is unable to comprehend God, in the cell the monk burns with love for God and desires him with a longing heart.¹⁷⁹

Through this eighth kind of meditation, the monk experiences ‘excellent contemplation’. Unlike other mystic writers, Adam does not consider there to be a union with God upon the attainment of contemplation. Rather, contemplation enables the monk to experience the appearance of God, who is truth, within the soul.

Adam’s consideration of contemplation is similar to that expressed by Guigo II, who describes contemplation as the act by which man become spiritual as ‘all carnal motives are so conquered.’¹⁸⁰ Contemplation in both works is the reorientation of man to God. For Adam, this exercise encompassed the ability to concentrate upon God alone, an act permitted by the preceding meditative acts. Guigo II places this within his metaphor of ingestion by saying that this state was ‘when the mind is in some sort lifted up to God and held above itself so that it tastes the joys of everlasting sweetness.’¹⁸¹ However, Adam diverges from the *Scala*,

¹⁷⁷ ‘Nam illa formam ad terram habent inclinatum et pronam: quo significatur, praeter ea quae terrena sunt, ab eis nulla esse appetenda. Hominis vero forma in altum erigitur, et sursum elevatur; qui et praeter caetera animantia rectum habet incessum, et ad superna aspectum.’ *PL* 153, col. 849.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Non enim putare debes quod quando in cella es, solus in ea sis.’ *PL* 153, col. 850.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Ecce in cella absque cessatione Deum ardentissime amas, Deum devotissime oras, ad Deum medullitus pervenire desideras; sed sic amando, sic orando, sic desiderando, quid Deum esse cogitas?’ *PL* 153, col. 857.

¹⁸⁰ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 74.

¹⁸¹ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 68. Guigo II’s placement of contemplation as the final step in spiritual progression after prayer was a common trope in spiritual texts. See J. Leclercq’s study on Western attitudes to the progression between prayer and contemplation in B. McGinn, J. Meyendorff, and J. Leclercq eds., *Christian Spirituality. Volume 1: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1993), pp. 415-426.

as from other authors such as Hugh of St Victor, in considering contemplation to be within the remit of meditation rather than as the conclusion of prayer.¹⁸² Instead of acting as the end purpose of the monk's exercises, contemplation became an essential step that permitted the third exercise of prayer.

Oratio

Adam spends the next five chapters on the topic of prayer, which is represented by the river Tigris. This placement of prayer after reading and meditation is also found in the writing of Hugh of St Victor and Guigo II, who both considered it to occupy the third place before contemplation.¹⁸³ Considered by Adam to be the most important exercise for the Carthusian monk, it is curious that he does not discuss prayer at the same extended length as meditation. Instead, he presents a particularly individualised account of the importance of prayer for the monk, with a particular concern for how the act of prayer itself took place. He bemoans that people often pray incorrectly and so the monk must be very aware of how he sets about to pray. The monk must consider first how he comes to prayer, then how he presents himself to God during prayer and finally how he behaves when he is not praying.¹⁸⁴ In this way, as with his description of meditation, Adam presents a didactic treatment of how the Carthusian monk should behave, presenting a precise exhortation of the need for the monk to have controlled and correct intentions towards this act.

¹⁸² For a summary of Hugh of St Victor's conception of contemplation, see Coolman, *The theology of Hugh of St Victor*, pp. 223-230. McGinn provides an excellent introduction to the concept of contemplation through the lens of Gregory the Great's spiritual writings in *The Growth of Mysticism*, pp. 50-79.

¹⁸³ R. F. Brown, 'Oratio/Prayer', in A. Hollywood and P. Z. Beckman eds., *Cambridge Companion of Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 171.

¹⁸⁴ 'Primum quidem, qualis ad orationem accedes. Secundo qualem te Deo in ea offeras. Tertio quoque qualem te post tempus orationis exhibeas' *PL* 153, col. 868.

Through prayer the monk is able to reach closer to God and in explaining this Adam uses the image of the arrow and the cloud. In an image that closely parallels the *Scala*, prayer, as represented by the Tigris, is an arrow and with it the monk can pierce the clouds that separate man and God,

This river, which history says, is called Tigris. Tigris is an arrow, like pure and devoted prayer who is swift, piercing and penetrating, tearing and reaching. Just as the arrow flying very swiftly, prayer flies up to God himself. The prayer of the just man shall penetrate the clouds.¹⁸⁵

Adam is expressing very similar sentiments here to those found in the *Scala* wherein prayer allows the monk to become closer to God, expressed as being a rung of the ladder which literally penetrates the clouds above.¹⁸⁶ Through the process of meditation, the soul begins to desire the sweetness of knowing God. The first step must be attained through prayer.¹⁸⁷ In the *Scala*, prayer is the heart's turning towards God in order to drive away evil and obtain what is good. William of St Thierry similarly outlines how one should pray in the *Epistola ad fratres*. The novice monk should be taught to direct his attentions in prayer only to God, and not material objects.¹⁸⁸ Prayer for William enables a close relationship between humanity and

¹⁸⁵ 'Ejus vero nomen est, ut verax dicit historia, Tigris. Est ergo Tigris sagittal, oratio pura et devote: quae quidem velox est, perforans et penetrans, scidens et pertingens. Certe ad instar sagittae velocissime volantis, et ipsa volat usque ad ipsum Deum. Denique oratio justi penetrat nubes.' *PL* 153, col. 866.

¹⁸⁶ Guigo II describes the ladder as such 'It has few rungs, yet its length is immense and wonderful, for its lower end rests upon the earth, but its top pierces the clouds and touches heavenly secrets.' Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁷ Colledge and Walsh, *Guigo II*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁸⁸ *Golden Epistle*, pp. 68-69.

God. It 'is the affection of a man who clings to God, a certain familiar and devout conversation, a state in which the enlightened mind enjoys God as long as it is permitted.'¹⁸⁹

In describing prayer, Adam cites chapter two of the *Regula* of Saint Augustine: 'When you pray to God in psalms and hymns, let that be turned over in your heart what you utter with your lips.'¹⁹⁰ He also cites the *Regula Benedicti*:

We believe that the divine presence is everywhere and that the eyes of the Lord are looking on the good and evil in every place: But we should believe this especially without doubt when we are assisting at the Work of God. To this end let us be mindful always of the Prophet's words: 'Serve the Lord in fear' and again 'Sing praises wisely' and 'In the sight of the Angels I will sing praise to You.' Let us therefore consider how we ought to conduct ourselves in the sight of the Godhead and of His Angels, and let us take part in the psalmody in such a way that our mind may be in harmony with our voice.¹⁹¹

Much like in his chapters on meditation, Adam seems to consider the practical application of the monk to prayer while, in the *Scala*, Guigo II concentrates on the idea of prayer itself. Adam's remarks on prayer are far more practically illustrative than Guigo II's approach to this monastic exercise. While Guigo II considers the theory of prayer and its part of man's

¹⁸⁹ 'Oratio vero est hominis Deo adhaerentis affection, et familiaris quaedam et pia allocution, et statio illuminatae mentis ad fruendum, quamdiu licet.' *PL* 184, col. 337. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 71.

¹⁹⁰ 'Psalmis et hymnis cum orates Deum, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in ore.' *PL* 153, col. 862. The critical edition of the *Regula* remains L. Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, 2 volumes (Paris, 1967). The above passage is found *La Règle*, volume 1, p. 421.

¹⁹¹ 'Unique credimus divinam esse praesentiam, et oculos Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos: maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus, cum ad opus divinum assistimus. Ideo semper memores simus quod ait Propheta: Servite Domino in timore, et iterum Psallite sapienter; et in conspectu angelorum psallam tibi. Ergo consideremus qualiter oporteat nos in conspectus divinitatis et angelorum esse, et sic stemus ad psallendum, ut mens nostra concordat voci nostrae.' Kardong, *Rule of St Benedict*, p. 203.

relationship with God, Adam goes to some length to describe the actual process of prayer and how the monk should approach this task.

In chapter thirty-five, ‘On the four types of thought that it is necessary for us to have in mind, if we want to pray purely and devoutly and advantageously to the Lord’, Adam describes the four things that the monk must consider when approaching the exercise of prayer.

Here are the four things that we exhort you, who live in the cell, to turn in your mind at the moment of prayer, which are who he is to whom you pray, who through whom you pray, that for which you pray, and who you are who pray.¹⁹²

Adam presents answers for these considerations. For the first, to whom the monk prays, the monk must consider God the Father’s ineffable majesty.¹⁹³ For the second, through whom the monk prays, the boundless compassion of the saviour.¹⁹⁴ For the third, that for which the monk prays, ‘a certain tranquil purity and pure tranquillity’ and for the fourth the monk must consider ‘your own infirmity which weighs you down both in soul and body.’¹⁹⁵ The monk, having prepared himself through reading and meditation, must also have banished discord from his heart and forgiven the sins of his brothers if he seeks for his own to be forgiven.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² ‘Ecce haec illa quatuor sunt quae te moneus qui habitator cellae es, in mente tua orationis tempore revolver, videlicet quis ille sit quem oras, quis ille per quem oras, quid illud quod oras, quis denique tu sis qui oras.’ *PL* 153, cols. 879-880.

¹⁹³ ‘In revolution prima, Dei Patris omnipotentis ineffabilem intueris majestatem...’ *PL* 153, col. 880.

¹⁹⁴ ‘...in secunda, Salvatoris tui immensam pietatem.’ *PL* 153, col. 880.

¹⁹⁵ ‘...in tertia tranquillam quamdam puritatem, et puram tranquillitatem; in quarta propriam tuam qua in corde et corpore oneratus es infirmitatem...’ *PL* 153, col. 880.

¹⁹⁶ Adam quotes from Genesis 50:17, ‘Pater tuus praecepit nobis antequam moreretur, ut habe tibi verbis illius diceremus: Obsecro ut obliviscaris sceleris fratrum tuoem, et peccati, atque malitiae quam exercuerunt in te.’ *PL* 153, col. 873.

In placing himself in this specific mental state and achieving through prayer a sense of serenity, the monk must then seek to maintain this state when he is not in prayer because if he allowed himself to return to a poorer state, one in which he returns ‘to jeering and laughter to venomous detraction and idle talk’, the fruits of his efforts in prayer will be lost.¹⁹⁷ The monk should seek to be like Hannah in 1 Samuel 1:13-18 who, while in prayer, ‘spoke in her heart and only her lips moved and her voice was not heard; and her face was no longer sad.’¹⁹⁸ Through the self-awareness and self-control afforded to the monk by his observance of the three aforementioned exercises of the cell, the monk can thus present himself before God and with the inner sight of the soul see the Son of God, the Father and the Holy Spirit, co-equal, co-eternal, and consubstantial.¹⁹⁹ Thompson considered Adam to be presenting a form of contemplative prayer or rather ‘the prayer of loving adoration’.²⁰⁰ Through it, the monk becomes fastened to God.²⁰¹ In so doing, the Carthusian monk remedied the false connection with the world that Adam exhorts the monk to consider through meditation. This exercise, then, acts as the final step for the monk’s detachment from worldly concerns with the attainment of turning oneself solely to God.

Opera manuum

¹⁹⁷ ‘Quia si fluexas in corde cogitationes suscipimus, et ad cachinnos et risus, ad venenosas detractiones et otiosas fabulationes statim redimus, timendum nobis valde ne, talis agentes, orationis nostrae fructum perdamus.’ *PL* 153, col. 880.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Imitemur quam sollicite illam mulierem de qua legimus, quod oravit Dominum flens largiter, loquens in corde suo: et labia ejus tantummodo movebantur, et vox penitus non audiebatur: vultusque ejus non sunt amplius in diversa mutata.’ *PL* 153, col. 880.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Igitur apparet tibi, tu qui habitor cellae es, cum oras, internis tuae considerationis oculis Filius Dei, Patri per omnia sanctoque Spiritui coequalis et coaeternus, et consubstantialis...’ *PL* 153, col. 877.

²⁰⁰ Thompson, *The Carthusians in England*, p. 366.

²⁰¹ ‘Illum coram te, et te coram illo statue; et prae magno amore, quo eum super omnia diligis, in dulcedine ineffabili quam tibi ab eo infusam sentis, in laeto ac lactificante quodam jubilo, te tibi furare, te ipso privatus, illi inhaere, in ipso agglutinatus.’ *PL* 153, col. 877.

While prayer is the most important exercise of the cell, Adam finishes his treatise with a description of the place of manual labour in the charterhouse, an exercise represented by the Euphrates. This curious inclusion of manual labour within the four exercises of the cell is the point at which Adam strongly diverges from his Carthusian counterparts. Manual labour does not appear in the *Scala* and does not receive any direct in-depth treatment in any other Carthusian work of this period. Adam's comments on manual labour can still be contextualised within other Carthusian works but he is at his most original during this exercise and is the only Carthusian to explain the importance of manual labour within their way of life. His concern for this aspect of their life is perhaps why it is positioned at the end of the work as a fourth exercise. Given the mundane nature of manual labour, it is not entirely clear why Adam did not include it within the first part of the work, in his description of the importance of poverty and the solitude of the cell, given its real-life applications and practicality. This structural choice must reflect his absolute insistence on the need for this exercise within the Carthusians' life.

Adam establishes in his final chapter that the purpose of manual labour for the monk was not a means of providing economic support.²⁰² The Carthusian monk has no need to work in order to provide for himself. As seen in the *Consuetudines*, the community at Chartreuse was split into monks and lay brothers, with the latter performing the tasks necessary for maintaining the formers' lifestyle. Instead, the purpose of manual labour as described here was two-fold. First, it was a means to prevent the idleness, which is the enemy of the soul ('*quae inimica est animae*'), and the dangers of which Adam first highlighted in his sixth meditation. Second, manual labour is presented by Adam as a means of supporting and

²⁰² *PL* 153, cols. 880-884.

improving the other exercises of the monk. By providing the monk with the respite of manual labour, which must be in itself fruitful, the monk is then able to pursue the other exercises with renewed vigour: ‘After work you will return to the three foresaid exercises of reading, meditation and prayer, with renewed relish and more blithely.’²⁰³ This final exercise, then, is a source of refreshment for the monk.

The act of manual labour has considerable importance alongside the spiritual exercises of reading, meditation, and prayer not because it directly leads to a closer relationship with God but because it has an essential supporting role. A constant danger for monks, particularly those who live alone for the majority of their time, is inertia or idleness and manual labour is key in combatting this vice. In this, Adam cites the *Regula Benedicti*, chapter forty-eight:

Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Therefore, the brothers should be occupied at certain times in manual labour, and again at fixed hours in sacred reading.²⁰⁴

Adam also directly cites the example of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, an unusual reference and the only non-Carthusian twelfth-century figure directly cited. Ivo advised a nunnery to always be intent on prayer, reading, or manual labour. These exercises were advisable to prevent the nuns’ minds from being exposed to harmful things and wandering thoughts.²⁰⁵ Indeed,

²⁰³ ‘Nam fastidium tollit, oblectamentum parit, confert utilitatem magnam, et otiositatem, quae inimica est animae, sibi praevalere non sinit. Et eo desiderabilius et jucundius ad illa atria spiritualia exercenda, lectionem videlicet, meditationem et orationem redis, quo libetius ea propter bonae actionis fructum aliquando intermittis.’ *PL* 153, col. 881.

²⁰⁴ ‘Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina.’ *PL* 153, col. 883.

²⁰⁵ ‘Memento quod venerabilis Ivo, Ecclesiae Carnotensis episcopus, virginibus in Dunensi monasterio manentibus, de hoc inter caetera sic scribit: ‘Ut semper, inquit, intentae sitis orationi, aut lectioni, aut operi, ut diabolus nec vos inveniatur otiosas, nec mentes vestras nocivis et vagis cogitationibus expositas.’’ *PL* 153, col. 882. This is a quotation from Letter 10 of Ivo of Chartres, Yves de Chartres, *Correspondance*, ed. J. Leclercq (Paris, 1949), pp. 40-49, especially see p. 46. This passage itself recalls Jerome’s Letter 125 to Rusticus in which he urged the recipient to ‘Always have some work on hand, that the devil may find you busy.’ Jerome, *Select Letters*, trans. F. A. Wright, *LCL* 262 (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 416-417.

idleness ‘teaches many evils’ (‘multa mala docuit’). Adam, as outlined above, had already provided a longer discussion of tedium or idleness within the sixth type of meditation and its dangers are clear throughout the career of a monk.

William of St Thierry in the *Epistola ad fratres* similarly discusses in some depth the dangers of idleness and the need for the monk to have work to occupy himself. Idleness is the ‘hold...in which like bilge-water all temptations and evil and useless thought collect’ and must be avoided at all costs.²⁰⁶ In fact, what William refers to as ‘unemployed leisure’ is the greatest evil that can befall the mind.²⁰⁷ To occupy his day, the monk, and although William is talking specifically about the novice monk, the advice is applicable for all stages of the Carthusian vocation, should perform the daily sacrifice of prayer and apply himself to reading, followed by the examination of the conscience and the correct ordering of the inner self. After this, the monk should do ‘some work’, even manual labour. William’s reasoning for this is similar to Adam’s. Work is something to be sought not for the ‘sake of the pleasure it gives and the relaxation it affords to the mind’ but for the way it can ‘preserve and nourish the taste for spiritual things.’²⁰⁸ Importantly:

²⁰⁶ ‘Omnium autem tentationum et cogitationum malarum et inutilium sentia otium est.’ *PL* 184, col. 132. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 38.

²⁰⁷ ‘otium iners.’ *PL* 184, col. 132. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 39.

²⁰⁸ ‘Deinde operandum est aliquid minibus quod iungitur, non tam quod animum delectando ad horam detineat, quam, quod spiritualibus studiis delectationem conservet et nutriat...’ *PL* 184, col. 322. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 39.

It is not a spiritual exercise that exists for the sake of bodily exercises but for spiritual.

When man was created he was provided with a helper like himself, made of man's very substance; so also, physical exercise is necessary as a help to spiritual pursuits.²⁰⁹

William also discusses the preferred forms of work or manual labour. Physical exercise and work outside are not to be recommended. These not only 'distract the senses but also often exhaust the spirit.'²¹⁰ Instead, the better forms of work are those that 'have the greater likeness and kinship to the spirit: for example, meditating on something to be written or writing something to be read for spiritual edification.'²¹¹ It is important that the work the monk undertakes is useful and to be useful the work must 'contribute to the soul's advancement and that some fresh treasure is added each day to the heart's store.'²¹²

The assertion of the importance of appropriate manual labour reflects the increased emphasis on the importance of manual labour found throughout the eleventh and twelfth century and particularly within the new monastic orders. A particular example of this is the emphasis by the Cistercian order on the need for monks to properly reflect the prescription for manual labour as found in the *Regula Benedicti*.²¹³ The Cistercian provision of manual labour was primarily active: the monks were meant to work in their own fields and engage in these

²⁰⁹ 'Non spiritualia exercitia sunt propeter corporalia, sed corporalia propter spiritualia. Propterea sicut viro creato collatum est, vel comparatum ei adiutorium similitie sibi ex ipsa hominis substantia: sic cum in adiutorium spiritualis studii necessaria sint...' PL 184, col. 322. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 40.

²¹⁰ '...si saepe etiam spiritum exhauriunt...' PL 184, col. 322. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 40.

²¹¹ '...sed quae cum spiritualibus proprioem videntur habere similitudinem et affinitatem; sicut ad aedificationem spiritualem meditari quod scribatur, vel scriber quod legatur.' PL 184, col. 322. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 40.

²¹² '...ut etiam de peracta dieta ad profectum mentis semper aliquid in conscientia resideat, aliquid quotidie in thesaurum cordis congeratur.' PL 184, col. 321. For the English translation, see *Golden Epistle*, p. 39.

²¹³ See M. G. Newman, 'Foundation and twelfth century', in M. B. Bruun ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 25-37 for a consideration of the values of the early Cistercians. As Newman explains, the Cistercian order's adherence to the concept of manual labour has been the subject of some debate. Ibid, p. 34. Also see Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 148-149.

labours. However, the Carthusian Order dictated solitude for each monk inside their own cells and as such was severely limited on the actual ‘labour’ each monk could accomplish. In the *De quadripertito*, Adam cites book production as an appropriate form of manual labour for the Carthusian monk, within the limits permitted by the prior.²¹⁴ The monks should be:

...employed in preparing parchment for books, or in copying them, binding or correcting them, ornamenting or illuminating or titling them, or else engaged in tasks connected with their preparation, their copying or their completion.²¹⁵

The production of books is a suitable part of monastic life for Adam. He cites the example of Martin of Tours in Sulpicius’ *Vita Sancti Martini* and the description of the community at Tours. Here ‘there was no art, except that of the transcribers’.²¹⁶ This work is particularly suitable for the Carthusians since book production could be undertaken by the monks in solitude in their cells and could occupy them in moments that they were not focused upon higher things.²¹⁷ This reflects closely the provisions made within the *Consuetudines* for the monks. Adam directly refers to Guigo I in his treatment of manual labour and references chapter twenty-eight ‘The objects of the cell’. In this, Guigo I lists the items that each monk is allowed within his cell. After the necessities such as clothes and shaving equipment, the monk is provided with all the equipment necessary for copying books:

²¹⁴ ‘Porro, si ita providerit prior, unum est cui in operatione specialiter intendere debes, ut videlicet et scriber discas (sit amen addiscere potes), et si potes et scis, ut scribas.’ *PL* 153, col. 881.

²¹⁵ ‘...libris tuique vel praeparandis, vel conficiendis, vel ligandis, vel emendandis, vel ornandis, vel illuminandis, vel intitulanis, vel iis quae ad ista pertinent ordinandis, faciendis et perficiendis, sollicite intendere debent.’ *PL* 153, col. 881.

²¹⁶ ‘...art ibi, exceptis scriptoribus, nulla habebatur.’ *PL* 153, col. 883.

²¹⁷ ‘Et cum hoc in omni ordine decens et congruum sit, sed magis in ordine nostro Carthusiensi, aptum utique hoc est, et pulchrum.’ *PL* 153, col. 881.

And for writing: a writing case, feathers, chalk, two pumice stones, two inkwells, a pen knife, two razors to even the surface of parchment, a bodkin, a bradawl, a thread of lead, a ruler, a board for ruling the page, a wax tablet, a stylus.²¹⁸

Although Guigo I does give some provision for those monks who do not copy books, ‘which arises very rarely with us because we teach the work of copying to almost all those who we receive if this is possible’, he then continues to further discuss the specific relationship between Carthusian monks and books.²¹⁹

This also has greater significance because the production or copying of books is a key component of the Carthusian monk’s relationship with the greater Christian community. The Carthusian is performing a fraternal act in aiding in the salvation of others:

In effect as many books as we copy, as many times as we seem to be in our place the heralds of truth; and we hope for a recompense from the Lord, for all those by these books will have been corrected from error or have progressed in the Catholic truth, for all those who will have themselves repented their sins and their vices or will have been enflamed of the desire of the Celestial Father.²²⁰

More practically, Adam cites Guigo I to explain the point at which Carthusian monks should undertake this labour. He first quotes from chapter twenty-nine ‘At what moments one leaves the cell: the vigils of the night and the division of the hours’:

²¹⁸ ‘Ad scribendum vero, scriptorium, pennas, cretam, pumices duos, cornua duo, scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamina, novaculas sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unam, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, grafium.’ *Coutumes*, p. 222.

²¹⁹ ‘Quod si frater alterius artis furit, quod apud nos raro valde contingit, omnes enim pene quos suscipimus, di fieri potest scriber document, habebit arti suae instrumenta convenientia.’ *Coutumes*, p. 222.

²²⁰ ‘Quot enima libros scribimus, tot nobis veritatis praecones facere videmur, sperantes a domino mercedem, pro omnibus qui per eos vel ab errore correcti fuerint, vel in catholica veritate profereint, pro cunctis etiam qui vel de suis peccatis et viciis compuncti, vel ad desiderium fuerint patriae caelestis accensi.’ *Coutumes*, p. 224.

From Terce until Sexte in the winter, and from Prime to Terce in the summer is given over to manual works. We want this work to be interrupted by short prayers. And the time that separates Vespers and Nones is occupied by manual work and always while working it is permitted to return to brief prayers like javelins...²²¹

Adam then quotes from the same chapter to emphasise the times at which the monks should engage in their spiritual exercises, ‘The space of time either from Prime to Terce in the winter or from Matins to Prime in the summer is given over to spiritual exercises.’²²² He then turns to chapter seven on the Sunday Office,

On exiting from the refectory, from the Kalends of November and until the Purification of the Virgin Mary we sing Nones straightaway. From this day until Easter the space of time is given over to reading or some other similar exercises.²²³

He then follows this with a quotation from chapter twenty-nine again to emphasise when conversely the monks engage in spiritual exercises: ‘From Vespers to Compline is given over to spiritual exercises.’²²⁴

²²¹ ‘A tertia vero usque ad Sextam hieme, et a Prima usque ad Tertiam aestate, manuum deputatur operibus. Quae tamen opera, brevibus volumus orationibus interrumpi. Et in aestate quod Vesperam Nonamque disternat, manualibus occupatur operibus, semperque in operando, ad breves et quasi jaculatas licet orationes recurrere.’ *PL* 153, col. 883. Adam has paraphrased chapter twenty-nine of the *Consuetudines* here: ‘A tertia vero usque ad sextam hieme, et a prima usque ad tertiam aestate, manuum deputatur operibus, quae tamen opera, brevibus volumus orationibus interrumpi’ then ‘Et quod nonam vespertasque disternat, manualibus occupatur operibus. Semperque in operando, ad breves et quasi iaculatas licet orationes recurrere.’ *Coutumes*, p. 228.

²²² ‘Spatium autem, vel a Prima usque ad Tertiam, hiemis tempore, vel a Matutinis usque ad Primam aestate, exercitiis spiritualibus mancipatur.’ *PL* 153, col. 884. In the *Consuetudines*: ‘Spacium autem vel a prima usque ad tertiam hiemis tempore, vel a matutinis usque ad primam aestate, exercitiis spiritualibus mancipatur.’ *Coutumes*, p. 228.

²²³ ‘Exeuntes de refectorio, inquit, a Kalendis Novembris usque ad Purificationem B. Mariae, tatim Nonam cantamus. Ex quo die usque ad Pascha, spatium quod (id est, inter prandium et Nonam) facimus, lectioni, vel aliquibus talibus exercitiis deputatur.’ *PL* 153, col. 884.

²²⁴ ‘A Vesperis usque ad Completorium, spiritualibus opera datur.’ *PL* 153, col. 884.

In his advocacy of book production as the most suitable form of manual labour for Carthusian monks, Adam enhances long standing Carthusian traditions by ascribing an essential role within their vocation. Without manual labour, all other exercises would be made ineffective and monks would be consumed by idleness. Moreover, driven by their enclosed situation, the monks in their book production could hope to edify mankind through the proper dissemination of God's Truth. Adam ends his work at the end of chapter thirty-six with some concluding remarks. He urges his reader to review what he has written, citing the need to engage with the study of reading, purity of thought, devotion in prayer and usefulness of action.²²⁵

With exhortations such as these, the *De quadripertito exercitio cellae* is an ambitious work that aims to explain the Carthusian way of life to its reader. Despite the protestations of inexperience by Adam of Dryburgh, throughout his work, he engaged with and built upon the work of Guigo I and Guigo II in a manner that shows his understanding of the fundamental mentalities found in these tracts. The work has been described throughout this chapter as being didactic because it is uniquely prescriptive. It directly and expressly aims to instruct the Carthusian monk in his physical and spiritual exercises, a vision of the Carthusian cell that is mediated through Adam's own interpretation and experiences of the expectations of the order. Such an approach is absent or limited in the work of Guigo I and Guigo II. Barring the *Consuetudines*, these authors are more ambiguous in their intentions and are not narrowly and explicitly directed towards the Carthusians alone. In fact, without knowing the authorship of these works, there is nothing within the *Meditationes* of Guigo I and Guigo II, and the *Scala* of Guigo II, that immediately betrays their Carthusian origins.

²²⁵ '...studium lectionis, puritas meditationis, devotio orationis, utilitas actionis.' *PL* 153, col. 884.

This is not the case with *De quadripertito*, which is identified by its author immediately as the product of, and for, a charterhouse. It is an immensely important work precisely because it is unashamedly devoted to the Carthusian way of life. The *Consuetudines Cartusiae* is comparable in this sense, being characteristically legislative towards the Carthusian way of life, but does not give any insight into the mentality of the Carthusians towards the practical expression of their vocation. One explanation for the structure and intention of *De quadripertito* is that Adam's expressed inexperience within the order placed him in a privileged position to explicitly outline such principles and virtues. The work acted as a means of explaining the observances of this unusual order to its own members. It cannot be removed from preceding Carthusian works but absorbed them and incorporated them into a new product that was deemed necessary for the benefit of the charterhouse community. The impulse for Adam of Dryburgh, a Carthusian of England, to build upon the literary works of the Grande Chartreuse thus provides a window into the way in which the monks of Witham engaged with broader Carthusian culture in the twelfth century and negotiated what it meant to be a monk within the charterhouse. Moreover, *De quadripertito* is an unjustly underrated work that has significant implications for the manner in which the Carthusian order as a whole developed through the twelfth century. This Carthusian source from England is essential to any discussion of what it meant to be a Carthusian in this period, granting privileged insight into the processes and practices of the order.

Conclusion

The Carthusian order in England in the period of its first foundation at Witham in c. 1178 offers the rich evidential vein that places it at the heart of any examination of the order as a whole and allows an integrated exploration of what it meant to be a Carthusian in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The experience of the Carthusians in England, from both external and internal witnesses, including comparison with material concerning the Grande Chartreuse, reveals a variety of different perspectives towards the Carthusians and illustrate the multifaceted aspects of Carthusian life in a period of continuing and specific concerns about Church reform. Six key points about Witham and the Carthusians in England can be drawn together to demonstrate the significance of the English house, its foundation, community (as individuals and collectively) and reputation.

Witham as *the* representative of the order

The community of Witham remain the focal point for discussion, prompting and inspiring a wide range of responses from contemporaries and within the monastery walls: historical, satirical or polemical, hagiographical, and theological. The diversity and volume of the sources that can be used to examine the charterhouse of Witham and the Carthusians in England is unprecedented in the Carthusian order. The exceptional nature of Witham as a case study should not, in consequence, be underestimated. In fact, only the Grande Chartreuse, the mother-house of the order, rivals this body of source material in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Witham is not only an important case study for the entire order. One conclusion of this thesis is that that an in-depth, principally historical, study of the Carthusians, through this lens, is both achievable and fruitful. Moreover, the wide-ranging scope of the preceding discussion emphasising both external and internal views of the order, offers, if not a complete micro-history of the house and community, then certainly a detailed and nuanced survey. No other Carthusian monastery has been the subject of a similar study that has sought to bring together diverse sources in this way to offer a holistic representation. Even the Grande Chartreuse has not been the subject of such a multidimensional historical study, despite having a manageable corpus of source material for this period.¹

It is clear that the Carthusians in England in this period were in no way disconnected from the Carthusians of the wider order. Familiarity with the works of Guigo I and Guigo II is seen particularly in Adam of Dryburgh's *De quadripertito exercitio cellae* and it is also evident in Adam of Eynsham's use of the hagiographical tradition of the Grande Chartreuse to bolster his depiction of Hugh of Lincoln's sanctity. Such texts show that Witham's position on the geographical limits of the order's reach did not preclude them from engaging with the observances of the order and seeking to interpret what it meant to be a Carthusian for themselves. The community of Witham and the Carthusians in England can in this way be considered to be the representatives of the order in this period. By using Witham as a case study of the Carthusians, the Carthusians in England can be situated within a complex contemporary context, as all monastic communities should be, in order to offer a more nuanced approach to this house and order.

¹ As demonstrated in the Introduction, pp. 7-11.

The challenge to current historiographical orthodoxies

That this sort of study has not been mounted for the Grande Chartreuse is demonstrative of a larger and continuing historiographical issue as concerns modern research on the Carthusian order. As outlined in the introduction, the Carthusians continue to be presented in idealised terms for a number of reasons. First, the austerity of their observances has been considered as particularly admirable as the embodiment of twelfth-century monastic reform. Second, the view that the Carthusians then remained ‘unreformed’ implies that there was little shift from this initial form. Third, these assumptions have not then been challenged by the existing historiography of the order and, as such, the image of the Carthusians has remained monolithic and uncritical. This is an image that has been encouraged and condoned by historians who openly admire the order or who have little detachment from it, and then has been repeated by later scholars reliant upon their authority. Julian Luxford, as quoted in the introduction, went some way to calling for a reorientation of Carthusian research away from these models but his comments largely pointed towards the fruitfulness of research of the later medieval Carthusians.² A similar reorientation is, as this thesis has argued, necessary for the earlier period of Carthusian history. Existing histories of the Carthusians in England can be challenged all too easily and effectively through an examination of the twelfth-century order with the narrative of Witham’s foundation as a salient feature. Although the ‘Becket tradition’ has been frequently repeated, this recurrent repetition should not be used as a proof of the tradition’s accuracy. Rather, a simple examination of contemporary historical evidence surrounding the events of the

² Luxford, *Studies in Late Medieval Carthusians*, p. 10.

Compromise of Avranches and Henry II's penances for the death of Thomas Becket brings into doubt the narratives surrounding the foundation of the house and opens up new questions about the role of Witham within religious culture and royal patronage of this period.

Similarly, as the second chapter demonstrated, there existed a greater diversity of opinions towards the order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than often assumed in modern scholarship. Not all contemporary opinions towards the Carthusians were positive. It is abundantly clear that positive attitudes towards the order must be qualified within the context in which they were expressed. The Carthusians exercised a significant influence on the imagination of John of Salisbury, Nigel Longchamps, Gerald of Wales, and Walter Map for reasons that cannot be reduced to simple admiration. Nor can admiration of one religious community over others cannot be completely ascribed to assertions of a unique sense of holiness.

It is equally clear that not all contemporaries were comfortable with Carthusian observances or approved of their way of life. As shown in Chapter Two, the prologue of Richard of Devizes's *Chronica* is the key example and the hagiographers of Hugh of Lincoln equally reveal that some aspects of Carthusian practice had to be explained. This apology, in the proper sense, is as important for understanding contemporary attitudes towards the Carthusians as praise directed towards the order. It is worth recalling that the Carthusians were not the subject of extensive patronage, especially in England. Witham, and the order in England as a whole, remained small and would not have existed or gained any importance without royal patronage.

Witham's disproportionate importance

The Carthusians of Witham had an impact upon contemporary society that was not reflected by the small number of its members. That Witham was the only charterhouse in England in this period has been reiterated throughout the thesis but it is important to emphasise the small size of this community and its seeming unimportance. If the monks of Witham accurately observed the injunctions of the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* on the ideal numbers for a charterhouse, and there is no particular reason to doubt this, at any one time there would have only ever been thirteen Carthusian monks and sixteen lay brothers in England between c.1178 and c.1220.³ These putative twenty-nine Carthusians, then, attracted a level of prominence disproportionate to their number.

The *Magna Vita* provides evidence for the continuing contact that the house had with the king; Witham was a royal foundation. Although, as stated in the first chapter of this thesis, there is a tendency to reduce Henry's interest in his foundation to being minimal, it is still evident that the monks of Witham continued to attract the king's support throughout his reign. Royal support may have influenced the election of Hugh of Lincoln as bishop. In 1186, Hugh was the third prior of a small and only recently established monastic house and was then elected to be Bishop of Lincoln, with control over a huge diocese. The *Magna Vita*, of course, emphasises his election as the result of his extreme holiness but, more pragmatically, it is likely that his relationship with

³ As cited above in the Introduction, pp. 23-24.

the king would have also been influential.⁴ It is, perhaps, telling that it was the prior of a small royal foundation that obtained this role.

From this, a further point can be adduced. The charterhouse of Witham has an occasional, but nevertheless significant, position in Henrician patronage and its relationship with the crown is intriguing. Henry's patronage of ascetic communities such as the Grandmontines and Fontevraud is well-known but the practicalities and motivations behind these acts have not been studied in detail and the nature of Henry's patronage of these houses is not clear. Where historians like Warren attributed Henrician patronage to either cynical or dynastic motives, such concerns are only part of the picture. Henry's patronage of religious houses such as the Carthusians has huge implications for his relationship with territories in twelfth-century France and beyond, in which Witham, it can be argued, played a part.

The community of Witham and their identity

In addition to their disproportionate influence and reputation, the community at Witham also actively participated in the assertion of their own values through the composition of texts. By commissioning the composition of the *De quadripertito* and the *Magna Vita*, as demonstrated in the prologues of these works, the monks of Witham were instigating the production of texts that were vital to the assertion of Carthusian ideals and history.

⁴ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. 92-94.

The figure of Adam of Dryburgh is particularly significant in this context. His importance is very clearly demonstrated first by the fact that he was the only Carthusian who did not come from Grande Chartreuse who produced any known theological work in the twelfth century. The mere survival of *De quadripartito* means that Adam of Dryburgh and his work must be taken seriously as a rare Carthusian-produced work but his treatise is also significant due to its content. The extensive comparison in this thesis between the *De quadripartito* and the writings of Guigo I and Guigo II shows the former as one of only four strictly Carthusian theological works of the twelfth century. *De quadripartito* engages with the Carthusian vocation in a unique fashion which has been understudied. As opposed to the more legislative or theoretical works of Guigo I and Guigo II, Adam of Dryburgh provides a descriptive explanation of Carthusian observances written by a member of the order, in which he seeks to elucidate them for a charterhouse audience. In doing so, *De quadripartito* goes beyond the goals of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse. No serious comprehensive work has, however, been undertaken on *De quadripartito*, although the new critical edition of 2015 goes some way to remedying this.⁵ There is considerable potential for future research around Adam of Dryburgh not least because his work has significance beyond the Carthusian order. *De quadripartito* has implications for general twelfth-century theology, the theology and practice of the Premonstratensian order, religious education, preaching, monastic identities, and the relationship and crossover between different monastic orders. Chapter Four, above, demonstrated Adam of Dryburgh's importance as a Carthusian monk explaining Carthusian observances in a way not previously undertaken but also underlines the significance that this work was undertaken at the instruction of the prior of Witham.

⁵ As cited above.

With the composition of *De quadripertito*, Witham reveals itself as a community engaging with their own observances and actively supplementing those that they already possessed only approximately twelfth years after its foundation.

A similar point can be made for Adam of Eynsham's composition of the *Magna Vita*. The prologue indicates that it was written under the instigation of the community of Witham and it offers the biography of their most prestigious member. While the community did not actively support Hugh of Lincoln's canonisation in 1219-1220, the composition of the *Magna Vita* makes it evident that they were supporting the record of his life, his holiness, and his deeds. The *Magna Vita* emerges then as a project very much inspired by Witham and Carthusian values. The extent to which these values underpin the *Magna Vita* is shown by comparison to the *vitae* of Hugh composed by other authors not closely connected with Witham, for example, in this context, Gerald of Wales.

Implications for researchers of later medieval Carthusians

Although this thesis is concerned with the Carthusians of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it has implications for later Carthusian history. The majority of recent work on the Carthusians has been focused on the later medieval period, especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶ The focus on later medieval Carthusians is appropriate, given the foundation of seven of the nine English charterhouses and the single Scottish charterhouse after 1350. However, as has been argued above, the earlier period also warrants study and, in the context of the later

⁶ As seen in the Introduction, pp. 15-16.

medieval houses, enables a more cohesive study of the development of the order in England to be undertaken. Continuities, changes, and the relationship between these two eras of Carthusian life can then be more precisely indicated and their implications drawn out. For instance, the influence of *De quadripertito exercitio cellae* upon later charterhouses is currently unknown but it is evident that it circulated through late medieval charterhouses.⁷ The same can be suggested with the *Magna Vita*, which similarly survives in these later houses.⁸ It is equally clear that Adam of Dryburgh had an impact upon the later order given the survival of the Witham fragment; the only section of this document that has survived is devoted to a twelfth-century Carthusian. Such links could suggest the role of the twelfth-century Carthusians in the history-making and institutional identity of their late-medieval descendants. The twelfth-century order seems to be an important memory for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Carthusians.

The question of how to approach the phrase ‘Nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata’ remains. It is not possible within the scope of this thesis to make any extended comment about the veracity of this claim. To identify change within the Carthusian order requires a cross-chronological comparison which would in turn provide the basis for an examination of the development of the order and, particularly, any sense of ‘reformation’ in response to a perceived laxness of observances. Such a comparative study is impossible, however, without a survey of the twelfth-century foundation, the lack of which has significant implications for the longer arc of Carthusian history. The *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis* remains the main point of historical information for the order. When it comes to the Carthusian order in

⁷ Hogg and Clark, *De Quadripertito*, pp. x-xxvii.

⁸ *Magna Vita*, volume 1, pp. xlix-liv.

England, a developmental study might indicate, for example, how the prominence or prestige of the Carthusians changed. Witham in the twelfth century had a cultural footprint that was completely out of scale with the number of monks present at the time. Since the number of charterhouses increased into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, how their prominence as a whole changed gives an insight into the changing religious landscape of the period and, particularly, how patronage and the practical impact of these houses within their contemporary context changed.

The future of English Carthusian studies

The current English historiography for the Carthusians is limited. The only monographs on the Carthusians remain E. M. Thompson's works of 1895 and 1930 and Coppack and Aston's *Christ's Poor Men*. Although the historiographical tide is changing to some extent, with the publication of English-language research such as that in *The Carthusians of the Low Countries*, Carthusian research remains primarily continental. Such an emphasis is in despite of the rich evidence for the Carthusians in England that has considerable implications beyond the very narrow research specialisations on the Carthusian order or even more general monastic history. The importance of Adam of Dryburgh not only for Carthusian theology but also Premonstratensian has been indicated. Similarly, a study of the early Carthusians in England has offered the opportunity to expand research into a comparison between the religious culture of the twelfth century with that of the fourteenth century and to see the development of so strongly ascetic an order.

Other avenues for future research remain open. For instance, given that Witham has a central position within Henrician patronage, an understudied aspect of Henry's career, the relationship between Witham, other charterhouses in other territories, and with secular land owners is a subject that would benefit from extended research. This thesis has argued for the need to move Witham away from a local history platform as seen in Thompson's *The Somerset Carthusians* and *Carthusians in England* towards a national and international stage. The need for a broader focus on the order is especially pertinent because the Carthusians, despite appearances, were clearly neither a niche nor entirely withdrawn institution. They engaged with secular patronage, were discussed by outside observers, engaged in theological writing, letter-writing, the composition of hagiography, and this engagement with the world around them has left behind considerable evidence of their impact upon their contemporaries. Carthusian monks attracted attention from others but also sought out connections and interactions. Calling for a reappraisal of the order benefits not only the historians of the Carthusians but also a wide variety of medievalists and historians of religion who would benefit from the rich and diverse window into monastic life in England and Christendom in general. The monks of Witham should be seen within the context of their age rather than exemplified as an idealised monastic community.

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