The Wilderness and the World: Encounters between the Carthusians of Late Medieval England and the Secular World

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This study examines the role that encounters with the secular world played in shaping how the Carthusians of late medieval England conceived their own purpose and identity. Chapter 1 outlines how the physical setting of charterhouses and the monks' liturgical practices were affected by requests for prayers, masses, and burials as well as the provision of hospitality for their founders, patrons, and benefactors. The impact that these various forms of interaction had on how the Carthusians perceived their own eremitic vocation is then explored using the late fifteenth-century cartulary from the charterhouse of London (now Kew, The National Archives, LR 2/61). Chapter 2 discusses how the monks of London commemorated the deeds of their lay founder, Sir Walter Manny, and some of the most distinguished members of their community in the chronicle inserted at the beginning of their cartulary.

Chapter 3 then analyses the role that depictions of the secular world played in the spiritual instruction and identity formation of the Carthusians using the early sixteenth-century devotional miscellany now known as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 160. This chapter examines how the universal verse chronicle in this manuscript may have shaped the ways in which Carthusian readers understood the significance of their order's eremitic mission and their relationship with the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses.

By focusing on the perspective of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Carthusian monks, this study challenges the prevailing assumption that any form of engagement with the outside world ought to have been regarded as fundamentally incompatible with the eremitic principles of the order's founders. Instead, it highlights how the

Carthusians actively embraced their growing commemorative and intercessory responsibilities and remained highly attuned to the affairs of the secular world whilst practising their eremitic vocation in the wilderness spaces of their charterhouses.

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Note on Transcriptions

All transcriptions and translations are my own unless stated in the footnotes. Original scribal errors have been retained, abbreviations have been expanded using square brackets and punctuation has been added to make certain transcriptions more comprehensible to modern readers.

Introduction

Throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries members of the Carthusian order increasingly encountered the secular world across the physical and imaginative spaces of their charterhouses. Carthusian communities came into contact with secular society primarily through the provision of hospitality for their living benefactors, the performance of masses and prayers for the dead, and the burial of their founders and patrons. At the same time, the Carthusians encountered the secular world in their devotional literature and art. Universal histories, extracts from chronicles, geographical texts as well as depictions of laypeople and non-Christians provided Carthusian readers with glimpses of the events, people and fashions of the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses. The primary aim of this study is to explore how these encounters shaped the ways in which the Carthusians of late medieval England conceived their own vocation and perceived their relationship with the secular world.

This aim is realised through the close analysis of two manuscripts which were produced and used by members of the Carthusian order in England during this period. After an initial contextual survey of the various forms of interaction between the charterhouses of late medieval England and their lay founders, patrons and benefactors, this study focuses on the cartulary of the London charterhouse which has survived as Kew, The National Archives, LR 2/61. It examines how the chronicle found at the beginning of this late fifteenth-century manuscript provides a valuable insight into how the monks of the London charterhouse engaged with the requests for prayers, masses and burials and embraced their role as commemorators and intercessors for their secular benefactors. The subsequent chapter of this study analyses how the relationship between the Carthusians and the secular world was constructed in the devotional

literature of the order using the Middle English miscellany now known as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 160 as a case study. This chapter considers how the universal verse chronicle in this early sixteenth-century devotional miscellany shaped the ways in which Carthusian readers understood the significance of their order's eremitic mission and regarded the place of their order within the late medieval Church. As a whole, this study highlights how the Carthusians actively engaged with the secular world and sought to shape the boundaries of this relationship to suit their own spiritual and material needs.

0.1 Carthusian Foundations in Late Medieval England

The Carthusian order first arrived in England following the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury in 1170. Contemporary commentators such as Gerald of Wales alleged that King Henry II established the charterhouse of Witham in the royal forest of Selwood in 1178 as part of the penance imposed for his involvement in the archbishop's death.[1] Henry's illegitimate son, William Longespée, and his wife Ela, Countess of Salisbury, were later responsible for establishing the second Carthusian foundation in England. This was initially located at Hatherop in Gloucestershire in 1222 before the community was transferred to a more remote site in the deer park of Hinton (c. 1227-1232). Witham and Hinton remained the only Carthusian institutions in England until the foundation of Beauvale charterhouse in 1343. As was the case with Hinton, Beauvale was established in a deer park belonging to the house's lay founder. In this instance, the courtier Sir Nicholas Cantelupe granted a piece of land on the outskirts

[1] Elizabeth Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28 (1977), 113-32 (pp. 113-19). The seventeenth-century Carthusian annalist Charles Le Couteulx similarly suggested that the foundation of Witham formed part of Henry's penance for the murder of Becket; see *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429,* ed. by Charles Le Couteulx, 8 vols (Montreuil: Cartusiae Mariae de Pratis, 1887-91), II, 451-52.

of Sherwood Forest for his proposed Carthusian community. The foundation of Beauvale was followed by the creation of a separate *Provincia Angliae* by the Carthusian General Chapter in 1369. From this point onwards, two English priors were appointed by the General Chapter to inspect the state of observance in each of the charterhouses in the province every two years.[2]

After the foundation of the London charterhouse by the renowned knight Sir Walter Manny (d. 1372) in 1371, the order underwent a period of considerable growth in England. The charterhouse of Hull was founded around 1377/78 by Sir Michael de la Pole, the first Earl of Suffolk, and was built just beyond the north gate of the city. King Richard II and his wife, Queen Anne of Bohemia, laid the foundation stone for Coventry charterhouse in 1385. The house was located just outside the city walls on land originally purchased by William, Lord Zouche of Harringworth, at the beginning of the decade. In 1395 Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham and later Duke of Norfolk, was granted a royal licence to convert a disused chapel on his estate in the Isle of Axholme into a charterhouse, although it would take until 1397/98 for Mowbray to finally realise this ambition.[3] Mount Grace charterhouse received its foundation charter in 1398 from Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent and Duke of Surrey. The charterhouse was built on the manor of Bordelby on the edge of the North Yorkshire Moors, land which in fact belonged to John de Ingleby rather than de Holand.[4] The rapid expansion of the order in England came to an end in 1414 with the foundation of Sheen charterhouse by King

[2] For more information on the Carthusian provincial system see Dennis Martin, 'Carthusians during the Reformation Era: "Cartusia nunquam deformata, reformari resistens"', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 81 (1995), 41-66 (p. 43).
[3] *Chartae* of the Carthusian General Chapter indicate that the actual construction of the Axholme charterhouse did not begin until at least 1397; see *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis,* VII, 37-39.
[4] For a detailed discussion of the foundation of Mount Grace see Glyn Coppack and Laurence Keen, *Mount Grace Priory: Excavations of 1957–1992* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019), pp. 27-29.

Henry V. The house was located immediately to the north of his royal palace of Sheen, later renamed as Richmond by Henry VII, and was built at the same time as the Birgittine abbey of Syon.[5]

[5] For useful overviews of the institutional history of the charterhouses of England see Joseph Anselm Gribbin, 'Provincia Angliae', in *Monasticon Cartusiense,* ed. by James Hogg and Gerhard Schlegel, 5 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität Salzburg, 2005), III, 361-598 (pp. 369-440) and Carol Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England, with Special Reference to the Order's Relations with Secular Society* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1981), pp. 13-128.

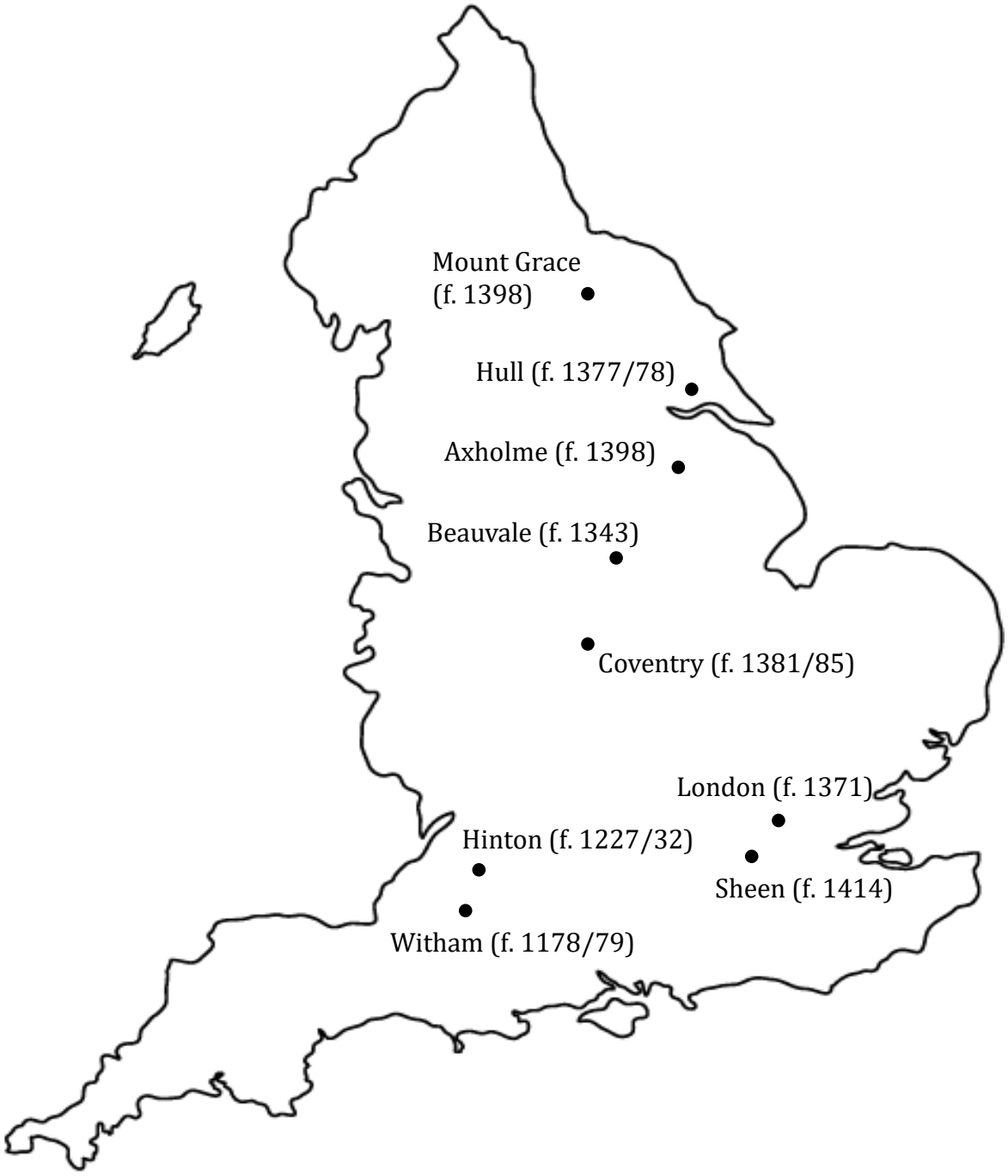

Figure 0.1: Map of Carthusian Foundations in Late Medieval England

Despite this surge in popularity during the late fourteenth century, the Carthusians' presence in England still remained relatively small in comparison to other monastic orders that were already well established at this stage, in particular the Cistercians. This numerical disparity was further exacerbated by the majority of the

nine charterhouses that made up the *Provincia Angliae* only catering for up to one prior, twelve choir monks and sixteen lay brothers at a time. These limitations were based on the *Consuetudines Cartusie* written by Guigo, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, around 1127.[6] He believed that maintaining such small communities would prevent Carthusian monks from resorting to wandering or begging to support themselves.[7] The charterhouses of London and Sheen did deviate from Guigo's prescriptions as both were planned from the start to house up to twenty-four monks. Mount Grace also held enough cells to accommodate up to twenty-three monks on the eve of the Reformation.[8] Nevertheless, even at its peak the order across England would have still struggled to outnumber the inhabitants of the largest individual Cistercian or Benedictine houses.

The late fourteenth century did, however, prove to be significant for diversifying the nature of the Carthusian order in England. This period saw a fundamental change in the layout of Carthusian precincts. Following the example of the order's motherhouse, the Grande Chartreuse, the earliest charterhouses in England were divided between an upper house reserved for use of the prior and choir monks and a lower house, also known as a *correrie,* which housed the lay brothers and the procurator, usually at a

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[6] Unlike other monastic orders, the Carthusians did not have a customary or rule at the very outset of their order. Guigo compiled the *Consuetudines* almost half a century after the establishment of the Grande Chartreuse in 1084. Guigo's text was gradually revised and expanded throughout the late medieval period with the *Statuta Antiqua* (henceforth referred to as *SA*) compiled in c. 1259, the *Statuta Nova* (*SN*) in 1368 and the *Tertia Compilatio* (*TC*) in 1509. All four versions of the statutes were collected and printed together in 1510 by Johannes Amorbach at the request of the Carthusian General Chapter. All references in this study to the latter three texts are given by chapter and clause and are taken from the *Statuta ordinis Cartusiensis a domno* [sic] *Guigone priore cartusie edita* (Basel: Johannes Amerbach, 1510) <http://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/pageview/908769> [accessed 10 November 2017]. References to Guigo's *Consuetudines* (henceforth referred to as *CC*) are also given by chapter and clause but are taken from the modern printed edition *Guigues I^er^, Coutumes de Chartreuse: Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes*, ed. by Maurice Laporte (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984). For more on the Carthusian statutes see Stephen Molvarec and Tom Gaens, 'The Carthusian Customaries', in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. by Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 103-26.

[7] *CC*, 79.1.

[8] Glyn Coppack and Mick Aston, *Christ's Poor Men: The Carthusians in Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), pp. 36-46.

considerable distance from the upper house. The lower house at Hinton, for example, was located on the bank of the River Frome around a mile to the east of the upper house.[9] Charterhouses established from the fourteenth century onwards abandoned this two-site model in favour of accommodating lay brothers in a separate cloister adjacent to that of the monks. A surviving plan of the water supply at the London charterhouse from the 1440s indicates that the little cloister of the lay brothers was located to the west of the conventual church. Alongside the lay brothers' living quarters, this area of the charterhouse would have contained storehouses, service rooms, workshops and accommodation for guests.[10] Excavations at the charterhouse of Mount Grace have highlighted that the lay brothers were housed in their own cells in the lesser cloister located just to the south of the conventual church, as can be seen below in figure 0.2.[11] The majority of the lay brothers' duties were carried out in the inner court of the charterhouse, situated to the south of the lesser cloister, which contained the community's brewhouse, stable, granary and guest houses, alongside several other service buildings.[12] The agricultural and industrial activities of the lay brothers and the duties of the procurator, including the reception of secular guests, therefore increasingly took place in the main monastic enclosure of these later charterhouses rather than at a separate location to where the monks practised their contemplative vocation.

[9] Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* p. 32. For more on the lower houses at Hinton and Witham see Francesca Breeden, *Communal Solitude: The Archaeology of the Carthusian Houses of Great Britain and Ireland, 1178-1569* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2018), pp. 251-78.
[10] Philip Temple, *The Charterhouse*, Survey of London Monograph, 18 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 22-23.
[11] Image reproduced from Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory*, p. 23.
[12] For a detailed account of the excavations of the various buildings in the inner court of Mount Grace see Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory,* pp. 165-254.

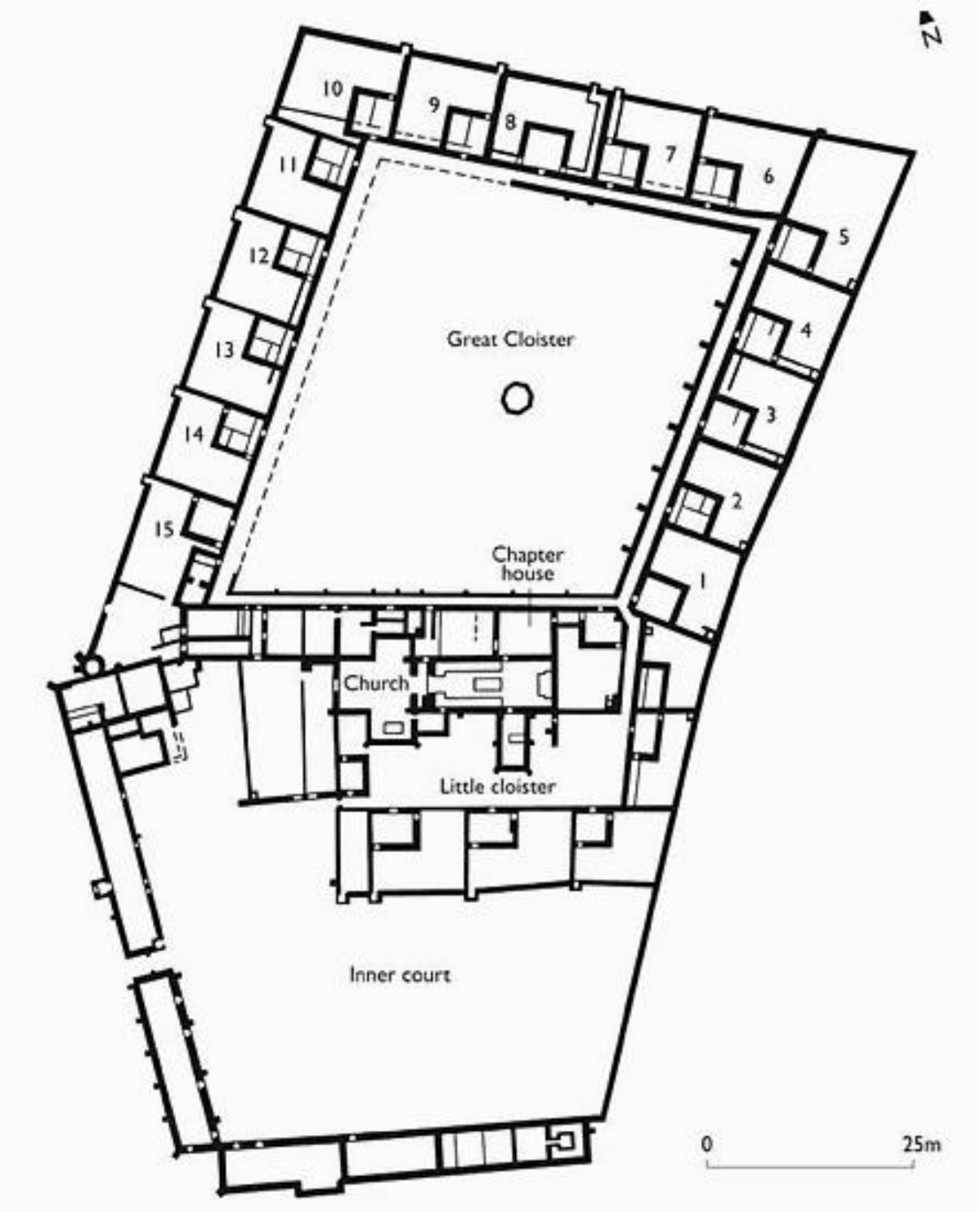

Figure 0.2: Plan of the charterhouse of Mount Grace

At the same time, Carthusian houses were built in or adjacent to the urban centres of London, Coventry, and Hull in the late fourteenth century. The emergence of

urban foundations was not unique to England. Instead, this was part of a broader European trend of Carthusian communities becoming increasingly located in or next to major cities and towns, especially from the second half of the fourteenth century.[13] During this period notable urban charterhouses such as Cologne (f. 1334), Florence (f. 1342), Champmol (f. 1383) and Pavia (f. 1396) were founded by royal and aristocratic figures.[14]

In theory, the urban environment of these later Carthusian foundations should have posed a significant problem for the order. Their metropolitan setting was far removed from the remote wilderness location of the Grande Chartreuse, which had developed from the original hermitage established by the order's founder, St Bruno of Cologne, in the late eleventh century. Alongside his six companions, Bruno had fled from the world in 1084 to practise the solitary life in the wilderness of the French Alps in imitation of the Desert Fathers. Bruno expressed his own belief that the *eremus*, translated as either the 'wilderness' or 'desert', was the only suitable site to practise the contemplative life in the letters he wrote to his associates at the end of the eleventh century. For example, in a letter to the provost of Rheims cathedral, Raoul-le-Verd, Bruno asserted that only those who loved the solitude and silence of the wilderness could truly experience its divine joys. He argued that the wilderness alone gave those who dedicated themselves to the contemplative life the conditions needed to 'come to a

[13] The first urban Carthusian community was most likely Vauvert charterhouse in Paris which was originally founded in 1257. For more on the emergence of urban foundations see Michael Aston, 'The Development of the Carthusian Order in Europe and Britain: A Preliminary Study', in *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz*, ed. by M. Carver (London: University of York Archaeological Papers, 1993), pp. 139-51 (pp. 143-46).

[14] The founders of Champmol and Pavia, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Giangaleazzo Visconti were in fact brothers-in-law. For the parallels in their patronage of the Carthusian order see Laura Gelfand, 'A Tale of Two Dukes: Philip the Bold, Giangaleazzo Visconti, and their Carthusian Foundations', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. by Julian Luxford (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 201-24.

clear vision of the divine spouse' and, ultimately, to attain 'a pure vision that permits them to see God'.[15]

Bruno's admiration for the wilderness was echoed in Guigo's *Consuetudines* which end with an extensive eulogy to the solitary life. He recounts how numerous biblical and patristic figures chose to flee from the world and experience the spiritual benefits provided by the wilderness. Guigo claimed that the Old Testament demonstrated that Moses, Elias and Elijah loved the solitude of the desert as they were often visited by God there. Only by removing themselves from the dangers posed by living among men were they able to increase their knowledge of divine secrets.[16] He also argued that John the Baptist was the sole figure worthy of baptising Christ as a result of his flight from the company of men in favour of living alone in a hermitage located in the safety of the wilderness.[17] Concluding with the example of the Desert Fathers, Guigo asserted that there was truly no more powerful aid to prayer, contemplation and the gift of tears than the privacy of the wilderness.[18]

The order appears to have clung to the wilderness ideal of Bruno and the earliest Carthusians even as its charterhouses became increasingly established in urban areas from the fourteenth century onwards. Jessica Brantley and Sara Ritchey have shown that the Carthusian wilderness came to be presented in the devotional literature and art of the order in the late Middle Ages. For example, the *Desert of Religion* poem on folios 46r-66v of the late fifteenth-century devotional miscellany now known as London, British Library, MS Additional 37049 provided Carthusian readers with a glimpse into

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[15] *Lettres des premiers Chartreux Vol. I, S. Bruno - Guiges - S. Anthelme: Introductions, texte critique, traduction et notes par un Chartreux* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962), p. 70.
[16] *CC*, 80.6.
[17] *CC*, 80.9.
[18] *CC*, 80.11.

the lives of the Desert Fathers and the earliest members of their order. The poem and its accompanying illustrations of eremitic figures and monks at prayer in the wilderness offered itself as a proxy wilderness for the Carthusians of late medieval England to gaze upon and enter in spirit. By doing so, Carthusian readers of the miscellany were able to realise the 'pure vision' of God promulgated by Bruno and Guigo.[19]

Even to the present day the central tenet of the order's corporate identity is the belief that its monks have remained faithful to the foundational principles of solitude and contemplation in the wilderness. This is reflected in the maxim that the order has never been reformed as from its inception it was never deformed.[20] The order's official website asserts that its monks are still attempting to follow the example of Bruno and his companions who entered the desert of the Chartreuse over nine hundred years ago. It boasts that the order's 'uninterrupted existence' and its ability to transcend 'the twists of history' are signs of God's special favour towards the Carthusians.[21]

0.2 Current State of Research on the Carthusian Order in England

Traditional monastic historians dealing with the Carthusians in England have similarly promoted this somewhat idealised image of the order as inherently unchanging and uniform in nature. This is exemplified by the Methodist historian Herbert Workman who argued that the history of the Carthusian order could only be characterised by its changelessness. Writing in 1913, he remarked that its monks had lived according to the

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[19] Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: A Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 79-119 and Sara Ritchey, *Holy Matter: Changing Perceptions of the Material World in Late Medieval Christianity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 184-89.
[20] Julian Luxford, 'Introduction', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 1-18 (p. 2).
[21] 'The Order Today', *The Carthusian Order* <http://www.chartreux.org/en/order-today.php> [accessed 05 August 2019]

same rule for almost eight hundred years, remaining entirely cut off from the outside world and 'untroubled by revivals or lapses'.[22] This rather sentimental attitude enabled the order to remain sheltered from the often-scathing criticisms directed at late medieval religious communities by monastic historians. Instead, the Carthusians were typically used as a gauge for measuring how far other religious orders were deemed to have fallen in their standards of observance by the eve of the Reformation.[23] This is particularly evident in David Knowles' comprehensive survey of the history of English monasticism, *The Religious Orders in England*, published between 1948-59. As a Benedictine monk strongly dissatisfied with the state of monasticism in his own time, Knowles believed that the Carthusian order gave to 'English monastic history one of its brightest pages'. He praised its monks for preserving 'intact the essentials of the Carthusian way of life' and for providing 'a striking example of the reward that comes to a body of men […] who are faithful to the prescriptions of their Rule'.[24] From his perspective, the Carthusians continued to flourish whilst other orders decayed due to 'the persistence among its members of the primitive spirit of austerity and seclusion', whilst 'no accusations of vagrancy or dissolute living could be brought against them'.[25] A. G. Dickens also singled out the Carthusians alongside the Franciscan Observants and Birgittines as the exceptions to the general decline in the standards of religious observance in his study of the English Reformation first published in 1964. Echoing Knowles, he argued that the nine Carthusian foundations 'all maintained to the

[22] Herbert Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal: From the Earliest Times Down to the Coming of the Friars* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1913), p. 252.
[23] Benjamin Thompson, 'Monasteries, Society and Reform in Late Medieval England', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. by James Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 165-95 (p. 170) and G. W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability Before the Break with Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) p. 190.
[24] David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England,* 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948-59), III, 222.
[25] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, II, 130.

Dissolution an unblemished name for devotion together with a magnificent corporate spirit', whilst they 'exhibited a standard of devotion far above that of the mass of contemporary English monks'.[26]

This rather reverential outlook is also found in traditional scholarship specifically dealing with the Carthusians in England, as exemplified by Ethel Margaret Thompson's monograph *The Carthusian Order in England* which still stands as the sole published survey history of the *Provincia Angliae*, despite its publication in 1930. In her discussion of the state of the order on the eve of the Reformation, she remarked that 'the maintenance of the old ideals among English members of [the order] explains the brave and heroic demeanour of many of them under the tyranny of Henry VIII'. From her perspective, the martyrdom of members of the London charterhouse was an inevitable consequence of their unwavering commitment to the foundational principles of the order which was maintained throughout the medieval period. At the same time, Thompson argued that for many generations the English Carthusians 'imbibed and maintained […] the spirit of the early Chartreux', humbling themselves through asceticism and strict discipline whilst remaining unconcerned 'about transitory matters on account of their preoccupation in their mystic quest'.[27] The Carthusians are said to have 'jealously protected [themselves] against intrusion from the world because its very nature was incompatible' with the solitude of their charterhouses and their contemplative vocation.[28]

[26] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1964), pp. 56-57.
[27] Ethel Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), pp. 372-73. This argument was also made by Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse: Its Monks and its Martyrs* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889), p. 356.
[28] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 520-21.

Such a romanticised approach has served to perpetuate an essentialising, monolithic image of the order that does not necessarily reflect the complete reality of Carthusian lived experience in the late Middle Ages. As Stephen Molvarec has asserted, aspects of Carthusian life which do not easily fit within the narrative of continuity and changelessness have remained overlooked or dismissed by Carthusian writers and those who have studied them.[29] Julian Luxford has similarly called for the 'evolution of [a] balanced, historically rooted understanding' of late medieval Carthusian existence in his introduction to the edited collection *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, published in 2008.[30] A comprehensive examination of the Carthusians' attitude towards their growing interactions with the secular world provides an opportunity to deconstruct the rather idealised picture of the order that endures in wider monastic scholarship and the popular imagination.

When the order's relationship with the secular world has been considered previously, it has often been viewed from a fairly negative perspective. Its role in interactions with lay society in particular has traditionally been characterised as one of passive acceptance in response to the practicalities of sustaining the monks' eremitic vocation. Thompson, for example, rationalised the growing role played by Carthusian communities in the giving of alms to the poor as an unavoidable change to Guigo's *Consuetudines* that enabled communities to survive in their particular localities. This was also the case with the increasingly ornate decoration of Carthusian churches which often came as a result of donations made by lay benefactors of the order.[31] Contact with

[29] Stephen Molvarec, 'Vox clamantis in deserto: The Development of Carthusian Relations with Society in the High Middle Ages', in *A Fish Out of Water? From Contemplative Solitude to Carthusian Involvement in Pastoral Care and Reform Activity,* ed. by Stephen Molvarec and Tom Gaens (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 13-49 (p. 14).
[30] Luxford, 'Introduction', pp. 2-4.
[31] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. v-vi and 217.

the outside world has even been regarded as a blatant transgression of the eremitical and contemplative ideals of Bruno and the earliest Carthusian communities by monastic historians. For Knowles, the growing interactions between charterhouses and lay society in the form of providing hospitality for guests and accepting burials within their monastic precincts threatened 'to dishonour Carthusian tradition'.[32] Striking a similar note, Andrew Wines much later asserted that the monks of the London charterhouse were increasingly entangled in 'rather sterile and routine' obituary procedures on behalf of their benefactors which 'threatened to distract them from the deeper contemplation of God in which they were supposed to be engaged'.[33]

The exception to this generally negative perception of the Carthusians' relationship with the secular world has been the consideration of their role in the production and dissemination of devotional literature. Already in the 1970s Michael Sargent highlighted the order's significance for the transmission of spiritual writings, particularly contemplative texts, for audiences beyond their own charterhouses.[34] This was founded upon Guigo's assertion that the Carthusians ought to preach with their hands as they were unable to do so with their mouths.[35] The copying and dissemination of manuscripts was therefore a fundamental part of the pastoral care Carthusian monks

[32] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England,* II, 132-35.
[33] Andrew Wines, *The London Charterhouse in the Late Middle Ages: An Institutional History* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998), pp. 124-25 and 136-37.
[34] See for example Michael Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 225-40. See also Roger Lovatt, '"The Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 18 (1968), 97-121; Vincent Gillespie, 'Cura Pastoralis in Deserto', in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion 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,* ed. by Michael Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), pp. 161-82 and Jessica Brantley, 'The Visual Environment of Carthusian Texts: Decoration and Illustration in Notre Dame 67', in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors and Readers,* ed. by Jill Mann and Maura Nolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 173-216.
[35] *CC*, 28.3.

could provide to wider communities while remaining sheltered from the outside world. Nicholas Love's Middle English translation of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, licensed for publication by Archbishop Thomas Arundel in 1410, is typically seen as the apex of this mission. Love appears to have composed his *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* primarily for the edification of 'unlearned' men and women whilst he was prior of the Mount Grace charterhouse. Its enduring popularity and influence upon lay spirituality is attested by its survival in sixty-four manuscripts and nine printed editions, making it one of the most widely read books in late medieval England.[36]

The role of the Carthusians in the transmission of devotional texts to a wider lay audience has since been revised to a certain extent, with the order's agency in this process becoming increasingly de-emphasised. Vincent Gillespie has maintained that the Carthusians produced and copied manuscripts primarily for their own spiritual edification throughout the late medieval period rather than for an external readership. With the exception of Love's *Mirror,* more manuscripts in fact entered charterhouses through the donations of lay benefactors than moved in the opposite direction.[37] Texts that did circulate beyond Carthusian foundations could do so without the direct involvement of the monks themselves. Gillespie demonstrated this process through the

[36] Michael Sargent has noted that only copies of the Wycliffite Bible translation, the prose *Brut* chronicle, the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Canterbury Tales* have survived in greater number than Love's *Mirror*; see the introduction to *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686 with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, ed. by Michael Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), p. 1. For the presence of Christ's Passion in the devotional literature and art of the Carthusians see Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'Passion, Devotion, Penitential Reading, and the Manuscript Page: The 'Hours of the Cross' in London, British Library, MS Additional 37049', *Mediaeval Studies*, 66 (2004), 213-52 and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'Aspects of Blood Piety in a Late Medieval English Manuscript: London, British Library MS Additional 37049', in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. by Rachel Fulton and Bruce Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 182-91.

[37] Vincent Gillespie, 'The Haunted Text: Reflections in *The Mirror to Deuout People'*, in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. by Graham Caie and Denis Renevey (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 136-66.

example of the fifteenth-century contemplative text *A Mirror to Devout People* written by an anonymous monk of Sheen charterhouse.[38] This text was most likely composed at the request of the brethren of the nearby Birgittine abbey of Syon for the spiritual edification of the house's nuns. As the Syon brethren were also charged to minister and preach to laypeople, it was subsequently made accessible to an exclusive circle of aristocratic readers closely associated with the Birgittine house.[39]

Whilst there has developed a relatively substantial body of literature devoted to analysing the role played by the Carthusians in the movement of religious texts, there has not been a sustained discussion regarding other key aspects of the relationship between the order and secular society of late medieval England. The most wide-ranging study on this topic still remains Carol Rowntree's unpublished thesis from 1981 which outlined how Carthusian communities came into greater contact with lay society through accommodating their demands for prayers, masses and burials for the dead as well as providing hospitality for their living benefactors. However, Rowntree's focus was primarily on the attitudes of secular society towards the order, in particular the motivations of individuals who chose to establish and make bequests to Carthusian foundations. This approach has led to the overall impression that the order was rather passively at the mercy of secular society, with its monks assumed to have had little agency in managing the boundaries between their solitary existence and the outside world. This is typified by Rowntree's repeated assertion that the Carthusians were

[38] An edition of this text has been published in *A Mirror to Devout People: Speculum Devotorum*, ed. by Paul Patterson, E. E. T. S. OS 346 (Oxford: Early English Text Society, 2016).
[39] This process is also outlined in Paul Patterson, 'Preaching with the Hands: Carthusian Book Production and the *Speculum devotorum*', in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature,* ed. by Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 134-51.

progressively weighed down by the 'heavy burden of spiritual obligations' placed upon them by their secular benefactors throughout the late medieval period.[40]

Studies dealing with individual charterhouses in England have similarly focused on the attitudes of lay benefactors towards the Carthusian order which have, in turn, reinforced the impression that Carthusian communities were subject to the vicissitudes of secular society. Using surviving archaeological evidence from the charterhouse of Coventry, Iain Soden emphasised the importance of political as well as spiritual motivations for determining the nature of benefactions given to the community. He argued that the Crucifixion mural located in the community's refectory was designed in part to demonstrate the prestige of John Langley of Shortley and his suitability as patron of the charterhouse. His arms were prominently displayed on the banner held by the centurion Longinus beside Christ. After a bitter family dispute in the early fifteenth century, Langley had taken control of the manor of Shortley and assumed the patronage of Coventry charterhouse following the death of the house's initial founder, William, Lord Zouche of Harringworth in 1382.[41] Neil Beckett has also discussed the political motivations underlying King Henry VII's relationship with the charterhouse of Sheen. He suggested that the Tudor king sought to promote himself as the legitimate successor to the House of Lancaster by supporting Henry V's royal foundation.[42] Beckett also characterised Henry VII as a rather disruptive presence in the lives of the monks of Sheen. Alongside his requests for prayers and masses, the king specifically requested

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[40] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 59, 90-93, 133.
[41] Iain Soden, 'The Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction: Statement and Implication in the Art of St Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry', in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. by Martin Locock (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994), pp. 146-66 (pp. 152-54) and Iain Soden, *Excavations at St. Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry, 1968-87* (Coventry: Coventry City Council, 1995), pp. 5-10.
[42] Neil Beckett, 'Henry VII and Sheen Charterhouse', in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. by Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 117-32 (pp. 130-32).

that the community's fifth prior, John Ingleby, manage the rebuilding of the royal palace of Richmond before he then appointed Ingleby as bishop of Llandaff in 1496.[43]

In this manner, the Carthusian communities of late medieval England have been depicted as rather passively accepting the demands of their founders, patrons and benefactors who were seen as the sole beneficiaries of this association. However, this assumption can be challenged by focusing instead on how the Carthusians themselves perceived and managed their relationship with the secular world. This can already be seen in studies dealing with the order on the continent. Papers in the edited collection *A Fish Out of Water? From Contemplative Solitude to Carthusian Involvement in Pastoral Care and Reform Activity,* published in 2013, have highlighted how Carthusian monks in the Low Countries actively engaged with the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses. This engagement was not just restricted to the dissemination of theological and mystical literature but entailed monks choosing to participate in networks committed to the reform of urban hospitals and assume the role of visitors inspecting the state of observance in other religious communities.[44] Tom Gaens has also written extensively on the order's close involvement in the *Devotio Moderna* movement across the Low Countries and Germany. He has drawn attention to Carthusian writers playing a leading role in supplying both lay and religious communities with vernacular devotional literature as well as highlighting examples of Carthusian monks serving as overseers of the reform of secular and monastic institutions.[45]

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[43] Beckett, 'Henry VII and Sheen Charterhouse', pp. 124-28.
[44] Frans Gooskens, 'Curialists, Carthusians, and Hospitals: An Analysis of a Series of Interlocking Networks Surrounding the Modern Devotion', in *A Fish Out of Water?,* ed. by Molvarec and Gaens, pp. 231-45.
[45] Tom Gaens, 'Fons hortorum irriguus, ceteras irrigans religiones: Carthusian Influences on Monastic Reform in Germany and the Low Countries in the Fifteenth Century', in *A Fish Out of Water?,* ed. by Molvarec and Gaens, pp. 51-103; Tom Gaens, 'Acquiring Religious Perfection Outside a Vow: The Carthusian Institution of the Donati in Late Medieval Reformist Communities and the Modern Devotion',

Furthermore, Sherry Lindquist has demonstrated that Carthusian communities did in fact make concerted efforts to maintain a degree of control in their relationship with lay benefactors within the spaces of their charterhouses. She has analysed how the monks of the charterhouse of Champmol in Burgundy used architecture as a means to regulate their interactions with laypeople, especially women. Champmol was founded by Duke Philip the Bold in the early 1380s. His wife, Margaret of Flanders, was able to witness the liturgical services of the monks from the two-storey ducal oratory within the community's church. This was the only side chapel that could be directly accessed from outside the church. The plan of Champmol also indicates that there was a direct path between the chapel and the community's gatehouse. Margaret could therefore enter the chapel without setting foot in the main body of the church or any other building within the charterhouse, preventing the duchess from coming into direct contact with the monks.[46]

At the same time, the monks of Champmol appear to have actively promoted their charterhouse as a pilgrimage destination. In 1418 the papal legate Cardinal Giordano Orsini granted fifty days of indulgences to pilgrims who visited the water tower and Great Cross located at the centre of Champmol's great cloister on Fridays. This was extended to one hundred days of indulgences to those who arrived on a Good

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The Medieval Low Countries, 1 (2014), 139-71 and Tom Gaens, 'Sic vivere est devote vivere: Henry of Coesfeld as Theologian of Modern-Day Devotion', in *Faithful to the Cross in a Moving World: Late Medieval Carthusians as Devotional Reformers,* ed. by Mathilde Van Dijk, José Van Aelst and Tom Gaens (= *Church History and Religious Culture*, 96 (2016)), pp. 13-39. For more on the Carthusians' involvement with the production and dissemination of devotional texts on the continent see Ezekiel Lotz, 'Secret Rooms: Private Spaces for Private Prayer in Late-Medieval Burgundy and the Netherlands', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 163-77 and Clarck Drieshen, *Visionary Literature for Devotional Instruction: Its Function and Transmission in Late Medieval Observant Female Religious Communities in North-Western Europe* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2016).

[46] Sherry Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society at the Chartreuse de Champmol* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 197 and Sherry Lindquist, 'Women in the Charterhouse: The Liminality of Cloistered Spaces at the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon', in *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 177-92 (p. 183).

Friday.[47] Several Carthusian communities in England also used the laity's desire to gain indulgences to encourage visitors to their charterhouses. At the request of the monks of London charterhouse, Pope Boniface IX granted pilgrims who visited the house on the feasts of the Assumption and Annunciation and gave alms towards the construction of the community's church a plenary indulgence in 1399, which entailed the remission of all temporal punishments due for their sins. The same indulgence had already been given the previous year to pilgrims who visited the charterhouse of Axholme on the feast of the Visitation and gave funds towards the construction of the charterhouse. In 1450, the monks of Hinton charterhouse similarly appealed to Bishop Thomas Beckington of Bath and Wells to give pilgrims who visited their church on the feasts of the Annunciation and Nativity of Mary an indulgence of forty days.[48]

Glyn Coppack has speculated whether Carthusian monks may have even tried to exploit the presence of lay visitors within their communities for their own material gain using surviving archaeological evidence from charterhouse of Mount Grace. He has suggested that the cast lead strips excavated in the monks' cells which contain the inscription 'iesus nazarenus' may have been used for producing clays moulds to print images onto paper. These were likely used as souvenirs, possibly indulgences, to sell to pilgrims passing by on their journeys between York and Durham and visitors who were

[47] Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society,* pp. 173-74, 194. For parallels with English charterhouses see Julie Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context*, ed. by Anne Müller and Karen Stöber (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2009), pp. 125-41 (pp. 130-39) and section 1.6 of this study.
[48] Joseph Anselm Gribbin, 'Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practices in Later Medieval England', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 99 (1995), 1-82 (pp. 45-48).

accommodated in the charterhouse's two substantial guest houses and hostel named *le Inne* by the 1520s.[49]

Recent studies have begun to consider how Carthusian communities may have also profited in a spiritual sense from the presence of laypeople within the spaces of their charterhouses. Julian Luxford has suggested that the tomb of Sir Walter Manny, located before the main altar of the London charterhouse's church, may have acted as a reminder to the community of the inevitability of death and the importance of interceding on behalf of the dead. At the same time, his tomb may have reinforced to the monks that they were themselves dead to the world in spirit, entombed within their own individual cells.[50] Marlene Villalobos Hennessy has argued that the principal illustrator of MS Additional 37049 may have been inspired by presence of lay tombs within his own charterhouse. The lavishly dressed aristocratic figures depicted beside their decaying corpses echoed the style of *transi* tombs in fashion across lay society from the mid-fifteenth century. Hennessy has suggested that the images within the devotional miscellany were intended to contrast the dangers of worldly pride with the humility and austerity of the Carthusian vocation.[51] Lindquist has proposed that the monks of Champmol may have approached the ornately decorated tomb of Philip the Bold, located at the centre of their choir, from a similar perspective. The Duke's aristocratic finery contrasted with the humble white habit worn by the miniature

[49] Glyn Coppack, 'Make Straight in the Desert a Highway for Our God: The Carthusians and Community in Late Medieval England', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), pp. 168-82 (p. 176) and Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory,* p. 348.
[50] Julian Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb in Carthusian Consciousness', in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Frances Andrews (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2011), pp. 259-81 (pp. 274-80).
[51] Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead in an English Carthusian Manuscript, London, British Library MS Additional 37049', *Viator*, 33 (2002), 310-54 (pp. 318-19).

Carthusians figures displayed on the tomb and the monks who performed their liturgical duties within their choir.[52]

Furthermore, increasing attention is now being given to the presence of lay figures, especially women, in the devotional literature of the Carthusians. Suzan Folkerts has recently considered the reasons why the lives of Christina Mirabilis and Mary of Oignies proved so popular among Carthusian communities, especially in England. She has proposed that the monks primarily regarded these female lay saints as mirrors of their own asceticism, humility and inner reform.[53] This has also been suggested by Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis in her analysis of the annotations and corrections found in the only surviving manuscript of *The Book of Margery Kempe* which were made by an anonymous monk of Mount Grace in the early sixteenth century. She has argued that the monk, identified as the 'red-ink annotator', attempted to construct Margery as a perfect model for the contemplative life of Carthusian readers by redefining her mystical experiences as spiritual in nature rather than corporeal.[54]

0.3 Aims and Outline of this Study

Taken together, these studies have helped to revise the image of the Carthusians as simply passive agents that yielded to the demands placed upon them by their external benefactors at the expense of their eremitic ideals. Instead, they have shown that

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[52] Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society,* p. 157.
[53] Suzan Folkerts, 'The Transmission and Appropriation of the Vita of Christina Mirabilis in Carthusian Communities', in *Faithful to the Cross,* ed. by Van Dijk, Van Aelst and Gaens, pp. 80-105 (p. 99).
[54] Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, 'Handling *The Book of Margery Kempe*: The Corrective Touches of the Red Ink Annotator', in *New Directions in Medieval Manuscript Studies and Reading Practices: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall's 80th Birthday*, ed. by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, John Thompson and Sarah Baechle (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), pp. 138-58 (p. 139). See also Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'Otherworldly Visions: Miracles and Prophecy among the English Carthusians, c. 1300–1535', in *Manuscript Culture and Medieval Devotional Traditions*: *Essays in Honour of Michael G. Sargent*, ed. by Jennifer N. Brown and Nicole Rice (York: York Medieval Press, 2021), pp. 259-89 (pp. 281-82).

Carthusian communities were able to spiritually profit from the presence of secular figures within their charterhouses. The following analysis builds upon these recent studies by further exploring how the Carthusians' encounters with the secular world across the physical and imaginative spaces of their charterhouses fundamentally affected how they perceived and constructed their own collective purpose and identity. It examines how the Carthusians of late medieval England conceptualised their relationship with secular society and explores how their attitudes towards the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses and their eremitic vocation evolved throughout this period.

Chapter 1 of this study details how the physical setting of Carthusian foundations and the monks' liturgical practices evolved throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries largely as a result of the commemorative requests of their lay founders, patrons, and benefactors. It examines how the laity's desire to benefit from the services of Carthusian monks led to an increased demand for burials within the communal spaces of charterhouses and a growing number of requests for the monks to perform prayers and masses on behalf of the souls of the dead. This chapter also explores how the boundaries distinguishing the Carthusians from their secular benefactors became increasingly blurred by the turn of the sixteenth century through the granting of letters of confraternity and the reception of guests in charterhouses.

The blurring of the distinctions between the Carthusians and secular society is further explored in Chapter 2 of this study which focuses on the cartulary of the London charterhouse which has survived as Kew, The National Archives, LR 2/61. This chapter examines the depiction of the community's lay founder, Sir Walter Manny, and some of the most distinguished monks of the charterhouse in the chronicle found at the

beginning of this late fifteenth-century cartulary. It discusses the various ways in which the anonymous chronicler of the London charterhouse constructed Manny as an ideal founder of his community by drawing attention to his eminent secular status whilst also presenting the knight as sharing several of the fundamental pious characteristics of the monks of his Carthusian foundation. By doing so, this chapter builds upon Luxford's analysis of how the monks of London charterhouse may have engaged with the tomb of their lay founder located before the main altar of their church. It suggests that the presentation of Manny in the chronicle was used to legitimise his burial within this space and to emphasise that his presence served to augment rather than dilute its sacred nature.

Chapter 3 of this study examines how the Carthusians of late medieval England also encountered the secular world in their devotional literature and art using the Middle English devotional miscellany now known as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 160. It engages in a close reading of the universal verse chronicle which takes up the bulk of the manuscript and reflects on its various uses for the identity formation of its Carthusian audience. This chapter initially examines how the anonymous chronicler tailored his account of the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse and the biographical sketches of the priors general of the order to reflect and even shape how his Carthusian audience conceived the purpose and identity of their order in the early sixteenth century. It then considers how the verse chronicle was also used as a repository for the anxieties felt by the Carthusian author and his peers towards the perceived threat posed by non-Christians, in particular the Ottoman Turks. It examines what purpose the various depictions of Muslims throughout the chronicle may have served for an English Carthusian audience far removed from any immediate contact with the Ottomans.

Through the close analysis of the chronicle in the cartulary of the London charterhouse and the universal verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160, this study brings the analysis of the Carthusian order in late medieval England in line with recent trends in wider monastic scholarship. It emphasises how the Carthusians endeavoured to shape the boundaries of their relationship with the secular world to suit their own spiritual and material needs as much as accommodating the demands placed upon them by their benefactors and wider lay society. By doing so, the following analysis complements recent studies that have illustrated the diversity of interactions between monasteries and their local communities, the variety of social responsibilities assumed by monastic communities and their active engagement with political, cultural and economic affairs.[55]

At the same time, this study explores how the Carthusians' perception of the physical and imaginative spaces of their charterhouses, from the communal spaces of their churches to their individual cells, was shaped by what they read in their cartularies, devotional literature, and their daily liturgical practices. By doing so, it illustrates how the wilderness inhabited by the Carthusians was regarded as a dynamic space in which the monks could come into contact with divine and diabolic forces as well as their secular benefactors.[56] This study also highlights the important role played by history and historiography in the formation of a collective Carthusian identity. It

[55] See especially James Clark, 'The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. by Clark, pp. 3-33; Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton, 'Introduction', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. by Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 1-8; Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, 'Introduction', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Burton and Stöber, pp. 1-7 and Bert Roest, 'A Crisis of Late Medieval Monasticism?', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. by Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), II, 1171-90.

[56] For more on the conception of monastic spaces see especially Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meaning: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001); Anne Müller, 'Presenting Identity in the Cloister: Remarks on Benedictine and Mendicant Concepts of Space', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities,* ed. by Müller and Stöber, pp. 167-87 and Emilia Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses', *Parergon*, 27 (2010), 37-58.

demonstrates how members of the order were encouraged to reflect on the origins and development of the Grande Chartreuse as well as the early history of their own individual foundations. These narratives provided inspiration for Carthusian readers to imitate the example of their predecessors whilst, at the same time, they were used as a means to legitimise the order's growing interactions with the secular world.[57]

As a whole, this study sheds new light on how the Carthusians of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England constructed a sense of collective purpose and identity. It provides a nuanced portrait of how the Carthusians defined themselves throughout this period and deconstructs the traditional image of the order as monolithic and unchanging in nature. Instead, it highlights how Carthusian monks continually reinforced, refashioned and expanded the boundaries that they believed delineated themselves as Carthusians in response to their various interactions with the secular world. Above all, it emphasises that the monks' engagement with the secular world had a constructive and creative impact on how they perceived their own vocation and understood the place of their order in the wider medieval Church.

[57] For more on late medieval monastic chronicles in England see especially Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Vol. II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002) and Emilia Jamroziak, 'Genealogy in the Monastic Chronicles in England', in *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. by Raluca Radulescu and E. D. Kennedy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 101-20.

Chapter 1: Modes of Interaction between the Carthusian Order and Secular Society in Late Medieval England

Introduction

This chapter surveys the various forms of interaction between the Carthusian communities of late medieval England and secular society, utilising testamentary materials, extracts from the *chartae* of the Carthusian General Chapter, surviving letters and available archaeological evidence. It initially outlines the frequency and location of lay burials across the charterhouses of the *Provincia Angliae*. The following sections consider how the founders, patrons and benefactors of these foundations sought to spiritually benefit from the liturgical rituals of Carthusian monks. They examine how the laity's desire for commemoration became manifest in requests for intercessory prayers and masses in their wills, the foundation of chantries and the acquisition of letters of confraternity. The final section considers the reception of secular guests within Carthusian houses, with particular attention given to the charterhouses of London and Mount Grace. As a whole, this chapter highlights the ways in which various elements of secular society had a fundamental impact on the physical setting of charterhouses and the liturgical practices of Carthusian monks throughout the late medieval period.

1.1 Burials of Lay Founders and Patrons

Carthusian monks most frequently encountered the secular world within the spaces of their charterhouses when passing by the tombs and graves of their lay founders, patrons, and benefactors. From the late fourteenth century up to the eve of the Reformation, interment within charterhouses remained an attractive proposition for

the laity. This was at a time when there was general decline in demand for burials within the houses of traditional monastic orders as laypeople increasingly opted to be buried in mendicant houses, local parish churches or chantry chapels instead.[58] Carthusian foundations remained a desirable destination due to the order's reputation for austerity, holiness and preserving the ideals of its founders. Burial within a charterhouse enabled benefactors to have immediate and continual access to the intercessory prayers and masses of monks who were believed to belong to the most distinguished monastic order of the late medieval Church. For example, one of the chief architects of the *Devotio Moderna* reform movement, Geert Groote (d. 1384), praised the Carthusians as the 'true religious' whose purity and constancy elevated them above all other religious orders.[59] In consequence, Carthusian prayers were seen to release the souls of the dead from the pains of Purgatory and enable them to enter Heaven at a much quicker rate than those performed by members of seemingly less esteemed religious orders.[60]

However, for the monks themselves the presence of non-Carthusian burials within their precincts was, initially at least, quite problematic. In his twelfth-century *Consuetudines*, Guigo specified that Carthusian communities should not bury anyone in their cemeteries who did not belong to their order. It was only permissible to bury an individual belonging to another religious order if they happened to die whilst visiting a

[58] Vanessa Harding, 'Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London', in *Death in Towns, Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600,* ed. by S. R. Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 119-35; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 79-86 and Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 35-37.
[59] Gaens, 'Fons hortorum irriguus', p. 58. For more on Groote's relationship with the Carthusian order see Lotz, 'Secret Rooms', pp. 163-66.
[60] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 366-67 and Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church*, pp. 189-90.

charterhouse and their own community could not take their body away.[61] This stipulation was gradually relaxed throughout the late medieval period. As early as 1174 the Carthusian General Chapter shifted this position and allowed for the burial of lay founders and prelates within charterhouses.[62] This was repeated in the *Statuta Antiqua* (c. 1259) which permitted the burial of lay founders and their heirs as well as bishops and cardinals within Carthusian cemeteries.[63] Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries prominent lay benefactors were allowed to be interred within Carthusian churches with special dispensation from the General Chapter. For example, the Duke of Exeter Thomas Beaufort was granted permission from the Carthusian General Chapter of 1417 to be buried in the church of Mount Grace after funding the construction of five cells at the charterhouse.[64] At the turn of the sixteenth century the monks of the London charterhouse were even allowed to bury their lay benefactors according to their own discretion after obtaining a special license from the General Chapter in 1501.[65]

Sir Walter Manny was the first lay founder of an English charterhouse to be buried within his Carthusian foundation. In his will from 1371, Manny requested to be buried in the middle of the monks' choir in the church of the London charterhouse, as befitted his status as 'chief founder' of the community.[66] The monks acquiesced to

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[61] *CC*, 40.2.
[62] Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', p. 266 and Brendan Cassidy, 'The Tombs of the Acciaioli in the Certosa del Galluzzo outside Florence', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 323-53 (pp. 348-49). The gradual shift in attitude towards lay burials is mirrored by the regulations of the Cistercian General Chapter, see Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', pp. 50-51.
[63] *SA*, 1.49.20-23.
[64] Michael Sargent and James Hogg, 'The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: Oxford: Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D. 318', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100.2 (1983), 77-223 (p. 122).
[65] Joseph Anselm Gribbin, 'Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions, Dubia and Supplications to La Grande Chartreuse from the English Carthusian Province in the Later Middle Ages', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100.32 (1999), 1-110 (p. 60.)
[66] 'Et mon corps enseuelir la ou Dieu plerra, mais ceo est ma volunte si plest a dieu destre enterre en la maison de Charthous q[ue] est apelle la Maison de la Mier[e] dieu dehors London pres West Smythefeld[e] del ordre de Charthous q[ue] est de ma fundac[i]on. Item ceo deuise q[ue] mon corps en honor de dieu soit conuenablement enterre come affiert a mon estate sanz bobance mondan et sanz trop

Manny's request, with the chronicle at the beginning of the community's cartulary recording that he was buried before the steps of the high altar of the church following his death in 1372.[67] Excavations at the charterhouse during the late 1940s revealed that Manny's corpse was buried with a lead *bulla* from Pope Clement VI who had granted the knight permission to choose his death-bed confessor in 1351.[68] The tomb itself appears to have dominated the space of the monks' choir. Surviving fragments from the tomb-chest indicate that this measured 2.5m x 1.35m and displayed his coat of arms. It is also likely that an effigy of Manny was placed on top of the tomb-chest. In his will, he asked for its design to be based on the effigy of Sir John Beauchamp at St Paul's Cathedral, a fellow member of the Order of the Garter.[69]

It is not known for certain whether the original founder of the Coventry charterhouse, William, Lord Zouche of Harringworth, was likewise buried in his community's church. Its construction did not begin until 1385, three years after the founder's death. However, it is possible that Harringworth, or at least part of him, was eventually interred at this site. The pattern of burials within the church was uncovered following excavations in the 1980s. Only one grave was found in the monks' choir, located immediately in front of the high altar of the church after it had been extended to the east in the late fifteenth century. Although a full-sized coffin was discovered in the grave, it does not appear to have ever contained a whole body. Instead, a wooden casket

despenses mais resonablement solenc la secle qore court. Et q[ue] ceo soit en my lieu del quer del esglise come chef foundour', Kew, The National Archives, LR 2/61, fol. 22r.

[67] 'S[ed] an[te]q[uam] ille annus esset co[m]pletus id[e]m egregius miles d[omi]n[u]s de Mawny […] carnis viam ingressus est XVIII kal. Februarii sepultusque prout ip[s]e voluit in eccl[es]ia pred[i]c[t]a quam a fundamentis erex[er]at ante gradu[m] maioris altaris', LR 2/61, fol. 12r.

[68] David Knowles and W. F. Grimes, *Charterhouse: The Medieval Foundation in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), pp. 48-49, 87-92 and Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', pp. 261-62. For more on excavations at the London charterhouse see Bruno Barber and Christopher Thomas, *The London Charterhouse* (London: Museum of London and Archaeological Service, 2002).

[69] Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', pp. 263-64.

was placed at its base containing bones from the hands and feet of a middle-aged man who had previously been buried elsewhere. Given the prominent position close to the high altar, Glyn Coppack and Mick Aston have suggested that these could be the remains of Harringworth who was possibly re-interred here by the monks of Coventry charterhouse nearly a century after his death.[70]

Evidence at the charterhouse of Hull is much more concrete, with the community's church used as a burial site for several members of the de la Pole family. As with Manny, the lay founder of the charterhouse, Michael de la Pole, was buried in the choir of the community's church alongside his wife Katherine in 1389. This is known from the surviving will of his son from 1415 who requested to be buried between the tomb of his parents and the high altar of the church if he died in the north of England.[71] Michael's own parents had already been interred in the monks' choir. His mother, also named Katherine, requested to be buried alongside her late husband William in her will from 1381.[72] The 1st Duke of Suffolk, William de la Pole (d. 1450), also sought to be interred at Hull charterhouse in the mid-fifteenth century. The language of his will from 1448 indicates that he believed he was entitled to the typical privileges given to late medieval patrons of monastic houses.[73] He requested that his body should be buried in 'my charterhouse of Hull' and that his tomb should be located and designed according to his wife's discretion, ideally where the masses of the monks could be sung over his

[70] Soden, *Excavations at St. Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry*, p. 76 and Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, p. 66.
[71] *North Country Wills: Being Abstracts of Wills Relating to the Counties of York, Nottingham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, at Somerset House and Lambeth Palace*, ed. by John Clay, 2 vols (Durham: Andrews, 1908-1912), I, 8-9.
[72] *Testamenta Eboracensia or Wills Registered at York: Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, etc. of the Province of York, from the Year MCCC. Downwards*, 6 vols (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1836-1902), I, 119.
[73] Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 112-13.

body.[74] It has been assumed that the bones discovered in a vault beneath the high altar of the church after the Dissolution were the remains of these members of the de la Pole family.[75]

Two out of the three urban charterhouses in England, possibly all three, had their lay founders buried at the physical and spiritual centre of their communities. The tomb of Walter Manny was prominently displayed in front of the main altar of London's church and would have been very present to the monks during their daily religious devotions within their choir. This contrasted with the situation in the older rural charterhouses of Witham and Hinton which did not house the remains of their founders. However, this was not necessarily due to these rural communities proving to be less accommodating than their urban counterparts. As Witham charterhouse was a royal foundation, it was unlikely that its monks would have expected King Henry II to have been interred within their community. Instead, the king was buried alongside his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine at the abbey of Fontevrault in Anjou.[76] Similarly, Hinton charterhouse was one of several religious establishments patronised by its founder, William Longespée, who was interred at Salisbury cathedral following his death in

[74] *North Country Wills,* I, 50-51.
[75] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, p. 202 and Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead', p. 341.
[76] Thomas Keefe, 'Henry II (1133-1189), King of England, Duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition ed. by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12949> [accessed 23 August 2019]

1226.[77] His wife and co-founder of the charterhouse, Ela Countess of Salisbury, chose to be buried at Lacock Abbey, having been appointed the community's abbess in 1240.[78]

The founder of Beauvale charterhouse, Sir Nicholas Cantelupe, also opted to be buried at an alternative religious foundation. His severely damaged tomb is still on display before the altar of St Nicholas in the angel choir of Lincoln cathedral. Nicholas had previously established a college close to the cathedral in 1355 to accommodate a warden and seven chaplains who were appointed to pray for his soul and his wife's. Rowntree has suggested that Nicholas' choice of burial within Lincoln cathedral and his foundation of Beauvale charterhouse may point towards a particularly strong affection towards St Hugh of Lincoln, who had been the prior of Witham charterhouse before his appointment as bishop of Lincoln in 1186. The angel choir housing Nicholas' tomb had been constructed in the 1280s to accommodate the pilgrims who came to the cathedral to visit the shrine of St Hugh following his burial there in 1200.[79]

However, despite being buried outside of their Carthusian houses, the founders of Hinton and Beauvale still had a lasting material presence within their respective communities. Excavations undertaken by Arthur Du Boulay Hill and Harry Gill at Beauvale in 1908 uncovered a series of floor tiles in the community's church. Tiles containing the heraldic arms of Nicholas Cantelupe were the most common, with a

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[77] Matthew Strickland, 'Longespée [Lungespée], William, Third Earl of Salisbury (b. in or before 1167, d. 1226), Magnate' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition ed. by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16983> [accessed 23 August 2019]

[78] Jennifer Ward, 'Ela, *suo jure* Countess of Salisbury (b. in or after 1190, d. 1261), Magnate and Abbess', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition ed. by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-47205> [accessed 23 August 2019]

[79] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, p. 41.

facsimile of one of the tiles shown below in figure 1.1.[80] The Cantelupe arms typically consisted of a blue and white *fess vair* between three *fleurs-de-lys* on a red shield which were occasionally depicted emanating from the mouths of leopards or lions (and in these instances referred to as *jessant-de-lis*).[81] The presence of secular imagery of this nature in charterhouses evidently perturbed the Carthusian General Chapter. In 1424 it ordered the removal of 'curiously' painted pictures that had appeared in many of the order's churches. It referred specifically to the display of coats of arms and representations of women which were deemed to be contrary to the order's statutes.[82] This injunction was later repeated in the *Tertia Compilatio* (1509) which advised Carthusian visitors to look out for the presence of 'curious' images and ensure that they were removed when it was possible to do so 'without causing scandal'.[83] The survival of the Cantelupe tiles at Beauvale suggests that the monks either did not regard these to be at variance with the austere ideals of the order or they believed that removing the tiles would cause great offence to the founder of their community and his heirs.[84]

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[80] Reproduced from Arthur Du Boulay Hill and Harry Gill, 'Beauvale Charterhouse', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire,* 12 (1908), 69-89 (p. 90).
[81] Melissa Julian-Jones, *The Land of the Raven and the Wolf: Family Power and Strategy in the Welsh March. 1199- c.1300, Corbets and the Cantilupes* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Cardiff University, 2015), pp. 292-305.
[82] James Hogg and Michael Sargent, 'The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: London, Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part I 1411-39 (ff. 1 – 135)', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100.10 (1989), 1-255 (p. 78) and Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', pp. 134-35.
[83] *TC,* 3.5. The *Statuta Antiqua* and *Statuta Nova* had previously allowed for charterhouses to keep 'curious' images in place if their removal might lead to scandal; see *SA*, 2.1.7 and *SN*, 2.1.7.
[84] For more on the presence of heraldic floor tiles in Carthusian communities see Soden, 'The Propaganda of Monastic Benefaction', pp. 154-59. The coats of arms of several benefactors of the Mount Grace charterhouse were present on the monks' cell doors. Coppack and Keen have noted that the doors of cells four and five displayed the arms of Sir William Gascoigne (d. 1419) on label-stop shields, whilst the arms of Sir Richard Redman, Speaker of the Commons in 1415, can be seen on the label-stops of the prior's cell door; see Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory,* p. 385.

Figure 1.1: Facsimile of a tile excavated from the church of the Beauvale charterhouse featuring the arms of Sir Nicholas Cantelupe

It is likely that the monks of the Hinton charterhouse also engaged with the physical legacy of the lay founder of their community, William Longespée, long after his death. In his will from 1225, William bequeathed to his charterhouse a large number of objects that would have been used during the monks' religious devotions. Alongside all of his relics, William donated a golden chalice decorated with fine emeralds and rubies, a golden pyx to carry the Eucharist, two silver goblets, a chasuble and cope of red silk as well as a tunicle and dalmatic of yellow silk.[85] The monks of Beauvale and Hinton would

[85] Sections of Longespée's will relating to Hinton charterhouse have been transcribed in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbeys and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Friaries and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales, Vol. 6 Part 1*, rev. and ed. by John Caley, Henry Ellis and Bulkeley Bandinel (London: T. G. March, 1849), p. 5 and James Hogg, 'The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 25 (1975), 1-96 (p. xv). Guigo had expressly forbidden the use of gold and silver ornaments in Carthusian churches; see *CC,* 40.1. The *Statuta Antiqua* repeated Guigo's prescriptions, although they did allow for the use of gold and silver on the priest's stole and maniple; see *SA*, 2.32.1.

therefore have been continually reminded of their obligation to commemorate their lay founders within their churches on a daily basis. In this sense, the coats of arms and liturgical objects can be seen to have functioned in a comparable manner to the tombs of the founders located in the choirs of urban charterhouses.

The later rural charterhouses of Axholme and Mount Grace also appear to have accommodated the tombs of their founders within their churches. The founder of Axholme charterhouse, Thomas Mowbray, died in 1399 after he was exiled to Venice by King Richard II. However, his son John Mowbray later requested that his father's bones should be transferred from Venice to Axholme in his will dated to 1429. In his final will from 1432, John also asked to be buried within his father's Carthusian foundation upon his own death.[86] Later sources suggest that these requests were fulfilled by the monks. During his travels around England in the mid-sixteenth century, John Leland claimed to have seen the alabaster tombs of the Mowbrays when visiting the remains of the charterhouse's church.[87] The Yorkshire antiquarian Abraham de la Pryme also recorded in his seventeenth-century diary that he saw the coat of arms belonging to the Mowbray family displayed on the north porch of the church and on the church's font.[88]

Archaeological excavations at Mount Grace charterhouse have revealed the presence of two tombs within the monks' choir. The tomb located at the centre of the choir most likely belonged to the house's initial founder, Thomas de Holand, who was executed at Cirencester in 1400 for his involvement in a plot to oust King Henry IV and restore Richard II to the throne. His remains seem to have eventually found their way to

[86] *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, ed. by E. F. Jacob, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937-47), II, 472-76.
[87] *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London: George Bells and Sons, 1907-10), I, 37.
[88] *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, ed. by Charles Jackson (Durham: Andrews, 1870), p. 173.

his charterhouse with his widow, Joan Stafford, being granted permission by Henry IV to take his bones from Cirencester and bury them at Mount Grace in 1412.[89] There has been some disagreement regarding the identity of the individual housed in the second tomb located in the choir. Coppack and Aston have attributed this tomb to Thomas Beaufort, who has been regarded effectively as a second founder of the charterhouse. It was primarily due to his patronage in the early fifteenth century that the community was able to expand to eighteen monks and a belltower was added to the church.[90] However, Rowntree has questioned whether this is in fact Beaufort's tomb. Although Beaufort did originally receive permission from the Carthusian General Chapter to be buried at Mount Grace in 1417, as mentioned above, he did request to be interred at Bury St Edmunds in a later will. His body was apparently disinterred there in 1772 and was discovered to be intact, which would appear to discount the possibility of a divided burial.[91]

In terms of the burial of their lay founders, the Carthusian houses of the *Provincia Angliae* were differentiated according to the time of their foundation more than their geographical setting. Whilst the charterhouses established in the late fourteenth century generally housed the remains of their founders within their churches, this was not the case for the earliest rural foundations of Witham, Hinton and Beauvale. The exception to this pattern was Sheen charterhouse which was built by King Henry V on the banks of the River Thames, close to the royal palace of Richmond in 1414. However, as was the case with Witham charterhouse, Sheen was a royal

[89] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry IV, Vol. IV, A.D. 1408-1413* (London: H. M. S. O., 1909), p. 416.
[90] Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men*, pp. 61-63, 66.
[91] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 110-13. Beaufort's wills have been published in *The Register of Henry Chichele*, II, 355-64. See footnote 64 above for the General Chapter granting Beaufort permission to be buried at Mount Grace.

foundation. Henry's burial at Westminster abbey in 1422 was more likely determined by his royal status rather than the attitude of the monks of Sheen.[92] In this sense, the charterhouse of Sheen reflected the circumstances of the earliest Carthusian houses established in England. These were typically one of several religious institutions endowed and patronised by their founders. In contrast, the founders of late fourteenth-century charterhouses tended to associate themselves most closely, if not exclusively, with their Carthusian foundations, as was the case with Sir Walter Manny at London charterhouse and Thomas de Holand at Mount Grace.

With the exception of royal foundations, the founders of charterhouses were continually present within the physical and spiritual heart of their communities, whether in the form of their tombs, coats of arms or the liturgical objects they donated to the monks following their death. For the founders, the central location of their tombs within an area typically reserved for the liturgical use of the monks highlighted their privileged position and emphasised their affinity with their Carthusian communities. The monks themselves would have encountered their lay founders in monumental form on a daily basis as they entered the choirs of their churches and performed their communal offices. These monuments would have served as physical reminders to the monks of their responsibility to commemorate and care for the souls of their founders in the afterlife. Chapter 2 of this study explores how the monks of London charterhouse fulfilled this obligation towards Walter Manny in the chronicle written at the beginning of their community's cartulary.

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[92] C. Allmand, 'Henry V (1386–1422), King of England and Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition ed. by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12952> [accessed 02 September 2019]

1.2 Burials of Benefactors

Alongside the founders and patrons of their communities, Carthusian monks also encountered the graves and tombs of their wider benefactors across their charterhouses. In this regard, the charterhouse of London came under much greater pressure than the rest of the Carthusian houses in England given the remarkably large number of testators who requested to be interred there. Using surviving testamentary evidence, Rowntree recorded up to sixty-nine requests for burial at the charterhouse, whilst Julian Luxford has since suggested that there may well have been at least one hundred non-Carthusian burials across its precincts.[93] The large demand for secular burials at the London charterhouse evidently worried the Carthusian General Chapter. As early as 1405, the prior and procurator of London were instructed to build a wall around the community's church to demarcate the graves of the laity from the monastic dead.[94]

Requests for burial at the charterhouse came from across the social spectrum, although most commonly from the local mercantile community. In 1382 the knight and citizen of London, Sir Robert atte Launde, requested to be buried in the choir of the community's church at the exact spot where the prior stood during Matins.[95] In his will drawn up in 1393/94, the fishmonger John Blakeneye also asked to be buried in the community's church. This was in return for bequeathing lands in the parishes of St Nicholas Cole Abbey and St Mary Somerset to the monks and leaving £30 to assist in the construction of their chapterhouse.[96] In 1464 the London gentleman Robert Nanseglos

[93] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 369-71 and Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', p. 268.
[94] Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead', p. 342.
[95] William St. John Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse: From its Foundation Until the Suppression of the Monastery* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925), p. 95.
[96] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 91.

requested to be buried in the charterhouse's church beside the tomb of the anchoress Alice Clynton.[97]

As this will indicates, the monks of London charterhouse also accommodated the burial of women within their precincts, with several lay women interred within the community's church.[98] In 1381 Phyllis Pentry was buried alongside her husband John Pentry, whilst Katharine, widow of John atte Pol, was interred underneath the west door of the church in 1387.[99] In her will from 1482, Dame Margaret Leynham bequeathed to the community her 'great carpet' to be placed on the church's high altar. She also gave 20*s.* to the prior of the charterhouse, Edward Storer, and a further 40*s.* to the monks named Master 'Gorwew' and William 'Witterlee'. In return, she requested to be buried in the charterhouse's church beside her late husband Sir John Leynham, if she died within seven miles of London.[100]

Deceased benefactors were not just restricted to the charterhouse's cemetery or the main body of the church. In his will from 1505, Sir Bartholomew Rede requested to be interred in a tomb next to the door leading from the great cloister to the church.[101] Testators also sought to be buried in chapels they had previously endowed within the charterhouse's church. In his will from 1503, Thomas Thwaites, a mercer of London and burgess of Calais, requested to be buried in the chapel of St Jerome. He identified this as 'the place which I have prepared and made ready for my burying place'.[102] Similarly, in

[97] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 96.
[98] For more on the presence of women in charterhouses see section 1.6 of this study.
[99] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 103.
[100] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 96.
[101] Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead', p. 342 and Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 350-51.
[102] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 94. For more on Thwaite's relationship with the London charterhouse see section 1.6 of this study.

1518 the knight Sir Robert Rede, willed for his body to be interred in the chapel of St Katherine which he claimed to have previously endowed and ordained as the resting place for his body.[103]

The remarkable scale of requests for burial at the London charterhouse does distinguish it from the rest of the Carthusian foundations in England. Such high demand was perhaps due to the charterhouse being associated with public burial and intercession from its very foundation. It had been built on land previously used as a cemetery for the victims of the Black Death. The large number of requests also reflected the high population density of London and the relative wealth of its citizens, especially when compared to the urban centres of Coventry and Hull. This numerical disparity is highlighted by the poll tax records from 1377. At this time, London had an estimated tax-paying population of over twenty-three thousand compared to just under five thousand at Coventry and one thousand five hundred at Hull.[104] Londoners were also able to register their wills in a variety of courts during the late medieval period such as the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Commissary Court. This has led to the survival of a large body of wills from the city and enabled a much clearer understanding of the burial preferences of its citizens than has been possible for other urban centres in England.[105]

Outside of the London charterhouse, the most substantial evidence for the burial of non-Carthusians comes from the charterhouse of Coventry. Forty-one graves were uncovered within the community's church during excavations in the 1980s. The demand for burials within the church appears to have been the primary reason for its

[103] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 98.
[104] W. G. Hoskins, *Local History in England*, 3rd edn (Harlow: Longman, 1984), p. 277.
[105] Harding, 'Burial Choice and Burial Location', pp. 120-22.

expansion rather than the liturgical needs of the monks. The nave was extended to the west in the late fifteenth century, with fifteen graves subsequently placed within this expanded section of the church. To the east of the nave, six graves were uncovered immediately before the rood screen and a further five were found at the entrance to the monks' choir. As mentioned above, one grave was located in the prominent position at the centre of the choir, immediately in front of the church's main altar. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a chapel was built to the north of the nave which was most likely intended to accommodate further requests for burials.[106]

In total, the remains of twenty-nine men, five women and seven children were excavated within the church of the Coventry charterhouse. However, the lack of available testamentary materials has made it much more difficult to identify the individuals buried within the church than has been the case at the London charterhouse. The house's patron, John Langley of Shortley, appears to have been buried at the charterhouse before 1458. A testimonial copied into his family's cartulary records that his body was buried in a tomb at the charterhouse's church.[107] Surviving requests for interment derive exclusively from the wills of prominent individuals in Coventry from the early sixteenth century. Thomas Bickley, Margaret Warton and the city's chamberlain Thomas Hill all bequeathed money in return for burial at the charterhouse, whilst Nicholas Fitzherbert requested to be buried alongside his parents within the community's church in 1508.[108]

Evidence for the burial of benefactors at the charterhouse of Hull is also primarily restricted to the sixteenth century. Prior to this, the earliest request for

[106] Soden, *Excavations at St. Anne's Charterhouse, Coventry*, pp. 64-77.
[107] *The Langley Cartulary*, ed. by Peter Coss (Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society, 1980), pp. 56-57.
[108] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 346-47.

interment was made by William Heghfield in 1403.[109] Robert Goldyng also sought to be buried at the charterhouse in 1453, although this was likely determined by his uncle being the community's prior at that time.[110] It was only in the late 1520s that burial requests became more common at Hull. John Cokett asked to be interred at the charterhouse in 1528 whilst John Swift of Easington asked to be buried in the community's church the following year. In 1533 Christopher Richardson, priest at the Holy Trinity Church in Hull, requested to be buried before the west door of the charterhouse's church. He also left the community 26*s.* to purchase a stone which was to be placed over his grave and contain an inscription urging the monks to pray for his soul.[111]

The relatively small number of burials at Hull charterhouse was not necessarily a direct consequence of the monks proving to be less obliging to their benefactors than their counterparts at the urban charterhouses of London or Coventry. The paucity of requests, particularly in the first half of the fifteenth century, may have been due to the community's close affiliation with the de la Pole family. The de la Poles were not especially popular in Hull during this period as they acquired a significant amount of land and properties in and around the city to the detriment of traditionally well-established local families. The presence of their tombs within the community's church likely led to the impression that the charterhouse functioned chiefly as a mausoleum for the family. The Carthusians at Hull were also engaged in a series of legal disputes with local citizens throughout the fifteenth century regarding the jurisdiction over lands

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[109] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 317-18.
[110] Peter Heath, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by R. B. Dobson (Gloucester: St. Martin's Press, 1984), pp. 209-34 (pp. 221-22).
[111] Claire Cross, 'Monasticism and Society in the Diocese of York 1520-1540', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 38 (1988), 131-45 (pp. 135-41).

surrounding the charterhouse. These disagreements appear to have prevented the charterhouse from establishing itself as a centre of lay devotion to the same extent as the London charterhouse. It was only after these disputes were eventually settled in 1518 that the charterhouse of Hull experienced a considerable growth in the number of benefactions and requests for burial from the local populace.[112]

Testamentary evidence for the burial of benefactors within the rural foundations of England is even more sporadic than for the charterhouse of Hull. There are no surviving requests for interment at the charterhouses of Axholme, Sheen or Beauvale. However, archaeological research has pointed towards the likelihood of burials within the church of Beauvale. Coppack and Aston have noted that two grave recesses were provided in the church's nave from the time of its original construction. The floor tiles in the two chapels located to the south of the presbytery also show evidence of being disturbed by repeated burials.[113] A small number of interments have been recorded at the earliest rural charterhouses located in Somerset. The sole surviving request for burial at the Hinton charterhouse was made by a burgess of Bristol named Roger Taunton who gave the community £10 in return for burial within their church in 1383.[114] The lawyer and Speaker of the House of Commons, William Stourton, asked to be buried in the cloister of the Witham charterhouse in his will from 1410.[115] A second request for burial at Witham was made almost a century later in 1503 when John Foxe bequeathed 40*s.* and a silver goblet in return for burial at the entrance of the

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[112] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 75-76 and Andrew Gray, 'A Carthusian "Carta Visitationis" of the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* 40 (1967), 91-101 (p. 95).
[113] Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* p. 67.
[114] *Notes or Abstracts of the Wills Contained in the Volume Entitled the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills, in the Council House at Bristol*, ed. by Thomas Procter Wadley (Bristol: C. T. Jefferies and Sons, 1886), p. 7.
[115] *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383-1500*, ed. by F. W. Weaver (London: Somerset Record Society, 1901), pp. 41-42.

community's cloister.[116] While only two burials have been confirmed at Witham, it does appear that demand was much greater than the surviving testamentary evidence suggests. In 1459 the bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Bekynton, agreed to the establishment of a new graveyard on land surrounding the community's lower house at the request of the prior at that time, John Pester. This was likely for the purpose of accommodating further lay burials.[117]

Evidence for burials at the charterhouse of Mount Grace is much more readily available, with the community consistently attracting requests throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Alongside the two graves uncovered within the monks' choir, a further ten burials have been confirmed at the charterhouse from surviving wills. These requests primarily came from local clergyman and the gentry. William de Authorp, rector of the church of Deighton, requested to be buried in the charterhouse's church in 1432. This was in return for donating a silver cup, twelve spoons and a copy of John de Burgh's *Pupilla oculi* to the community. In 1483 the chaplain and rector of Rudby church, Christopher Conyers, bequeathed 20*s.* in return for his burial within the church. In 1436 Thomas Lokwood of East Harlsey similarly left 20*s.* for interment at Mount Grace whilst Robert Kirton of Crathorne also granted the same amount in return for his burial in the charterhouse in his will from 1484. The esquire Thomas Darell of Sessay donated his lands and tenements in East Harlsey to Mount Grace in return for interment at the charterhouse in 1500.[118]

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[116] *Somerset Medieval Wills 1501-1530*, ed, by F. W. Weaver (London: Somerset Record Society, 1903), p. 41.
[117] Hennessy, 'The Remains of the Royal Dead', p. 342 and Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 367-68.
[118] Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* p. 68.

As with the charterhouses of London and Coventry, the community of Mount Grace also accommodated the burial of prominent lay women. In 1438 Eleanor de Roos was buried in the charterhouse after bequeathing a silver vessel for the use of the monks. Joan de Ingleby, widow of Sir William de Ingleby, requested that her body was buried in the charterhouse's church in 1478.[119] On the eve of the Dissolution, Mount Grace was also used as the burial site for several members of the Strangways family who were significant patrons of the charterhouse. Sir Richard Strangways appears to have been buried there following his death in 1488. His widow, Jane, referred to his interment at the charterhouse in her own will from 1502 in which she gave to the prior ten marks to pray for her soul and that of her husband. Their grandchildren, Thomas and James Strangways, both sought to be buried at the charterhouse. In his will drawn up in 1522 Thomas asked to be buried at Mount Grace wherever the prior believed to be the most suitable place. A decade later, his younger brother James granted 20*s.* to the community for his burial at the charterhouse.[120]

It was possibly due to Mount Grace's location on the pilgrimage route between York and Durham that the charterhouse became an attractive burial site for the landed gentry of Yorkshire. As mentioned previously, the charterhouse appears to have received a substantial number of visitors, who were accommodated in two guest houses and a separate hostel by the early sixteenth century.[121] As a result, it was perhaps more familiar to local laypeople than more isolated rural communities such as Hinton or Axholme. Furthermore, the literary activities of its monks Nicholas Love and Richard Methley may have also raised the community's profile. Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life*

[119] Coppack and Aston, *Christ's Poor Men,* p. 68.
[120] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 331-32.
[121] Coppack, 'Make Straight in the Desert', p. 176.

of Jesus Christ circulated among noblewomen associated with the charterhouse during the fifteenth century. Joan Stafford, wife of the founder Thomas de Holand, is known to have possessed a manuscript copy of the *Mirror* (now New Haven, Beinecke Library, Takamiya Deposit, MS 8), whilst the arms of Thomas Beaufort and his wife Margaret Neville have been found on the opening page of another copy of the *Mirror* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 35.[122] The 'book concerning Christ's Passion' bequeathed by Eleanor de Roos to her nephew in 1438 is also assumed to have been another copy of Love's text.[123] Some laypeople may have been more eager to associate themselves with the charterhouse occupied by these spiritual figures than with other foundations.

The nine charterhouses of late medieval England therefore accommodated secular burials to differing degrees of intensity up until the eve of the Reformation. This was primarily determined by the particular local circumstances of individual communities rather than simply their rural or urban setting. Archaeological evidence has highlighted that the demand for burials had a fundamental impact on the physical setting of Carthusian foundations. Their churches were expanded primarily out of the need to accommodate requests for interment by laypeople seeking to spiritually benefit from the liturgical rituals of the monks, as seen most notably with the charterhouses of Coventry and London. At the same time, the simple, rectangular structure of Carthusian

[122] See Sargent's introduction in *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ,* pp. 88-91.
[123] For more on wills referring to copies of Love's *Mirror* see Elizabeth Salter, 'Nicholas Love's *Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 10 (1974), 1-339 (pp. 16-17); Carol Meale, '"Oft Siþis with Grete Deuotion I þought What I Miyt do Pleysyng to God": The Early Ownership and Readership of Love's *Mirror*, with Special Reference to its Female Audience', in *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference, 20-22 July, 1995,* ed. by Shoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle and Michael Sargent (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 19-46 (pp. 32-36) and David Falls, *Nicholas Love's Mirror and Late Medieval Devotio-Literary Culture: Theological Politics and Devotional Practice in Fifteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 68-70. Sargent has, however, cautioned against assuming all references to 'Bonaventure' and the 'Vita Christi' in wills in fact refer to Love's *Mirror.* These may instead refer to copies of the *Vita Christi* written by the fourteenth-century Carthusian monk Ludolph of Saxony; see the introduction in *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ,* p. 89.

churches was often altered with the addition of chapels dedicated to the burial of specific individuals and their families, as exemplified by the charterhouse of Mount Grace. Alongside the tombs of their lay founders, the monks themselves would have encountered the graves of their benefactors as they travelled back and forth from their cells to the choirs of their churches on a daily basis. These would have served as continual reminders to the monks of their obligation to commemorate and intercede on behalf of the souls suffering in the afterlife.

1.3 Commemorative Requests of Founders, Patrons and Benefactors

The laity's desire for commemoration affected the liturgy of the Carthusians as well as the physical setting of their charterhouses. The performance of prayers and masses on behalf of the souls of the dead formed a central part of the monks' mission from the very outset of their communities, as demonstrated by the foundation charters granted by their lay founders. In 1343 Nicholas Cantelupe entreated the monks of his proposed community at Beauvale to perform divine service for the benefit of his own soul, those of his family and King Edward III, the Archbishop of York William la Zouche and the Earl of Derby, Henry of Lancaster.[124] Although Nicholas opted not to be buried at the Beauvale charterhouse, his request for commemoration was recognised by the order as a whole. His name was added to the general obit list produced by the Carthusian General Chapter following his death in 1356. This records that Nicholas was entitled to

[124] 'Ego d[ic]tus Nich[ol]us d[ic]tam concessionem secut[us] ad laudem et gl[or]iam om[n]ipotentis dei et B[eat]e Marie virg[in]is genitricis eius om[n]i[um]q[ue] s[anc]to[rum] ac religionis et cultus diuini augme[n]tu[m] ac p[ro] salubri statu d[ic]ti d[omi]ni Regis Edwardi d[omi]ni mei et venerabilis viri m[agist]ri Will[elm]i la Zouche dei gr[ati]a Ebor[icum] Archiep[iscop]i Anglie p[ri]matis d[omi]ni et consang[ui]nei mei k[arissi]mi ac d[omi]ni Henrici de Lancastr[i] Comitis Derb[ie] du[m] vixerint mei ac Iohanne vx[or]is mee et Will[elm]i filii et heredis mei, necnon p[ro] a[n]i[m]ab[us] d[ic]ti d[omi]ni Regis d[omi]ni mei, mei et om[n]i[um] pr[ae]d[ic]to[rum] cu[m] de hoc s[e]c[u]lo mig[ra]uerim[us]', London, British Library, MS Additional 6060, fols 17r-17v.

a *monachatum sine psalteriis*, which involved the recitation of the Office of the Dead on the anniversary of his death in perpetuity. His wife Joanna was also included on the obit list following her own death in 1363. She was allocated a *tricennarium* which entailed the performance of an Office of the Dead and a further thirty masses. The first of these masses was to be performed by the whole community in the choir and the remainder by the monks individually in their cells.[125]

The monks of the Hull charterhouse similarly cared for the souls of numerous relatives and acquaintances of the founder of their community, Sir Michael de la Pole. In his foundation charter drawn up in 1379, Michael requested that the monks should perform 'prayers, masses and other divine services' on behalf of King Richard II, the Archbishop of York Alexander Neville and the knight Sir Richard le Scrope, alongside the souls of many other prominent individuals. The monks were also asked to pray for the souls of Michael's immediate family including his parents, wife, siblings and children.[126] His parents were included in the obit list of the Carthusian General Chapter in 1384, whilst the obit list from the General Chapter in 1394 records that Michael himself was to receive a *tricennarium* following his death.[127]

The foundation charter of the charterhouse of Mount Grace indicates that its monks were also responsible for the spiritual well-being of an equally distinguished array of royal and noble figures. Thomas de Holand requested that the monks of the proposed community and their successors should pray specially for the good estate of

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[125] James Hogg, 'Dom Palémon Bastin's Extracts of the Acta of the Carthusian General Chapter for the Provincia Angliae: Parkminster MS. B. 77', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100.21 (1989), 33-102 (p. 61). Definitions of *monachatum* and *tricennarium* are derived from Gribbin, 'Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practices', p. 33.
[126] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, pp. 20-21.
[127] Hogg, 'Dom Palémon Bastin's Extracts', p. 80.

his wife Joan and his son John, alongside his uncle King Richard II and his wife Queen Isabella of Valois. The monks were also asked to perform their prayers, masses and other divine services on behalf of John de Ingleby and his wife Eleanor who owned the estate of Bordelby where the charterhouse was in fact situated. Following this, Thomas inserted a long list of individuals whom the monks were obliged to pray for, including William and Margaret de Aldeburgh and several members of the local Authorp family.[128] Unlike the founders of Beauvale and Hull, Thomas does not appear to have been included on the obit list published by the Carthusian General Chapter after his death in 1400. This was perhaps due to the rather scandalous nature of his demise, with Thomas having been executed for his role in the failed plot to oust King Henry IV. His wife Joan was later added to the obit list following her death in 1443. This records that she was entitled to a *tricennarium* across the whole order given her status as the 'first foundress of Mount Grace'.[129]

Even the earliest Carthusian communities established in England were asked to carry out their liturgical duties in remembrance of the souls of their founders as well as their immediate families and associates, as can be seen in the foundation charter granted by Ela, Countess of Salisbury, to the Hinton charterhouse. This document was drawn up in 1227 after the community had asked to move from their original site at Hatherop to the more remote site of Hinton. Ela entreated the monks to pray for her own soul as well as for her father William, her children and heirs in return for granting them land and properties to support the charterhouse.[130] The monks of every Carthusian house in England were therefore expected to make the caring for the souls of

[128] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, p. 23.
[129] Hogg, 'Dom Palémon Bastin's Extracts', p. 85.
[130] *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, III, 495-96.

their founders as well as their families and friends a fundamental part of their vocation from the very foundation of their communities.[131]

The number of prayers and masses for the dead cumulatively increased throughout the late medieval period as a wider range of benefactors sought to spiritually benefit from their material support of Carthusian communities. In this regard, Roger Lovatt has suggested that there was a clear distinction between the urban charterhouse of London and the rural foundation of Witham. Surviving wills indicate that the monks of the London charterhouse not only received a greater volume of requests but were more commonly given precise instructions for how to commemorate their benefactors. In contrast, the benefactors of the Witham charterhouse proved to be much more reserved when seeking to be remembered by the community and less willing to impose their own devotional preferences on the monks.[132]

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that this was certainly the case. As mentioned previously, Margaret Leynham donated her 'great carpet' and gave money to the prior and two named monks of the London charterhouse in her will from 1482. Margaret also requested that the community set up 'tables' at every altar within their church. She stipulated that these altarpieces should display the names of her late husband and parents to ensure that the monks would all the 'more tenderly' remember the names of the souls who they were bound to pray for.[133] In 1485 William Donyngton

[131] The foundation charter of the London charterhouse is discussed below in section 2.5. The three foundation charters granted by King Henry V to the Sheen charterhouse and his motives for establishing a Carthusian community have been discussed at length in Neil Beckett, *Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation to its Dissolution* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), pp. 10-103 and James Hogg, 'The Foundation of Sheen Charterhouse', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 302 (2016), 49-104.
[132] Roger Lovatt, 'The Library of John Blacman and Carthusian Spirituality', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 43 (1992), 195-230 (pp. 215-21).
[133] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 96.

requested to be buried in front of the crucifix over the door leading into the monks' choir. He left £20 so that the community would say four hundred masses on behalf of the souls of his parents and brother.[134] Testators could further specify the particular masses that they wished to be performed on their behalf. In her will from 1382, Felicia Peutry left the charterhouse rents issuing from her tenement called 'le holceler' so that the monks would observe obits for herself and her late husband on the Feast of St Boniface. She specified that *Requiem, Placebo* and *Dirige* masses should be performed with music on the vigil of the feast as well.[135]

The monks of the urban foundations of Hull and Coventry similarly received specific commemorative requests from their benefactors. Alongside asking to be buried within the church of Hull charterhouse in 1453, Robert Goldyng left £4 to fund the installation of a stained-glass window in the church. He specified that this should depict him genuflecting underneath the images of the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist and Thomas Becket.[136] In his will from 1493, John Wylgryse of Coventry gave his local charterhouse 6*s.* and 8*d.* for a *Dirige* mass to be said for his soul by the community.[137] Sir William Compton gave twenty marks to the same charterhouse for a yearly obit to be observed on behalf of King Henry VIII and his wife, alongside the souls of his family and heirs.[138] In the same year, Henry Pisford of Coventry granted the charterhouse his house at St Albans. In return, he willed that the community should perform a *Requiem* mass on

[134] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 97.
[135] *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258-A.D. 1688*, ed. by Reginald Sharpe, 2 vols (London: John C. Francis, 1889-90), II, 233-34.
[136] Quoted in Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, p. 345.
[137] W. G. Fretton, 'Memorials of the Charterhouse, Coventry', *Birmingham Archaeological Society, Transactions, Excursions and Reports,* 5 (1874), 26-45 (p. 36).
[138] Fretton, 'Memorials of the Charterhouse', p. 36.

the anniversary of his death and donate 3*s.* and 4*d.* as alms to the poor each year on the same day.[139]

These detailed, exacting requests contrast with the rather indefinite nature of the wills belonging to the benefactors of the earliest rural charterhouses located in Somerset. In 1401 Thomas Tanner of Wells granted 40*s.* to the communities of Witham and Hinton simply to pray for his soul.[140] The knight Sir Robert Hungerford similarly gave five marks to both Witham and Hinton in return for general prayers for his soul in 1459.[141] Even William Stourton's request for burial in the cloister of Witham was phrased in a rather tentative manner. He stated that this should only be carried out at the discretion of the house's prior. Stourton was also concerned that the basin he intended to donate to the community was perhaps not befitting of the order's austere principles. He willed that if this was found to be unacceptable then it should be sold, and the money converted to the pious uses of the community.[142] Other testators appear to have been almost reluctant to burden these Carthusian communities with specific commemorative demands. In his will from 1503, John Compton, a senior of Bekynton, gave both Hinton and Witham £10 each without detailing what he desired in return. This differed from the bequests he made to the mendicant houses in Bristol in which he specified that the funds were to be used for the celebration of a trental for his soul and those of his parents.[143]

The earliest surviving wills containing bequests to the rural charterhouse of Beauvale are also characterised by this somewhat restrained tone. John de Sutton, a

[139] Fretton, 'Memorials of the Charterhouse', p. 36.
[140] *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383-1500*, p. 7.
[141] *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383-1500*, p. 186.
[142] *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383-1500*, pp. 41-42.
[143] *Somerset Medieval Wills 1501-1530*, p. 47.

senior citizen of Lincoln, gave the charterhouse 40*s.* in 1391 without specifying what he wished for in return from the community.[144] John Tourney of Caenby also gave Beauvale ten marks in his will drawn up in 1405 without detailing what he expected in exchange.[145] However, later testators were much more explicit in expressing what spiritual benefits they desired in return for their donations. Margaret, wife of Sir John de la Zouche, granted the charterhouse 6*s.* and 8*d.* in her final will from 1449. In exchange, she requested that the community should perform an obit for her own soul and the soul of her late husband.[146] In 1469 Sir Richard Willoughby of Wollaton gave 40*s.* to Beauvale so that the monks would pray specially for his soul, although this was alongside bequests to a large number of monastic and mendicant houses across Nottinghamshire.[147] In his original will drawn up in 1528, Sir John Port of Etwall proposed to grant 20*s.* to the charterhouse in return for an obit to be performed for his own soul and all Christian souls. However, as the knight's final will was not proved until 1540, Beauvale never received these funds, having been dissolved the previous year.[148]

Benefactors of the charterhouse of Mount Grace proved to be just as willing as those of the London charterhouse to make specific liturgical demands upon its monks. In her will from 1502, Lady Jane Strangways gave the community ten marks to pray for her own soul and that of her husband who was buried in the charterhouse's church. Furthermore, she specified that the prior and his brothers should celebrate an obit for her own soul, her husband's and all the Christian faithful in their choir within ten days

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[144] *Early Lincoln Wills: An Abstract of All the Wills & Administrations Recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the Old Diocese of Lincoln*, ed. by Alfred Gibbons (Lincoln: James Williamson, 1888), pp. 76-77.
[145] *Early Lincoln Wills*, p. 103.
[146] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* II, 157.
[147] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* III, 171-72.
[148] 'The Wills of Sir John Port, 1528-40*', in Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance before the Reformation*, ed. by R. N. Swanson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 253-58 (p. 256).

of her death and another should be held on the first anniversary. Like Margaret Leynham for the London charterhouse, Jane Strangways also bequeathed money to individual monks at Mount Grace, giving 10*s.* each to John Thurston and Richard Methley.[149] As mentioned above, Robert Kirton of Crathorne left Mount Grace 20*s.* in return for his burial at the charterhouse. He also requested that the community's prior in 1484, Thomas Atkinson, should pray for his soul for at least three months after his death and a trental mass of St Gregory should be performed on his behalf.[150] In his will drawn up in 1521, the gentleman Ambrose Pudsey of Bolton gave the community £5 for five trental masses and a further five obits to be sung for his own soul and the souls of his parents.[151]

It was not uncommon for rural and urban Carthusian houses to share the responsibility of commemorating and interceding on behalf of the souls of the same testators. The royal clerk John Clyderhow requested in his will proved in 1434 to be buried within the church of the London charterhouse and left 100*s.* for the monks to say masses for his soul. He bequeathed an additional 20*s.* to the remaining charterhouses of the *Provincia Angliae* and even gave £100 to the prior of Mount Grace to establish a chantry priest in the church of Clitheroe on his behalf.[152] The Lincolnshire knight, Sir Thomas Cumberworth, donated his gilded chalice to the charterhouse of Hull in 1450. He also gave a further 100*s.* to each of the charterhouses of Hull, London and Axholme in return for performing 'as many masses as a monk may sing in a year' on behalf of his

[149] 'Will of Lady Jane Strangweys, 1500', in *Catholic England*, ed. by Swanson, pp. 249-53 (pp. 250-51).
[150] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, p. 335.
[151] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* V, 130. For more examples of bequests to Mount Grace see Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory*, pp. 37-39.
[152] Clyderhow had previously funded the construction of a cell at the London charterhouse and given funds for the construction of its little cloister. In his will he also left money to repair the roof of one of the cells at Mount Grace; see Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 102-3.

own soul and his wife's. Moreover, he left 100*s.* to the charterhouse of Witham in the hope that the community would do the same for the souls of William Fitzwilliam and his brother 'out of charity'.[153] One of the king's justices, the knight Anthony Fitzherbert, even chose to patronise all of the Carthusian foundations in England as they were on the verge of being dissolved by Henry VIII. In his will written in 1537 and proved the following year, he left 40*s.* to both Mount Grace and Beauvale whilst he gave a further 13*s.* and 4*d.* to each of the remaining English charterhouses.[154]

Surviving testamentary evidence therefore suggests that Carthusian monks in both rural and urban foundations devoted an increasing amount of their time towards performing prayers and masses for their founders, patrons, and benefactors throughout the late medieval period. As was the case with lay burials, Carthusian foundations accommodated these commemorative and intercessory requests to varying degrees of intensity largely as a result of the specific circumstances of each individual community rather than simply their geographical setting. The pattern of benefactions at the charterhouse of Mount Grace, for example, echoed the urban foundations of Hull and Coventry more than the earliest rural charterhouses of Witham and Hinton. Chapter 2 of this study considers how the monks of the London charterhouse regarded the performance of prayers and masses as a central part of their vocation, with the anonymous chronicler emphasising that his brethren were the most accomplished intercessors for their benefactors in his community's late fifteenth-century cartulary.

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[153] *Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544*, ed. by Andrew Clark (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1914), pp. 46-53.
[154] *Derbyshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1393-1574*, ed. by David Edwards (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, 1998), pp. 70-71.

1.4 Chantry Foundations

Carthusian monks in both rural and urban charterhouses could also be permanently employed to care for the souls of specific individuals as chantry priests. Testators with the necessary financial resources could support the endowment of chantry chapels or altars where Carthusian priests continually performed intercessory prayers and masses on their behalf.[155] The most substantial evidence for the foundation of chantries within Carthusian communities comes from the cartulary of the London charterhouse. Folios 16r-17r of the manuscript contain a detailed list of the names of the most important benefactors of the charterhouse for whom the community were bound to pray in perpetuity. The list records, for example, how the souls of John Peke and his wife Joan were perpetually prayed for at the altar of St Agnes in return for their donation of one hundred marks to the community. Two monks were also assigned to celebrate masses at an altar within the church for the soul of a citizen of London named John Northampton as well as the souls of his family and acquaintances. John had previously given the charterhouse his tenements in Pentecost Lane to fund the chantry. This entry also states that their names were written on a table displayed upon the altar so that they were visible to the monks as they performed masses on their behalf.[156] In total, at least twenty chantries were established at the London charterhouse by the end of the fifteenth century.[157]

[155] For more on late medieval chantries see articles in *The Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. by Julian Luxford and John McNeil, special issue of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 164 (2011). For monastic chantries see K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 130-54 and Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, pp. 80-81.
[156] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* pp. 65-67.
[157] The list of chantries in the London cartulary is discussed in greater depth below in section 2.5.

Several chantries were also established at the charterhouse of Hull. The will of John Neville, 3rd Lord of Raby, indicates that three monks of the community were already praying specifically for his soul before his death in 1388. He stipulated that after he died, two of these monks should continue to pray for his soul and those of his parents, wife and all the Christian faithful. John also left money to fund five monks to do the same at the charterhouse of Coventry.[158] At the end of the fourteenth century the mayor of Hull named John Colthorpe and his wife Alice endowed a cell at the charterhouse. They stipulated that after their deaths, the inhabitants of this cell should be referred to as 'the monk of the sins of John Colthorpe and Alice his wife'. These monks were obliged to perform divine services specifically for their souls as the founders of their cell. When this cell became vacant, the prior of the charterhouse was obliged to choose another monk to reside here within three months. If not, £40 would be forfeited to the mayor and commonalty of Hull.[159]

The late fifteenth-century cartulary of the Beauvale charterhouse indicates that two chantries were established in the community's church from 1393. In that year Elizabeth Stapleton, wife of the knight Brian Stapleton the Younger, and her sister Sybil Rither both granted an annual rent of 40*s.* to the charterhouse from their manors of Kirkby Orblawers and Kereby. These funds were to be used for two monks to perform *Placebo, Dirige* and *Requiem* masses for the souls of their parents William and Elizabeth de Aldeburgh on the anniversaries of their deaths as well as for their great-grandfather Edward Balliol, who was briefly king of Scotland in the mid-fourteenth century. The same chantry monks were also requested to perform obits on behalf of their recently

[158] *Wills and Inventories Illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, etc., of the Northern Counties of England, from the Eleventh Century Downwards, Part I*, ed. by James Raine (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1835), pp. 39-42.
[159] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, pp. 132-33.

deceased brother William and his wife Margery each year on their anniversaries, as well as the same *Placebo, Dirige* and *Requiem* masses as their parents.[160]

The charterhouse of Mount Grace also accommodated several chantries in its church. Alongside requesting to be buried at the charterhouse in 1500, Thomas Darell left an annual sum of eight marks for two priests to celebrate divine service on his behalf for seven years.[161] In her will drawn up in 1504, Joan Hastings, widow of Sir Richard Willoughby, directed her executor to sell her manor of Romanby and her other lands in England. She stipulated that the funds generated should then be used to support six priests to pray for her soul, each receiving thirty marks annually. One of these priests should be a monk belonging to the charterhouse of Mount Grace who should 'sing forever more in the monastery' for her soul and that of her late husband.[162] The Strangways were likely buried within their own family chantry chapel in the conventual church. In his will from 1522, Thomas Strangways gave 20*s.* to the prior of Mount Grace and a further 40*s.* to the monks to pray for his soul. He also requested that

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[160] 'Omnib[us] ad quos p[re]sentes hic indentat[ur] p[er]uen[er]int Elizabeth que fuit vxor Briani de Stapilton, ch[iuale]r, iunioris, soror et vna heredum Will[elm]i de Aldeburgh, ch[iuale]r, iunioris, sal[uta]t[e]m in d[omi]no. Noueritis me ex licencia illustris d[omi]ni n[ost]ri Ric[ard]i regis Angli[e] et Franc[ie] concessisse, Priori dom[us] Belleuallis ordinis Cartusien[sis] Ebo[rum] dioc[esis] et eiusdem loci conuentui vnu[m] annualem reddit[um] quadraginta solido[rum] exeunt[es] de medietate man[er]io[rum] de Kyrkeby Orblawers et Kereby [...] p[ro] c[er]tis diuinis s[er]uiciis faciend[um] et ex[e]rtend[um] s[e]c[un]d[u]m voluntatem et disposic[i]o[n]em p[re]d[ic]ti Will[elm]i de Aldeburgh f[rat]ris mei que tal[iter] est videli[cet] q[uo]d p[re]dic[ti] Prior et conuent[us] inuenerent duos monachos dom[us] p[re]d[ic]te in prioratu suo ibidem singul[is] dieb[us] plus sp[eci]alius celebrantes p[ro] patre et m[at]re ip[s]ius Will[elm]i ac p[ro] seip[so] et vxore sua et [p]ro d[omi]no Edwardo de Balliol imp[er]p[etuu]m absq[ue] eo q[uo]d dic[ti] monachi on[er]ent[ur] p[ro] aliquo alio ita specialit[er] exorare et q[uo]d d[ic]ti duo monachi et prior d[ict]e dom[us] si domi sint imp[er]p[etuu]m faciant et dicant in vigil[e] et die obit[um] d[ic]ti patris ip[s]ius Will[elm]i qui est primo die April quocu[m]q[ue] anno, placebo et dirige p[ro] p[re]d[ic]tis p[at]re et m[at]re ip[s]ius Will[elm]i et vnam missam de Requiem die obit[um] ip[s]o[rum] q[uo]d que residui monachi dom[us] p[re]d[ic]te specialit[er] celebrent p[ro] p[re]d[ic]tis p[at]re et m[at]re p[re]d[ic]ti Will[elm]i diebus obitus eo[rum]dem. Et insup[er] q[uo]d faciant vnu[m] obit[um] die decessus p[re]d[ic]ti Will[elm]i de Aldeburgh et sit de anno in an[n]um faciant vnu[m] obit[um] p[ro] ip[s]o d[omi]no Will[elm]o de Aldeburgh et vxore sua imp[er]p[etuu]m videl[ice]t in vig[i]l[e] placebo et dirige et in die missam de Requie[m] p[ro]ut faciant p[ro] p[at]re et m[at]re d[ic]ti Will[elm]i dieb[us] obit[us] eo[rum]dem', MS Additional 6060, fol. 36v.
[161] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* IV, 172.
[162] *North Country Wills,* I, 73-75.

£4 was given annually for a priest to keep 'singing' for the souls of his family 'at our lady chapel' for at least three years after his death.[163]

As was the case with accommodating lay burials, the foundation of chantries had a considerable impact on the architectural setting of Carthusian churches. The addition of chapels and altars served to modify the relatively simple layout of these buildings as well as their internal decoration, as suggested by the charterhouse of London. Alongside displaying the names of the individuals for whom the monks were bound to pray, these chapels and altars appear to have been rather ornately decorated. This is suggested by the Commissioner's report of 1539 which notes that the chapel of St Jerome established by Thomas Thwaites had an altar containing a crucifix depicting the Virgin Mary and St John, images of Jerome and St Bernard of Clairvaux at either end of the altar, two seats and a little chest. The chapel of St Katherine established by Sir Robert Rede had an altar dedicated to the Trinity, images of the four doctors of the church sealed with wainscot and a pew with two seats also made from wainscot.[164] A late fifteenth-century statue depicting St Katherine standing on the Roman emperor Maxentius has survived from Rede's chapel. The headless figure of the saint still contains traces of gilding and blue paint which, according to Philip Temple, were applied over gesso on a red base.[165]

The foundation of chantries also had a significant effect on the liturgy of Carthusian monks. The liturgical routine of individual monks not only became increasingly complex but also more personalised as they performed the specific prayers and masses requested by the individuals who funded these chantries. As a result, Carthusian monks became increasingly occupied with interceding for the souls of some

[163] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* V, 155-57.
[164] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 186.
[165] Temple, *The Charterhouse*, p. 32.

of their most important, and wealthy, benefactors alongside maintaining their contemplative vocation in the solitude of their individual cells.[166]

1.5 Letters of Confraternity

The association between the Carthusian order and the secular society of late medieval England was not just restricted to deceased founders, patrons and benefactors. Carthusian communities themselves could choose to formalise their relationship with their most significant supporters through the granting of letters of confraternity. These letters were usually issued during a benefactor's lifetime, most often as an expression of gratitude for large-scale or repeated benefactions. They typically confirmed that donors were able to participate in all of the prayers, masses and spiritual exercises performed by Carthusian monks. When a benefactor died, their confraternity letter was expected to be returned to the charterhouse by their executors and their name was announced to the community. The monks would then perform the same spiritual services that they provided for their deceased brethren and the benefactor's name was written in the house's obituary list or martyrology.[167]

After these letters were returned to their respective charterhouses, they were not usually kept once the recipient's name was included on the house's obituary roll.

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[166] A Carthusian monk even chose to become a chantry priest at St Paul's cathedral following the dissolution of his charterhouse. Thurstan Hickman, formerly procurator at Witham, was employed as a chaplain at the chantry chapel belonging to the noblewoman Beatrice de Roos in the 1540s; see Marie-Hélène Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200-1548* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 157.

[167] For more on the practice of confraternity see especially W. G. Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Letters of Confraternity', *Archaeologia,* 75 (1926), 19-60 (pp. 49-50); Joseph Anselm Gribbin and C. N. Ó Clabaigh, 'Confraternity Letters to the Irish Observant Franciscans and their Benefactors', *Peritia,* 16 (2002), 459-71 (pp. 460-61); R. N. Swanson, 'Mendicants and Confraternity in Late Medieval England', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. by Clark, pp. 121-41 (pp. 123-24) and James Clark, 'Monastic Confraternity in Medieval England: The Evidence from the St Albans Abbey *Liber Benefactorum*', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400,* ed. by Jamroziak and Burton, pp. 315-32.

Due to this, only a limited number issued by the Carthusians in England have survived which makes it difficult to gauge how frequently they were issued by individual communities.[168] Furthermore, whilst the Carthusian General Chapter published general obit lists each year, no obituary roll or martyrology has survived from an English charterhouse. It does seem likely that individual charterhouses did have their own on display within their churches. In his will from 1508, the alderman Richard Chawry referred to the existence of 'le Martylage boke' at the charterhouse of London. He requested that the names of the knight Robert Rede and his wife Margaret were written in the book in return for bequeathing a tenement in the parish of St Sepulchre to the charterhouse.[169]

Confraternity letters that have survived tend to be fairly formulaic and non-specific in nature. This is exemplified by the grant of confraternity to Thomas Broun by the prior of Beauvale in 1413. After opening with a greeting to the benefactor, the prior then acknowledged in rather general terms the pious affection and the consistent support Thomas had shown towards the charterhouse and the Carthusian order as a whole. In return, Thomas was to henceforth benefit from 'all of the masses, prayers, hours, psalms, vigils, alms and other spiritual exercises' performed by the monks in the charterhouse and their successors. The prior also confirmed that when Thomas died, his name should be announced to the community and his soul would receive the same commemorative services afforded to the monks themselves.[170]

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[168] For a list of letters known to have been issued by the Carthusians in England see Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 375-79.

[169] Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* p. 94. Robert Rede's name was later included in the obit list published by the Carthusian General Chapter in 1520, see Hogg, 'Dom Palémon Bastin's Extracts', p. 71.

[170] 'Frater Thomas prior domus Sancte Trinitatis de Bella Valle ordinis Cartusiensis et eiusdem loci conuentus vnanimus in [Chris]tu[m] sibi predilecto Thome Broun salutem in domino et oracionu[m]

Other than extant letters, the best evidence for the granting of confraternity by the Carthusians is provided by the wills of testators who referred to their admission into the fraternity of charterhouses. They often outlined what spiritual benefits they expected from the monks in death. In his will proved in 1496, the esquire Edmund Talbot directed his executors to give his 'letter of brotherhood' to the prior of the Hull charterhouse alongside 6*s.* and 8*d.*, as well as further 3*s.* and 4*d.* to each of the brothers within the same house to dispose of at their pleasure. He requested that the community sing *Dirige* and *Requiem* masses for his soul, his wife and all the Christian faithful in return.[171] The gentleman Robert Blackwall identified himself and his late wife as 'brother and sister' of the London charterhouse in his will from 1515. He gave 10*s.* to the prior for a trental of masses to be said for their souls by the monks within three days of his death.[172]

Multiple Carthusian foundations could also grant letters of confraternity to the same individual. The Willoughby family of Wollaton appear to have been especially keen to gain admission into the fraternity of as many charterhouses as possible before their deaths. In his will from 1443, Sir Hugh Willoughby bequeathed 20*s.* to the charterhouses of Beauvale, Witham and London alongside the letters of confraternity he

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suffragiu[m] salutare meretur vestre deuocionis affectus ac pie intencionis feruor quem ad nos et nostru[m] ordinem predictu[m] concepistis magis ac magis apud deum continuis iuuari et attoli suffragiis vt quo largius ac copiosius super nos diuina gracia choruscarit eo bonitas vestra proficiat apud deum. Et vt huiusmodi deuocionis obsequie auctore diuino sint nobis fructuosa nos omniu[m] missa[rum] orac[i]onu[m] hora[rum] psalmo[rum] vigiliaru[m] ieiunio[rum] elemonsinaru[m] cetero[rum]que sp[irit]ualiu[m] ex[er]cicio[rum] que deo auctore in domo n[ost]ra p[re]dicta p[ro] nos fiunt et p[ro] successores n[ost]ros fient i[n]posteru[m] participem facim[us] et consortem in vita n[ost]ra parit[er] et in morte. Adicientes in sup[er] de gracia speciali q[uo]d cu[m] obitus vest[er] quem d[omi]n[u]s o[m]nip[oten]s animat esse felice[m] nobis v[e]l n[ost]ris successorib[us] fuerit nunciat[ur] p[ro] anime v[est]re remedio fiet sicut p[ro] talib[us] n[ost]ris participib[us] fieri consueu[er]int', Kew, The National Archives, LR 14/370.

[171] *North Country Wills,* I, 66-67.

[172] *Bedfordshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1383-1548*, ed. by Margaret McGregor (Bedford: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1979), pp. 108-11.

had received from these communities.[173] His great-grandson, Sir Henry Willoughby presumably attained confraternity from multiple Carthusian foundations. In his will proved in 1528 he gave 13*s.* and 6*d.* to all of the charterhouses in England. In return, he requested that each community should perform trental masses for his soul and pray for him 'as a brother of their religion'.[174]

The somewhat standardised and formulaic nature of confraternity letters and wills does conceal to a certain extent the genuine affection and warmth Carthusian communities and their closest benefactors could feel towards one another. Such fondness is certainly suggested in the cartulary of the Beauvale charterhouse, especially in the copy of the charter confirming the foundation of two chantries by Elizabeth Stapleton and Sybil Rither. In this document, the prior of Beauvale states that his community agreed to their requests 'with unanimous consent, considering the pious and sincere affection which we knew the aforesaid Lord William de Aldeburgh the Younger always had for us and for our house in his life'.[175] William was the late brother of Elizabeth and Sybil and had been admitted into the charterhouse's fraternity in 1392. The monks of Beauvale were willing to reciprocate the kindness William had shown them before his death by agreeing to care for the souls of his relatives.

The liturgical ceremony used to confirm that lay benefactors were to share in all of the spiritual exercises of Carthusian communities also emphasises this sense of closeness and intimacy. Gribbin has outlined how this service was conducted in England

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[173] *Testamenta Eboracensia,* II, 131.
[174] *North Country Wills,* I, 122.
[175] 'Nou[er]it vniu[er]sitas q[u]ia nos priorem et con[uen]tu[m] p[re]d[ic]tos vnamini consensu considerantes piam et sincerem affect[i]o[n]em qua[m] p[re]fatu[m] d[omin]um Will[elmu]m de Aldeburgh iun[iores] nos et domu[m] n[ost]ram semp[er] in vita sua nouim[us] h[ab]uisse', MS Additional 6060, fol. 37r.

using the fifteenth-century *breviarium* from the charterhouse of Sheen now known as Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 64. The ceremony involved the prior of the charterhouse initially leading his community on a procession from the chapterhouse to the church as a series of prayers and psalms were recited along the way. Once within the church, the prayer of 'spiritual incorporation' was performed which confirmed that the lay-person present was to be afforded full participation in the spiritual activities of the community during their lifetime and following their death.[176]

This text is particularly significant for indicating that laypeople who were granted confraternity were allowed to have access to Carthusian churches and were expected to take an active part in this liturgical service. In this manner, it highlights how the boundaries distinguishing Carthusian monks from their lay benefactors became blurred at the very moment that charterhouses granted full participation in the spiritual performances to their most important supporters. This was also reflected in the immediate aftermath of a benefactor's death. As mentioned above, individuals with confraternal rights were afforded the same commemorative services as the monks themselves. The prior of Beauvale, Nicholas Wartre, expressed this succinctly in the charter confirming the grant of confraternity to King Henry VII in 1486. He stated that as soon as the king's death was announced, the community of Beauvale would care for Henry's soul 'as they are wont to do for their dearest'.[177] Furthermore, the names of these individuals appeared alongside the names of Carthusian monks in the obit rolls and martyrologies of individual charterhouses and the obit list circulated by the Carthusian General Chapter each year. Benefactors who received the rights of

[176] Gribbin, 'Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practices', p. 44.
[177] *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VII, Vol. II, 1500-1509* (London: H. M. S. O., 1909), p. 71.

confraternity were therefore remembered and prayed for by Carthusians as an intrinsic part of their own communities.

1.6 Reception of Secular Guests

The least well documented form of interaction between the charterhouses of late medieval England and secular society was the reception of guests within Carthusian foundations. In this regard, the Carthusians appear to have been much less accommodating than other monastic orders who were required to make the provision of hospitality a fundamental part of their vocation in accordance with Chapter 53 of the Rule of St. Benedict.[178] The Carthusians' reluctance to welcome external visitors was succinctly expressed by Guigo in his *Consuetudines.* He emphasised that his brethren had 'not fled into the solitude of the desert for the material care of the bodies of strangers, but for the eternal salvation of our souls'. For this reason, he argued it should not be surprising that his community provided more comfort to those who came to the Grande Chartreuse for the benefit of their souls rather than their bodies. Otherwise, they would not have settled in such a harsh, almost inaccessible location.[179] Guigo feared that the cost of caring for guests would force his brethren to wander and beg for alms given that they possessed no property or income outside of the 'narrow and hard desert' in which they lived.[180]

[178] This chapter urged monastic communities to welcome all guests as if they were Christ; see Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', pp. 125-30. For more on monastic hospitality see Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England c. 1070-c. 1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); Julie Kerr, 'Cistercian Hospitality in the Later Middle Ages', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Burton and Stöber, pp. 25-39 and Richard Thomason, 'Hospitality in a Cistercian Context: Evidence for Customary Attitudes and Identity in Legislation', *Bulletin for International Medieval Research*, 19 (2013), 58–82.
[179] *CC*, 20.1
[180] *CC*, 19.1-3.

Despite Guigo's reservations, he did provide some guidance for how guests should be received within Carthusian foundations. The procurator was responsible for greeting all male visitors at the lower house with the 'kiss of peace'. He should also bow and kneel when greeting bishops and abbots. Only religious guests were permitted to dine with the prior in the refectory and to sleep in the upper house. Laymen and 'wanderers' from other religious orders were required to stay in the lower house and were given the same austere food and bedding as the monks.[181] Guigo further stipulated that women should not be allowed within the boundaries of Carthusian communities under any circumstances, asserting that not even 'the first man formed by God's hands [was] able to escape the lures and deceptions of women'.[182]

Like the issue of lay burials, Guigo's precepts regarding the reception of guests were gradually revised throughout the late medieval period. The thirteenth-century *Statuta Antiqua* allowed 'venerable and honest men' to have access to the upper house and permitted laymen to dine at the prior's table if they arrived at a charterhouse in the company of an abbot, bishop or cathedral canon.[183] The *Tertia Compilatio* further widened the list of acceptable dinner guests at the beginning of the sixteenth century. 'Honest persons of great reputation and gravity', benefactors of the order, 'special patrons' and anyone who could not easily be refused were permitted to eat with priors and procurators, although they were advised that this should not become a regular occurrence.[184]

[181] *CC*, 18.1, 19.1 and 36.1-4.
[182] *CC,* 21.1.
[183] *SA*, 2.8.34, 2.9.27 and 3.11.16. This was later repeated in *SN*, 2.4.6.
[184] *TC*, 4.21.

Lay access to the various spaces of charterhouses still remained closely monitored by Carthusian visitors and the General Chapter. In 1416 the charterhouses of the *Provincia Angliae* were reprimanded as monks had been seen eating and drinking with guests in their individual cells. They were reminded that only the prior and procurator were permitted to dine with visitors. Monks who continued to entertain guests in their cells were to be deprived of wine and pittances during communal meals in the refectory whilst any prior who failed to enforce this prohibition was to be removed from their seat for at least a week and forced to observe a strict fast.[185] In 1470 the General Chapter warned procurators and priors that they were not permitted to eat 'with seculars' in accordance with the order's statutes.[186] In the same year, the prior of the London charterhouse, Edward Storer, was rather bluntly advised by the General Chapter to refer to the order's statutes after he requested a licence to eat with guests at the charterhouse.[187] However, in 1473 Storer was granted permission under the seal of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse to 'minister to great lords with cups, spoons and dishes'.[188] Storer was admonished the following year for allowing laypeople to hunt with dogs and 'disturb the great garden of the convent'. He was informed by the General Chapter that he would lose his seat in the community's church and refectory if he failed to enforce this prohibition.[189]

As this episode highlights, the monks of the London charterhouse appear to have struggled at times to maintain the desired boundaries distinguishing themselves from

[185] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 118.
[186] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 109.
[187] John Clark, 'The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: London, Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part 3, 1461-1474 (Ff. 301v-458v)', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 100.12 (1991), 1-190 (p. 133).
[188] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 205.
[189] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 206 and Clark, 'Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part 3', p. 186.

secular society as a result of its urban location.[190] The chronicle at the beginning of the community's late fifteenth-century cartulary outlines the various measures taken to restrict lay access to the charterhouse. In 1405 Pope Gregory XI issued a bull which banned laypeople from practising 'games or spectacles' in the charterhouse's cemetery so that the prior and monks should not be hindered from 'their contemplation and quiet'.[191] In the same year the community extended the west end of the conventual church to compel women to hear masses in the chapel of St Anne and the Holy Cross rather than in the main body of the church.[192] The anonymous chronicler noted that it was hoped this would help to gradually exclude women from the church as they had been in the habit of attending masses there since its first foundation.[193] The Commissioner's report written in 1539 when the charterhouse was eventually dissolved by King Henry VIII indicates that the chapel of St Anne was further separated from the nave of the church by a timber screen which also contained iron spikes.[194] A chapel and altar dedicated to St Lucy was later built in 1481 for the specific use of laypeople which was located in the outer cemetery of the charterhouse, beyond its boundary walls.[195]

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[190] For more on this see Vincent Gillespie, 'The Permeable Cloister? Charterhouses, Contemplation and Urban Piety in Later Medieval England: The Case of London', in *The Urban Church in Late Medieval England*, ed. by David Harry and Christian Steer, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 29 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019), pp. 238-57 and Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', pp. 136-39.

[191] 'Ite[m] prior et monachi a d[omi]no Gregorio p[a]p[a] XI priuilegiu[m] acquisierunt vt ludi vel spectacula aut alio insolencie et enormitates in ip[s]o cimiterio no[n] committerent[ur] aut ex[er]cerent[ur] et vt sordes et inmundicie ib[ide]m no[n] pon[er]ent[ur] quatinus idem prior et monachi a sua contemplacione et quiete non impedirent[ur]', LR 2/61, fol. 13r.

[192] Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', pp. 137-38.

[193] 'Anno v[er]o d[omi]ni M° CCCC° V° didicata fuerunt altaria s[anc]te crucis et s[anc]te Anne in capella s[anc]te Anne ad occidentalem fine[m] eccl[es]ie que ea intenc[i]o[n]e erat f[ac]ta, vt mulieres ib[ide]m possint audire missas et sic paulatim excludi ab eccl[es]ia. Nam semp[er] a p[ri]ncipio primarie fundac[i]o[n]is mulieres consueuerunt eccl[es]iam intrare et f[ra]tres p[ro]pter timore[m] vulgi non audiebant [*sic*] eas prohibere', LR 2/61, fol. 12v.

[194] Temple, *The Charterhouse*, p. 26.

[195] Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', pp. 138.

Maurice Chauncy's *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum maxime Octodecim Cartusianorum* does, however, suggest that the monks of the London charterhouse were not wholly perturbed by the presence of laypeople within their community. Chauncy most likely wrote this hagiographical text at the beginning of 1547 having previously made his profession at the London charterhouse in 1532 before he was later elected prior of the re-founded community of Sheen in 1555.[196] He describes how 'seculars' would often leave the cells of monks at the London charterhouse in tears after receiving their counsel, 'declaring that God was truly in this place'.[197] Chauncy further boasts that anyone who wished to hear the service of the Church most devoutly celebrated ought to have gone to the charterhouse, with the sweetness of the monks' singing regularly leaving those present in floods of tears and inspired to greater devotion.[198] Vincent Gillespie has argued that these passages indicate there was a certain degree of lay access to the community's church up to the Reformation, with the monks' communal liturgical services perhaps serving a public function for the citizens of London.[199]

Secular guests who were welcomed into the London charterhouse were most likely housed in the lesser cloister close to the living quarters of the community's lay brothers. Temple has argued that by the 1530s the charterhouse's guest accommodation would have taken up most of the west and south sides of the little cloister and consisted of a guest hall, parlour and even a summerhouse located in the

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[196] For further information on Chauncy and the various versions of the *Historia* see John Clark, 'Dom Maurice Chauncy and the London Charterhouse', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 86.2 (2006), 1-13 and Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England,* pp. 343-53.

[197] *The Various Versions of the Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum maxime octodecim Cartusianorum sub rege Henrico Octavo ob Fidei Confessionem et Summa Pontificis Jura Vindicanda interemptorum by Dom Maurice Chauncy*, ed. by John Clark, 3 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2007), II, 110. Gillespie has argued that Chauncy's use of the term 'seculares' most likely refers to the laity rather than secular clergy', see Gillespie, 'The Permeable Cloister?', p. 239.

[198] *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, II, 111.

[199] Gillespie, 'The Permeable Cloister?', pp. 238-39.

cook's garden.[200] David Harrap has suggested that wealthy visitors were even allocated their own individual cells based on an indenture signed by the mercer Thomas Thwaites and Richard Roche, prior of the charterhouse, from 1500. In this agreement, Thwaites agreed to forfeit his claim to a cell and its associated chambers in the community's little cloister in favour of taking possession of the residence built by the Bishop of Lincoln John Russell (d. 1494) in the house's great cloister.[201]

Surviving procurator accounts from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries suggest that a large number of visitors were catered for in the community's guest accommodation. The charterhouse spent £21 12*s*. and 1*d*. on meat between 1515-16, which Harrap has noted would have equated to over four and a half tonnes of meat being prepared in the house's flesh kitchen during that time. As Carthusian monks were not permitted to eat meat in accordance with the order's statutes, the meat was most likely reserved for feeding secular guests staying at the charterhouse.[202] The procurator accounts from the 1490s indicate that the monks of the London charterhouse also provided for the expensive tastes of their wealthiest visitors, with the community paying for spices, dates, raisins, almonds, and sugar.[203]

The number of guests received at the charterhouse of Mount Grace also appears to have been relatively high. As mentioned above, visitors were housed in two guest houses and a separate hostel named *le Inne* by the early sixteenth century. The initial guest house was built in the 1420s and was located on the western range of the inner court of the charterhouse, adjacent to the gatehouse, as can be seen above in figure 0.2.

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[200] Temple, *The Charterhouse*, pp. 28-29.
[201] David Harrap, 'Learning to Die from the Experts: Bishop John Russell's Lodging at the London Charterhouse', *The Ricardian* 27 (2017), 77-96 (pp. 82-85).
[202] Harrap, 'Learning to Die from the Experts', p. 86.
[203] Temple, *The Charterhouse,* p. 18.

It contained four small cells on the lower floor, one large apartment on the upper floor and a guest hall – none of these rooms, however, appear to have contained a latrine or fireplace. For this reason, Coppack and Aston have argued that the accommodation appears to have respected Guigo's recommendation that visitors were catered for in the same manner as monks. The second guest house was built to the south of the gatehouse in the 1470s and contained another four apartments as well as a common dormitory for less wealthy guests.[204] The location of both guest houses on the western end of the inner court was likely intended to minimise the chances of contact between visitors and monks who were housed in their individual cells surrounding the great cloister of the charterhouse.

Unlike the guest houses, there are no archaeological remains for the hostel. It was most likely located in the outer court of the charterhouse. A letter written by Prior John Wilson in 1522 to the patron of the community, Henry 10th Baron Clifford (d. 1523), indicates that the hostel was recently built by 'a merchant of London'. This merchant was in fact Sir John Rawson (d. 1547), Master of St John's Commandery of the Knights Hospitaller at Swingfield in Kent, who left England to take part in the defence of Rhodes against Ottoman forces in 1521. It does appear that the hostel was designed, at least in part, to accommodate wealthier benefactors of the charterhouse. In his letter, Prior Wilson invited Clifford to visit Mount Grace in the summer and to stay at the 'proper lodging' recently built by Rawson which the prior believed would provide Clifford and his servants with 'great comfort and good recreation'.[205]

[204] Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory,* pp. 260-64 and 394-95.
[205] *The Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century,* ed. by A. G. Dickens (Durham: Andrews, 1962), pp. 64-67. For more on the correspondence between the priors of Mount Grace and Henry Clifford see Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory,* pp. 31-32.

The limited available evidence for the practice of hospitality at the charterhouses of Mount Grace and London suggests that these communities tailored their reception of guests according to their wealth, status, and gender. Less wealthy visitors were accommodated in modest communal dormitories whilst benefactors deemed to be more important could be housed in separate cells or apartments. In exceptional circumstances, the most distinguished of individuals were even given permission to live within the precincts of charterhouses for extended periods of time in their own houses. The will of John Colet (d. 1519), dean of St Paul's cathedral, refers to his lodging at the charterhouse of Sheen where he likely stayed during the final years of his life whilst suffering from repeated bouts of sweating sickness. After Colet's death, the house was occupied by Cardinal Reginald Pole (d. 1558) and Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (d. 1530) who is known to have stayed at Sheen for around five weeks before his death.[206] As mentioned previously, Bishop John Russell of Lincoln was given permission by the Carthusian General Chapter to establish a residence within the precincts of the London charterhouse around 1385. This was on the condition that the bishop would not allow any women or married men to inhabit or rent the house in his lifetime and after his death.[207] Russell's house was later occupied by Thomas Thwaites and Robert Langton (d. 1524) who was the nephew of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester and Archbishop-elect of Canterbury.[208]

Russell's lodging at the London charterhouse was most likely located at the south end of the great cloister and to the east of the conventual church, away from the guest

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[206] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 397-400 and Wines, *The London Charterhouse,* pp. 259-60.
[207] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 214.
[208] Harrap, 'Learning to Die from the Experts', pp. 80-81. For the debate regarding whether Thomas More stayed within the bounds of the London charterhouse for extended periods of time see Caroline Barron, 'Thomas More, the London Charterhouse and Richard III', in *Parliament, Personalities and Power: Papers Presented to Linda S. Clark*, ed. by Hannes Kleineke (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 203-14.

accommodation already established in the lesser cloister of the charterhouse.[209] Harrap has argued that the inhabitants of the lodging would have lived fairly independently from the rest of the charterhouse, despite being situated in fairly close proximity to the monks' cells and the church. The house appears to have contained its own kitchen, oratories, service building and enclosed gardens. Harrap has suggested that the individuals who took up residence at the charterhouses of London and Sheen were motivated by an acute awareness of their own mortality, with most arriving towards the final stages of their lives or whilst in ill health. Surrounded by monks widely regarded as experts in the art of dying, these men could learn how to prepare effectively for their own deaths. For the monks themselves, the presence of these houses may have functioned in a comparable manner to the tombs of their benefactors. They helped to focus the monks' minds on preparing for their own impending deaths and to remind them of their obligation to pray for the souls of the dead.[210]

Whilst wealthy male benefactors were able to enjoy a certain degree of hospitality offered by Carthusian communities, women remained largely unwelcome in charterhouses throughout the late medieval period. The desire of the anonymous chronicler of the London charterhouses to see women excluded from the community's church was echoed in the order's statutes and the *chartae* of the Carthusian General Chapter. The *Statuta Antiqua* repeated Guigo's original invective against the dangers posed by women, although it did in fact permit them to enter Carthusian churches on their day of dedication with papal dispensation.[211] The General Chapter did, however, remain reluctant to allow women further access to Carthusian houses. In 1438 the prior

[209] Harrap, 'Learning to Die from the Experts', pp. 82-87.
[210] Harrap, 'Learning to Die from the Experts', pp. 87-95.
[211] *SA*, 2.26.1-5.

of Mount Grace was informed that women should not enter the community's church for the funeral of a prominent benefactor of the charterhouse.[212] Later in the century, the General Chapter urged all charterhouses across the order to refuse entry to an unnamed countess of Picardy who had received a papal bull in 1466 authorising her to attend divine services at any Carthusian foundation of her choosing with four of her ladies.[213]

Despite the best attempts of the General Chapter, women were still a presence in Carthusian houses. Andrew Wines has noted that the indulgence granted by Pope Boniface IX in 1399 to pilgrims who visited the London charterhouse and gave alms towards its preservation specifies that women were allowed to enter the church, choir and cloister of the charterhouse for the purpose of receiving this indulgence.[214] As mentioned above, the same privilege had been granted the previous year to the monks of Axholme charterhouse. The bull offered the remission of sins to all 'the Christian faithful' who should visit the charterhouse on certain feast days and give alms to help in its construction.[215] Pope Sixtus IV's bull from 1482 indicates that he was more sympathetic to the General Chapter's desire to restrict female access to Carthusian foundations than his predecessor. Sixtus offered a year's worth of indulgences to any male pilgrim who visited the church of the London charterhouse on a Saturday and gave alms to fund its repair. The same spiritual benefits were to be given to penitent women

[212] James Hogg, 'Life in an English Charterhouse in the Fifteenth Century: Discipline and Daily Affairs' in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 19-60 (pp. 27 and 49). Coppack and Keen have suggested that this injunction most likely refers to the funeral of Eleanor de Roos who died in 1438; see Coppack and Keen, *Mount Grace Priory,* p. 38.
[213] Clark, 'Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part 3', p. 79.
[214] Wines, *The London Charterhouse,* p. 232.
[215] *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, VII, 39-40.

who instead visited the charterhouse's cemetery or any of the chapels and oratories located in its outer bounds.[216]

It appears that women may have even been in direct contact with Carthusian monks, despite the best attempts of the General Chapter. In 1470 Carthusian visitors were specifically instructed to look out for monks having conversations with women and becoming 'over familiar' with them to the great detriment of the order's reputation, suggesting that these instances occurred at a rate which troubled the General Chapter.[217] In exceptional circumstances the desire of prominent female benefactors to attend the divine services of the Carthusians could also be catered for by individual communities. As discussed above, the monks of Champmol enabled Margaret of Flanders to attend liturgical services in their church through the establishment of a two-storey ducal oratory which was accessed directly from the charterhouse's gatehouse.[218] In 1504 Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of King Henry VII, obtained papal approval to attend services at the monastery of Syon and the charterhouse of Sheen where she was also permitted 'to eat and talk in them together with six of her maid-servants'.[219]

Only two years later, however, Pope Julius II agreed to ban the practice of allowing women entry into Carthusian foundations with papal dispensation at the request of the General Chapter. The papal bull *Pro Patre Vestra* (1506) reasserted the claim that the presence of women in charterhouses had the potential to cause great harm and scandal to the monks and the reputation of the order.[220] A Middle English

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[216] Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 154-55.
[217] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 205.
[218] See footnote 46 above.
[219] Gribbin, 'Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practices', p. 45 and Beckett, *Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation*, p. 147.
[220] John Clark, 'The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: MS. Parkminster B 62 (1504-1513)', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 100.21 (1992), 1-252 (pp. 57-59).

copy of the statutes concerning the lay brothers, produced at the charterhouse of Sheen in the early sixteenth century (London, British Library, MS Additional 11303), suggests that the bull was taken seriously by the community. Chapter 20 states that 'we suffer no women to come within the compass of our bounds, if we can possibly keep them out'. Any lay brother who allowed a woman to enter the charterhouse, regardless of their 'condition, state or degree, […] would incur the sentence of excommunication by force of the bull of Julius II'.[221] Elsewhere, prominent women still found their way into Carthusian foundations even after this attempted crackdown. Lindquist has noted that Eleanor of Austria visited the charterhouse of Champmol in 1533 and Catherine de Medici did so in 1574. The entourage of Anne of Austria reportedly damaged the church's ornaments, books, and chairs during her visit to the charterhouse in 1650 and even stole the alabaster figures of angels which adorned the tombs of the dukes of Burgundy.[222]

Given the nature of surviving sources, it is difficult to measure the impact that the presence of secular guests, especially women, had upon the charterhouses of late medieval England beyond alarming Carthusian visitors and the General Chapter. Rank-and-file monks most likely had little to no direct contact with prominent benefactors whose status afforded them access to Carthusian foundations with papal permission. Priors and procurators would have remained solely responsible for catering and entertaining such eminent guests according to the order's statutes. However, as can been seen with the charterhouses of Champmol and London, attempts to limit female access did result in the diversification of the architectural layout of individual

[221] C. Pask Matthews, 'The Laye Bretherns Statutes (Shene)', *Surrey Archaeological Collections,* 39 (1931), 112-43 (p. 133).
[222] Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society,* p. 210.

communities. The addition of oratories, chapels and altars were designed to accommodate the wishes of female benefactors to witness the religious devotions of the Carthusians whilst allowing the monks to remain focused on their contemplative vocation.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the various ways in which lay founders, patrons and benefactors increasingly populated the physical and imaginative spaces of Carthusian houses as they sought to ensure their own salvation through the prayers and masses of the monks. The order's churches were expanded to accommodate the growing demand for burials from laypeople, whilst the foundation of chantry chapels and altars transformed the architectural and decorative lay-out of these communal spaces. The monks were continually reminded of their obligation to commemorate their founders and benefactors as they encountered their tombs and graves as they travelled from their individual cells to their churches. At the same time, the laity's desire to benefit from the perceived intercessory prowess of Carthusian monks affected the liturgy of the order. The Carthusians devoted more of their attention and time towards caring for the souls of non-Carthusians.

This chapter has also shown that there could be significant variations in the lived experience of Carthusian monks depending on the particular circumstances of their charterhouses. Surviving testamentary evidence suggests that lay benefactors proved to be more conspicuous across the spaces of the London charterhouse than the earliest Carthusian foundations of Witham and Hinton. The laity's presence was felt to a much greater extent as a result of the remarkable scale of requests for burial primarily within

the conventual church, the donation of liturgical objects and the housing of secular guests within the bounds of the charterhouse. The pattern of benefactions at the later rural foundations of Beauvale and Mount Grace corresponded more with the urban charterhouses of Coventry and Hull than the earlier rural foundations of Witham and Hinton. These later rural communities appear to have been more than willing and able to grant letters of confraternity to their most important benefactors and to accommodate requests for chantries within their communal churches. Archaeological evidence at Mount Grace also suggests that the monks catered for a relatively large number of visitors to the charterhouse, most likely passing on their travels to York and Durham. At the same time, the monks of the charterhouse of Hull did not attract the same degree of bequests as their urban counterparts at the London charterhouse largely as a result of the community's close association with the de la Pole family and their protracted legal disputes with local citizens. The relationship between the Carthusians and secular society was therefore continually shaped by the particular circumstances of each individual charterhouse from their very foundation up to their dissolution in the 1530s.

Using the surviving cartulary from the charterhouse of London, the following chapter explores how the community engaged with the commemorative expectations of their lay founder, Sir Walter Manny, and their most important secular benefactors. In particular, it examines the depiction of Manny and the members of the charterhouse in the chronicle written by an anonymous monk of the community in the late fifteenth century. By doing so, the chapter further highlights how the boundaries separating the Carthusians from the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses proved to be much more permeable than has previously been assumed.

Chapter 2: Blurring the Boundaries between Sir Walter Manny and the Monks of his Carthusian Foundation in the Cartulary of the London Charterhouse

Introduction

Cartularies have traditionally been defined in a relatively narrow sense as collections of charters and/or other administrative documents which were copied from the archives of religious and secular establishments. They were valued principally for the information contained within their documents and the insights that they could provide on the state of an institution's archive and landholdings at the time they were compiled. Recent studies have emphasised how cartularies were more than simply pragmatic administrative tools used to protect an institution's rights and properties. They have demonstrated the ways in which cartularies served as important commemorative objects and were often used as a means for individual communities to express a sense of collective purpose and identity.[223]

Building upon these studies, this chapter examines how the monks of the London charterhouse used the chronicle inserted at the beginning of their late fifteenth-century cartulary to commemorate the deeds of past members of their community and secular figures closely associated with their foundation. It focuses primarily on the presentation

[223] See especially *Les Cartulaires: Actes de la Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G. D. R. 121 du C. N. R. S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991),* ed. by Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle and Michel Parisse (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1993) and Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). For more recent literature see Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300: Memory, Locality and Networks* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Piotr Górecki, *A Local Society in Transition: The Henryków Book and Related Documents* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2007), pp. 10-35; Patrick Geary, 'From Charter to Cartulary: From Archival Practice to History', in *Representing History, 900-1300: Art, Music, History,* ed. by Robert Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), pp. 181-86; Michael Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire: Monastic Administration, Economy, and Archival Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020) and Joanna Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi-Scribe Manuscripts and their Patterns of Growth. A Study of the Earliest Cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020).

of the community's lay founder, Sir Walter Manny, and some of the most distinguished monks of the charterhouse in this historical narrative. It analyses the various ways in which the chronicle constructs Manny as an ideal founder of the London charterhouse by emphasising his distinguished secular status whilst depicting the knight as embodying certain pious characteristics of the monks of his Carthusian foundation.

The cartulary of the London charterhouse, now Kew, The National Archives, LR 2/61, was most likely first compiled during the last decade of the fifteenth century. This rather tentative dating is based on the list of the house's priors inserted on folio 15v of the manuscript. The list initially extended up to the priorate of Richard Roche who held this position from 1488 up to his resignation in 1500.[224] The name of his successor as prior, William Tynbygh (r. 1500-1529) was later inserted in the margin below in a different hand to the main text, as shown in figure 2.1 below.[225] The chronicle at the beginning of the cartulary extends up to the foundation of a chapel outside of the charterhouse's cemetery dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints in December 1481.[226] The copies of charters, wills and other administrative documents that take up the remainder of the cartulary range in date from the mid-fourteenth century until the reign of King Henry VI (d. 1471), although further material was later included up to 1515.[227]

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[224] 'No[m]i[n]a priorum: Primus p[ri]or D[omin]us I. Luscote XXVII annis et di. Secundus p[ri]or D[omin]us I. Okedon XV annis et di. Tercius prior D[omin]us I. Maplested XXVI annis et di. Quartus p[ri]or D[omin]us Ioh[ann]es Thorne VIII annis. Quintus prior I. Walweyn vno a[nn]o. Sextus prior D[omin]us Seman XX a[n]nis vel circa. Septimus prior D[omin]us Edmu[n]d[us] Storere IX a[n]nis vel circa. Octauus prior D[omin]us Ioh[ann]es Walsyngam X annis vel circa. Nonus prior D[omin]us Ric[ard]us Roche. D[omin]us Will[el]m[u]s Tynbegh', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

[225] For more information on the priors of the London charterhouse see Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* pp. 147-51.

[226] 'Anno d[omi]ni M° CCCC° LXXXI° in festo sancte Lucie virginis et martiris consecratu[m] fuit altare et capella eod[e]m anno edificata in cimiterio ext[ra] mur[u]m', LR 2/61, fol. 13r.

[227] The latest document added to the cartulary was a copy of a pardon granted by an act of parliament in 1515 found on fol. 208v.

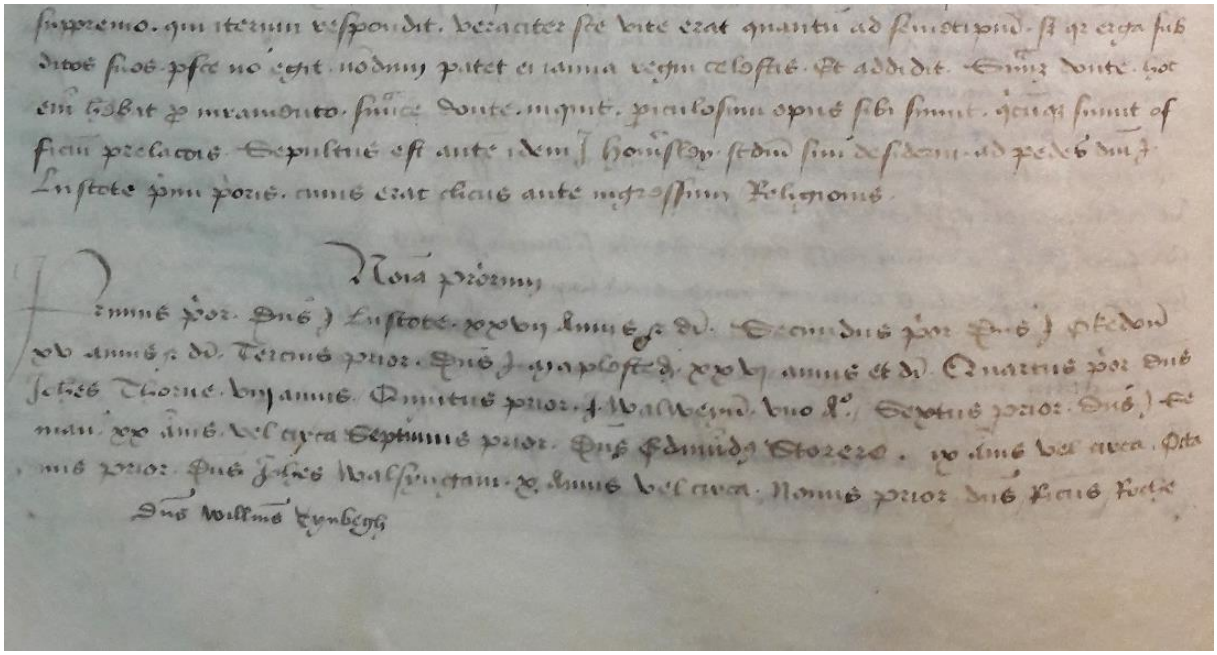

Figure 2.1: List of the priors of the London charterhouse, LR 2/61, fol. 15v

As the cartulary cannot be dated to a specific year, it is difficult to determine with absolute certainty the underlying reasons behind its compilation. The last decade of the fifteenth century appears to have been a financially prosperous period for the community. The accounts of its procurator Philip Underwode (1492-1500) indicate that the charterhouse's income in fact grew substantially during this decade. This was in large part due to an increase in donations from secular benefactors as well as Underwode's skilful management of the charterhouse's estates.[228] In this sense, the London cartulary was not necessarily compiled at a time of financial or political uncertainty for the community, as was the case with the majority of monastic

[228] The roll containing Underwode's financial accounts has survived as Kew, The National Archives, SC 12/25/55. For more on Underwode's time as procurator of the London charterhouse see Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 171-88 and Andrew Wines, 'The University of Life and the London Charterhouse: Practical Experience versus Scholarly Attainment within the Carthusian Leadership', in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson,* ed. by Caroline Barron and Jenny Stratford (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2002), pp. 100-109.

foundations that chose to gather together documents from their archives as a means to protect their properties, privileges and rights.

However, the London charterhouse's growing prosperity at this time does appear to have played a part in straining its relationship with the Carthusian General Chapter. In 1494 its monks were reprimanded for keeping money and gifts that had been granted to them by their benefactors for their own personal use. They were once more admonished by the diffinitors of the General Chapter in 1496 over the same issue and were ordered to ensure that all funds received by individual monks were handed over to the house's procurator.[229] It is possible that the London cartulary was therefore first compiled during a period when the community's commitment to the precepts of the Carthusian order was under intense scrutiny. As such, the monks of the London charterhouse may have been motivated to assemble their cartulary not only to safeguard their own material interests but also to defend the reputation of their charterhouse. This may account for why they chose to include a chronicle which details the history of the charterhouse and extols the deeds of its most distinguished members alongside the numerous charters, wills and other diplomatic materials that take up the remainder of the cartulary.

The cartulary as a whole is fairly substantial in size. It is made up of 216 folios in total, each measuring 41.5 x 32.5 cm. The first seven folios contain charters relating to the lands held by the charterhouse in Kent. These were likely misplaced during a later rebinding of the manuscript as the chronicle and administrative documents relating to the foundation of the charterhouse are subsequently found on folios 10r-24r of the

[229] For more on this dispute see Wines, *The London* Charterhouse, pp. 240-45 and Wines, 'The University of Life and the London Charterhouse', pp. 108-109.

manuscript. Each of the folios in this section contain the heading 'primaria fundacio'. After this, the cartulary is divided geographically according to the numerous properties and lands which the charterhouse had accumulated across London, Buckinghamshire, Wiltshire, and other counties across the south of England (fols 28v-199r). The manuscript concludes with a series of royal documents originally dating from the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (fols 200r-215r). The presence of blank folios between individual sections does suggest that the community planned to include further material at a later date.

The foundation section of the cartulary begins with an account of the events leading up to the eventual establishment of the London charterhouse in 1371 and the construction of its cells, chapels and altars throughout the fifteenth century (fols 10r-13v). The narrative is briefly interrupted at this stage by a list containing the names of the founders of the individual cells at the charterhouse on folio 14r before it resumes on folio 14v with a record of the lives and deeds of several monks of the community from the early fifteenth century. The chronicle ends with the list of the charterhouse's priors on folio 15v. This is followed by a list of chantries that had been established within the community's church by the end of the fifteenth century (fols 16r-17r). The remainder of the foundation section is taken up by copies of charters, wills and other administrative documents relating to the charterhouse's origins (fols 18r-24r) such as the foundation charter granted by Manny in 1371 (fols 21v-22r) and his will from the same year (fols 22r-22v).

The chronicle of the London charterhouse was written by an anonymous monk of the community at the end of the fifteenth century. It is possible that the scribe of the foundation section of the cartulary was in fact the original author of the chronicle.

However, as this cannot be determined with absolute certainty, the following analysis does not conflate the original chronicler of the charterhouse with the scribe of the cartulary. In either case, the anonymous monk responsible for recording the foundation history of his charterhouse appears to have had full access to the community's archives when writing the chronicle. The narrative is often interrupted by copies of letters, charters and other administrative documents relating to the charterhouse's early history. For example, on folio 10v he included a copy of an indenture signed by Sir Walter Manny and the Bishop of London, Michael of Northburgh, in 1361 in which they agreed to pursue the establishment of a Carthusian house in the city.[230] At the same time, the anonymous chronicler appears to have drawn on the recollections of his fellow monks to compile the history of his charterhouse. He prefaces his account of the deeds of the monk John Homersley (d. 1450) by stating he had been told these stories by his brethren John Neville, Thomas Gorwey and Dan Hatherley who had been at the charterhouse at the same time as Homersley.[231] In this sense, the chronicle can be seen to represent both the written, documentary history of the London charterhouse as well as the informal, oral history of the community.

Previous research on the presentation of monastic foundation narratives has highlighted their fundamental role in shaping a community's sense of identity. Using foundation legends produced by Benedictine monasteries in southern France, Amy Remensnyder has shown that they were often utilised as a means to construct or re-

[230] The significance of this indenture is discussed in greater depth below in section 2.5.
[231] 'Anno d[omi]ni M° CCC° LXXXXIII° D[omin]us Ioh[ann]es Homersley receptus fuit ad ordinem in hac domo London[ium]. Fuerunt itaq[ue] in diebus meis d[omin]us Ioh[ann]es Neuyll, D[omin]us Thomas Gorwey et D[omin]us Will[el]mus Hatherley […] qui pred[ic]t[u]m Ioh[anne]m Homersley in corpore viderunt quiq[ue] eiusd[e]m laudabilem conu[er]sacionem multum com[m]endauerunt. Specialius t[ame]n pred[ic]tus D[omin]us Thomas Gorwey, qui fuit eius nouicius ea que subscribunt[ur] narrare consueuit. Quedam autem que idem Thomas Gorwey de ip[s]o retulit audiui eciam de pred[ic]to d[omi]no W. Hatherley', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.

affirm a sense of communal identity and purpose. These narratives could establish symbolic boundaries which helped to distinguish particular communities from their monastic rivals and the secular world. At the same time, they were often used to emphasise to both internal and external audiences the legitimacy and pre-eminence of their houses. Due to this, they were typically written during periods of uncertainty, especially when the rights, properties or even identities of monastic communities were believed to be under threat.[232]

Janet Burton has approached the *Historia Fundationis* of the Cistercian abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx, written by the third abbot of Byland named Philip in 1197, in a similar manner. She has argued that the abbot intended to use the text to fashion a corporate identity for the two communities. This was achieved in part by utilising a number of common themes and conventions from wider Cistercian literature. For example, the chronicle presents the first monks of Byland abbey as replicating the struggles experienced by the founders of the order's motherhouse at Cîteaux which were outlined in the *Exordium Parvum* and disseminated across the order. In this manner, Philip sought to place his community firmly within the broader identity of the Cistercian order and demonstrate that its monks shared the same values as the order's founders.[233]

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[232] Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 1-15. For more on Benedictine foundation narratives see Penelope Johnson, 'Pious Legends and Historical Realities: The Foundations of La Trinité de Vendôme, Bonport and Holyrood', *Revue bénédictine*, 91 (1981), 184-93 and Constance Bouchard, 'High Medieval Monks Contemplate their Merovingian Past', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 1 (2012), 41-62.

[233] *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, ed. by Janet Burton (York: Borthwick Publications, 2006), pp. xxx-xxxvi and Janet Burton, 'Constructing a Corporate Identity: The *Historia Fundationis* of the Cistercian Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities*, ed. by Müller and Stöber, pp. 327-40 (pp. 329-32). For more on the foundation narratives of individual Cistercian communities see Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 127-69 and Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context,* pp. 19-56.

For the Carthusian order, more attention has been given to how its members commemorated the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse by St Bruno and his followers rather than to how Carthusian communities chose to represent the origins of their own individual foundations.[234] This approach has served to reinforce the monolithic, timeless image of the order as uniformly and exclusively committed to maintaining the contemplative and eremitic principles of its founders. In consequence, the ways in which individual charterhouses utilised the presentation of their own particular foundation histories within the context of their local circumstances have remained underexplored.

This gap has recently been addressed by scholarship concerning Carthusian houses in the Low Countries. Mario Damen and Robert Stein have shown how the lay founders of the Brabantine charterhouse of Scheut attempted to legitimise their foundation by emphasising the charterhouse's purpose of commemorating the battle of Scheut (1356). Chronicles written by individuals closely involved in the foundation of the charterhouse intentionally presented the date of its consecration as 1456, exactly one hundred years following the battle, despite the ceremony having actually taken place in the previous year. By appealing to the existing local memory of this battle, the lay founders sought to ensure the support of the local population for their charterhouse and appropriate the use of the site from a spontaneous cult of a miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary.[235] Matthew Champion has examined the foundation narrative of the

[234] For example, see R. H. Bowers, 'Middle English Verses on the Founding of the Carthusian Order', *Speculum,* 42 (1967), 710-13 and Raymond Boyer, 'The Companions of St. Bruno in Middle English Verses on the Foundation of the Carthusian Order', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 784-85.
[235] Mario Damen and Robert Stein, 'Collective Memory and Personal Memoria: The Carthusian Monastery of Scheut as a Crossroads of Urban and Princely Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Brabant', in *Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays bourguignons (ca 1380-1580): Rencontres de Luxembourg (22 au 25 septembre 2011),* ed. by J. M. Cauchies and P. Peporte (Neuchâtel: Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes, 2012), pp. 29-48 (pp. 35-37).

Louvain charterhouse written by one of its monks, Jan Vekenstijl, in the early sixteenth century. He has suggested that Vekenstijl emphasised the hardships experienced by the community's first monks to encourage an affective response from its readers. By doing so, the monk sought to draw his community closer together across temporal space as later monks could empathise with the sufferings of their brothers in the knowledge that these led to the successful foundation of their charterhouse.[236]

Julian Luxford has outlined the attitude of the Carthusians towards the foundation of their individual communities using written and material evidence from several charterhouses in England.[237] His analysis of two different accounts of the origins of the Coventry charterhouse has revealed the extent to which foundation narratives were determined by the particular aims of their writers and their intended audiences. The first account derives from a chronicle presumably written by one of the monks at the charterhouse. Although the original manuscript has been lost, William Dugdale printed fragments of the chronicle in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*.[238] In this text, the anonymous monk emphasised the role played by King Richard II and Queen Anne in the foundation of the charterhouse following the death of William, Lord Zouche of Harringworth. He also noted the donations given to the community by prominent citizens of Coventry. In this manner, the monk presented his charterhouse as being at the centre of a local patronage network from its very foundation. The second narrative is found in a fifteenth-century manuscript from the charterhouse of St Margaret in Basel. The author of this brief account chose to ignore all references to royal

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[236] Matthew Champion, 'Emotions and the Social Order of Time: Constructing History at Louvain's Carthusian House, 1486-1525', in *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder,* ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 89-108 (pp. 91-94).
[237] Julian Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities,* ed. by Müller and Stöber, pp. 275-305 (pp. 291-99).
[238] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, pp. 16-17.

involvement and instead focused almost exclusively on the initiative of Coventry's first prior, Robert Palmer, who was presented as the main force behind the charterhouse's foundation. Luxford has argued that this difference was primarily due to the writer seeking to extol the Carthusian qualities of Palmer and emphasise the independence and self-sufficiency of the charterhouse.[239] Monastic foundation narratives were therefore never neutral sources. Instead, they were moulded and shaped according to the interests of their authors and the expectations of their different audiences at the time in which they were written.

The chronicle at the beginning of the London cartulary offers a valuable insight into how another urban Carthusian community sought to assert a sense of collective purpose and identity at the end of the fifteenth century. The text has traditionally been treated as a relatively objective, historical account which illustrates the institutional development and early history of the charterhouse.[240] This approach has been challenged by Andrew Wines, who has cautioned against accepting the narrative at face value and questioned the extent to which Manny actually deserves to be credited with the founding of the charterhouse. Instead, he has called for greater appreciation of the roles played by the community's first prior, John Luscote, and prominent local citizens in establishing the charterhouse.[241] Luxford has since considered the commemorative

[239] Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', pp. 294-95 and Julian Luxford, 'The Charterhouse of St. Anne, Coventry', in *Coventry: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the City and its Vicinity,* ed. by Linda Monckton and Richard Morris (Leeds: Maney, 2011), pp. 240-66 (p. 241). For more on Palmer see Leone Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis* (Montreuil: Cartusiae Mariae de Pratis, 1890), II, 336-38.

[240] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 167-98 and Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 47-63.

[241] Wines, *The London Charterhouse,* pp. 60-65 and Andrew Wines, 'The Founders of the London Charterhouse', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 61-71. Luscote likely played an important role in the development of the Carthusian order in the wider *Provincia Angliae*. Le Couteulx records that Luscote was named the first visitor of the province by the Carthusian General Chapter in 1370, at the same time as being appointed overseer of the prospective charterhouse at London; see

function of the foundation narrative for the monks of London charterhouse at the end of the fifteenth century. He has suggested that this text served as a complement to Manny's tomb located at the centre of the monks' choir. It was intended to act as a stimulus for the community to commemorate their lay founder and remind the monks of their intercessory obligations to others.[242]

This chapter builds upon Luxford's analysis of how the monks of London charterhouse may have engaged with the tomb of their lay founder. It considers the various ways in which the anonymous chronicler carefully crafted an image of Manny that reflected how the community perceived its own purpose and identity at the turn of the sixteenth century. The initial section of this chapter provides a brief introduction to Manny's life and his relationship with the London charterhouse before his death in 1372. It then discusses why the chronicler chose to emphasise Manny's relationship with the royal family and his distinguished military reputation for the benefit of his community at the end of the fifteenth century. The second part of this chapter then examines how the devotional traits attributed to Manny in the foundation narrative corresponded with those of past monks of the charterhouse whose lives and deeds were also recorded by the anonymous chronicler. In particular, it considers how Manny is shown to have replicated the Carthusian monks' struggles with the Devil and demons in the solitude of their cells, imitated their practice of reflecting on death and embodied the monks' commitment to caring for the souls of the dead. These tropes are analysed in

Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis, VI, 100-2 and VII, 68-69. See also Luscote's entry in Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis*, II, 334.

[242] Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', pp. 293-94 and Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', pp. 266-74.

the specific context of the London charterhouse and the wider traditions of the Carthusian order in England and the continent.

This chapter suggests that the anonymous chronicler endowed Manny with the pious characteristics of the monks of his charterhouse for two primary reasons. The first was to demonstrate Manny's suitability in assuming the role of founder of a Carthusian house and receiving the privilege of being buried within the choir of the charterhouse's church. The second reason was to use the figure of Manny as a means to express in an easily digestible form the community's belief in its own distinguished status. The knight provided a sense of continuity for the monks of the London charterhouse at the turn of the sixteenth century who could see that their growing intercessory responsibilities ultimately fulfilled Manny's desire to provide the most effective care for the souls of the Christian faithful.

2.1 Sir Walter Manny and the London Charterhouse

Sir Walter Manny was a prominent political and military figure in the court of King Edward III long before the eventual foundation of the London charterhouse in 1371. He was born in the county of Hainaut around 1310 as the fourth son of Jean le Borgne, the Lord of Masny, and Jeanne de Jenlain and he first came to England in 1327. He originally served as a page in the household of the king's wife, Queen Philippa de Hainaut, before becoming the keeper of her greyhounds. He was subsequently knighted by Edward in 1331 and appointed the keeper of Harlech castle and sheriff of Merioneth in north Wales the following year. During the 1330s Manny accumulated greater wealth and influence after receiving estates across Buckinghamshire and Norfolk from the king. He was granted these lands as a reward for playing a leading role in several military

expeditions in Scotland throughout the decade. His exploits during these invasions also led to his appointment as admiral of the king's fleet north of the Thames following Edward's declaration of war against King Philip VI of France in 1337.[243]

Manny's reputation as a distinguished soldier in conflicts across Scotland, France and the Low Countries owed much to his depiction in the chronicles of Jean le Bel and Jean Froissart, who were both natives of Hainaut and personal acquaintances of Manny. Unsurprisingly, they chose to depict him as the quintessential chivalric warrior. Writing in the late 1350s, le Bel commended Manny for achieving 'countless feats of prowess in many places, and so many bold missions […] that he was deemed the worthiest knight known' to all.[244] In his account of the siege of Aiguillon in 1346, he asserted that Manny should be remembered before all other knights because he always headed into battle first and was the last to return from the frontline, whilst he never ceased to drive 'his companions on to ever finer deeds'.[245] In Froissart's embellished account of this siege, he describes how Manny fought valiantly on his own outside of the town's walls, despite being knocked from his horse and surrounded by French troops, until he was eventually rescued by the earl of Pembroke.[246] Alongside his heroic, if rather reckless, actions on the battlefield, Manny was also shown to have been merciful when he deemed it necessary. Le Bel depicts the knight attempting to convince King Edward not to behead the six burghers who had surrendered the city of Calais to the English and offered

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[243] Jonathan Sumption, 'Mauny, Sir Walter (c. 1310-1372)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition ed. by Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/article/17985> [accessed 17 May 2017]
[244] *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290-1360*, trans. by Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 51-52.
[245] *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel,* p. 164.
[246] Jean Froissart, *Chroniques Livre I (première partie, 1325-1350) et Livre II: Rédaction du manuscrit de New York Pierpont Morgan Library M.804,* ed. by Peter Ainsworth and George Diller (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2001), pp. 531-32.

themselves as prisoners in 1347. Manny is said to have urged the king to restrain himself and not act out of cruelty for fear that men should speak ill of him.[247]

Although the chivalrous image of Manny in the chronicles of le Bel and Froissart is certainly overplayed, he was admitted into the Order of the Garter by King Edward in 1359, the highest order of knighthood attainable even to the present day. Manny also appears to have enjoyed a close relationship with the royal family, especially after his marriage to the king's cousin, Margaret of Brotherton, in the mid-1350s. At the same time, he became increasingly involved in the diplomatic affairs of the king, serving continually on the royal council and acting as ambassador for the king in France and the Low Countries until his death in 1372.[248] Manny's status as one of the leading figures in England was reflected in his funeral. Froissart claimed that this was attended by King Edward and all of his sons, except the Black Prince, as well as a large number of prelates and noblemen who were greatly afflicted by his death.[249]

Alongside his diplomatic activities, the latter stages of Manny's life were taken up by the protracted foundation of the charterhouse of London. This process began with Manny's initial desire to provide a suitable burial site for victims of the plague which led to his acquisition of an enclosed field known as Spitalcroft from St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1349. The knight's original intention to attach a college of twelve secular priests to the chapel located within the cemetery was altered after he was approached by the Bishop of London, Michael of Northburgh. The bishop is said to have recently

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[247] *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel,* pp. 202-3.
[248] Sumption, 'Mauny, Sir Walter (c. 1310-1372)' and D. A. L. Morgan, 'The Charterhouse of Cadzand and the Serendipities of Empire', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies,* ed. by Huw Pryce and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 164-80 (p. 172).
[249] Jean Froissart, *Chroniques Livre I: Le manuscrit d'Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale no 486*, ed. by George Diller, 5 vols (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1991-98), IV, 162.

visited the charterhouse of Paris during a pilgrimage to Rome and sought to establish a Carthusian house at London.[250] Inspired by the example of the Parisian foundation, Northburgh wrote a letter to the priors of Witham and Hinton stating that he hoped the establishment of a charterhouse in London would help to 'advance the spiritual edification of the masses' more than all of the Carthusian houses in England had been able to accomplish during the past two centuries given their remote locations. He argued that the charterhouses of Paris, Avignon, Bruges, Saint-Omer and Cologne demonstrated that Carthusian communities could be successfully built close to towns and cities rather than simply 'in deserted places apart from the busy haunts of men'.[251]

Manny agreed to pursue the foundation of a charterhouse in London alongside Northburgh in an indenture signed between them in 1361 and continued with the project after the sudden death of the bishop almost immediately after this agreement. With the assistance of John Luscote, then prior of Hinton charterhouse and later first prior of the London community, the knight eventually secured the approval of the Carthusian General Chapter for the proposed charterhouse to be incorporated into the order. After granting his foundation charter to the community in 1371, Manny died the

[250] Wines has argued that Northburgh's visit to the Paris charterhouse most likely took place during his return from Rome in 1354; see Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 49.

[251] 'Carissimi in Christo f[ra]tres quia ordo v[este]r diu stetit in Anglia pene p[er] CC annos et tamen vix inter mille viros regni vix unus nouit q[uo]d talis ordo in p[ar]tib[us] istis existit. Veru[m]tamen nec est miru[m] q[uia] om[n]es domos quas h[ab]etis in des[er]tis loc[is] site sunt. Qua propter gratum et acceptu[m] diuine fore magestati estimam[us] q[uo]d fiat vna domus p[ro]pe civitatem London, vbi concursus est tocius regni. Veraciter supponentes q[uo]d magis p[ro]ficiet vna domus illic sita in paucis an[n]is ad multoru[m] edificac[i]o[n]em sp[irit]ualem q[uam] om[n]es domus Anglie profecerunt a tempore quo p[ri]mitus in istis p[ar]tib[us] fundate sunt. S[ed] forcitan dicetis p[ro]po[s]itu[m] n[ost]r[u]m exigit vt sim[us] in locis des[er]tis et a multa freque[n]tac[i]o[n]e segregatis. Ad quod aio. Certu[m] e[st] q[uod] hoc fuit p[ri]mu[m] p[ro]positu[m] v[est]r[u]m. S[ed] q[ui]d vt verum fatear sapientes et s[anc]ti viri instinctu s[anc]ti sp[irit]us edocti, considerantes antiqua[m] v[est]ri ordinis solitudine[m] modicu[m] proficere ad exemplum alior[um] in aliis regnis fecerunt fieri plures domos iuxta magnas ciuitates et villas, prout vidim[us] p[ro]pe P[ar]isius, Auinionem, Bruges, s[anc]t[u]m Audomaru[m] ac infra ciuitate[m] Colon et in multis aliis locis', LR 2/61, fol. 11r.

following year and was buried in front of the high altar of the chapel that was eventually converted into the conventual church.[252]

2.2 Manny's Royal and Aristocratic Connections according to the London Chronicler

In the cartulary of the London charterhouse, the anonymous chronicler chiefly focuses on Manny's role in the establishment of his community, with a record of the knight's deeds serving to structure the initial stages of the foundation narrative. Alongside this, the chronicler also chose to draw attention repeatedly to Manny's renowned noble status during his lifetime. He appears to have been particularly keen to highlight the knight's personal connections with members of the royal family and aristocratic figures. The foundation narrative in fact begins with the coronation of King Edward III at Westminster, incorrectly dated to 1326, and his marriage to Philippa de Hainaut. Manny is subsequently introduced as a relative of the Queen's father, the Count of Hainaut, and is lauded as 'an approved man in all things praiseworthy, whether in matters of religion or human knowledge'. Due to Manny's gentleness, grace and sanctity, the count is said to have willingly placed his daughter under the knight's care 'as if to a father to be educated' when she travelled to England'.[253]

Manny's close relationship with Edward III is also emphasised by the anonymous chronicler. Wearied by old age, the king is said to have appointed Manny as guardian of his firstborn son Edward, the Prince of Wales, ostensibly as a result of the knight's

[252] For more details on the actual foundation of the London charterhouse see Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse,* pp. 3-6, 15-21 and Wines, 'The Founders of the London Charterhouse', pp. 61-71.
[253] 'Anno d[omi]ni mill[esi]mo CCC^{mo} XXVI^{o} ap[u]d Westmonasteriu[m], coronac[i]o Regis Edwardi tercii, a[nn]o etat[is] sue XIIII, qui duxit in vxorem Philippam filiam Comit[is] Honon[ie] cu[m] qua ide[m] comes misit cognatu[m] suu[m], D[omin]um Walterum de Mawny, viru[m] probatu[m] et p[er] o[mn]ia laubabilem, tam in diuina q[u]a[m] in humana sciencia, opti[m]e eruditum, cui comes ip[s]e filiam sua[m] quasi patri erudiendam com[m]endauit, q[uia] vir ille in p[o]p[u]lo suo mitissimus apparuit, s[anc]titate et g[rat]ia plenus', LR 2/61, fol. 10r.

'nobility shining gloriously before the lord king'.[254] The importance of Manny's personal connections with the royal family is further highlighted later in the chronicle during the account of his death in 1372. At this point in the narrative the chronicler declares that Manny had hoped to bequeath an estimated total of £4,000 to the charterhouse which was owed to him by Edward III and the Prince of Wales.[255]

By drawing attention to Manny's prominent secular status in the chronicle, the anonymous monk was, in turn, attempting to enhance the prestige of his own charterhouse through its association with the knight.[256] Furthermore, in pointing specifically to Manny's wish to bequeath the royal funds he was owed by Edward III and the Prince of Wales to the charterhouse, the chronicler also likely sought to give a royal tone to the initial foundation of the house.[257] However, this differs quite significantly from the actual process of the house's initial foundation. As Wines has shown, the estimated £4,000 of royal funds owed to Manny alongside the manors and estates he bequeathed were never actually received by the London charterhouse. The community's cells were constructed only after Manny's death in 1372 and the knight's funds only contributed towards the construction of a single cell. Instead, the development of the charterhouse in its earliest stages owed more to the successive

[254] 'Tam gl[or]iose eciam ap[u]d pred[i]c[tu]m d[omin]um Rege[m] eius fulsit nobilitas, q[uo]d cu[m] magestatem regiam grandeue debilitatis lassasset senectus primogeniti sui Edwardi principis Vallie illustris deno[m]i[n]ati ip[su]m constituit curatorem', LR 2/61, fol. 10r.
[255] 'Legauit quoq[ue] idem d[omin]us de Mawny priori et f[rat]ribus hui[us] dom[us] M li sterlingorum, que sibi debebant[ur] a predicto d[omi]no rege E[dwardi] tercii et aliam grande[m] summa[m] pecunie que sibi debebat[ur] a pred[ic]to d[omi]no principe Vallie […] que debita vt alebi [*sic*] inscripta vidi ad sum[m]am IIII M li se extendu[n]t', LR 2/61, fol. 12r.
[256] For more on how monastic communities displayed their connections to prominent individuals and families see Karen Stöber, 'Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities in their Writing of History', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities*, ed. by Müller and Stöber, pp. 369-83 (p. 372).
[257] For similar use of this strategy in twelfth-century monastic foundation legends see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past,* pp. 100-107.

benefactions of local merchants and citizens rather than Manny alone.[258] Their contribution is not necessarily ignored in the cartulary; however, it is restricted to the list recording the names of the founders of the cells and the brief overview of the funds that these individuals provided towards the foundation of these cells that are presented in the middle of the chronicle (fols 14r-14v.).[259] The involvement of local citizens in the material construction of the charterhouse is therefore noticeably overshadowed in the cartulary in favour of the considerable attention given to Manny's role as first founder of the charterhouse.

Manny's personal connections with the royal family perhaps account for why the chronicler chose to commemorate his role in the foundation process in such an extensive manner as this corresponded more with how the monks of the London charterhouse at the end of the fifteenth century perceived their own relationship to the royal family. Throughout the foundation section of the cartulary the community's close association with royalty is emphasised. The list of the house's chantries is consciously structured to highlight the house's obligations towards royal and aristocratic figures. The first indenture concerns King Richard II's grant of the advowson of the church of Edlesburgh in Buckinghamshire. In gratitude for this, one of the monks of the charterhouse was bound to specially pray for the souls of Richard, his wife Anne, his father Edward the Prince of Wales, his mother, brother and grandfather Edward III in perpetuity.[260] The subsequent indenture similarly demonstrates the house's

[258] Wines, 'The Founders of the London Charterhouse', pp. 62-64.
[259] For a detailed discussion concerning the individuals responsible for funding the construction of the charterhouse's cells see Wines, *The London Charterhouse,* pp. 66-118.
[260] 'In primis p[er] cartam Regis Ric[ard]i secundi sigillatam sub magno sigillo p[er] quam dedit nobis aduocac[i]o[n]em eccl[es]ie de Edlesburgh cum licencia eandem ap[ro]priandi et p[er] bullam p[a]p[a]lem de ap[ro]priac[i]o[n]e eiusdem eccl[es]ie p[er]petuo oneram[ur], q[uo]d vnus confratru[m] n[ost]rorum cerlebrabit [*sic*] sp[eci]aliter et orabit p[ro] a[n]i[m]abus d[ic]ti d[omi]ni Regis Ric[ard]i et d[omi]ne Anne quondam vxoris sue Regine, d[omi]ni Edwardi dudum principis Wallie, p[at]ris d[omi]ne

responsibility to royal individuals. Through the endowments of Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, two monks of the charterhouse were required to celebrate divine service not only for the souls of Thomas and his family but also King Edward III.[261] The third indenture highlights that another monk was also bound to pray for the soul of the prominent noblewoman Marie de St Pol who was the countess of Pembroke and great-granddaughter of King Henry III. This was on account of the £200 she had given towards the construction of a cell on the north side of the house's cloister and other gifts she had donated to the community before her death. Alongside the countess, this monk was also obliged to pray for the souls of her parents, the Count of St Pol Guy of Châtillon and his wife Marie of Brittany, as well as Marie de St Pol's husband, Aymer de Valence the 2nd Earl of Pembroke, and his parents.[262]

Following the list of the house's chantries the chronicler also inserted a memorandum concerning King Edward IV's grant of the manor at Okebourne, Wiltshire, in 1462. This fulfilled the original licence granted by his predecessor King Henry VI for the charterhouse to acquire lands and rents in mortmain to the yearly value of £40 in addition to a further grant of a 'tun' of wine yearly at Martinmas.[263] The chronicler

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Iohanne nup[er] principisse matris d[omi]ni Edwardi f[rat]ris d[ic]ti Regis Ric[ard]i et d[omi]ni Edwardi tercii quondam Regis Anglie aui sui, et om[n]i[um] fideliu[m] defunctorum', LR 2/61, fol. 16r.

[261] 'Item p[er] vnam indenturam sigillatam sigillo reuerendi p[at]ris d[omi]ni Thome Hatfield, quondam Dunelm[ensis] E[pisco]pi, qui duas cellas construxit in orientali plaga claustra […] p[er]petuo obligam[ur] […] et orent sp[eci]aliter p[ro] a[n]i[m]ab[us] d[ic]ti reu[er]endi p[at]ris d[omi]ni Thome E[pisco]pi, Edwardi Regis tercii, Ioh[ann]is p[at]ris sui, Margerie m[at]ris sue, Will[elm]i f[rat]ris sui, Ioha[n]ne et Margarete, sororum suarum ac om[n]i[um] defunctorum', LR 2/61, fol. 16r.

[262] 'Item p[er] terciam indenturam obligamur q[uo]d vnus monachus imp[er]p[etuu]m celebrabit sp[eci]aliter et orabit pro anima d[omi]ne Marie de Sancto Paulo quondam Comitisse de Penbroch, que construxit vnam cellam in boriali parte claustri et vltra hoc dedit ad dotacionem domus ducentas libras et alia plurima dona. Dictus eciam monachus similiter celebrabit p[ro] a[n]i[m]ab[us] d[omi]ni Adomary, quondam Comitis de Penbroch viri d[ic]te comitisse, d[omi]ni Guydonis de Chastellon et d[omi]ne Marie p[ar]entu[m] suo[rum], d[omi]ni Will[elm]i de Valencia et d[omi]ne Iohanne p[ar]entum d[ict]i Adomari', LR 2/61, fol. 16r. For more on Marie de St Pol's patronage of religious institutions see Wines, *The London Charterhouse,* pp. 91-93.

[263] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VI, Vol. VI, A.D. 1452-1461* (London: H. M. S. O., 1910), p. 480 and *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward IV, Vol. I, A.D. 1461-1467* (London: H. M. S. O., 1897), p. 141. In 1483 a tun of wine was said to have

stresses that given Edward's grant and his special devotion to the Carthusian order he should be remembered specially by his community.[264] Furthermore, it is perhaps not coincidental that in the miraculous tales involving past monks of the London charterhouse a royal figure is used to highlight how the monks were well acquainted with the fate of the dead in the afterlife. The chronicler describes how the monk John Homersley witnessed a vision of the soul of King Henry V entering 'the kingdom of eternal blessedness, being wholly delivered from the realms of Purgatory'.[265] Henry's release from the pains of Purgatory was no doubt accelerated by the prayers of the Carthusians in general. The obit list published by the General Chapter in 1423 indicates that the king was granted a yearly obit *cum psalteriis monachatum* across the whole order, whilst his anniversary was also included in the conventual calendar on the last day of August.[266] The reliability of Homersley's vision was seemingly corroborated when it was also witnessed by an unnamed anchorite in St Margaret's church, Westminster. Their visions are said to have prompted Henry's executors to place a silver tomb over his body now that they were suitably convinced that the king had truly attained salvation.[267]

The foundation section of the cartulary suggests that by the end of the fifteenth century the monks of the London charterhouse, or at the very least its chronicler,

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measured 252 gallons, see *The Statutes of the Realm Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, Vol. II* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1963), pp. 496-97.

[264] 'M[emoran]d[um] quod p[re]potens princeps, D[omin]us Edwardus quartus Rex Anglie, ordini n[ost]ro deuotus, dedit nob[is] Maneriu[m] de Okebourne p[ar]ua in Comitatu Wilt[oniens]es', LR 2/61, fol. 14v.

[265] 'Quadam nocte vidit a[n]i[m]am Regis Henrici quinti eterne beatitudinis regnu[m] statim intratura[m] a locis purgatoriis, penitus delib[er]atam', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

[266] Hogg and Sargent, 'Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part I', p. 67.

[267] 'Eandem i[n] visione vidit quidam anachorita, inclus[us] iuxta eccl[es]iam s[anc]te Margarete Westmonasterii, quam retulit cuidam conuerso ordinis n[ost]ri. De hora vero pred[ic]te lib[er]ac[i]o[n]is ide[m] anachorita cu[m] ip[s]o I[ohanni] Homersley p[er] o[mn]ia concordabat. Quod dicti regis executores audientes desup[er] corp[us] eiusde[m] sepultu[m] tu[m]ba[m] collocari fec[er]u[n]t argenteam', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

regarded themselves as closely associated with the royal family and prominent aristocratic figures. Evidence from outside of the cartulary does indicate that the community was in fact establishing fairly close ties with King Henry VII and his immediate family around the same time as its compilation. The financial accounts of the house's procurator Philip Underwode highlight that the charterhouse received a large number of donations from members of the royal family during this period. From June 1497 to December 1498 the king gave over £6 to the charterhouse, his wife Queen Elizabeth of York donated a total amount of £9 for masses to be said on her behalf whilst his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, gave a further 33*s*. In the following year, the Queen gave £6 as 'alms and rewards for various causes and considerations', another £10 for the celebration of masses for a further eighteen months and an extra £20 towards the repair of manors and buildings that were held by the charterhouse. Master Thomas Harsnap, employed as almoner of the king's mother, similarly contributed £20 towards the cost of these repairs.[268]

At the same time, the entire community of the London charterhouse became increasingly responsible for caring for the souls of the royal family. In 1496 the prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the diffinitors of the General Chapter granted Henry VII full participation in all of their spiritual benefits and assigned anniversary obits for the king, his wife and mother, the foremost privilege they could confer on their benefactors. Every priest of the order was bound to celebrate six masses on their behalf, whilst monks who were not ordained were obliged to complete two psalters and illiterate lay brothers three hundred *Pater Nosters* and the same number of 'angelic salutations'. The

[268] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 194-98 and Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 183-84.

prior further ordered that thirty successive masses were to be performed without interruption in every house of the order.[269] From 1504 the king also assigned a yearly sum of £3. 6*s*. 8*d*. specifically to the London charterhouse for a 'solemn anniversary' to be performed within the conventual church.[270] The growing relationship between Henry VII and the charterhouse reached its apogee in 1505 when the king requested that the monks should maintain a hearse in the middle of the chancel of their church, just before the high altar. In a lengthy indenture copied into the cartulary (fols 104v-106v), he specified that four candles were to be set upon the hearse and burnt during every *Placebo, Dirige, Lauds* and *Requiem* masses in honour of his recently deceased wife and his family. Furthermore, every priest in the charterhouse was obliged to perform a *Requiem* mass on the anniversaries of each member of his family, with the king also entitled to receive the same privilege following his own death.[271]

In writing the foundation history of his house the anonymous chronicler perhaps chose to emphasise Manny's eminent noble status and personal relationship with Edward III and other members of the royal family to provide a sense of continuity between his own time and the foundation of his house. Through the figure of Manny, the charterhouse is shown to have been closely involved with the affairs of the royal family from its very inception to the time of the cartulary's composition at the turn of the sixteenth century. In this way the foundation history can be seen to reflect more the perceived elevated status of the charterhouse at the time of the cartulary's compilation than the rather insecure circumstances that surrounded the house's initial foundation.

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[269] *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Henry VII, Vol. II,* p. 69.
[270] *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Henry VII, Vol. II,* pp. 146 and 206.
[271] Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', pp. 273-74. A copy of this agreement was included in the cartulary, see LR 2/61, fols 104v-106v.

2.3 Military Prowess and Spiritual Combat

Manny's aristocratic, knightly background was also associated in other ways with the perceived distinguished purpose and identity of the charterhouse. Another prominent theme that emerges throughout the foundation narrative is the significance of Manny's military prowess. As mentioned previously, Manny played a prominent role in the various military campaigns of King Edward III across Scotland, France and the Low Countries, with tales of his seemingly heroic exploits widely disseminated in the works of Froissart and le Bel.[272] The anonymous chronicler of the London charterhouse similarly celebrates Manny as a gallant, chivalrous warrior. He asserts that Manny was greatly admired within the Order of the Garter and praises him for having engaged in over fourteen lawfully approved duels in his lifetime. The knight is said to have remained undefeated on the battlefield as he did not simply rely on his own strength but continually 'placed his singular trust in the omnipotent God.'[273] In his later account of Manny's death in 1372 , the chronicler further eulogises the knight for not only being 'well stricken in years' but also 'worn out by long and honourable service in arms'.[274] At this point in the narrative he also records the verses which were inscribed on the knight's tomb located before the step of the high altar within the community's church. These verses not only recognised Manny as the first founder and benefactor of the

[272] See section 2.1.
[273] 'Erat ecia[m] in ordine suo milicia, s[cilicet] seculari de le garter, probus valde. Nam XIIII legitti[m]e probitatis, duella no[n] in sue strenuitatis virtute, s[ed] in o[mn]ipotenti deo fiduciam affigens singularem, victor ip[s]e co[m]misit i[n]uictus', LR 2/61, fol. 10r.
[274] 'S[ed] an[te]q[uam] ille annus esset co[m]pletus, id[e]m egregius miles d[omin]us de Mawny cum graui iam e[ss]et senio et armo[rum] venerabili p[ro]bitate confectus esset q[uia] ei sum[m]e in desiderio domu[m] hanc ad maiorem p[er]fecc[i]o[n]em p[er]ducere, vsq[ue] ad morte[m] infirmatus, o[mn]ipotenti deo cui credidit et eius beatissime genetric[is] a[n]i[m]am sua[m] co[m]mendans vniu[er]se carnis viam ingressus est, XVIII k[al.] Februarii', LR 2/61, fol. 12r.

charterhouse but specifically praised him for being made an 'honoured, noble knight through combat and so distinguished that he was thus worthy of a thousand praises'.[275]

Rather than ignore or attempt to downplay Manny's reputation as an outstanding military figure, the chronicler of the London charterhouse appears to have seen this as a fundamental reason why he was in fact an ideal founder of his monastic community. The London chronicler was not the only Carthusian monk to extol the military achievements of the lay founder of his community. Brendan Cassidy has recorded the lengthy eulogy written on the tomb of Niccolò Acciaioli, the grand seneschal of Naples, which was located in the chapel of St Tobias at the charterhouse of Galluzzo, just outside of Florence. Alongside detailing his numerous titles and achievements as a political figure, the inscription declares that Niccolò's glorious military service should always remain famous and his tremendous strength in arms never forgotten.[276]

Even more significant for the London chronicler was that Manny translated his expertise on the battlefield to successfully defending his monastic foundation from its enemies. This can be seen in the account of the house's first prior, John Luscote, and Manny's various disagreements with the brethren of the hospital of St Bartholomew, the bishop of Ely and the chapter of St Paul's concerning lands and properties to be used for

[275] 'Sepultusq[ue] prout ip[s]e voluit in eccl[es]ia pred[ic]ta, quam a fundamentis erex[er]at ante gradu[m] maioris altaris sup[er] cui[us] tumulu[m] sequentes versus exarate sunt. Mawny Walterus iacet hic tumulatus. Cuius amor verus Christo fuit associatus. Miles honoratus p[er] prelia nobilis ille. Sic sublimatus m[er]uit p[re]conia mille. Prim[us] fundator q[ue] domus d[omi]ni fuit hui[us]. Muneris ip[s]e dator largi p[ro] no[m]i[n]e cui[us]. In mauri festo nature debita soluit. Qui pius, ac presto, secum bene cuncta reuoluit. Anno milleno ter centu[m] septuageno. Primo sunt fata sua sic d[omi]no rep[er]ata. Sanguine sinceri pie Christe velis mis[er]eri. Mawny Walteri tecu[m] q[uo]d possit haberi', LR 2/61, fol. 12r.

[276] 'Gloria militie mansuraque fama suorum: offensis alta infundens oblivia lesus fidus consiliis et ferro in bella tremendus', Cassidy, 'The Tombs of the Acciaioli', p. 336.

the benefit of the charterhouse.[277] These disputes are presented together in the narrative as part of Manny and Luscote's overarching battle against the Devil. The chronicler laments how in these disagreements the Devil 'for many seasons and years […] fought so that the aforementioned plan [of building a charterhouse in London] should not be advanced'.[278] The Devil is said to have made Luscote initially hesitate in committing to the project. A close friend of the prior initially convinced him that building a charterhouse in London would have a detrimental effect on the rest of the Carthusian foundations in England and offered him £1,000 to work against the plan.[279] The Devil later prevented Manny and the executors of Michael Northburgh from properly securing the purchase of two manors in Kent to support the proposed charterhouse.[280] Despite all of these setbacks, the chronicler gladly records that Manny and Luscote were ultimately able to overcome each of these adversities and the deceits of the Devil in securing the foundation of the charterhouse in London. As the charterhouse was on the verge of being incorporated into the Carthusian order in 1370, Manny is said to have triumphantly declared to Luscote that 'we have conquered the

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[277] For a useful overview of the charterhouse's place among the religious establishments of London see Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 8-17.

[278] 'S[ed] quid diabolo nequius. Nempe quot et qualia impedimenta p[ro]curauit et fecit diabolus, p[er] multa temp[or]a et annos, q[uam] ap[er]te pugnauit, ne seped[i]c[tu]m p[ro]po[s]itum p[er]ficeret[ur] longu[m] e[ss]et dicere p[er] sing[u]la. Deniq[ue] p[er] multoru[m] et magnato[rum] virorum relac[i]o[n]es tam eccl[es]iastico[rum] q[ua]m alio[rum] pluries inpossibile tale quid fieri p[ro]pe London probare conabat[ur]. […] Q[ua]m cont[ra]rios vero h[ab]uit pred[i]c[tu]m mag[ist]r[u]m hospitalis s[anc]ti Barth[olom]i et eius conf[rat]res E[pisco]p[u]m Elien[sem] et capit[u]l[u]m Elien[sis] necnon decanu[m] et capit[u]l[u]m s[anc]ti Pauli, difficile e[ss]et scribere vel co[m]memorare', LR 2/61, fols 11r-11v.

[279] 'Et cu[m] pred[ic]tus p[ri]or [Luscote] no[n] desisteret, ven[it] quidem p[re]potens eccl[es]iasticus sp[ec]ialis eiusdem p[ri]oris amicus et magnus benefactor contesta[n]s et affirmans q[uo]d male fecit procurando q[uo]d talis domus fieret, q[uia] foret preiudiciu[m] ceteris domib[us] Anglie. Addidit eciam q[uo]d si procuraret contra illud p[ro]po[s]itu[m] vt nu[n]q[u]a[m] de cetero dom[us] sui ordi[ni]s inibi fundaret[ur], recip[er]et pro releuami[n]e domus sue M marcas vel mille libras sterling[rum] qui audiens sibi tantam sum[m]a[m] repromitti cepit pro tempore aliquantulu[m] fluctuare. S[ed] deo inspirante ad se reuersus et diaboli laquios intelligens studiosius et diligencius p[ro]secut[us] est in negociis', LR 2/61, fols 11r-11v.

[280] 'Q[u]od videns diabolus plura impedimenta et tedia sibi intexuit. Nam p[ro] man[er]iis de [*blank in MS*] et Okholte, que adquisierat in Cancia et concesserat d[omi]no de Mawny et executorib[us] d[omi]ni e[pisco]pi, pro d[ic]to p[ro]po[s]ito cum dies adesset soluc[i]o[n]is nullam penitus ab eis recip[er]e posset pecunia[m] n[isi] prius f[ac]ta illis resoluc[i]o[n]e securitate', LR 2/61, fol. 11v.

Devil of such a place' and urged him to continue praying for victory over their diabolic enemy given his great strength.[281]

For the London chronicler, Manny's success in conflicts with his human enemies on the battlefield corresponded with his and Luscote's eventual triumph over the Devil in establishing the London charterhouse. It is perhaps not surprising that the chronicler chose to depict Manny in this manner given the probable design of the knight's tomb. Although no longer extant, its appearance is suggested in Manny's will in which he requested that his effigy was to be modelled on that of his fellow Knight of the Garter Sir John Beauchamp at St Paul's cathedral.[282] This effigy, as shown in figure 2.2 below, was reproduced in an engraving by William Dugdale during the seventeenth century and depicts Beauchamp heavily clad in his armour and accompanied by a sculpted lion at his feet.[283] The monks of the London charterhouse therefore would have encountered the lay founder of their community in such military splendour on a daily basis whilst performing their communal liturgical hours within their choir. Luxford has suggested that the probable design of Manny's tomb was intended, in part, to emphasise visually that the knight continued his role as protector of the charterhouse in death as he had in life.[284] The depiction of Manny in the foundation narrative was perhaps intended to complement the tomb. It offered proof that he had served as the guardian of the

[281] 'S[ed] si de[us] pro nobis quis contra nos, attamen si quis talis pro tempore fu[er]it inuentus, audiem[us] psalmista[m] nob[is] dicentum. Cadent a latere mille etc[etera] tantem vero processu temp[or]is diuina mediante gr[aci]a meritis sue gl[or]iose genitricis, deuictis adu[er]sitatib[us] multis demonu[m] laquei contriti su[n]t, p[ro]ut idem d[omin]us de Mawny referre p[ro] consolac[i]o[n]e p[ri]oris solebat, dicens. Ecce vicim[us] diabolu[m] talis loci, nu[n]c dep[re]cemini instanter p[ro] victoria diaboli talis q[uia] ille fortissim[us]', LR 2/61, fol. 11v.

[282] 'Item ieo deuise qune toumbe dalblaster soit fait oue vn chiualer de mes armes tiel come est fait sur mons[ire] Iohan de Beaucha[m]p a Seint Poule en Lounders en remembaunce de moi et q[ue] home puisse prier p[our] moy', LR 2/61, fol. 22r.

[283] Image reproduced from William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London: Thomas Warren, 1658), p. 52.

[284] Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', pp. 272-74.

charterhouse from its very inception up to the chronicler's present day at the turn of the sixteenth century.

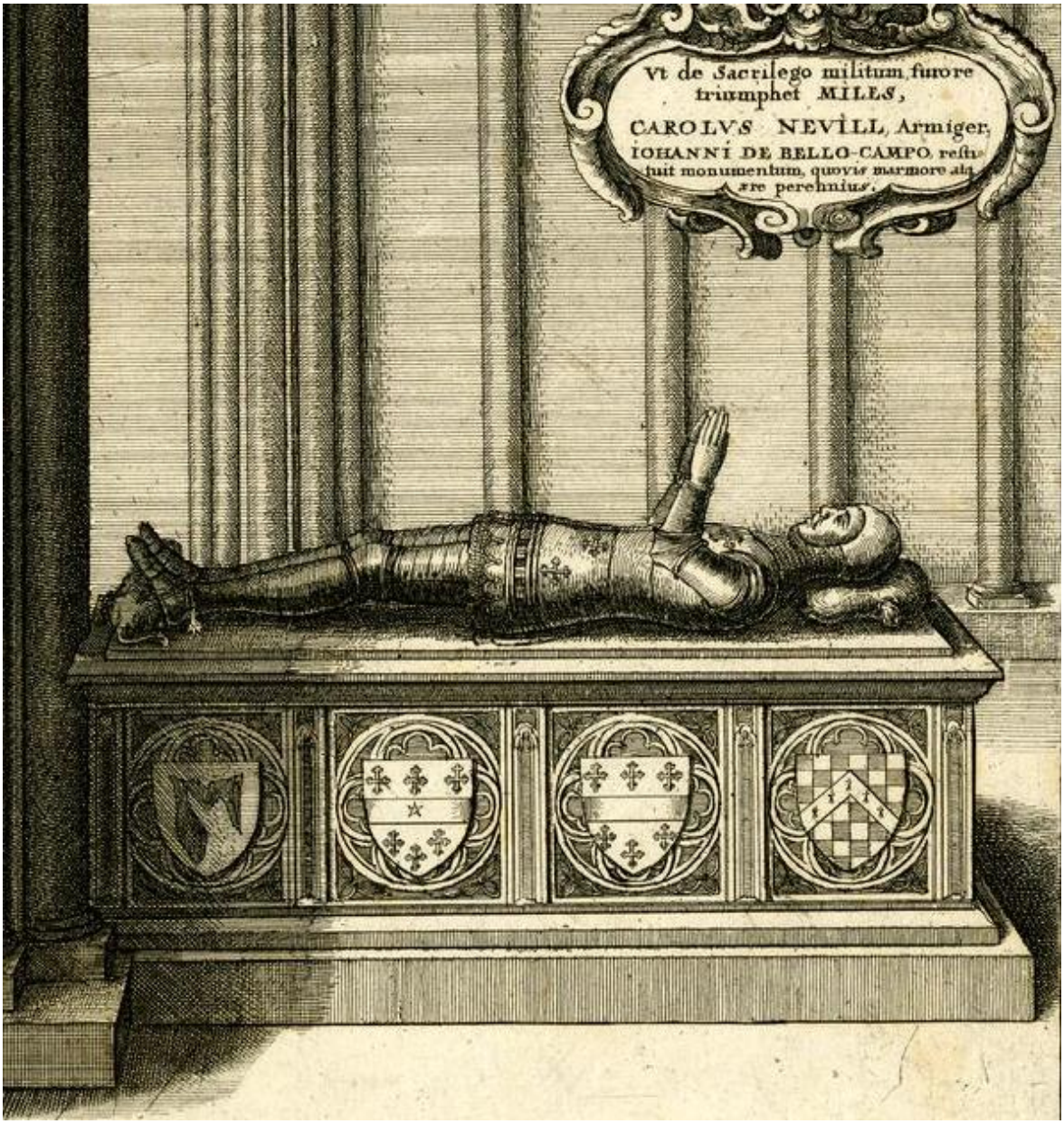

Figure 2.2: Engraving of Sir John Beauchamp's tomb located in St Paul's cathedral, originally published in 1658

It is also possible that the chronicler chose to present Manny overcoming the Devil's machinations in the foundation narrative as a means to highlight his affinity with the monks of his community. Building on earlier eremitic traditions, the spaces of

Carthusian foundations could be envisaged not just as sites of peaceful solitude but as a spiritual battleground between the monks and their demonic enemies. Overcoming these foes was a trope often used to emphasise the religious masculinity and spiritual vigour of eremitic figures.[285] The *Desert of Religion* poem in MS Additional 37049 describes how the wilderness inhabited by the Desert Fathers was known to have been full of 'many wicked, wild beasts' which were merely 'the temptations of fiends'. It encourages late fifteenth-century Carthusian readers who sought to follow in the footsteps of the likes of St Anthony the Great and St Paul of Thebes and lead a life of perfection to guard themselves against their attacks through the 'sharpness of straight living'.[286]

The thirteenth-century *Vita* of St Hugh of Lincoln, written by Adam of Eynsham on behalf of the monks of the charterhouse of Witham, further highlights how the Carthusians embraced this tradition. Hugh is said to have related to Adam that upon his entry into the Carthusian order, 'the tempter [directed] all the ancient weapons of infernal armoury against a new recruit to this holy warfare'.[287] On the eve of his election as prior of Witham, Hugh was 'handed over to an angel of Satan to be chastised by the thorns of the flesh'. Throughout the night he fought against two 'angels of darkness'

[285] Dee Dyas, 'The Wilderness and Medieval Anchoritic Spirituality', in *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, ed. by Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden and Roger Ellis (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 19-33 (pp. 22-23, 27). For more on this tradition see Michael E. Hoenicke Moore, 'Demons and the Battle for Souls at Cluny', *Studies in Religion*, 32 (2003), 485-97 and Albrecht Diem, 'Encounters between Monks and Demons in Latin Texts of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Germanic and Latin Literature*, ed. by Karin E. Olsen, Antonina Harbus and Tette Hofstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 51-67.
[286] Walter Hübner, '*The Desert of Religion*: Mit dem Bilde des Richard Rolle of Hampole', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* 126 (1911), 58–74 and 360–64 (p. 59).
[287] Adam of Eynsham, *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln,* trans. by Decima Langworthy Douie and David Hugh Farmer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), I, 28.

alone in his cell until dawn when he hurled 'three javelins with all his force [and] conquered by one thrust both of his assailants'.[288]

The London chronicler also engaged in this sort of military rhetoric in the foundation narrative. He describes how the Carthusian General Chapter gave Luscote permission to take on the position of prior at the proposed foundation at London and select a certain number of 'comrades of labour' to join him at the charterhouse in 1370. The prior is said to have called on individuals whom he believed would 'stand immovably and constantly […] against the assaults of temptations on the day of battle, established on the firm rock, that is Jesus Christ'.[289] In this sense, the chronicler of the London charterhouse was perhaps hoping to demonstrate that Manny and the monks of his charterhouse followed in the footsteps of holy figures such as St Anthony and St Hugh and should be regarded by the monks of his community as models to emulate in their own battles with their demonic adversaries. The use of such military rhetoric served to blur the distinction between the pious monk and combative knight.[290]

At the same time, the chronicler connects Manny's claim that he and Luscote had finally overcome the Devil but needed to continue praying for victory with the

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[288] Adam of Eynsham, *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln,* I, 49-51. Hugh's battles with demons are discussed in the context of monastic masculinity in Jacqueline Murray, 'Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by P. H. Cullum and Katherine Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 24-42 (pp. 36-37).
[289] 'Na[m] p[er] cap[itulu]m gen[er]ale commisa e[st] sibi auctoritas vocandi p[er]sonas ad certum numerum in socios laboris et m[er]iti cu[m] n[e]c du[m] h[ab]erent domu[m] ad inh[ab]itand[um]. Qui diligenter considerans tantiq[ue] op[er]is fut[ur]i iniciu[m] no[n] p[er] inpendens ta[m] sp[iri]tuale q[uam] materiale, tales p[ro]posuit vocare qui velut lapides angulares ex o[mn]i p[ar]te co[m]planati et regulariter compo[s]iti vbicu[m]q[ue] pon[er]entur in tam s[anc]ti op[er]is fundamento im[m]obiliter et inconstanter contra te[m]ptac[i]onu[m] insultus starent in die belli supra firma[m] petra[m] scil[ice]t Ih[esu]m Christum fundati', LR 2/61, fol. 11v.
[290] The amalgamation of monk and knight could also be expressed visually. Brendan Cassidy has shown that the effigy of Niccolò Acciaioli at the charterhouse of Galluzzo depicts the knight clad in his military armour to reflect his aristocratic status. At the same time, he is shown wearing a monastic hood to emphasise his kinship with the monks of his Carthusian foundation; see Cassidy, 'The Tombs of the Acciaioli', pp. 338-40.

experiences of the monks of his charterhouse. He states that the founder's contention was still felt by the community who continued to fight vigorously against the same adversary on a daily basis.[291] Later in the chronicle he provides vivid examples of monks of the London charterhouse valiantly withstanding the Devil and his demonic followers in their cells. He recounts how the monk John Homersley was repeatedly visited by 'ministers of darkness' in his cell who attempted to lead him into temptation.[292] One night after Compline, Satan himself appeared before Homersley 'in a horrible and visible form' accompanied by the soul of a young relative of the monk who had recently died. The spirits of his father and mother also appeared and pleaded with the monk to speak to them and, by doing so, allow them to take the soul of the young child to Heaven with them. Despite their appeals, Homersley resolutely refused to break his vow of silence.[293] On another night the spirits of his own deceased parents also appeared in his cell with three other souls and tried to engage Homersley in a conversation about the fate of his soul in the afterlife. The chronicler reports that the monk dutifully refused to speak with these spirits, remembering how certain Desert Fathers had also been deceived in the wilderness by similar diabolically inspired visions.[294]

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[291] 'Cui[us] contenciam adhuc vere sentim[us], q[uia] eundem cont[ra]rios cotidie fortiter impugnantem exp[er]im[ur]', LR 2/61, fol. 11v.
[292] 'Diuersas namq[ue] vir ille sp[irit]ualis bonorum spirituu[m] meruit h[ab]ere visitaciones. S[ed] et tenebrarum ministri eciam eidem app[ar]uerunt malignis temptacionib[us] ip[su]m subuertere intentes protegente se deo qui in se sperantes non deserit', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.
[293] 'Affuit ecia[m] et sathan[as] in forma horribili et visibili, h[ab]ens secum a[n]i[m]am cuiusdam pu[er]i consang[u]inei eiusd[e]m Ioh[ann]is Homersley antea defuncti. Monebant enim illi alii sp[irit]us b[ea]ti et sp[eci]aliter sp[irit]us matris sue vt eis loqueret[ur], asserentes si hoc faceret q[uo]d a[n]i[m]am eius secu[m] ad celum deferent q[uia] ad hoc faciend[um] ip[s]i ad eum missi erant. S[ed] ille silenciu[m] s[er]uauit', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.
[294] 'Q[uo]da[m] tempore post completoriu[m] astiterunt ei inuisibiliter spiritus p[at]ris sui et m[at]ris sue antea defunctorium et alii tres boni spiritus loquentes ei de transitu suo de hoc modo ad requiem eternam. S[ed] ille pius valde et timoratus nichil eis respondit. Meminit aute[m] qualiter q[ui]da[m] patrum olim in eremo decepti erant p[er] ludificatorias visiones', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.

Homersley's impervious reaction to the Devil and demons could at times be detrimental to other, less worthy, members of his community. The chronicler records how on one evening two demons waited outside his cell door, hoping to disturb the monk with evil thoughts. Realising that they would not be able to prevail against Homersley, the demons decided to enter the cell of the elderly monk Thomas Clough who had been suffering from leprosy for several days. Once inside his cell, they tormented the unfortunate monk with 'vile imaginations' which he is said to have suffered impatiently. The chronicler reports that Clough eventually 'rose up manfully', seized his staff and went to Homersley to complain that his brother had sent the two demons to his cell.[295]

The anonymous chronicler was not the only member of the London charterhouse to document his community's encounters with diabolic forces. Maurice Chauncy often chose to measure the sanctity of members of his community in the *Historia aliquot Martyrum* based on their ability to overcome the torments of their supernatural enemies. He stresses that demons frequently attacked the house's venerable prior William Tynbygh as they had they had persecuted St Anthony the Great in the Egyptian wilderness. He relates that on one particular night they left the prior so wounded by the

[295] 'Alio tempore venerunt ad cellam eius duo sp[irit]us neq[uam] quoru[m] vnus expectabat retro post ostiu[m], alter vero machinabat[ur] immittere ei cogitac[i]o[n]es malas. S[ed] sicut lapis vi iactatus ad petram durissima[m] ip[s]am non penetrat. S[ed] iactanti reu[er]tit[ur]. Ita o[mn]es illius demonis versucie quib[us] iustum turbare temptabat sibi ip[s]i redundabant. Quod socius eius intelligens vocabat eum dicens, Asmodee veni eamus hinc q[uia] non poteris cont[ra] istu[m] p[re]ualare p[er] rexerunt igit[ur] hii duo demones ad cellam angularem qua[m] fundauit W[i]ll[el]m[u]s Symmes ad cuius hostiu[m] versus incipientes p[er] y h[ab]ent[ur]. Manebat autem tunc ibidem quida[m] bonus senex monachus no[m]i[n]e d[omin]us Clughe, qui p[ro]pter infirmitatem lepre qua in tibiis et pedib[us] erat infectus a multis antea diebus cellam ip[s]am no[n] exibat. Sedebat itaq[ue] tunc ad prandiu[m] et conspexit pred[ic]tos demones a cella pred[ic]ti I[ohanni] Homersley venientes et cella[m] suam intrantes. Qui mox vt intrarunt ip[su]m turpib[us] ymaginacionib[us] molestauerunt q[u]od ille cenciens inpacienter q[ue] ferens surrexit viriliter arepto q[ue] manu baculo cep[it] p[ro]gredi p[ro]ut potuit ad cellam pred[ic]ti domini I[ohanni] Homersley conquerendo q[ue] vocauit eu[m] nomine dicens, p[ate]r Homersley qui sunt isti quos misistis ad me quod cu[m] audisset manifestauit ei nome[n] vnius demonis p[ro]ut ab altero audiuit dicens, ille fuit Asmodeus qui mecu[m] hic fuit cu[m] socio suo', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

force of their blows that he was even forced to miss the beginning of Matins. Yet through withstanding these frequent assaults, Tynbygh's 'pre-eminent sanctity was attested by all without any doubt' and he was rewarded for his suffering by being 'taken up into Heaven, where he was allowed to hear unspeakable words'.[296] The prior's meritorious example contrasts with the fate of Thomas Salter, an apostate monk who is said to have enjoyed defaming his brothers while refusing to correct his own errors. One evening Salter was locked in the community's prison and brutally assaulted by demons. Chauncy asserts that the apostate monk was unable to overcome these torments himself and would surely have been strangled to death if not for the intervention of a worthy lay brother whose prayers compelled the demons to leave his body.[297] For Chauncy, overcoming such demonic forces was a visible manifestation of an individual's piety, with the proper performance of the religious observances expected by a Carthusian providing the armour for the monks to withstand these attacks.[298]

From the very inception of the London charterhouse up to its dissolution, its members believed themselves to be engaged in an unending struggle against such diabolic forces. For the anonymous chronicler, these encounters were a direct continuation of Manny and Luscote's initial struggle against the Devil when they attempted to bring the charterhouse into existence. The monks of London charterhouse were continually reminded of their lay founder's ultimate triumph over their mutual enemy as they read the foundation narrative in their cartulary as well as when they approached Manny's tomb at the centre of their choir each day. Both the tomb and the

[296] *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, I, 82-83 and II, 117-18. Chauncy's account of Tynbygh's visionary experiences can also be found in Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis*, I, 389-91.
[297] *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, I, 84 and II, 123-24.
[298] Chauncy himself is said to have guarded against bodily temptations by wearing an iron chain around his loins which was discovered to have grown into his flesh after his death in 1581; see Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis*, II, 482.

chronicle offered themselves not just as commemorative reminders of Manny's role as perpetual protector of the charterhouse. Together they also served as a call to arms for the monks who could reflect on the knight's heroic example and use him as inspiration to overcome their own demonic foes whilst alone in their cells.

2.4 Reflecting on Death and the Afterlife

Manny's distinguished military background therefore reflected the monks' battles against their diabolic foes as his personal relationship with the royal family mirrored the community's belief in its close association with royalty. However, the anonymous chronicler of the London charterhouse did not focus exclusively on Manny's secular qualities throughout the foundation narrative. He also chose to endow the lay founder of his charterhouse with religious virtues that reflected the spirituality and devotional practices of the Carthusian monks themselves.[299]

This is perhaps most evident in their shared concern for reflecting upon the inevitability of death and the condition of their souls in the afterlife. The anonymous chronicler interrupts his account of the deeds of some of the most distinguished members of the charterhouse to report that he had 'seen in a certain writing' that Manny had witnessed a golden pillar descending from Heaven upon the cell of the monk Guy of Burgh, who had made his profession at the charterhouse of Beauvale in 1354 before he moved to the London charterhouse at the end of 1370. More important for this discussion, the chronicler also read that Manny was known to have visited the charterhouse up to four times a year and would 'weep bitterly with a flood of tears' as the cover was removed from the grave that had been prepared for the knight before his

[299] Remensnyder has shown that ascribing lay founders with a certain degree of religious authority was a common trope in monastic foundation legends; see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 89-107.

death.[300] The chronicler clarifies later in the narrative that this would have taken place in the chapel that was eventually converted into the conventual church of the charterhouse where the knight's body was interred following his death in 1372.[301]

Reflecting on the inevitability of death and the fate of one's soul in the afterlife in such a manner appears to have been regarded as a particularly desirable devotional practice by the Carthusians in general. Several of the materials in MS Additional 37049 were specifically designed to remind Carthusian readers of the mutable, transient nature of the flesh and the severe consequences that awaited unrepentant sinners who indulged in worldly pleasures. The short poem titled *Of þe cu[m]yin of þe day of dome* (fols 18r-18v) urges readers to make themselves ready for 'the dreadful doom' as if it should fall on the following morning and prays for God to grant them the 'grace of good living' so that they may appear before His face and be granted entry into His kingdom.[302] This notion is repeated in the later poem titled *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima* (fol. 69r) which calls on readers to always think on 'their ending day' whenever they begin any work to stop themselves from falling into sin. They are advised to prepare themselves for death each day and night 'for the time of his coming'

[300] 'Memorandum q[uo]d Guydo de Burgh radebat[ur] in domo Belleuallis ordinis Cartus[iensis] a[nn]o d[omi]ni M° CCC° LIIII° et vocatus venit ad nouam domu[m] salutac[i]o[n]is m[at]ris dei London[ium] eiusd[e]m ord[in]is X° die Nouembris anno d[omi]ni M° CCC° LXX°. […] Vidi eciam in quadam scriptitac[i]o[n]e q[uo]d d[omin]us de Mawny pred[ic]tus solebat videre columpnam auream de celo descendentem sup[er] cellam Guydonis et q[uo]d d[ic]tus d[omin]us de Mawny solebat quater in anno accedere ad domu[m] Cartus[iensis], quam fundau[er]at, et lapide timuli sui amoto, lacrimis effusis acriter plorare', LR 2/61, fols 14v-15r.

[301] Ad s[e]c[un]d[u]m v[er]o quod dicit[ur] q[uo]d solebat quater in [ann]o etc[etera] intelligi potest tam de ip[s]a domo q[ua]m de capella que ib[ide]m stetit p[er] certos annos ante domus edificacionem, que capella est modo eccl[es]ia conuentualis eiusd[e]m domus in qua corpus eius iacet cepultum [*sic*]', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.

[302] Cameron Louis, 'Two Middle English Doomsday Poems', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 92 (1991), 43-46 (p. 45).

is always uncertain. Only by cleansing themselves of sin can they escape the 'bitter pains of Purgatory and come to the bliss of Heaven'.[303]

These injunctions were reinforced by depictions of sinful laypeople suffering in the afterlife as a result of their failure to prepare sufficiently for their own deaths. The poem *A Disputacion betwyx þe Body and Wormes* (fols 33r-35r) describes how the corpse of a recently deceased noblewoman was slowly devoured by worms, who reproach the lady for the excessive pride she took in her bodily appearance and worldly status whilst she was alive.[304] Through their admonitions, the noblewoman is eventually stirred to repentance and promises to 'abide in God's will in all circumstances'.[305] Another dialogue involving a decomposing corpse was also included on folios 86v-87r of the miscellany. In this instance, an emperor named Antiochenus returned from the grave to admonish his son for his excessive vanity, urging him to repent before he should suffer an even fouler fate upon his own death. Following this encounter, the son commissioned a painting to be placed in his bedchamber depicting the putrefying corpse of his father so that he could look upon this whenever he was

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[303] James Hogg, 'A Morbid Preoccupation with Mortality? The Carthusian London British Library MS. Add. 37049', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 117 (1986), 139-89 (pp. 148-49).

[304] James Hogg, 'Selected Texts on Heaven and Hell from the Carthusian Miscellany, British Library MS Add. 37049', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 117 (1987), 63-89 (pp. 63-64). The *Disputacion* has accumulated an extensive body of secondary literature devoted to the analysis of the text and its images. See especially Marjorie Malvern, 'An Earnest "Monyscyon" and "þinge delectabyll" Realized Verbally and Visually in "A disputacion Betwyx þe Body and Wormes," A Middle English Poem Inspired by Tomb Art and Northern Spirituality', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 415-50; Takami Matsuda, 'The Presence of Purgatory in Two Debates in BL MS Addit. 37049', in *Chaucer to Shakespeare: Essays in Honour of Shinsuke Ando,* ed. by Toshiyuki Takamiya and Richard Beadle (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), pp. 99-110; Samantha Mullaney, 'Fashion and Morality in B.L. MS Add. 37049', in *Texts and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. by John Scattergood and Julia Boffey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), pp. 71-86 (pp. 80-82); Wendy Matlock, 'Vernacular Theology in the Disputacion betwyx þe Body and Wormes', in *Translatio, or, The Transmission of Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Modes and Messages,* ed. by Laura H. Hollengreen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 113-27 and Wendy Matlock, 'The Feminine Flesh in the Disputacion betwyx þe Body and Wormes', in *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture,* ed. by Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Jill Ross (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2013), pp. 260-82.

[305] Hogg, 'Selected Texts on Heaven and Hell', pp. 67-69.

stirred to commit any sin. At the end of the dialogue, the narrator urges readers to take heed of the son's example so that they may also overcome their own temptations to sin in the future.[306]

It is known that the visual programme of the London charterhouse similarly encouraged the monks to reflect on the inevitability of death and to examine their own conscience on a daily basis. Michael Sargent and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy have highlighted that this was in fact one of the most common themes of the verses displayed above the doors of the monks' cells. The inhabitants of Cell V were exhorted to 'live grateful to God, entombed to the whole world, stripped of sin, always prepared to pass away', while the verse of Cell M advised its occupants that 'Death seizes young and old, takes pity on none; let everyone then do good while there is time'. Even the priors of the charterhouse were encouraged to 'sigh for the kingdom of Heaven with a faithful mind, do not exalt yourself, though you may rule over many, nor even rejoice, for perhaps tomorrow you will die' each time they entered their cell.[307]

The chronicle within the community's cartulary indicates that the monks of the London charterhouse were greatly attuned to the fate of their brothers in the afterlife and were extremely conscious of the need to practise true humility and the proper repentance for their sins. The anonymous chronicler records how the monk Thomas Gorwey approached John Homersley a few days after the death of the house's third prior, John Maplested (r. 1412-1440), to enquire whether the prior's soul had been

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[306] 'And whe[n] he had sene þis syght & hard þis noyse, he went home & gart bryng hym a paynter. And i[n] hys bed chawmer he gart paynt þe lyknes of his fad[er] as he say i[n] his graue. And when he was styrred to any syn, he beheld þe ymage of his fad[er], knawyng wele þ[a]t he come fro þe erthe & suld turne to þe erthe. And on þis wyse he ou[er]come his syn[n]e. So þ[o]u þ[a]t wyll ou[er]cu[m] syn take heede at þis i[n]sawmpyll', MS Additional 37049, fol. 87r.

[307] Michael Sargent and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'The Latin Verses over the Cell Doors of London Charterhouse' in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 179-97 (pp. 184-88).

received into 'everlasting glory'. Homersley responded that this had not yet happened as the prior had not been absolutely perfect in his dealings towards his subjects, despite appearing to have led a holy life 'with regard to himself'. He explained that because of this particular failing the door of the heavenly kingdom still remained closed to the prior and warned his brother that this was further proof of the dangers posed to those who chose to take on the office of a prelate.[308]

Homersley was not the only Carthusian monk to be given privileged access to knowledge of the afterlife. The verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 records how a twelfth-century bishop of Lincoln, most likely St Hugh given the dating, was visited by the soul of a dead hermit. He was informed that out of the thirty thousand souls that had recently died, only St Bernard of Clairvaux had been received into Heaven, whilst three souls were in Purgatory and the rest were consigned to Hell.[309] The verse chronicle earlier describes how the foundation of the Carthusian order was in fact inspired by St Bruno's own encounter with the dead in the late eleventh century. Whilst attending the funeral of a recently deceased scholar in Paris who was widely regarded to have led a devout life, Bruno is said to have witnessed the corpse of his friend rise from its bier to declare three times that he was now damned. Convinced that the secular world offered

[308] 'Infra paucas v[er]o dies post morte[m] ip[s]ius d[omi]ni Io[hanni] Mapulsted p[ri]oris venit d[omin]us Thomas Gorwey ad cella[m] d[ic]ti I[ohanni] Hom[er]sley et peciit ab eo si sciret an a[n]i[m]a ip[s]ius d[omi]ni prioris adhuc e[ss]et suscepta ad gl[or]iam sempiterna. At ille respondit q[uo]d no[n], cui iteru[m] dixit ide[m] T[homas] Gorwey, quomodo est hoc q[uo]d a[n]i[m]a illius q[ui] ta[m] s[anc]te erat vite sic elongat[ur] a p[re]mio suppremo, qui iterum respondit, veraciter s[anc]te vite erat quantu[m] ad semetip[su]m. S[ed] q[uia] erga subditos suos p[er]f[ec]te no[n] egit no[n]dum patet et ianua regni celestis. Et addidit, Saunz doute, hoc eni[m] ha[be]bat p[ro] iuramento, saunce doute, inquit, p[er]iculosum opus sibi sumit q[ui]cu[m]q[ue] sumit officiu[m] prelac[i]o[n]is', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

[309] 'To the bishop of Lincolne did apere/ An heremyt latly decesit/ He said w[i]þ hym ther diet in fere/ XXX^{ti} thowsand & few was plesit/ Saint Bernard was on he well was easit/ For w[i]þowten let he went to blysse/ And all the oder in hell was ceasit/ Excep thre that in purgatory is', MS e Museo 160, fol. 81v.

no hope of salvation, Bruno and his companions decided to flee into the wilderness to practise the solitary life in imitation of the Desert Fathers.[310]

By presenting Manny weeping before his open grave, the London chronicler may have been hoping to highlight that the knight shared the Carthusians' own heightened preoccupation with the afterlife and concern for ensuring their own salvation. The tears he shed in response to the sight of his place of burial were an expression of his humility as well as his appreciation of the mutability of the flesh and his awareness of the transitory nature of this world. In this manner, the chronicler presents the lay founder of his community fulfilling the injunctions displayed above the cell doors of the monks. He may have believed that it was particularly necessary given that Manny's eminent noble standing was comparable to the likes of the proud noblewoman depicted in MS Additional 37049. Manny's tears served to demonstrate that he did not necessarily take pleasure in his distinguished, worldly status but instead aspired to the humble, modest example of the monks of his community who were encouraged to be continually mindful of their own fate in the afterlife as they crossed the threshold of their cells each day. In this manner, the chronicler used this passage to further blur the distinction between the lay founder of his charterhouse and the monastic community, with Manny shown adopting a laudable devotional practice of the monks and embodying their ascetic ideals.

At the same time, the anonymous chronicler may have sought to use the image of Manny weeping before his tomb as a model for the monks of the London charterhouse

[310] 'A ferfull m[ar]uall in Parise/ Happit this tide: a mast[er] gaye/ That was holden of gret name & wise/ Sat vp on bere wher at he laye/ And at he was da[m]pynt said he thrise/ Wherfor many nobill clerk[is] & gaye/ Forsuk the warld & was mor wise/ And began diu[er]se orders of p[ri]se/ Saint Bron[e] was on loo thus began/ The chart[er] ord[er] most discrete & wise', MS e Museo 160, fol. 78v. For more on this legend see Hennessy, 'Otherworldly Visions', pp. 261-62.

to replicate. It is possible that this particular scene reflected how the chronicler hoped his brethren would in fact engage with the lay founder's tomb. He perhaps hoped that this would instil a similarly affective response among his brothers as they approached the alabaster effigy of Manny at the centre of their choir. Surviving fragments from the tomb certainly suggest that it was consciously designed to stimulate a performative response from the monks. Luxford has compared its arcade of miniature vaulted niches with the stone bases of medieval saints' shrines.[311] These kneeling niches would have enabled the monks to bend down or crouch before the tomb, suggesting that they may have been encouraged to pray before Manny's effigy and meditate on his deeds as well as mourn his death.

[311] Luxford, 'The Space of the Tomb', pp. 264-65 and Julian Luxford, 'Carthusian Monasticism and the London Charterhouse', in *Revealing the Charterhouse: The Making of a London Landmark*, ed. by Cathy Ross (London: Giles, 2016), pp. 41-64 (p. 48).

Figure 2.3: Carthusian mourners, or *pleurants*, depicted on the tomb chest of Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy at the charterhouse of Champmol, Dijon

The monks of the charterhouse of Champmol were certainly encouraged to engage with the tomb of their lay founder, Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy, in this manner. As shown in figure 2.3 above, the duke's tomb chest was populated on its sides by a series of mourners depicted in a funeral procession.[312] Carthusian monks clothed in their white habits were placed at the head of this procession, a privileged position usually reserved for the eldest sons of the deceased.[313] As the monks of Champmol approached the tomb at the centre of their choir, they were undoubtedly expected to identify with these figures and perhaps even mimic their mourning of the duke's

[312] Image reproduced from Donna Sadler, *Stone, Flesh, Spirit: The Entombment of Christ in Late Medieval Burgundy and Champagne* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 47.
[313] Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society,* p. 144.

death.[314] An epitaph inscribed near the base of the tomb-chest also encouraged an active response from the monks. It specifically urged viewers to pray devoutly for the duke's soul, with an altar close to the tomb serving as a convenient place for the monks to be able to fulfil this request and perform masses on his behalf.[315]

The chronicle in the cartulary of the London charterhouse certainly suggests that Manny's death was likewise deemed a particularly momentous event deserving of continual contemplation by its monks. The passage describing his demise is noticeably drawn out. The chronicler describes how Manny was well stricken with old age by the end of 1371, having been worn out by his long and honourable service in arms and his desire to see the protracted foundation of the London charterhouse finally completed. Once he was sick to the point of death, the knight commended his soul 'to the omnipotent God whom he trusted and his most blessed mother [before] he went the way of all flesh on the 18th of the Kalends of February'. As mentioned above, the chronicler then confirmed that Manny was buried before the step of the high altar in the community's church, as he requested in his will, and recorded in full the verses inscribed on his tomb.[316]

[314] Donna Sadler has speculated about whether the monks of Champmol may have actually processed around the tomb in imitation of the Carthusian figures; see Sadler, *Stone, Flesh, Spirit,* pp. 21-22.
[315] Lindquist, *Agency, Visuality and Society,* pp. 33 and 71.
[316] For full quotations see footnotes 274-75. Hope notes that the date of Manny's death was 15th January 1372; see Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, p. 22.

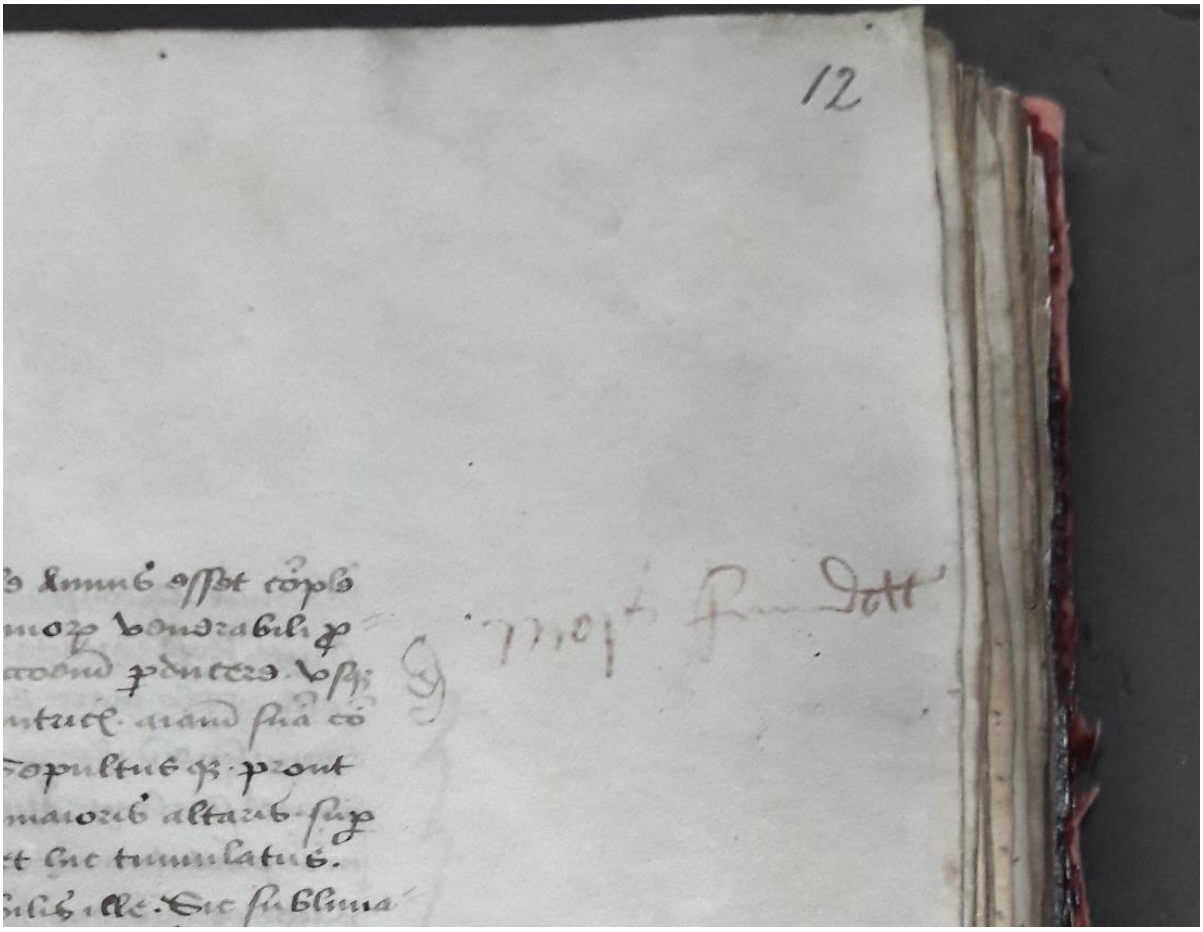

Figure 2.4: Marginal annotation alongside the account of Sir Walter Manny's death in the cartulary of the London charterhouse, LR 2/61, fol. 12r

Furthermore, the account of Manny's death was highlighted by a later reader of the chronicle, with 'morte fundatt[or]' written in brown ink on the right-hand margin of folio 12r beside this passage, as shown above in figure 2.4. This is one of a very small number of marginal annotations in the foundation narrative written in a different hand to the main body of the text which does suggest that it was regarded as one of the most significant moments in the charterhouse's history by at least one of its monks.[317] Its presence may also indicate that the record of Manny's death was one of the most

[317] 'Walworth' is written in the same brown ink lower down the margin of folio 12r next to the account of William Walworth's foundation of the second cell at the charterhouse in 1371. 'D[omin]a M[aria] St. Pol' appears to have been hastily scribbled by the same scribe further down the same folio whilst 'Robert[us] Knolles' is found on the margin of folio 12v.

frequently consulted passages of the chronicle, with the readers' attention immediately drawn to this section of the narrative. Rather than a distant, historical event in the community's history, Manny's death came alive for the monks each time they approached the tomb of their lay founder at the centre of their choir and read through the foundation history of their charterhouse in their cartulary.

It is also possible that the scene of Manny weeping before his uncovered grave was utilised by the chronicler as one of the ways to legitimise his burial at the spiritual heart of his charterhouse. The monks of the London charterhouse appear to have regarded penitential crying as one of the most visible manifestations of an individual's holiness. Chauncy believed that the sanctity of his community's most venerable prior, John Houghton (r. 1531-35), was expressed most forcefully by his penitential crying. He states that the prior's daily flow of tears attested to the greatness of his devotion with scarcely a day passing, especially at Mass, when his cheeks were not saturated with them.[318] Houghton would on occasion have to leave the refectory whilst he was eating with his brothers when 'he was so inebriated by the richness of divine love' that he was unable to contain his tears and would have to hasten to his cell to weep copiously.[319] Furthermore, Chauncy also presents a propensity for devotional crying as a characteristic feature of the charterhouse as a whole. He states that the purity and internal devotion of its monks was demonstrated by the fact that tears were so frequently in the eyes of many of them, to the extent that some injured their sight by crying so regularly.[320]

[318] *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, II, 91.
[319] *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, II, 91.
[320] *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, II, 108.

For the Carthusian monks of the London charterhouse, penitential weeping offered discernible proof that particular individuals as well as entire communities enjoyed the special favour of God. By depicting Manny weeping at the sight of his open tomb, the anonymous chronicler placed the lay founder of his community within this wider tradition. The tears shed by the knight endowed him with a spiritual authority that would have been immediately recognisable to the monks of his community. They could be assured that Manny was indeed truly worthy of receiving the privilege of being buried at the centre of their community. This was not simply due to his distinguished secular standing or his claim to be the first founder of the London charterhouse but also because of his eminently pious, if not almost holy, reputation.

2.5 Intercessors for the Living and the Dead

The London chronicler therefore chose to depict Manny and the monks of his foundation engaged in an overarching battle against the Devil and his demonic followers as well as sharing a desire to reflect on the inevitability of death and the fate of their own souls in the afterlife. However, both the knight and the monks of the London charterhouse were not exclusively concerned with securing the salvation of their own souls. Another important aspect of their shared pious identity was their firm commitment to caring for the souls of the dead.

In the foundation narrative the anonymous chronicler traces the origins of his charterhouse back to Manny's initial concern with providing a suitable burial site for victims of the Black Death in 1349. He records that Manny was greatly distressed as a violent pestilence spread across the whole of England for there was insufficient space in the cemeteries of London to bury the dead. He lamented that corpses were

subsequently interred in 'unworthy and unhallowed' places or even thrown into the River Thames. Determined to ensure that there was a site 'dedicated to the worthy burial of Christians' near the city, he purchased an enclosed piece of land outside of Smithfield from the master of St Bartholomew's Hospital.[321] The knight then approached the bishop of London 'with the most earnest devotion' and humbly implored him to bless the cemetery within the enclosure. Approving of Manny's devotion, the bishop consecrated the cemetery on the feast day of the Annunciation of Our Lady in the presence of the most eminent citizens of London, including the mayor and aldermen. Those assembled took part in a barefoot procession at the cemetery before listening to the bishop preaching a sermon on the word '*Ave*'.[322]

Manny's commitment to the dead buried within the cemetery is sustained throughout the foundation narrative. As mentioned above, the chronicler inserted a

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[321] 'Anno d[omi]ni mill[es]imo CCC XLIX[o] ingruente sup[ra] modu[m] violenta pestilencia in toto regno Anglie et precipue in ciuitate London[ium] vbi p[o]p[u]lus sup[er]habundabat, tandem tanta multitudo obiit ib[ide]m q[uo]d o[mn]ia cimiteria ciuitatis pred[ic]te no[n] sufficiebant pro sepultura mortuo[rum]. Vnde coacti plurimi sepelierunt mortuos suos in locis indebitis et no[n] dedicatis seu benedictis. Aliqui vero vt dicebat[ur] in fluuium cadau[er]a proicebant. Q[uo]d audiens nobilissimus miles d[omin]us W[alterus] de Mawny pred[ic]tus Christiana pietate motus, vehementer condoluit et conuocatis s[er]uis suis quesiuit si quis eoru[m] sciret aliquem locum segregatum et clausum p[ro]pe ciuitatem qui possit acquiri et debita Christiano[rum] sepultura dedicari, cui vnus s[er]uorum respondit. Ecce d[omi]ne, magister hospitalis s[anc]ti Barthol[omi] de Smythfeld et conf[ra]tres sui h[ab]ent vnu[m] locum clausum extra Smythfeld pred[ic]ta[m] qui vocat[ur] Spitell crofte, vbi v[est]re deuocionis effect[tu]m optime poteritis sortiri. At ille cum om[n]i diligencia et festinac[i]o[n]e misit ad d[ic]tos magi[stru]m et f[ra]tres pro d[ic]ta clausura acquirenda', LR 2/61, fols 10r-10v. The Carthusians appear to have been hit quite badly by the Black Death. According to Le Couteulx, over nine hundred members of the order died as a result of the plague; see *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, V, 474.

[322] 'Conuenc[i]o[n]e igit[ur] f[ac]ta inter d[ic]t[u]m d[omin]um de Mawny et d[ic]tos conf[ra]tres pro d[ic]ta firma h[ab]enda adiit idem d[omin]us cu[m] maxima et deuotissi[m]a deuoc[i]o[n]e ad d[omin]um Radulphum tunc London[ium] Ep[iscopu]m humiliter implorans pro cimiterio inf[ra] d[ic]tam clausura[m] benedicendo. Cuius deuoc[i]o[n]i ep[iscop]us annuens congregata maxima multitudi[n]e cum solempnissima processione venit ad d[ict]um locum et benedixit honore s[anc]te et indiuidue Trinitatis et Annunciacionis d[omi]nice ad instancia[m] d[omin]i de Mawny q[uia] istud f[estu]m est primum gaudiu[m] gl[or]iose virginis Marie matris dei et iniciu[m] tocius salutis n[ost]re. S[ed] intantu[m] inualuit mortalitas prefata in ciuitate London[ium] q[uo]d in eod[e]m nouo cimiterio prout p[atet] p[er] bullam p[a]p[a]lem sepulta erant vltra LX. milia cadau[er]a mortuorum. Et f[ac]t[u]m est adueniente annu[n]ciac[i]o[n]is d[omi]nice p[re]fulgida prefatus antistes cum maiore ciuitatis et vicecomitib[us] necno[n] nobiliores ciuitatis qui vocant[ur] Aldermanni et multi alii om[n]es penes nudi pedes et cu[m] deuotissima processione adierunt d[ic]t[u]m cimiteriu[m] ibiq[ue] E[pisco]pus celebrauit et solennem dixit p[o]p[u]lo s[er]monem h[ab]uitque pro themate illud verbum Aue', LR 2/61, fol. 10v.

copy of the initial indenture made between the knight and Michael Northburgh in 1361 after the bishop had convinced Manny to found a Carthusian community within the cemetery rather than a college of priests. In this document, they specified that the 'thirteen priests' of their proposed Carthusian foundation should pray for the friends and relatives of the two founders as well as pray 'specially for the souls of all [the individuals] whose bodies have been or shall be buried there'.[323] The foundation charter drawn up by Manny in March 1371, and copied on folios 21v-22r of the cartulary, sets out in even greater depth the liturgical obligations placed upon the monks from the very inception of the charterhouse. The monks were bound to perform all of their divine services on behalf of the families of Manny and Northburgh as well as for the good estate of King Edward III. Furthermore, the knight requested that the monks should pray specially for the soul of each person whose corpse was already buried within the charterhouse's precincts and all of their community's benefactors.[324]

The monks of the London charterhouse appear to have embraced Manny's desire to preserve caring for the souls of the dead as a central feature of their vocation. Joseph Anselm Gribbin has highlighted that the community's concern for the proper liturgical commemoration of the dead was reflected in the series of questions directed to the Grande Chartreuse from the latter half of the fifteenth century up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Throughout these questions the monks repeatedly requested

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[323] '…vno p[er]petuo collegio Cartus[iensi] XIII presbiterorum illius ordinis si bene fieri potest […] p[ro] quib[us] ambe p[ar]tes pred[ic]te tenant[ur] orare vel o[rac]iones facere et eciam specialiter p[ro] a[n]i[m]ab[us] illo[rum] quoru[m] corpora sunt vel erunt ib[ide]m sepulta', LR 2/61, fol. 10v.
[324] 'Volumus insup[er] et ordinamus q[uo]d d[ic]ti prior et monachi et eo[rum] successores h[ab]eant specialiter in missis or[ati]o[n]ibus et aliis diuinis seruiciis recomendat[um] statum nobilissimi Regis n[ost]ri Anglie D[omi]ni Edwardi tercii post conquestum et statum n[ost]r[u]m et d[omi]ne Margarete consortis n[ost]re carissime et hered[es] n[ost]ros et […] p[ro] quib[us] orare tenemur et om[n]i benefactorum n[ost]rorum. Item specialiter pro a[n]i[m]a Mag[ist]ri Mich[ae]lis de Northburgh quonda[m] [Episcopi] London[ium] et pro animab[us] successorum suorum et om[n]i quo[rum] corp[or]a in pred[ic]to loco sepeliuntur et om[n]i fidelium defunctorum', LR 2/61, fol. 22r.

guidance regarding the various types of liturgical prayers that they should use to pray for the dead.[325] For example, they asked whether several collects could be used for the dead during masses and were informed that this was permitted only when necessity dictated it, but usually only one should be kept.[326] On another occasion the sought to clarify whether 'animas defunctorum' should be said during the offertory prayer *Domine Iesu Christe* used in the Office of the Dead.[327]

The foundation section of the London cartulary also attests to the community's desire to care for the dead with the utmost diligence. The chronicler records that their eagerness to fulfil Manny's wishes initially led to the monks being admonished by representatives of the Carthusian General Chapter in the early fifteenth century. He asserts that the monks used to 'meet the funerals of the departed' at the gates of the outer cemetery of the charterhouse until 1405, when they were forbidden from venturing beyond a newly constructed wall by visitors from charterhouses in Holland and Diest. From this point onwards, only the community's prior and procurator were permitted to journey beyond the wall, with the prior, however, strictly prohibited from preaching any further sermons in the outer cemetery.[328] The monks' initial enthusiasm for attending funerals appears to have been shared by St Hugh of Lincoln in the late

[325] Gribbin, 'Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practices', pp. 34-35.
[326] Gribbin, 'Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions', p. 93.
[327] Gribbin, 'Liturgical and Miscellaneous Questions', p. 19.
[328] 'Anno D[omi]ni M^{o} CCCC^{o} V^{to} D[omin]us Henricus et d[omin]us Eu[er]ardus domoru[m] b[ea]te Marie in Hollandia et de Diest, p[ri]ores et p[ro]uincia[m] Anglie visitauerunt et ordinac[i]o[n]em sequentem p[ro] domo ista fecerunt et carta sua sc[ri]pserunt p[ro]ut sequit[ur]. […] P[ri]ori et procuratori districte iniunxim[us] quatin[us] q[u]a[m] cito poterunt muru[m] citra eccl[es]iam p[ro]ut ip[s]os informauim[us] fieri faciant, mulieresq[ue] inf[ra] illu[m] intrare non p[er]mittant, sub penis nouoru[m] statuto[rum]. S[cilic]et nec monachi preter priorem et p[ro]curatorem eundem murum vmqu[a]m exeant. Item priori districtissime inhibemus ne amplius procuret s[er]monem fieri in exteriori cimiterio domus. Post ordinac[i]o[n]em v[er]o istam mo[na]chi preter p[ri]ore[m] et procurat[orem] ianuam in pred[ic]to muro factam vsq[ue] in presentem diem p[ro] quacumq[ue] causa non exierunt, nec eciam pro funere alicuius defuncti. Nam ante illam ordinac[i]o[n]em monachi vsq[ue] ad extremam portam dicti cimiterii ad defuncto[rum] fun[er]a recipienda processerunt', LR 2/61, fol. 13r. This ordinance is also found in Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', pp. 114. The *Statuta Nova* had previously stipulated that no member of the order should preach outside of their community's cloister or chapterhouse, see *SN,* 2.10.4.

twelfth century. His biographer records that whenever Hugh came across 'a corpse being borne at a cemetery he would immediately dismount and approaching the bier, would pray for a little while'.[329]

The community's commitment to praying for the dead is also reflected in the list of chantries established within the charterhouse's church by the end of the fifteenth century inserted on folios 16r-17r of the manuscript. In the prologue to this list, the chronicler declares that it was included to ensure that none of the charterhouse's most significant benefactors were forgotten. He states that the original 'indented writings' by which the community were bound to pray for the individuals named in the list were now presented in such a concise manner to 'avoid the long-windedness which often produces weariness in listeners'.[330] Despite claiming to have condensed these indentures into a shortened form, the chronicler still describes the deeds of their benefactors in meticulous detail. The benefactions of the grocer William Symmes are presented in five separate entries which outline the specific reasons why he was still commemorated by the community. The first indenture records that the monks who lived in the cells supported by William from his own goods were bound to pray for him, whilst the second declares that the grocer was admitted to the fraternity of the house in 1418 due to his funding of a cell at the south of the cloister and his donations towards the repair of the church walls.[331] In the three remaining entries the chronicler records

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[329] Adam of Eynsham, *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln,* II, 77.

[330] 'Anno mill[es]imo CCCC^{o} XXXI^{o}. Scrutatis diligenter scriptis indentatis p[er] que nos et successores n[ost]ri ad quasdam cantarias certas p[er]petue continuandas in domo ista per f[ra]tres n[ost]ros sacerdotes, pro quibusdam magnis benefactorib[us] n[ost]ris qui sumptib[us] suis cellas construxerunt in claustro isto et alia bona nobis largiti sunt, astringim[ur] et tenem[ur] vt eo[rum]de[m] scriptoru[m] tenor et effectus sub compendio verboru[m]. Vitata prolixitate, que solet audientibus tediu[m] gen[er]are, coram conuentu semel vel bis in anno valeant breuius recitari, d[ic]to[rum] scripto[rum] totu[m] effectu[m], in hac pagina inseruim[us], p[ro]ut sequit[ur], sub hac forma', LR 2/61, fol. 16r.

[331] 'It[e]m inhabitantes cellas quas Will[el]m[u]s Sym[m]es de bonis suis p[ro]priis fecit fieri et Robertus Chamberleyn de bonis d[omi]ne Margerie Nerford et Christine Ipstones construi fecit specialit[er] orare tenant[ur] pro ip[s]is benefactorib[us] hic no[m]i[n]at[us] et om[n]ibus suis amicis viuis et defunctis. […]

William's payment of 300 marks towards the construction of an aqueduct alongside further payments towards the community for the monks to acquire rents to pay for its repair as well as separate donations of books and ornaments. The extent of William's benefactions towards the charterhouse led the chronicler to remark that his name should 'be inscribed in the book of life among the saints and elect'.[332] Given the extent of his benefactions, Wines has argued that Symmes was 'clearly the single most important benefactor during the early years of the house' whose contributions ensured the community's survival in the early fifteenth century after the monks had been unable to receive the vast majority of the funds promised by Manny and Northburgh.[333]

The list of chantries also indicates that the community used their own initiative when commemorating some of their most significant benefactors. In one of the entries, the chronicler states that the deeds of two former mayors of London, Sir William Walworth and Adam Fraunceys, were to be committed to the perpetual memory of the community out of respect for the extensive funds they gave towards the foundation of ten cells at the charterhouse. Although neither of them requested that the community

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Ite[m] Will[el]m[u]s Symmes ciuis et grocerus London[ium] cuius memoria erit in benedicc[i]o[n]e gen[er]acioni illi que ventura est, receptus fuit in fratrem n[ost]r[u]m, d[omi]nica p[ri]ma XL[e] anno d[omi]ni mill[es]imo CCCC[o] XVIII[o] qui quidem Will[el]m[u]s construxit vnam cellam in australi plaga claustri, p[ro] cui[us] constructione et pauiamento maioris claustri ac rep[ar]ac[i]o[n]e circa muros eccl[es]ie n[ost]re in eorum sum[m]itatib[us] de duro lapide soluit CCC marcas et vltra', LR 2/61, fols 16v-17r.

[332] 'It[e]m idem Will[el]m[u]s Symmes prim[us] om[n]i[um] incepit aqueductu[m] n[ost]r[u]m et in p[ar]tem constructio[nis] eiusdem aqueductus soluit vltra CCC marcas. It[e]m id[e]m Will[el]m[u]s Symmes post eiusdem aqueductus edificac[i]o[n]em et construxionem vt Christi fideles et paupe[re]s aque beneficio liberius et licencius congauderent vt domus ista circa reparac[i]o[n]em eiusd[e]m aqueductus p[er]petuo exoneret[ur], dedit nobis CC et XX marcas p[ro] certis redditib[us] emendis ad reparac[i]o[n]em et conseruac[i]o[n]em aqueductus memorate. Et voluit q[uo]d de prouentib[us] eorundem reddituu[m] in die obitus sui annuatim expendat[ur] dimidia marca in pitancia, p[ro] conuentu et alia dimidia marca in elemosinis paup[er]um. Et p[ro] hoc beneficio nomen eius de numero sanctor[um] non deleat[ur]. S[ed] in libro vite inter sanctos et electos conscribat[ur], amen. It[e]m Will[el]m[u]s Symmes dedit domui huic et conuentui diuersis temporib[us] et p[ro] diuersis causis, preter premissa CC and [*sic*] XX marcas. Et insuper multa alia bona et beneficia tam in libris q[ua]m in eccl[es]ie ornamentis contulit huic domui, p[ro] quib[us] om[n]ib[us] sibi reco[m]penset, atq[ue] in vita semp[er] mansura, ad sui meritum eadem centuplicet, om[n]i bono[rum] largit[or] deus, LR 2/61, fol. 17r.

[333] Wines, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 103-7.

pray for them 'by any writing', out of good conscience the inhabitants of their cells were obliged to pray on their behalf.[334] Such scrupulous attention to recording the individual deeds of benefactors suggests that the monks of London charterhouse saw their obligation to remember and care for the dead as a fundamental part of their vocation.

This is certainly the case for the venerable monk John Homersley who appears to have been especially occupied with praying on behalf of the dead. The chronicler records that Homersley lived in the cell situated on the eastern range of the greater cloister marked with the verses that began with the letter 'T' which had been originally established by 'W. earl of Suffolk'.[335] The list detailing the names of the founders of each cell at the charterhouse (fol. 14r) verifies that this was Sir William Ufford, 2nd Earl of Suffolk (d. 1382).[336] The sixth indenture in the subsequent list of chantries highlights that any monk residing in this cell was bound to pray perpetually for the earl's soul and those of his wives, Joan and Isabel, as well as his parents, Robert and Margaret. This was in return for the four hundred and twenty marks that William had originally given towards the fabric of the cell and sustenance of the said monk.[337] Homersley would therefore have served effectively as a personal chantry priest for the Ufford family and

[334] Item p[er]petue memorie com[m]endand[um] q[uo]d d[omin]us Will[el]m[u]s Walworth miles et quonda[m] maior London[ium] dedit nobis de bonis suis et de bonis Ioh[ann]is Louekyn mag[ist]ri sui et quondam maioris London[ium] pro constructione quinq[ue] cellarum in magno claustro mille marcas sterlyngorum. Et multa alia bona tam in vita sua qu[am] in morte contulit huic domui. Item Adam Fraunceys quondam ciuis et maior London[ium] dedit nobis de bonis suis mille marcas sterlingorum pro construct[i]one quinq[ue] cellarum. Et q[uam]uis neuter illorum p[er] aliquod scriptu[m] nos ligauerit tamen ex bona consciencia inh[ab]itantes dictas cellas quas ip[s]i de bonis suis construxeru[n]t tenent[ur] sp[eci]aliter p[ro] ip[s]is orare tanqu[am] pro fundatorib[us] suis', LR 2/61, fol. 16v.
[335] 'Mansit enim in cella quam fundauit d[omin]us W. Comes Suffolch in orientali plaga claustri in cui[us] ostio versus p[er] T l[ite]ram incipientes h[ab]ent[ur]', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.
[336] 'T. D[omin]us Will[el]m[us] de Vfford, Comes de Suffolch', LR 2/61, fol. 14v.
[337] 'Item p[er] sextam indentura[m] obligamur q[uo]d vnus monachus imp[er]p[etuu]m celebrabit et orabit pro a[n]i[m]ab[us] d[omi]ni Will[elm]i de Vfford quondam Comitis de Suffolch, Iohanne et Isabelle vxoru[m] sua[rum], Rob[er]ti et Margarete p[ar]ent[u]m d[ic]ti Will[elm]i et p[ro] animab[us] quib[us] ip[s]i tenebant[ur]. Habitabitq[ue] monachus in cella quam executores d[ic]ti Comitis edificauerunt in orientali plaga claustri et dederunt de bonis ip[s]ius Comitis ad fabricam illius et sustentacione[m] d[ic]ti monachi CCCC XX marcas', LR 2/61, fols 16r-16v.

devoted a considerable amount of his time towards performing intercessory prayers and masses on their behalf.

Alongside this obligation towards the Ufford family, several of the miraculous tales presented in the chronicle appear to be designed to highlight Homersley's personal commitment to praying for the dead. As mentioned previously, the monk received a vision of King Henry V's soul being released from the pains of Purgatory and entering Paradise, most likely as a direct result of his prayers. Henry seems to have placed great trust in the intercessory prowess of Carthusian monks. The anonymous author of the early fifteenth-century *Gesta Henrici Quinti* records how before the naval battle at Harfleur in 1415 the king 'sent word […] to the saintly monks of the London charterhouse and his own house at Sheen, that among their private prayers and lamentations […] they should pray with all possible tenderness and devotion' for a favourable outcome. Henry's confidence in the power of the monks' prayers was rewarded by God with the French fleet being forced to retreat and driven onto the sandbanks in the mouth of the River Seine.[338]

On another occasion, Homersley was visited by the spirit of the recently deceased monk Thomas Clough whilst he was in his garden hanging up the shoes he had washed earlier in the day. Clough reprimanded his brother for neglecting to fulfil the suffrages he was owed according to the customs of their order, claiming that he always had special confidence in the power of Homersley's prayers. Homersley immediately rushed to the community's church and devoutly completed a psalter on behalf of his

[338] *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth*, trans. by Frank Taylor and John Roskell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 146-47. For more on King Henry V's relationship with the Carthusian order see Beckett, *Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation*, pp. 10-103 and Neil Beckett, 'Henry V and Sheen Charterhouse: The Expansion of Royal and Carthusian Ideas', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 63 (1990), 49-71.

brother's soul.[339] In his instantaneous response Homersley is shown to have corrected his initial neglect for his brother's soul and, through the performance of the psalter, repaid Thomas' faith in the effectiveness of his prayers.

The chronicler also presents the successful intercessory role of the charterhouse as mirrored by the effect of Manny's original act of founding the cemetery. He describes how Manny, 'after the consecration of the aforesaid cemetery and burial of so many bodies in it, saw crowds of spirits with lighted candles going in procession in the same cemetery'.[340] This vision recalls that of Homersley, who saw the soul of King Henry V enter Paradise, with Manny similarly witnessing the souls of the dead buried within the cemetery he founded proceeding towards their salvation. In this manner, the chronicler connects Manny's initial act of founding the cemetery directly with the prayers of Homersley, with both individuals witnessing the efficacy of their individual actions in their visionary experiences. By doing so, the chronicler perhaps hoped to emphasise a sense of continuity between Manny's foundational commitment to provide the most effective care for the souls of the dead and the devotional practices of the monks. In their daily liturgical rituals, prayers for the dead and remembrance of their benefactors, the monks of the London charterhouse are shown to have faithfully fulfilled their founder's desire to care for all of the dead buried within the precincts of the charterhouse and their benefactors.

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[339] 'Defuncto q[ue] pred[ic]to d[omi]no Thoma Clough et corpore eius in eccl[es]ia iuxta ord[in]is consu[e]tudine[m] remanente, ap[ar]uit anima eius prefato Ioh[ann]i Homersley pedula sua que paru[m] ante lau[er]at in quadam arbore in orte suo suspendenti, ei q[ue] dixit, pater Homersley, h[ab]ebam fiducia[m] sp[ec]ialem in o[rac]ionib[us] v[est]ris et suffrigia [*sic*] que michi debent[ur] ex ordine negligentis absoluere. Quod cu[m] audisset mox ad eccl[es]iam iuit et psalteriu[m] deuote compleuit', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

[340] 'Idem d[ic]t[u]m est q[uo]d idem d[omin]us de Mawny post dedicac[i]o[n]em cimiterii pred[ic]ti et sepulturam tantorum corp[or]um in ead[e]m vidit cateruas spirituu[m] cu[m] accensis luminarib[us] p[ro]cessionaliter in eodem cimiterio procedentes', LR 2/61, fol. 15r.

The London chronicler therefore does not appear to have regarded his community's willingness to intercede on behalf of the dead as fundamentally incompatible with the eremitic principles of the Carthusian order. Instead, the monks' intercessory prowess was regarded as an important facet of their pious identity alongside their devotion to the solitary life. As mentioned above, the chronicler presents Homersley modelling himself on the Desert Fathers in his struggles against the Devil within his cell. At the same time, he also praises the monk for always 'walking without reproach in the way of God's commandments and the observances of the Carthusian order', noting in particular his love for the solitude of his cell and his continual 'writing of sacred books'. His claim that Homersley sought to 'preach the word of God with his hands' reproduces Guigo's assertion that the Carthusians ought to dedicate themselves to compiling books so that they could preach with their hands as they could not do so with their mouths.[341]

The chronicler emphasises Homersley's commitment to this endeavour and his connections in the heavenly court by means of another miraculous tale. He describes how the monk was once visited by the Virgin Mary and the soul of a recently deceased priest who used to provide Homersley with parchment to write books. Mary is said to have pointed out to Homersley where he had made a mistake in his writing and kindly advised him to amend the book before she disappeared.[342] As Hennessy has argued,

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[341] 'Erat v[er]o iste venerabilis pater d[omin]us Ioh[ann]es Homersley vir valde simplex et mansuetus in via mandatoru[m] dei ac obseruanciarum ordinis Cartus[iensis] incedens sine querela. Diligebat enim cellam et solitudinem os suu[m] clausit a malis et ne delinqueret in lingua sua raro et breuiter loquebat[ur] de bonis verbum tamen dei manibus predicabat. Nam sacros libros p[ro] eccl[es]ia p[ro] refectorio et pro cella incessanter scribebat', LR 2/61, fol. 15r. Compare with *CC*, 28.3.

[342] 'Quadam vice cum scribendo erraret astitit ei d[omi]na et patrona n[ost]ra mater dei et cum ea sp[iri]t[us] cuiusdam sacerdotis antea defuncti qui dum viu[er]et p[er]gamenu[m] p[ro] libris scribendis eid[e]m Ioh[ann]i Homersley ex faculta[ti]bus suis minstribat, tunc d[omi]na n[ost]ra beatissi[m]a errorem s[uu]m vbi in scribendo deffecit sibi manifestauit et vt librum emendaret dulciter a[m]monuit et sic disp[ar]uit', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

such a mistake would have been considered by Carthusian readers to signify an error in the monk's own spiritual condition. In turn, this would have been seen to have had a potentially negative impact on the charterhouse as a whole for compromising the desired accuracy and uniformity of its texts. The act of textual emendation therefore functioned as a penitential exercise for Homersley, with the Virgin Mary serving as both his editorial supervisor and spiritual guide. At the same time, this miraculous tale emphasises Mary's role as protector of the entire community of the London charterhouse by preserving the integrity of its textual production.[343]

Alongside preaching with his hands, Homersley is said to have always driven from his mind the desire for worldly goods. Whenever he received money from his benefactors, he immediately went to the prior's cell and entrusted it to him.[344] For the London chronicler, Homersley's strict adherence to the observances of the order's founders was one of the primary reasons why his prayers were heard all the more readily by God.[345] This conviction appears to have been shared by the monks who lived at the charterhouse at the same time as Homersley. The chronicler records how the monk was once approached by Prior John Maplested whilst he was suffering from an unspecified illness. After seeing the prior's face, Homersley advised him to procure some medicine for himself. Maplested responded that he only wished for his brother's

[343] Hennessy, 'Otherworldly Visions', pp. 266-73. For more on the Carthusians' concern for textual uniformity see Michael Sargent, 'The Problem of Uniformity in Carthusian Book Production from the *Opus Pacis* to the *Tertia Compilatio Statutorum*', in *New Science Out of Old Books, Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I Doyle,* ed. by R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), pp. 122-41.

[344] 'Cum victu et vestitu ordinis sobrie contentus cunctaru[m] labenciu[m] rerum cupiditatem a se procul pellebat nec leuiter. S[ed] quasi coactus recipiebat munera et si aliquando nimia offerentis importunitate denariu[m] vel tale quid recepisset statim ad cellam ibat p[ri]oris et ip[s]i com[m]isit', LR 2/61, fol. 15r. This passage was possibly written in light of the General Chapter's criticism of the monks' financial activities during the 1490s, discussed above in the introduction to this chapter.

[345] For more on how the intercessory prayers of eremitic figures were perceived see Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 158-62.

prayers to recover from his sickness. The following morning the prior is said to have appeared before his brethren fully healed, presumably as a direct result of Homersley fulfilling his request and praying through the night in his cell.[346]

Homersley was not the only member of the London charterhouse reported to have performed healing miracles. The chronicler defines the sanctity of the monk Guy of Burgh exclusively by his intercessory expertise. He notes that Guy was widely acknowledged to have led a most holy life by his brothers following his arrival at the charterhouse in 1370, with the 'fame of his sanctity' having not yet ceased even at the time of the cartulary's composition. Rather than demonstrate this through Guy's love of contemplation and solitude, the chronicler uses the miraculous tale involving an unnamed earl of Warwick and his wife. Having been unable to conceive a child, they approached the house's prior, John Luscote, and pleaded with him to have one of his holiest brothers pray on their behalf. Duly fulfilling this request, Guy came to the prior's cell on the following night to announce that the earl and his wife had now conceived a son named Richard, who is said to have later become the earl of Warwick.[347]

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[346] 'Quodam tempore bone memorie d[omin]us I[ohannes] Mapulsted tercius prior huius domus infirmatus venit ad cellam d[omi]ni I[ohann]i Homersley p[re]dict[i]. Cuius facie[m] cu[m] d[omin]us I[ohannes] Hom[er]sley vidiss[et] ex infirmitate tumescente monuit eu[m] reuerenter vt s[ibi] p[ro]uideret de medicina. Cui ille nulla[m] alia[m] medicina[m] volo h[ab]ere n[is]i ora[ci]o[n]es v[est]ras. In die aute[m] crasti[n]o app[ar]uit prior p[er]f[ec]te sanatus', LR 2/61, fol. 15v.

[347] 'Fama tamen sanctitatis eorum et sp[eci]aliter d[omi]ni Guidonis no[n] dum cessauit. Dicit[ur] v[er]o q[uo]d quidam Comes Warwici h[ab]ens vxorem sterilem venit ad domu[m] istam et rogauit priorem quatinus si quos h[ab]eret inter conf[ra]tres sanctiores ip[s]os excitaret vt orare[n]t pro eo, quatenus sibi ab vxore sua sobiles [*sic*] a d[omi]no daret[ur]. Qui p[ri]or adiit d[ic]tum d[omin]um Guydone[m] manifestans eidem d[ic]ti comitis desideriu[m] petens vt p[ro] eo oraret, qui ita fecit. Nocte v[er]o q[ua]da[m] postea venit idem d[omin]us Guydo ad pred[ic]t[u]m p[ri]ore[m], nu[n]cians ei q[uo]d pred[ic]ti comitis vx[or] concepiscet filiu[m], quod verum fuit. Cumq[ue] natus esset puer, no[m]i[n]atus est Richardus, qui postea fu[i]t Comes Warwici', LR 2/61, fols 14v-15r. Given the dating and name of the child, this passage likely refers to Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick from 1369, his wife Margaret Ferrers and their son Richard de Beauchamp who was born in 1381-82; see Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, p. 61.

For the London chronicler, offering prayers for both the dead, and to a lesser extent the living, was therefore deemed to be an act worthy of praise rather than a flagrant betrayal of the contemplative ideals of the order's founders that ought to be downplayed or even concealed. From his perspective, the intercessory activities of Manny, Homersley and Guy of Burgh in fact offered tangible proof that the charterhouse had truly been favoured by God throughout its history and would continue to enjoy divine favour if its monks continued their example into the sixteenth century.

Conclusion

This chapter has elucidated some of the ways in which the pious identities of Sir Walter Manny and the monks of his Carthusian foundation were consciously interwoven by the chronicler of the London charterhouse throughout the foundation narrative. Both the knight and the most distinguished members of the charterhouse were shown to have diligently cared for the souls of the dead in their own way, from providing a suitable burial ground for victims of the plague to performing prayers and masses to alleviate the suffering of the dead in the afterlife. Manny was also presented replicating the contemplative practices of the monks themselves by visiting the charterhouse prior to his death and weeping at the sight of his uncovered grave.

At the same time, the monks were shown to have emulated Manny's initial conquest over the Devil when he eventually secured the foundation of the charterhouse, with the chronicler detailing how the monks overcame their own demonic foes within the spaces of their cells. By doing so, the chronicler presents Manny as, in essence, just like the monks of his own foundation and the source of some of the most fundamental aspects of the community's pious identity. This was likely intended to demonstrate the

knight's suitability in assuming the role of founder of the charterhouse and receiving the privilege of being buried within the monks' choir, the spiritual heart of the community.

The London chronicler also utilised Manny's prominent secular status for the benefit of his own community. By emphasising the knight's personal connections with the royal family, the chronicler was, in turn, attempting to enhance the reputation and standing of the charterhouse itself. The figure of Manny provided a royal tone to the origins of the charterhouse that does not appear to have reflected the actual circumstances of its initial foundation which owed more to the actions of local merchants and citizens. Instead, it reveals how the charterhouse regarded its relationship with the Crown at the end of the fifteenth century when it enjoyed the patronage of King Henry VII and his wife, Elizabeth of York. In this manner, the figure of Manny provided a sense of continuity for the monks of the charterhouse at the time of the cartulary's compilation who could see their own burgeoning association with royal figures replicated by their founder's close relationship with King Edward III and his immediate family.

The cartulary of the London charterhouse was therefore used to express and shape how its monks perceived their own purpose and identity at the end of the fifteenth century. It highlights that the community believed that they were faithfully imitating the distinguished example of the Desert Fathers and the founders of their order within the spaces of their charterhouses. The chronicler chose to present former members of their community continuing the struggles of their eremitic predecessors who were often depicted battling against wild beasts and demonic creatures. These tales were used to demonstrate that the monks of his charterhouse were the true

successors of the likes of St Anthony and St Bruno, with the cells of their charterhouses replicating the literal wilderness of the Egyptian desert and the French Alps.

Yet at the same time, the London chronicler did not believe that it was necessary to ignore or de-emphasise his community's interactions with the world beyond the walls of the charterhouse. Instead, he intentionally chose to draw attention and even celebrate the monks' relationship with their benefactors and, above all, the founder of their community, Sir Walter Manny. The list of chantries inserted on folios 16r-17r highlights that the monks were thoroughly committed to fulfilling the liturgical demands placed upon them by these individuals. Furthermore, the genuine affection that the late fifteenth-century monks felt for the lay founder of their charterhouse is suggested by Manny being endowed with the pious characteristics of the monks themselves. Despite his death pre-dating the compilation of the cartulary by over a century, Manny was still believed to have played a fundamental role in the history of the London charterhouse, whose deeds were worthy of preserving alongside those of its most distinguished monks.

The anonymous chronicler of the London charterhouse was therefore expanding the traditional boundaries that defined the vocation of the Carthusians. Although he still appealed to the contemplative, wilderness traditions of the Carthusian order's founders, he also regarded the performance of prayers and masses for the community's deceased benefactors and patrons as a fundamental part of the monks' mission. The foundation section of the cartulary suggests that the monks of the London charterhouse did not just regard themselves as contemplatives in the depths of the wilderness, but also proficient intercessors for their living and dead benefactors. The growing liturgical demands placed upon the monks by secular society were seen to complement rather than

contradict the foundational principles of the order. The following chapter of this study further examines how the Carthusians' perception of their own vocation and their relationship with the secular world evolved throughout this period using the devotional miscellany MS e Museo 160 produced in one of the charterhouses in the north of England in the early sixteenth century.

Chapter 3: The Charterhouse in the World: The Place of the Carthusians in the History of Salvation and the Sixteenth-Century Church in MS e Museo 160

Introduction

This chapter considers how the relationship between the Carthusians of late medieval England and the secular world was constructed in the devotional literature of the order. It focuses on the Middle English devotional miscellany now known as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 160, which was compiled at one of the charterhouses in the north of England during the early sixteenth century.[348] Using the universal verse chronicle that takes up the bulk of this manuscript, this chapter reflects on its various uses for the identity formation/re-affirmation of its Carthusian audience. It initially considers the ways in which the chronicle shaped how its Carthusian readers understood the place of their order in the context of sacred history and perceived their order's relationship with contemporary sixteenth-century society. The chapter then examines how the verse chronicle was also used to express the anxieties felt by the Carthusian author and his peers towards non-Christians, with particular attention given to the perceived threat posed by the Ottoman Turks to Latin Christendom.

The Carthusians' familiarity with secular history and contemporary events outside of the walls of their charterhouse has traditionally been overlooked or even dismissed outright. Ethel Margaret Thompson argued that English Carthusian monks demonstrated their commitment to the foundational principles of St Bruno in part by

[348] For more discussion on the definition of miscellanies in general see Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu, 'Introduction', in *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain,* ed. by Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-29 (pp. 1-8) and Marilena Maniaci, 'Miscellaneous Reflections on the Complexity of Medieval Manuscripts', in *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge: Miscellanies in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Sabrina Corbellini, Giovanna Murano and Giacomo Signore (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 11-22 (pp. 11-15).

their 'unconcern about transitory matters on account of their preoccupation in their mystic quest'.[349] Similarly, David Knowles affirmed that one of the most notable features of the Carthusians in England was their 'neglect of attention to external matters and an absorption in the details and demands of the purely monastic life'.[350] The Carthusians' supposed disinterest in secular affairs led Roger Lovatt to remark that the donation of a manuscript containing a copy of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* to the monk William Mede of Sheen charterhouse was 'inappropriate' to his contemplative vocation.[351]

This rather dismissive attitude has since been revised to a certain extent. Julian Luxford has highlighted how the additions made to a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon* held by the charterhouse of Witham, now Eton College MS 213, indicate that its monks had a genuine interest in people and events outside the walls of their foundation. Several scribes were responsible for updating a genealogy of English kings up to the reign of King Henry VII whilst another monk inserted a copy of the poem *Tres sunt Ricardi, reges anglorum* which details the reign of each king, including the relatively recent demise of Richard III.[352] At the same time, Carthusian monks were widening the scope of their historical interests beyond detailing the history of their own individual foundations. The compiler of the mid fifteenth-century devotional miscellany MS Additional 37049 included translated excerpts of the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* on folios 9v-10v of the manuscript. The original Latin text was written by the Dominican friar Martin of Troppau in the 1270s and provided an outline of the

[349] Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England,* p. 373.
[350] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England,* II, 136.
[351] Lovatt, 'The Library of John Blacman', p. 218.
[352] Julian Luxford, 'Two English Carthusian Manuscripts of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*', in *Liber Amicorum James Hogg: Kartäuserforschung 1970-2006. Internationale Tagung Kartause Aggsbach/ Kartause Mauerbach, 28.8.-1.9.2006*, ed. by M. Niederkorn-Bruck (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2007), pp. 165-80 and Julian Luxford, 'A Fifteenth-Century Version of Matthew Paris's Procession with the Relic of the Holy Blood and Evidence for its Carthusian Context', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 72 (2009), 81-101 (pp. 81-91).

reigns of emperors and popes from the mythical origins of Rome up to 1277. The passages selected by the compiler of MS Additional 37049 detail the foundation of Rome and Babylon as well as several miraculous events involving Roman emperors from the early Middle Ages.[353] Outside of England, the Carthusian monk Werner Rolevinck wrote the *Fasciculus Temporum* at the charterhouse of Cologne in the 1470s, alongside several other historiographical works. His universal history was first printed in 1474 and became one of the best-selling books of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with nearly forty printed editions being published before his death in 1502.[354] The *Fasciculus* served as the base text for the Middle English verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160, as shall be discussed in greater depth below.

Unlike the cartulary of the London charterhouse, there has been a degree of uncertainty surrounding the exact provenance of the universal verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160. It was most likely written by a member of the Carthusian order given that the anonymous author refers to 'our customs and our statutes clean' during his account of the compilation of the *Statuta Antiqua* in the mid-thirteenth century.[355] Later in the chronicle he boasts that Christ undoubtedly held the most affection for the Carthusians

[353] For more on the *Chronicon* see William Matthews, 'Martinus Polonus and Some Later Chroniclers', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. by D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 275-88 (pp. 275-76) and Wolfgang-Valentin Ikas, 'Martinus Polonus' Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors: A Medieval Best-Seller and its Neglected Influence on Medieval English Chroniclers', *English Historical Review*, 116 (2001), 327-41. The text from MS Additional 37049 has been transcribed in Dan Embree, 'The Fragmentary Chronicle in British Library, Additional MS 37049', *Manuscripta,* 37 (1993), 193-200.

[354] Laviece Ward, 'Two Carthusian Histories, Their Authors and Audiences', in *Die Ausbreitung kartäusischen Lebens und Geistes im Mittelalter*, ed. by Karl Thir and Anton Drexler (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 1990), pp. 132-38 (p. 132).

[355] 'Aft[er] Barnard dane Rifferene/ A man of all co[n]nynge & witt/ Our customes & oure statut[is] clene/ He mad of newe & mor did write/ Correcte & dewly did indite/ In the same form at they ar nowe/ The old statut[is] ȝit they be callite/ The gen[er]all chapit[er] th[a]m dos alowe', MS e Museo, fol. 103r.

given the large number of miracles performed by members of each charterhouse belonging to the order.[356]

The northern dialect of the verse chronicle suggests that the anonymous Carthusian chronicler was based at either one of the charterhouses of Axholme, Beauvale, Mount Grace or Hull.[357] Donald Baker, John Murphy and Louis Hall Jr. have argued that references to local events such as the collapse of the steeple of Beverley parish church in the early sixteenth century could only have been written by a monk living at the nearby charterhouses of Mount Grace or Hull.[358] Mount Grace is perhaps the most plausible location given that it is the only Carthusian house named in the chronicle alongside the Grande Chartreuse. This reference occurs at the end of the prayer recounting the events of the fifteenth century. The chronicler recounts how an unnamed vicar of Mount Grace had visited the tomb of Thomas of Lancaster at Pontefract and witnessed blood miraculously flowing out of his shrine. It is conceivable that this seemingly inconsequential event was deemed to be important for a monk belonging to the same charterhouse as the unnamed vicar.[359]

There has also been a certain amount of debate regarding whether the main scribe of MS e Museo 160 was in fact the original author of the Middle English verse chronicle. Carol Rowntree has asserted that the chronicle was most likely a copy, perhaps even one of a series of copies. Her argument is chiefly based on the presence of

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[356] 'Louid be y[ou] Ih[es]u for this store/ It semys thou luf[is] Carthusia more/ Than certen othere plac[is] hee/ That so gud p[re]lat[is] ordeyns þ[er]fore/ And so in ylk howse of this ord[er] free', MS e Museo 160, fol. 103v.
[357] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History,* p. 242 and Ward, 'Two Carthusian Histories', p. 132.
[358] *The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and e Museo 160*, ed. by Donald Baker, John Murphy and Louis Hall Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. lxxxi-lxxxiii.
[359] 'Holy Duk Thomas of Loncast[er] thou was m[ar]-/ -tyrit II hundreth ȝer afor but os y[ou] lay in a/ Tumbe of alblast[er] in powmfrethe abowt XL^{ti}/ ȝer sens the tomb brast & red blud sprank/ owte þe vicar of mownt grace ȝit on lif/ se the same blude miracles was rongen/ & gret sekinge', MS e Museo 160, fol. 99v.

several copyist errors throughout the chronicle, especially lines being missed out and later inserted at the bottom of the page by the scribe, as demonstrated below in figure 3.1.[360] However, as no other copies of the verse chronicle have survived, it is impossible to verify whether the scribe of MS e Museo 160 was actually working from a previous version of the Middle English text.

[360] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History,* pp. 264-66. Hogg has also argued that an indeterminable number of copies lay between the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 and the original; see James Hogg, 'Carthusian Drama in Bodleian MS. E. Museo 160', in *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, ed. by Helen Phillips (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), pp. 259-70 (pp. 260-61).

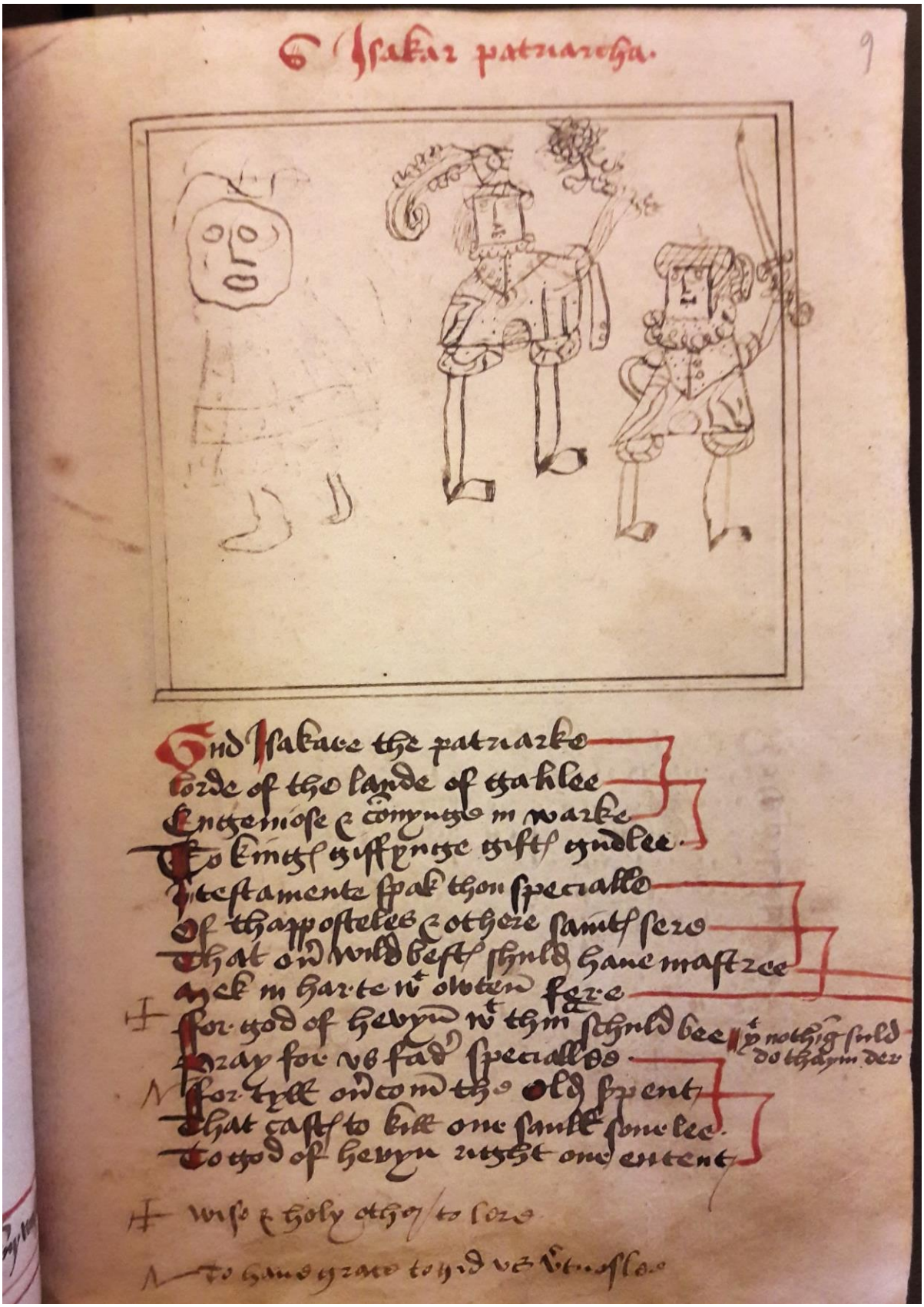

Figure 3.1: Illustrations of Tudor gentlemen drawn in a frame originally reserved for a depiction of the Patriarch Issachar, in MS e Museo 160, fol. 9r

Baker, Murphy and Hall Jr. have since suggested that the verse chronicle was an original composition of the scribe. They have observed that the scribe opted to leave parts of several folios blank and left notes to himself to fill these in when he came across other saints or events not yet included in the narrative.[361] For example, at the end of the prayer recounting the names of saints who lived during the ninth century the scribe wrote in red ink that 'this space is left for other saints in this time whose names are not here'.[362] It is also apparent that the copyist errors identified by Rowntree only occur in sections of the verse chronicle that derive from the *Fasciculus Temporum* of Werner Rolevinck. It is possible that these mistakes occurred during the process of translating and adapting the original Latin prose text into English verse rather than when the scribe copied an earlier version of the Middle English chronicle. This does appear to be reinforced by the fact that sections of the verse chronicle that post-date the *Fasciculus* (i.e., events after 1474) do not contain any scribal errors of this nature. However, as it cannot be proven with absolute certainty whether the verse chronicle was an original composition or in fact a copy, this chapter errs on the side of caution and maintains the distinction between the original author of the verse chronicle and the scribe of MS e Museo 160. In either case, the verse chronicle can be seen to represent how at least one Carthusian monk of early sixteenth-century England sought to reflect and even shape how Carthusian readers of the miscellany perceived their order's place in the late medieval Church and their order's relationship with the secular world.

MS e Museo 160 as a whole contains a relatively small selection of materials across its 176 folios.[363] Folios 1r-108r are taken up by the universal verse chronicle

[361] *The Late Medieval Religious Plays,* p. lxxviii.
[362] 'This space is left for other saint[is] in this tym whos na[m]mes are not here', MS e Museo 160, fol. 72v.
[363] As a point of comparison, MS Additional 37049 contains 101 separate items across its 96 folios. For a detailed account of the miscellany's contents see Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness,* pp. 307-25.

which outlines the history of the world from the Fall of Adam and Eve to the end of 1518. A continuation was subsequently added on folio 108v. This was written in the same secretary hand as the main chronicle and chiefly consists of a description of the meeting between King Henry VIII and Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520.[364] The continuation is followed by a short poem based on the travels of John Mandeville and Marco Polo (fols 109r-115r) and an English translation of the *One Hundred Meditations* (fols 116r-136r) which was often included alongside the *Horologium Sapientiae* of Henry Suso.[365] A text titled *The Fifteen Articles of the Passion* can be found on folios 136v-139r, although this is written in a cursive hand that differs considerably from the secretary hand used for the rest of the materials in the manuscript. The miscellany then culminates in two connected miracle plays titled *Christ's Burial* (fols 140r-156v) and *Christ's Resurrection* (fols 156v-172r).[366]

After MS e Museo 160 fell out of Carthusian hands after the Dissolution, it has suffered considerable damage. During the seventeenth century it was acquired by the Bodleian Library, where its paper leaves were rebound and trimmed to their current size of 21.5 x 14.6 cm. As a result, some of the marginal annotations have been either partially or entirely cut off. During this rebinding, the folios containing the short romance on the travels of John Mandeville and Marco Polo were also re-inserted and numbered incorrectly.[367] Prior to its acquisition by the Bodleian Library, one owner of the manuscript unsuccessfully attempted to erase every occurrence of the word 'pope'

[364] The remainder of the continuation is found on fol. 114r of the manuscript.
[365] This poem has been printed in M. C. Seymour, 'Mandeville and Marco Polo: A Stanzaic Fragment', *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*, 21 (1964), 39-52. For more on the *One Hundred Meditations* see Michael Sargent, 'Mystical Writings and Dramatic Texts in Late Medieval England', *Religion & Literature,* 37 (2005), 77-98 (pp. 91-92).
[366] Murphy and Baker have also published a facsimile edition of these plays in *The Digby Plays: Facsimiles of the Plays in Bodley MSS Digby 133 and e Museo 160*, ed. by Donald Baker and John Murphy (Leeds: University of Leeds, School of English, 1976).
[367] The correct order has since been re-established in Seymour, 'Mandeville and Marco Polo', pp. 42-50.

in the verse chronicle. A child also drew images of Tudor gentlemen in some of the picture frames that had been reserved for illustrations of Old Testament figures referred to at the beginning of the chronicle, as can be seen above in figure 3.1. Folios 105r-115v have additionally suffered considerable damage from mice, with several lines at the end of the chronicle and the poem either partially or entirely lost.

It is perhaps due to the poor condition of MS e Museo 160 and its relatively small number of illustrations that has meant the miscellany has not received the same degree of interest as its mid fifteenth-century counterpart MS Additional 37049. Nevertheless, the unique occurrence and nature of the two dramatic plays at the end of MS e Museo 160 have understandably generated the most interest. The focus of discussion has been to ascertain whether these texts were intended to be actually performed or to be used as merely meditative material cast in dramatic form.[368] In contrast, the remainder of the materials in the miscellany, including the verse chronicle, have not inspired much interest. The chronicle has typically been characterised as simply a condensed Middle English version of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*. Due to this, most of the text is seen as largely unoriginal and derivative. The quality of the translated verse has also been heavily criticised. James Hogg has argued that from a literary perspective the text 'can only be described as barbarous', with numerous sentences proving incomprehensible to the reader where the rhyme scheme has been maintained at the expense of its sense.[369]

This somewhat dismissive attitude does seem rather unfair on the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160. Regardless of its fairly rough style, it does provide a valuable glimpse into how at least one Carthusian monk of early sixteenth-century

[368] See especially the introduction to *The Late Medieval Religious Plays,* pp. lxxxv-lxxxix; Hogg, 'Carthusian Drama in Bodleian MS. E. Museo 160', pp. 265-70 and Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 241-46.
[369] Hogg, 'Carthusian Drama in Bodleian MS. E. Museo 160', p. 61.

England conceived his order's identity and its place within the late medieval Church. Although the chronicler was certainly at times heavily reliant on his source material, he was also highly selective in the process of translating and editing the *Fasciculus Temporum* and was more than willing to make his own additions to the original text as shall be discussed below in the analysis of his original account of the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse and the biographical sketches of the priors general of the Carthusian order. Through the close examination of these passages, this chapter demonstrates how the anonymous author tailored the original source material to reflect his own assumptions and to meet his own individual aims. Furthermore, from 1474 onwards the chronicle is entirely original and can therefore be regarded as wholly representative of the English chronicler's own perspective.[370]

The anonymous chronicler asserts at the very outset of the verse chronicle that the text was principally designed to stimulate the spiritual and devotional senses of his Carthusian brethren. In the prologue he states that this treatise was made in the manner of a prayer in the hope that readers should 'pray devoutly and learn good virtues and have knowledge of the course of Holy Scripture'.[371] Folios 1v-26r are taken up by relatively brief prayers to Old Testament patriarchs and prophets.[372] These were

[370] 'It is to be knowene that this last hundreth 3ere which I call the XV hundrethe is not co[m]plete aft[er] the boke callit Fascicul[us] Te[m]p[or]u[m] for that end[is] in the 3ere of our lord M° CCCC° & threscor & fourteyne. To cownt[e] in truthe aft[er] þ[e] full & co[m]plete nowmbere this is bot the 3ere of our lorde M° CCCC & fourten hundrethe for fro the first 3ere of the hundreth be begone ther cow[n]t I the hole hundreth co[m]plete & so it is to be vnd[er]stadit her in this prayere', MS e Museo 160, fol. 92r.
[371] 'Therfor this trete is mad in man[er] of p[r]ayere that the red[er] lese no tym[e]. For yf he dispose hy[m] þ[er]to. In the redinge he shall pray devowtly & lern[e] gud v[er]tues & haue a knawlege of the cowrse of holy sc[ri]pture which god graunt at his plesure', MS e Museo 160, fol. 1r.
[372] The chronicler explains in the prologue that these prayers were based on the second part of Jerome's *Explanations* that outlines the deeds of the holiest fathers of the Old Testament: 'The gret gloriuse saynte & holy doctore Saint Ierome in the secund p[ar]t of his explanacion[e]s writ[is] a lityll buke off the dignytes & nobyll dedes of sum of þe most nobill & holyeste faders of the old testament. [...] Now in this p[re]sent treyte ar made in to ynglische met[er] a p[r]ayere to ychon of thes said holy fad[er]s patriark[is] and p[ro]phet[is], with pictor of þe sam[e], contenynge a parte of theire nobill ded[is] & holy lyues accordinge w[i]þ the saying[is] of the said Gloriose Saynt Ierome in his forsaid lityll book', MS e Museo 160, fol. 1r.

originally designed to be accompanied by illustrations of biblical figures discussed in each prayer, with all the folios in this section containing a picture frame in their upper half. However, only the images of Adam and Eve (fol. 1v), Cain and Abel (fol. 2r), Daniel (fol. 19v), Hosea and Amos (fol. 20r) and Habakkuk and Sophomas (fol. 21v) were completed. The prayers to Old Testament saints are followed by much longer prayers to John the Baptist (fol. 26v), the Virgin Mary (fols 26v-28r) and to Christ (fols 28v-30r), with space no longer reserved for illustrations.

From this point the scope of the text widens and the chronicle is divided into centuries. Each section begins with a prayer to Christ which provides an outline of the key events and figures from that period. These are usually followed by lists of popes and saints who are asked to 'pray for us specially' out of their love for Christ and the Virgin Mary. This pattern is followed until the final prayer to Christ which describes the events of the sixteenth century up to the end of 1518. At this stage, the anonymous chronicler provides a catalogue outlining the deeds of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse from St Bruno up to his own time rather than a list of popes and saints. He concludes the chronicle with a lament at the wretched state of the world in his own time and the looming threat posed by the Ottoman Turks to Christendom.[373] The continuation of the verse chronicle concludes on a similarly pessimistic note. It ends rather abruptly on

[373] 'O Ih[es]u all is for our lare/ Our bare lande tech vs tru penn[ance]/ For all the saint[is] at holy ware/ Dispisit ay warldly pleasance/ And all at noght wer had daliance/ Had full delit plesures to haue/ 3it emange vs welth has gret awance/ Both rich & pore we may p[er]ceyfe/ Then m[ar]uell we not yf turk[is] haue/ & other at neu[er] gitt[is] other hevyn/ This is the cawse so fewe is saue […] O Ih[es]u wher I haue said omyse/ Or mellit w[i]þ ony mat[er]s hee/ Abofe my myght thou p[ar]don this/ And bringe vs all vnto thy blyse/ & namly kep all tru cristintee/ All thes sect[is] & haithen wisse/ That of all on flok & fold may bee. Amen./ This endit the VIII[th] day afor cristineme[sse] [in the] 3er of o[ur] lord Ih[es]u M.D. & XVIII wher the maters failes', MS e Museo 160, fol. 108r.

folio 114r with a brief account of a wealthy merchant from London who hanged himself at the instigation of the Devil, which the author declares was 'a death unsound'.[374]

The verse chronicle has received a relatively modest amount of scholarly attention. Rowntree dedicated a chapter to the chronicle in her thesis from 1981 in which she outlined some of the ways in which the anonymous Carthusian chronicler viewed the state of the Church on the eve of the Reformation.[375] Laviece Ward has since analysed the meditative purpose of the verse chronicle and its relationship with the rest of the miscellany. She has argued that the various texts in MS e Museo 160 were consciously arranged to work together and act as a guide for the reader. The intended effect of the manuscript in its entirety was to help readers move from a meditation on the life of Christ to 'an experience of the mystical union with the divine', with the two Passion plays at the end of the miscellany enabling Carthusian readers to participate in this event.[376]

There are, however, several issues with Ward's analysis. Her overall argument assumes that Carthusian readers would approach the manuscript in the same manner as a modern reader, reading the texts in order from first folio to last. However, late medieval Carthusians may not have practised such linear reading. Douglas Gray has suggested that the Carthusian readers of the devotional miscellany MS Additional 37049 were more likely to read certain sections repeatedly in 'little bits' to digest the

[374] 'Couat[is] men her by may be flayed/ A rich man of London also/ In gold he had a thowsand pownd/ All sufferances XXs a pece ar thoo/ By temptacion of a hellis hownd/ He hangit hy[m]self a deth vnsownd', MS e Museo 160, fol. 114r.
[375] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 236-84.
[376] Laviece Ward, 'The e Museo Manuscript: Writing and Reading as Remedy', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 130.4 (1995), 68-86 (pp. 68-69).

manuscript as a whole, not necessarily in sequential order.[377] Ward's analysis also relies on the assumption that the miscellany was deliberately designed to be in its current state and executed by one scribe. However, the text *The Fifteen Articles of the Passion* (fols 136v-139r) is written in a different hand to the rest of the texts in the miscellany so another scribe may have been responsible for this text or it may have been inserted at a later date. And as mentioned above, when the manuscript was rebound in the seventeenth century several folios were placed in the incorrect order. As such, the current order of folios may not reflect the original sequence of the manuscript.

There are also some issues regarding Ward's discussion of the intended audience of MS e Museo 160. She has suggested that the miscellany demonstrates what one Carthusian writer considered effective texts for the meditation and devotional reading of a secular audience. This is later clarified as lay brethren rather than an external lay readership.[378] However, this assumption is based on the use of Middle English rather than Latin. The use of English should not necessarily discount the possibility that Carthusian monks themselves may have also utilised the miscellany. In her discussion of the readership of MS Additional 37049, Jessica Brantley noted that Carthusian monks often read vernacular devotional and meditational texts and even 'occasionally took instruction of a very basic kind'.[379] For example, a monk of Beauvale charterhouse

[377] Douglas Gray, 'London, British Library, Additional MS 37049 – A Spiritual Encyclopaedia', in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann Hutchinson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 99-116 (p. 103). See also Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), p. 120.
[378] Ward, 'The e Museo Manuscript', pp. 68-70.
[379] Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness,* p. 13. For more on the potential audience of MS Additional 37049 see Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, 'Three Marian Texts Including a Prayer for a Lay-Brother in London, British Library, MS Additional 37049', in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 163-79 (p. 165). For the use of vernacular meditative texts by the Carthusians see Dennis Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 157-88 and Marleen Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: A Study of London, British Library, MS Additional 37790* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 11-13, 251-80.

named Christopher Braystanes (d. 1474-75) owned a manuscript, now Cambridge University Library, MS Mm.5.37 which contained both Latin meditations and vernacular instructions such as a Middle English directive on how to live with joy in a cell.[380] Taking this into account, it is possible that a wider readership was envisioned for MS e Museo 160 than simply lay brothers.

With this in mind, more attention ought to be given to how Carthusian readers of MS e Museo 160 may have engaged with the verse chronicle on its own terms before its relationship with materials in the rest of the manuscript can be firmly established. This chapter therefore primarily engages in a close reading of the chronicle rather than examining its connections with the remainder of the texts in the miscellany. It explores the role that the text may have played in the identity formation and spiritual instruction of its Carthusian audience. The first part of this chapter focuses on the foundation narrative of the Grande Chartreuse and considers how this was designed to reflect how the chronicler conceived the place of his order in the late medieval Church and its relationship with the secular world. The following section examines the various ways in which the anonymous chronicler chose to define the purpose and identity of his order in the catalogue recording the deeds of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse from its foundation up to the sixteenth century. The chapter concludes by considering how the verse chronicle was also used as a repository for the anxieties felt by the English Carthusian writer and his peers towards non-Christians. In particular, it examines the depiction of Muslims in the wider context of the perceived growing threat posed by the Ottoman Turks to the West after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

[380] Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, pp. 334-35.

3.1 The Origins of the Grande Chartreuse

As was the case in other religious orders, retelling the story of the origins of the Carthusian order could play an important role in the formation of a communal identity for its members, with the Middle English poem detailing the establishment of the Grande Chartreuse on folios 22r-22v of MS Additional 37049 having attracted considerable scholarly interest.[381] The poem itself provides a fairly conventional account of the foundation of the order's motherhouse. It describes how St Bruno and his six followers wished to forsake the world in imitation of the Desert Fathers and John the Baptist and practise the solitary life in the wilderness. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, acquiesced to their request to provide land for the establishment of a hermitage after receiving a vision of seven stars falling into the wilderness. He subsequently led them to a remote spot in the French Alps where the Grande Chartreuse was eventually established in 1084.[382]

The foundation narrative in the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 is found on folios 78r-78v of the manuscript and provides a valuable point of comparison with the

[381] For the commemoration of the origins of other religious orders see Jane Ackerman, 'Stories of Elijah and Medieval Carmelite Identity', *History of Religions*, 35 (1995), 124-47; Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 93-160 and Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, pp. 19-29. For the poem on the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse in MS Additional 37049 see Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', pp. 284-86.

[382] 'At þe begynyng of þe charterhows God dyd schewe/ To þe byschop of Gracionapolitane, Saynt Hewe,/ Seuen sternes goyng in wildernes to þat place/ Wher now þe ordir of þe chartirhows abydyng has./ And when þes sternes at þat place had bene/ At þe bischops fete þai felle al bedene;/ And aftyr þis visione þe sothe for to saye,/ Þe doctor Bruno & sex felows w[i]thouten delay,/ Come to þis holy bischop, cownsel to take,/ To lyf solytary in wilderness, & þis warld to forsake./ And at his feete mekly downe þai al felle,/ Praying hym of informacioun and his cownsell to telle./ þan confyded he wele þe vision of þe seuen sternes þ[a]t he sawe/ When þe doctor of diuinite, Brune, with his sex felos cumyng ou raw/ And howe þe seuen sternes signyfyde þies seuen persons alle,/ Whome, of his gret mercy Almyghty God dyd calle./ To begynyng of þe chartyrhows, þe holy ordir clere,/ Aftyr þe insawmpil of Antony and Arseny and oþir þat holy men were,/ And at Saynt Ion Baptiste þat into wildirnes fledde,/ Þus þis holy bischop Hew þies person gon lede/ To þ[a]t place where þe chartirhows þai made with gode spede', Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', pp. 259-60.

poem in MS Additional 37049. In the essential outline of events leading up to the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse the two accounts correspond fairly closely. The verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 similarly outlines how Bruno had become increasingly disillusioned with the world during his time as master of the cathedral school at Rheims. With six companions he then approached the bishop of Grenoble to request his help in fleeing from the distractions of the world. After receiving a divine vision whilst asleep, Hugh then granted Bruno and his followers a remote piece of land in the French Alps to establish a hermitage, which would subsequently develop into the motherhouse of the Carthusian order.[383]

There is, however, a noticeable difference between the two narratives. In MS Additional 37049 Hugh's vision takes the form of seven stars falling from Heaven and landing at the wilderness location where the Grande Chartreuse would eventually be established. After he is approached by St Bruno and his six companions at his court, he instantly realises that the seven stars signified the seven figures standing before him. Hugh's vision of the stars appears to have been the most widely recognised version across the order. In the *Vita Sancti Brunonis,* written by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse François Dupuy (r. 1503-21) in support of Bruno's beatification in 1515, Hugh is said to have been initially disturbed by the vision of seven gold stars arranged in the shape of a crown until the holy company of Bruno and his followers arrived at his palace the following morning.[384] The seven stars are also consistently found in the

[383] 'Saint Brone of full gret holynese/ W[i]þ sex other devowt of will/ Began this order in Carthuse hill/ Saint Hewe Gracianopolitane/ Bishop was gret help[er] her till/ And tuk the habite os they sayne/ Pop Victor at then did reyne/ Saw this vision in his slepe/ In Carthuse hill our lord of hevyn/ Bildinge hy[m]self a howse w[i]þ kepe/ [...] Saint Bron was on loo thus began/ The chart[er] ord[er] most discrete & wise/ Now kep it Ih[es]u os thou well can', MS e Museo 160, fols 78r-78v.
[384] François Dupuy, 'Vita Sancti Brunonis, primi institutoris ordinis cartusiensis*', Patrologiae Latina Cursus Completus,* ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. CLII (Paris, 1879), cols 491-526 (col. 504).

Bruno cycles that depict that foundation history of the Carthusian order through a sequence of images. The example shown in figure 3.2 below is taken from a copy of the order's statutes printed in Basel by Johannes Amorbach in 1510 which Luxford argues would have been widely distributed across the order following its initial publication.[385] Hugh is depicted in the seventh scene pointing towards the seven stars in the sky as he leads Bruno and his companions into the wilderness setting of the French Alps. This version of the story also seems to have taken hold in the popular imagination outside of the Carthusian order. In the early fifteenth century the Limbourg brothers decorated the Office of the Dead in the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean de Berry with a Bruno cycle. In the fifth scene Hugh is presented in his bedchamber dreaming of the seven stars that prefigured the arrival of Bruno and his six companions at his court.[386]

[385] This image is reproduced from *Statuta ordinis Cartusiensis*, fol. 2r <https://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/zoom/908718> [accessed 27 January 2019]. For the dissemination of the statutes see Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', p. 276 and Vincent Gillespie and I. A. Doyle, eds, *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians* (London: British Library in Association with the British Academy, 2001), p. 626.

[386] For further examples see Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', pp. 278-87.

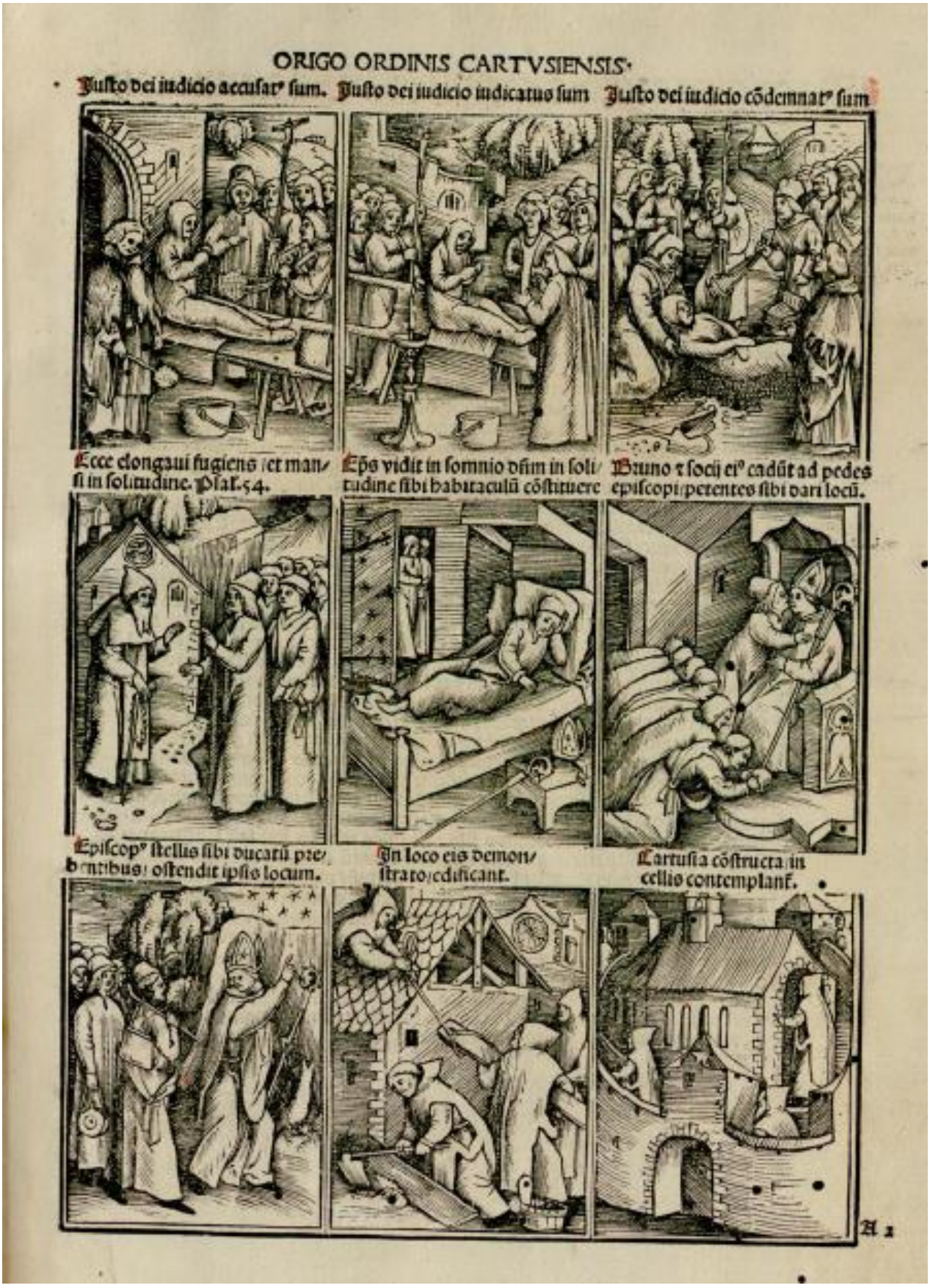

Figure 3.2: Copy of a Bruno Cycle in the *Statuta ordinis Cartusiensis*, fol. 2r

However, the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 diverges from this seemingly well-established tradition. The author describes instead how Hugh witnessed a vision of Christ, identified as the 'Lord of Heaven', building a house with a keep upon the 'Carthusian hill'. This detail appears to be entirely the invention of the English Carthusian chronicler. There is, in fact, no mention of Hugh's vision in his original source text, Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*. Hugh is in fact noticeably absent from Rolevinck's rather brief account of the order's foundation. There is merely a reference to Bruno's followers being some of the most holy men in the diocese of Grenoble.[387] In a separate passage outlining Hugh's life Rolevinck does identify the bishop as one of the chief founders of the order and mentions that he eventually took the Carthusian habit; but there is still no record of his purported vision.[388]

The anonymous chronicler most likely chose to alter Hugh's dream-vision from the customary seven stars as a means to emphasise how the Carthusian order had enjoyed the special favour of Christ from its very inception. He presents the founders of the Grande Chartreuse and subsequent members of the order as residing in the house located deep within the wilderness of the Alps that Christ himself had chosen and designated as a sacred site. For the chronicler, the bishop's vision not only offered demonstrable proof that his order was divinely authorised from its very foundation but

[387] 'Ordo Cartusiensium sanctissimus incepit hoc tempore p[er] brunonem virum sanctum, natione almanum de colonia agrippina, m[a]g[ist]r[u]m in theologia. Et sex al[i]us venerabilibus viris in diocesi gratianopolitanen[us]. Hic ordo teste beato bernhardo inter omnes ecclesiasticos ordines p[ri]matum tenet, no[n] ratione temp[or]is, sed rigorositatis. Unde ip[s]e vocat eum speciosissimam columnam ecclesie. Uerum quia p[ro]pter nimia[m] abstinentiam paucis portabilis erat, et ne diu p[ar]uus maneret postea ab ecclesia moderatus fuit nec vsque a sancto p[ro]posito cecidit, singulariter a sp[irit]u sancto p[re]seruatus vsq[ue] hodie', Werner Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum* (Basel: Bernhard Richel, 1482), fol. 74r <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-16587> [accessed 02 February 2019]

[388] 'Hugo vir sanctissime et castissime vite claruit, e[pisco]pus gratianopolitanus q[ue] in LIII annis nullius femine faciem vidit, vna paup[er]cula excepta, qua[m]uis quottidie pluribus co[n]silium et auxilium dederit, co[n]sessiones eciam recipiendo. Hic sancti Cartusiani p[ro]positi p[re]cipuus coop[er]ator fuit et postea eciam habitum a sancto brunone sumpsit, insigneq[ue] exemplum p[re]buit', Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum*, fol. 74r.

provided definitive evidence to back up his later claim that Christ truly loved the Carthusians more than any other religious order.[389] This is reinforced by Christ himself giving the anonymous monk privileged access to hidden knowledge on the course of sacred history. During the prayer for the fifteenth century, Christ informs the chronicler that he should not worry about the lack of saints or miracles in this century as the faithful only need to be 'meek, devout and true' to experience the bliss of Heaven. He concludes by disclosing to the monk that he shall return to the world when he is least expected by the Christian faithful.[390]

Taking this into account, it is not surprising that the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse compares favourably with the account of the origins of other monastic orders elsewhere in the chronicle. The foundation of Cluny is consigned to a brief reference in the list of saints for the tenth century rather than the prayer outlining the major events of that century. The chronicler describes how the abbot St Berno 'built the holy abbey of Cluny and one other abbey for the [love of Christ]', whilst the order then increased and profited during the abbacy of St Odo.[391] The foundation of the Grandmontines is also relegated to a brief line in the prayer of the eleventh century, immediately before the extended passage on the origins of the Grande Chartreuse.[392]

The foundation of the Cistercian order is given much greater attention. It is discussed in the prayer describing the events of the twelfth century, although the

[389] For quotation see footnote 356.
[390] 'Now is tym I mak[e] cessinge/ Of myracles for ȝe haue enewe/ W[i]þ saint[is] in blis is ȝo[r] bildinge/ If ȝe will be mek[e] devowt & trewe/ But ire will on wardly plesesewe/ I shall arise when ȝe lest weyn/ & do so at all þ[e] warld sall rewe', MS e Museo 160, fol. 97r.
[391] 'S[anc]te Berno abbot thou byldit the holy ab-/ -bay of Cluniacu[m] & an other abbay for the l./ S[anc]te Odo abbot & co[n]fessor in thy tym the/ Holy ord[er] Cluniacense increasit & p[ro]fitid./ Mekill y[ou] w[i]þ thy holy brether for the l.', MS e Museo 160, fol. 75r.
[392]'In thys tym bega[n] orders stabill/ First Grandmontenses to wete/ Sainte Austens order was reformete/ And chartermonk[is] began this tide', MS e Museo 160, fol. 78r.

account mainly focuses on the significance of St Bernard of Clairvaux. The anonymous Carthusian monk records how the Cistercian order began soon after the city of Antioch was captured during the First Crusade, describing how it contained many holy persons and expanded rapidly.[393] Bernard then 'took this order' and built the abbey of Clairvaux along with a further one hundred and sixty foundations. The chronicler does make a concerted effort to emphasise the many virtues of Bernard, even to the extent of referring to him as another Moses. He characterises him as 'a great doctor and apostle' who performed many miracles across diverse places and provided holy counsel to kings, emperors and popes.[394] Bernard also helped to inspire many men to take up arms against the Saracens for the Second Crusade, with the expedition's failure being blamed solely on the treachery of the Greeks rather than on problems with recruitment.[395]

Despite the acknowledgement of the role played by holy figures in the establishment of Cluny and the Cistercian order, their origins still do not compare to the direct involvement of Christ in the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse. Whilst these orders initially prospered through the efforts of worthy individuals, the Carthusians were divinely ordained from the very beginning of their order. Furthermore, the emphasis on Bernard's holiness could in fact have been intended to enhance the reputation of the Carthusian order rather than the Cistercians. In the foundation narrative the anonymous chronicler records that the Carthusians should be regarded as

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[393] 'Antioche w[i]þ other cetyes than/ Wer won fro the Saracens of prid/ [...] The Cistercensis ord[er] sone/ Began þ[er]aft[er] gracioslye/ Hauynge in it many holy p[er]son[e]/ & encreasit fast aboundantlye', MS e Museo 160, fols 80v-81r.

[394] 'Saint Barnerd ther full holylye/ Tuk this ord[er] & aft[er] was/ Made Abbot & fowundit happelye/ Claravallis Abbay full of grace/ He wex w[i]þ in a litill space/ A gret doctore & Apostolus fer/ Many myracles in diu[er]se place./ He shewet in sich he had no pere/ C & sexty Abbays sere/ He bildit & was had in th[at] tyd[e]/ Ose the other Moyses so cowth he lere/ King[is] & emp[er]ours of p[ri]de/ And holy popes is not to hid[e]/ By his holy cownsell rewlyt was', MS e Museo 160, fol. 81r.

[395] 'Another passage was i[n] his tid/ Ryght gret agayn the saracens fals/ Many he stirrit to ride that race/ But ales their spede had litille profe/ For the grek[is] falsly w[i]þowten grace/ Posiuned vp our host most chefe', MS e Museo 160, fol. 81r.

the worthiest of all religious orders as they had not decayed or fallen from their original standards. This statement is, however, placed in the mouth of Bernard, who argues that the Carthusians should be considered the 'sweetest' of all the orders by reason of their antiquity, austerity and because they have not fallen from the 'first stableness' through the help of the Holy Ghost.[396] By using the voice of St Bernard to make this point, the anonymous Carthusian monk was likely hoping to give this statement greater weight and authenticity whilst also avoiding accusations of having excessive pride in his order's reputation. Both the words of Bernard of Clairvaux and the vision of Hugh of Grenoble were therefore deliberately constructed by the chronicler to emphasise that the Carthusians were the pre-eminent religious order within the late medieval Church and were specially favoured by Christ.

The Carthusian author of the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 was not the only member of the order to make this claim. The Carthusian monk Henry Egher of Kalkar (d. 1408) contrasted the rise of heresy amongst Christian society and the perceived decline of other religious orders with the moral steadfastness of his own order in his chronicle the *Ortus et decursus ordinis Carthusiensis*.[397] The poem outlining the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse in MS Additional 37049 similarly boasts that the Carthusians stood 'in grace at the court of Rome' by the mid-fifteenth century, as demonstrated by the fact that members of all other religious orders were permitted to join the Carthusians 'for the health of their souls and to achieve perfection'. It further emphasises the pre-

[396] 'Saint Bernard saies of all ord[er]s swete/ It is most chefe is not to hide/ First by reson of it long tid[e]/ And allso by it sharp straytnese/ Ne ȝit dekeyd on no side/ Ne fell fro þ[a]t first stabillnese/ All by the holy gost gudnesse/ It faylet neu[er] bot florish still', MS e Museo 160, fol. 78r. The anonymous monk's claim that his order should be seen as the greatest of all chiefly because of 'its long tide' is actually a mistranslation of Rolevinck's line: 'Hic ordo teste beato bernhardo inter omnes ecclesiasticos ordines p[ri]matum tenet, no[n] ratione temp[or]is sed rigorositatis'. This should be translated as 'not by reason of its time but its austerity/severity'.

[397] Mathilde Van Dijk, José Van Aelst and Tom Gaens, 'Introduction' in *Faithful to the Cross,* ed. by Van Dijk, Van Aelst and Gaens, pp. 1-12 (p. 2).

eminence of the Carthusian vocation by claiming that only the 'most perfect persons' had chosen to leave their monasteries in favour of living in 'solitary places so that they might tend to contemplation by God's grace'. [398]

Another novel feature of Hugh's vision in MS e Museo 160 which appears to have been designed to emphasise the primacy of the Carthusians is the specific detail of Christ building a house with a keep at the site of the Grande Chartreuse. As a fortified tower, the keep was considered to be one of the most impenetrable parts of a medieval castle and the last line of defence in the event of an enemy attack. Given its military connotations, the chronicler may have chosen to associate the Grande Chartreuse with a keep as a means to reinforce the notion that the spaces of Carthusian houses could serve as spiritual battleground between the monks and their demonic foes, as discussed previously in section 2.3 of this study. This association may have also been used to highlight that the order's motherhouse should be seen as the seat of the highest lord, Christ, with the keep often used as the place of residence for the owners of castles.[399]

Alternatively, the chronicler may have chosen to liken the Grande Chartreuse with a keep as a means to encourage his readers to conceive the spaces of their own charterhouses as wholly secluded from the secular world. The idealised image of the Carthusians being entirely shielded from the turmoil and instability of the world beyond the confines of their communities can be traced back to the writings of St Bruno. In a letter written to the brethren of the Grande Chartreuse following the death of Prior Landuin in 1100, Bruno urged his brothers to rejoice that they had escaped from the 'turbulent waters of this world, where there are so many perils and shipwrecks'. He

[398] Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p. 261.
[399] For more on the symbolic significance of medieval keeps see Oliver Hamilton Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community, and Fortification in Medieval England* (London: Equinox, 2002), p. 66.

encouraged them to celebrate that they had reached 'the peaceful quiet of a sheltered harbour' given that many others before them had failed to attain the solitude that they now experienced in the wilderness setting of the Grande Chartreuse.[400]

The prayer for the eleventh century in the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 similarly juxtaposes the peaceful solitude of the Grande Chartreuse with the fallen state of contemporary secular society. Immediately before the foundation narrative, the anonymous monk provides a lengthy passage which emphasises the instability and chaotic nature of the eleventh-century world. From his perspective, this century experienced an unprecedented series of natural disasters and marvellous events. He describes how a church in the city of Syracuse, Sicily, collapsed during a Sunday mass, killing everyone inside except four people.[401] Many buildings were also destroyed in England during a great earthquake, whilst three hundred houses were flattened by strong winds coming from the North Pole. Alongside the spread of disease and hunger, he records how ten thousand pilgrims were killed at Jerusalem, with fire from Heaven burning their bodies to coal.[402] In another marvellous episode, he reports that ravenous mice killed a mighty prince from Poland and fed on his body as punishment for his numerous sins.[403]

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[400] *Lettres des premiers Chartreux,* p. 82.
[401] 'In the cety Siracusaua/ The hy kirke fell down at a braide/ At the hy messe opon a Sondaye/ And excep IIII at askapit awaye/ All folk was slayn at was w[i]þin', MS e Museo 160, fols 77r-77v.
[402] 'Ih[es]u all sich to mak[e] vs wise/ Thou send[is] to wise our saull fro woo/ Fell pestelence w[i]þ other murthes mo/ Wer abowt end of this C yere/ Ten thowsand pilgram[m]es & moo/ At Ierusalem sam slayn all wer[e]/ Fir fro hevyn did men gret dere/ & brent þ[er] bod[is] in to a cole/ Yngland gret erthwak did thole/ That many bildinges sunder brake/ So fell a wind com fro the pole/ CCC howses down did it shake/ Hung[er] & levynnyng[is] had no make/ So that it irkid men to lefe/ A well of blude sprange on a spake', MS e Museo 160, fol. 77v.
[403] 'Myse slew a myghty man & gaye/ At his mete so for his syn[n]e/ To the p[ri]nce of Polonie this thinge/ Happenyt ȝit will we not be wyse/ Who may be sur of his endinge/ When stronge men was werete w[i]þ myse/ So was an emp[er]o[r] afor w[i]þ lise', MS e Museo 160, fol. 77v.

These events are classified by the anonymous chronicler as 'fearful tokens' sent by Christ in response to the perceived moral shortcomings of eleventh-century society. He laments that during this period the Devil did much grief to the Church by openly encouraging men to love 'this unstable world' and forsake the love of Christ.[404] The chronicler records how the Church suffered greatly during the reign of Pope Benedict IX (r. 1032-1048) who is said to have been filled with lechery and misfortune. Benedict's voice interjects at this point in the prayer to declare that he was now damned and would never have rest from torment on account of his lustful nature and the sins he committed in life.[405] Such lack of morality is claimed to have filtered down through all levels of Christian society during this century. The chronicler bemoans how covetous clerks at this time began to accumulate multiple benefices in search of greater worldly pleasures. Following their example, ordinary laypeople became less willing to perform true penance, erroneously believing that it was much better to 'win' worldly pleasures than turn away from them.[406]

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[404] 'The deuill openly did mekill grefe/ And spak all openly to men/ To lufe this warld why ar welefe/ Sichen so mekill writchitnese we ken/ O Ih[es]u lufer of all men/ All this thou dose to gar vs yrke/ W[i]þ this vnstabill warld also to ken/ To wirship the & holy kirke/ Who has grace after þ[e] to wirke/ He thar not dred this warld vnstabill/ Ne ȝit aft[er] the hellis myrke/ But thy lofe is takyn for a fabill/ Ales w[i]þ thos at ar dampnabill/ For warldly luf they thinke mor swete', MS e Museo 160 fols 77v–78r.

[405] 'B[e]n[e]dict[us] the IXth of hym thay tell/ In his tym thy kyrk was sor vexit/ And all lange of his lyf vnlell/ All on lichery & vnhap was he set/ Aft[er] his deth his sall was mete/ In liknes of a laythlee beste/ It said I had a popis dignite grete/ Now dampnyt am I & neu[er] sall rest/ On lust & syn was all my treste', MS e Museo 160 fol. 76r.

[406] 'In thy kirke this tym began awoo/ That ȝit is not left all I weyn/ To gidd[er] benefices men wex keyn/ They wald not be content w[i]þ on[e]/ Herabowt mekyll spekynge has beyn/ But couat[is] has all that ou[er] gon[e]/ Ih[es]u all clerk[is] suld grete & gron[e]/ Yf they p[er]ceyvete þi waies weyll/ Their faders by hard waies has gon[e]/ Of pluralites thay had no skill/ Now eu[er]y clerke couat[is] their till/ Without v[er]tu or speciall grace/ Sekinge for warldly plesurs still/ Thus ichon folowes others trace/ Their hevyn they haue in erthly place/ But y[ou] bee m[er]cyfull Ih[es]u/ For all pepill her of sclander hase/ They se clergy in so gret a vewe/ Havynge plesurs at will all newe/ And coses penau[n]ce w[i]þ couatise/ To wyn plesurs this sall they rewe/ Warldly men think[is] it p[ar]adise/ Who wy[n]nys most plesur is most wise/ Thus haue they lernyt of thy kirke/ Why slepis thou Ih[es]u now arise/ To hell go se many saules myrke/ To do trew pe[n]nau[n]ce men has irke/ Thay haue forgittyn what y[ou] said/ The way to hevyn is hard to wyrke', MS e Museo 160, fol. 77r.

The narrative structure of the eleventh-century prayer is therefore consciously designed to help throw into sharper relief the divinely approved vocation of the Carthusians. The author presents a clear contrast between the chaotic, sinful nature of the secular world and the stability and solitude of the charterhouse. Whilst eleventh-century society increasingly failed to 'dread this unstable world', St Bruno and his companions committed themselves to truly rejecting all earthly delights. The association of the Grande Chartreuse with a keep serves to underline this notion. It visually highlights how the founders of the order were both physically and spiritually protected from the chaos and wickedness of eleventh-century society within the sacred space of the Grande Chartreuse established by Christ himself.

For the anonymous monk responsible for the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160, the disparity between the laudable mission of St Bruno and the fallen state of wider Christian society in the eleventh century extended up to his very own time. He believed that the Church suffered at the hands of Islamic forces throughout the late medieval period primarily as a result of the wider Christian faithful failing to live up to its precepts. In the twelfth-century prayer he blames the loss of Jerusalem after the initial success of the First Crusade on the lechery of Christian men, claiming that Christ forsook his people and allowed the Saracens to regain control of the Holy Land.[407] The chronicler later repeats this argument when reflecting on the Ottoman advance into Christian lands throughout the fifteenth century. During this prayer, he pleads with the Virgin Mary to explain why the Turks have been able to inflict so much suffering on the Church. She responds that 'the wicked sin and wanton will' of Christians have given the

[407] 'Ierusalem O Ih[es]u free/ The Saracens wa[n] this tym be might/ For syn of lichery fowll in sight/ That cristen men vsid wantomlye/ Thou for soke thy pepill for their plight/ And lete the holy land to Saracens lye', MS e Museo 160, fol. 82v.

Turks power to spill their blood and seize their lands. Only when the Christian faithful turn away from their sins and truly amend their lives will this divine punishment end and the lands of Christendom increase once again.[408] As mentioned above, the anonymous monk ends the chronicle on a similarly despondent note by expressing his dissatisfaction with the state of the Church in the early sixteenth century. He asserts that 'our bare lands [should] teach us true penance', with both rich and poor men desiring worldly riches rather than following the example of the holy saints who despised the pleasures of this world. From his perspective, this was the primary reason why so few Christians were now saved and the Turks continued to prosper at the expense of the Church.[409]

It is this concern with the sins of Christian society that thematically ties together the verse chronicle and the short romance derived from *Mandeville's Travels* and Marco Polo's *Le Devisement du Monde* inserted on folios 109r-115 of MS e Museo 160. The latter half of the romance recounts the apparent conversation between the pilgrim Mandeville and the Egyptian Sultan regarding the state of the Church.[410] The Sultan heavily criticises the drunkenness and lechery of priests who provide ill counsel to

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[408] 'O lady 3it a worde w[i]þ the/ Sichen the gret errour was in holy kirke/ Afor now a hundrethe 3ere fastlee/ The turk[is] has done vs mekill irke/ How lange sall they be suffert to wirke/ And to comb[er] cristendom thus ylle/ Son that question is full mirke/ But 3o[r] wikkit syn & wanto[n] will/ Giff[is] the turk[is] poure 3o[u] to spill/ Couat[is] of the kirke & comontee/ Gyff[is] the turk[is] auctoritee still/ To wyn 3o[r] land[is] os 3e may se/ For god allway rightwise wil bee/ When 3o[r] syn & couat[is] doo cesse/ Than sall the turk[is] lak postee/ And 3e sall haue 3o[r] land[is] in peace/ And morou[er] for this gret vnease/ 3e haue suffert if 3e wyll amend/ Cristindom sall agayn encrease/ And gret[er] gift[is] god will 3o[u] send', MS e Museo 160, fol. 98r.

[409] For quotation see footnote 373.

[410] A heavily abbreviated version of *Mandeville's Travels* can also be found on folios 3r-9r of MS Additional 37049 which has been transcribed in M. C. Seymour, 'The English Epitome of Mandeville's Travels', *Anglia*, 84 (1966), 27-58. The compiler of MS Additional 37049 used a copy of the Defective version of the *Travels* which was the most popular form of the book in England by the end of the fifteenth century. The term 'Defective' derives from the absence of the Egyptian section of the text which can be found in the original Anglo-Insular version of the *Travels* used by the author of the short romance in MS e Museo 160. For more on the various versions of the *Travels* see *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels,* ed. by M. C. Seymour, E. E. T. S. OS 319 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. xi-xiv.

princes and concern themselves with making money. He also lambasts the sloth and gluttony of the common people who spend their holy days drinking in taverns and 'seeking sports' rather than being at prayer.[411] Echoing the arguments made by the anonymous monk throughout the verse chronicle, the Sultan claims that it is because of the pride of Christians and their failure to live according to the law of Christ that they have lost control of the Holy Land and remain unworthy of regaining it.[412]

The wretched state of the wider secular world, including members of the secular clergy, stands in marked contrast to the progress made by the Carthusians over the same period of time. The chronicler declares that his order has continued to flourish up to the sixteenth century, with the number of charterhouses having increased greatly across 'many lands wide'. From his perspective, the order's success rested upon the Carthusians' commitment to the foundational principles of St Bruno and his companions. He claims that none of the charterhouses belonging to the order have decayed in its standards from the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse up to his present day.[413] For this reason, the Carthusians have been looked upon favourably by Christ throughout their existence, shielded within the keep he established at the Grande Chartreuse, whilst the rest of Christian society suffered at the hands of Islamic forces as a consequence of their failure to adhere to his teachings. In this sense, the chronicler's complaints about the moral corruption of the secular world and the attention given to the threat posed by Muslims to the lands of Christendom, discussed in greater depth

[411] Seymour, 'Mandeville and Marco Polo', pp. 47-48.
[412] Seymour, 'Mandeville and Marco Polo', p. 48.
[413] 'O lovit be thou Ih[es]u dere/ For this holy ord[er] vnto this daye/ Haves p[ro]sp[er]ete & encreasit aye/ & spred in many land[is] wide/ And neu[er] on howse 3it did decaye/ This fyf hundreth 3er fastly this tid[e]', MS e Museo 160, fol. 102r.

below, can be seen as means to shed even greater light on the achievements of his order and emphasise its distinguished standing across the late medieval Church.

3.2 St Bruno and the Priors of the Grande Chartreuse

The chronicler provides a record of his order's achievements in the detailed catalogue of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse which is inserted at the end of the prayer recounting the events of the sixteenth century on folios 102r-105r of the manuscript (and is not found in Rolevinck's *Fasciculus*). Alongside their role as priors of the Grande Chartreuse, these figures also served as priors general of the order and were responsible for presiding over the General Chapters which took place every two years. This section considers how the catalogue may have been designed to function as almost a textual version of the Tree of St Bruno iconography. It explores the various ways in which the chronicler chose to characterise the virtues of the priors general and define the purpose and identity of his order in the brief biographical sketches of these individuals.

The catalogue provides an outline of the development of the Carthusian order from St Bruno at the end of the eleventh century to the prior of the Grande Chartreuse in 1518, François Dupuy. It has previously been transcribed by Rowntree, although her analysis of this section of the chronicle is restricted to an acknowledgment that three priors had been omitted by the chronicler and that he was evidently immensely proud of his order's distinguished reputation.[414] However, the list is crucial for understanding how the anonymous Carthusian monk perceived the collective purpose of his order and its relationship with the world beyond the walls of his charterhouse. By providing a

[414] Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, p. 262.

biographical record of the order's priors general, the chronicler was attempting to substantiate the order's claims to pre-eminence across the medieval Church. At the same time, he was constructing the identity of his order to meet his own expectations, and those of his Carthusian peers, in the early sixteenth century.[415]

The dating of the verse chronicle is especially important for understanding the chronicler's decision to provide a record of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse at the end of the prayer describing the events of the sixteenth century. The chronicle was originally completed at the end of 1518 not long after St Bruno was beatified during the pontificate of Pope Leo X (1513-21).[416] This event is referred to twice by the anonymous chronicler, although in both instances he identifies this as Bruno's canonisation rather than beatification which did not actually take place until 1623.[417] At the beginning of his account of the foundation of the order's motherhouse, the chronicler urges readers to remember that Bruno was recognised as a holy saint and canonised in 1515.[418] In the preface to the catalogue of priors he once more notes that 'Saint Bruno was canonised by law' by Pope Leo X, with his 'goodness and holiness' clear to be seen in his life.[419] The anonymous Carthusian monk appears to have regarded Bruno's beatification as a momentous occasion for his order. From his perspective, the

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[415] In this sense the purpose of the catalogue can be compared to episcopal and monastic *gesta*; see Constance Bouchard, 'Episcopal "Gesta" and the Creation of a Useful Past in Ninth-Century Auxerre', *Speculum*, 84 (2009), 1-35.

[416] This is often referred to as an equipollent beatification as no formal papal bulls or written documents have been found to certify Bruno's beatification at this time. Prior François Dupuy was instead given verbal notification that Pope Leo X had given the order permission to celebrate the cult of their founder each year on 6th October.

[417] Once more this was an equipollent rather than formal canonization with Pope Gregory XV granting permission for the cult of St Bruno to be celebrated outside of the Carthusian order but not including his feast day in the Tridentine Calendar.

[418] 'In the thowsand fyve hundreth yer & fifteyn[e]/ He was canonyset I will ye weyn[e]/ For an holy sainte os is worthye', MS e Museo 160, fol. 78v.

[419] 'Saint Brone was canonisite by lawe/ & of our holy fad[er] Pop Leo w[i]þ awe/ Of the chart[er] monk[is] þe first found[er]/ He was gude & right holy to knawe/ Os in his lif is seyn ful cler', MS e Museo 160, fol. 102r.

recognition of Bruno's sanctity by Pope Leo X was also a confirmation of his order's holiness from its foundation up to the sixteenth century.

The biographical sketches of several priors general do appear to be closely modelled on the founder of their order. This can be seen in the numerous instances of priors choosing to decline or step down from positions of authority out of humility and a desire to dedicate themselves wholly to the contemplative life. In his earlier account of the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse the chronicler describes how Bruno chose to leave his position as schoolmaster at Rheims to establish a hermitage in the wilderness of the Alps. He also alludes to Bruno's refusal to be named archbishop of Reggio di Calabria by his former pupil Pope Urban II out of his love for Christ and longing to return to the wilderness.[420] Following his example, Prior John II Birelle (r. 1346-60) is said to have 'forsaken a cardinal's dignity' in favour of remaining in the order and eventually being elected to govern the Grande Chartreuse.[421] William II Raynaldi (r. 1367-1402) similarly forsook a cardinal's dignity and even election as pope in 1389 to remain prior of the Grande Chartreuse and revise the order's statutes.[422] By eschewing worldly titles in favour of remaining within the Grande Chartreuse, these priors are shown to be true successors of St Bruno who chose the contemplative life in the wilderness above remaining as schoolmaster at Rheims and accepting the archbishopric of Reggio di Calabria.

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[420] 'Vrbane the secund aft[er] to wete/ To the chart[er] ord[er] had gret loue/ Saint Brone was his scole mast[er] swete/ Wherefor his cownsell did he proue/ Ofty[n] for thy kyrke behoue/ Saint Brone a bishop might haue beyn/ But he forsuk it for thy loue', MS e Museo 160, fols 78r-78v.
[421] 'Aft[er] hym com dan Iohn Berelli/ He forsuke a cardinall dignitye/ In autoryte fame & rightwisnes/ His secunde in holy kirke scantlye/ Was fonden for his worthenese', MS e Museo 160, fol. 103v.
[422] 'Than Will[ia]m Raynalde of reu[er]ence/ Kepit Carthusia w[i]þ diligence/ In co[n]nynge gud man[er]s & vertue/ So he forsuke w[i]þowte offence/ A cardinalls dignite of vewe/ And when the pop was chosen newe/ XI voces was grau[n]te hy[m] too/ He left all for thy sake Ih[es]u/ In Carthusia well wroughte he loo/ The new statut[is] he mad þ[er]to/ In thre p[ar]ties os is the old/ VII score ȝere & ten sens was this doo', MS e Museo 160, fols 103v-104r.

There is also a noticeable variation on this theme in the catalogue, with a large number of priors choosing to step down from this role in favour of dedicating themselves to contemplation and solitude. The chronicler describes how Peter of France (r. 1101-2) gave up the governance of the Grande Chartreuse as 'contemplation was his pleasance', whilst Hugh I (r. 1137-39) similarly chose to stand down after two years to dedicate himself wholly to the solitary life.[423] At the end of the twelfth century another prior, mistakenly named as Hugh by the anonymous monk, is said to have also resigned after two years in the role as the office weighed so heavily upon him that he longed to return to the solitary life.[424]The example set by these twelfth-century priors was continued into the fourteenth century. Aymon d'Aosta (r. 1313-29) opted to give up his prior's possessions because he loved the solitary life so much and was succeeded by James of Vevey (r. 1330) who held no affection for the office and chose to step down within a year of his election.[425] Resigning from the role of Prior General was another expression of the humility and self-effacement expected of Carthusian monks alongside the rejection of prominent ecclesiastical positions. Rather than taking pride in assuming such a prominent position in the order, the chronicler emphasises how this role proved

[423] 'Aft[er] hym was chosen Pet[er] of France/ But alon for he had list to won/ Son he gaue vp the gou[er]nance/ For conte[m]plation was his pleasance/ […] Aft[er] hy[m] Hugo mek[e] & devowt/ Was made p[ri]ore at IIº ȝers end/ To lefe solitarye owt of dowt/ He left his office in gud intend/ Than was made at mich did mend', MS e Museo 160, fol. 102v.

[424] 'Aft[er] Basili[us] was made priore/ Hew he held the office but II ȝere/ For to solitary life he langit so sore/ That the p[ri]ore honour did hym but dere', MS e Museo 160, fol. 102v. The prior of the Grande Chartreuse following Basil (r. 1152-73) was Guigo II 'The Angelic' (r. 1173-80) rather than Hugh II (r. 1242-47). Le Couteulx noted that Guigo II resigned as Prior General in 1180 after St. Hugh of Lincoln left his role as procurator of the Grande Chartreuse to take over as prior of Witham at the request of King Henry II; see *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis,* II, 472.

[425] 'Aft[er] hy[m] was chosen gud Aymoo/ Of hy co[n]nynge and gud discretion[e]/ [The solytar]ye life he luffit soo/ [That he gaue v]p his priors possession[e]/ [Then] dan Iames had þ[e] fre election/ [He] was a ma[n] co[n]templatife/ [To th]e office hade non[e] affection/ And to lefe sole gaf it vp belife', MS e Museo 160, fols 103r-103v.

to be a fundamental burden on these individuals who longed to submit themselves solely to their eremitic vocation.

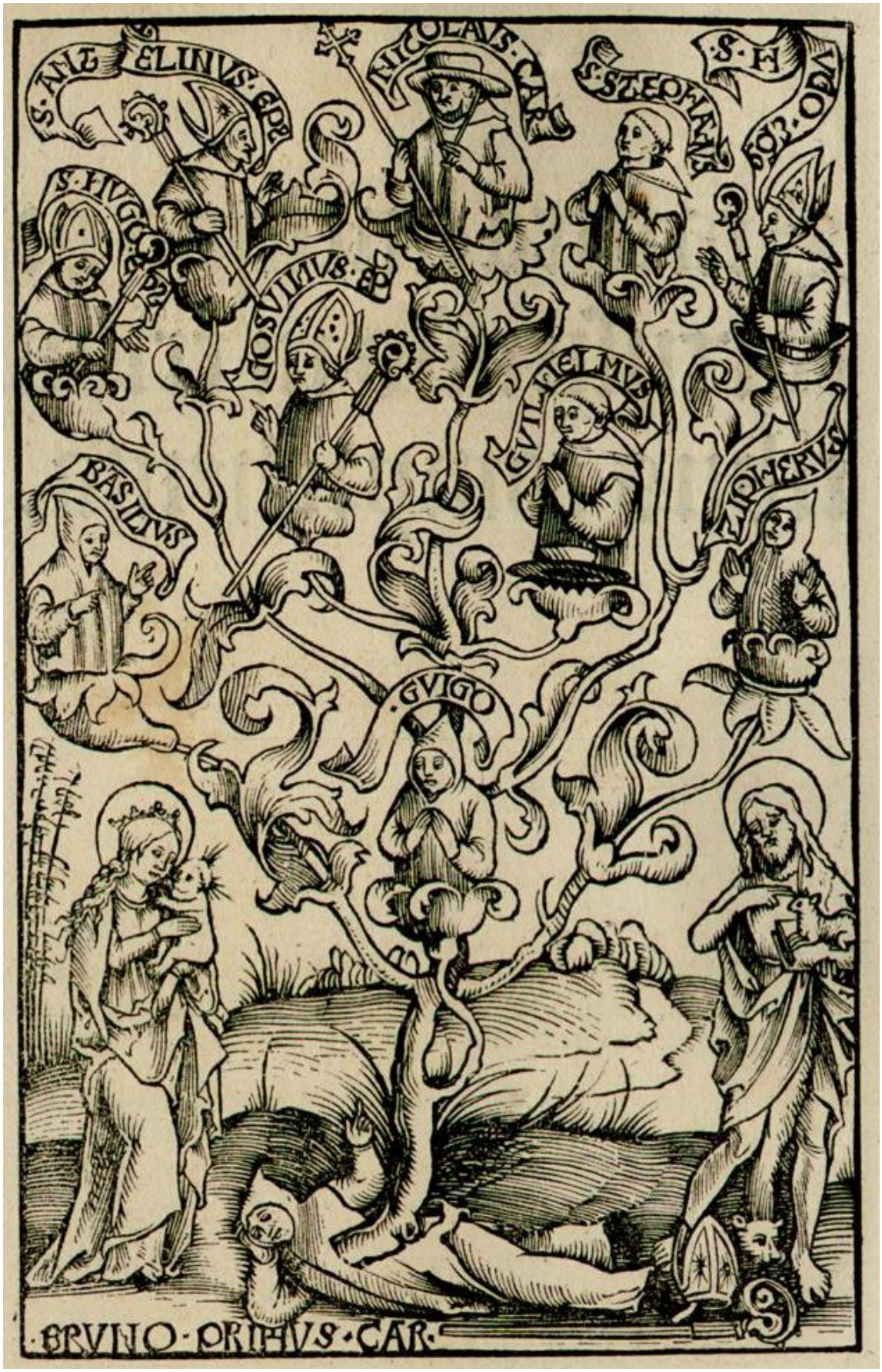

Figure 3.3: Tree of St Bruno in the *Statuta ordinis Cartusiensis*, fol. 27v

In this manner, the catalogue of the priors general in the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 can be seen to resemble the purpose of the Tree of St Bruno imagery exemplified in the copy of the order's statutes printed at Basel in 1510, shown above in figure 3.3. In imitation of the Tree of Jesse iconography, the branches of the tree trace the development of the Carthusian order from the very heart of St Bruno who is presented reclining on the ground between John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary, shown holding the infant Christ in her arms. Bruno humbly directs the viewer's gaze away from himself by pointing towards some of the most renowned members of the Carthusian order depicted in the branches of the tree above him. These branches extend through successive priors of the Grande Chartreuse and some of the most celebrated figures of the order such as St Hugh of Lincoln, prior of Witham charterhouse until his appointment as bishop in 1186. Luxford has argued that these images served as easily digestible mnemonic devices for Carthusian monks in the late Middle Ages. They visually represented the history of their order from its foundation and emphasised a sense of continuity between the Carthusians in the early sixteenth century and their founders and most illustrious members.[426]

The catalogue of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse in MS e Museo 160 was likely designed to have the same effect as images of this nature. Carthusian readers of the verse chronicle could see how the priors general of their order had faithfully preserved the foundational ideals of Bruno throughout its history by imitating his self-

[426] Julian Luxford, 'Precept and Practice: The Decoration of English Carthusian Books', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 225-67 (p. 254) and Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', pp. 287-90. For the genealogical representation of monastic communities outside of the Carthusian order see Jamroziak, 'Genealogy in the Monastic Chronicles in England', pp. 101-20 and Christian Nikolaus Opitz, 'Genealogical Representations of Monastic Communities in Late Medieval Art', in *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia*, ed. by Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter and Walter Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 183-202.

effacing example and continuing his commitment towards practising the contemplative life in the wilderness. The brief biographical sketches of the order's priors general served as models for the Carthusian readers to follow, inspiring them to remain focused on their own eremitic vocation in the wilderness of their charterhouse. The anonymous monk ends the catalogue by praying that Christ give readers and 'the world both far and near' the grace to follow in the footsteps of these 'fathers' and to turn away from sin.[427]

3.3 Caring for the Poor, the Sick and the Dead

The worthy qualities of the priors general are not, however, just restricted to their desire for solitude and the contemplative life. There are several shared virtues exhibited by successive priors of the Grande Chartreuse that suggest the parameters of Carthusian holiness were extending beyond the imitation of St Bruno and the founders of the order by the sixteenth century. This can be seen with the chronicler choosing to draw attention to the charitable activities of successive priors general of the order, in particular those from the fifteenth century, who are celebrated above all for their commitment to providing alms for the poor. John III de Griffenburg (r. 1410-20) is praised chiefly for his meek manner as well as his desire 'to do great alms'.[428] His example was replicated by his immediate successor William III de la Motte (r. 1420-37), who was sought out by men after his death for miracles after giving so many alms during his lifetime. Later in the century, Prior Francis I Maresme (r. 1457-65) was noted

[427] 'Now Ih[es]u gif vs of thy grace/ And to all þ[e] warld both far & ner[e]/ We to folow our fad[er]s trace/ And the warld to cesse of synnes ser[e]', MS e Museo 160, fols 104v-105r.
[428] 'And on for both was chosen cleyn/ That was Iohn Griffemont to weyn/ Mek[e] in man[er]s w[i]þ word[is] swete/ To do grete alm[us] he was full keyn', MS e Museo 160, fol. 104r.

for his zeal for the order and nobility of his speech alongside his intention to provide 'great alms' to the poor.[429]

The chronicler's favourable attitude towards almsgiving contrasts significantly with the rather hesitant approach of Guigo in the *Consuetudines*. In his chapter on this subject, Guigo states that his community does give bread or some other alms to the poor, but usually sends them to the village rather than receiving them under their roof. As discussed previously in section 1.6 of this study, Guigo justified this stance by claiming that his brethren at the Grande Chartreuse had fled into the solitude of the desert more for the salvation of their own souls rather than the material care of the bodies of strangers. For this reason, they had chosen to settle in such a harsh, remote location.[430] This is followed by a discussion concerning the biblical story of Mary and Martha. Guigo firmly places the Carthusians in the tradition of Mary who is said to have chosen the 'better part' by attentively listening and meditating on the words of Christ. He argues that Christ placed Mary above Martha and, by doing so, excused her from the concerns of her sister, no matter how charitable or praiseworthy these may have been.[431] Guigo further claims that he would lose an integral part of his Carthusian identity by attempting to imitate the example of Martha. He speculates whether he 'would be made into a layman' by receiving and feeding laypeople, suggesting that this

[429] 'Then co[m] Gwillerm[us] ay full meke/ A grete lovere of this ord[er] eke/ And mekill gefen alm[us] to doo/ Aft[er] his deth men did hy[m] seke/ So faire miracles was shewet loo/ Then in his stede they chase herto/ For p[ri]or & fad[er] reuerend/ Francisc[us] that mich cowth doo/ In co[n]nnynge & eloquens nobill kend/ To do grete alm[us] he had intend/ Grete ȝele to the ord[er] had hee', MS e Museo 160, fol. 104r.
[430] *CC*, 20.1.
[431] *CC*, 20.2-3.

would lead him to 'become a gyrovague on behalf of gyrovagues, a beggar for the sake of beggars'.[432]

For Guigo, providing alms to the poor was therefore seen as incompatible with the eremitic existence of the Carthusians. From his perspective, it could divert the monks away from their contemplative solitude and even pose a risk to the financial stability of their communities. Yet in the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160, charitable giving is presented as a virtue worthy of praise alongside the desire to practise the contemplative life in the wilderness. The chronicler readily draws the readers' attention to the fifteenth-century priors of the Grande Chartreuse taking on a more active ministry than what was envisioned by Guigo. His praise of their charitable activities therefore indicates that the anonymous Carthusian monk did not believe almsgiving to be a fundamental transgression of the foundational ideals of his order but a meritorious act worthy of imitation by his readers.

The chronicler's favourable attitude towards almsgiving may have been determined by the increasingly active role assumed by the Carthusian communities of late medieval England. This is highlighted by the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* which was a survey commissioned by King Henry VIII in 1535 to provide a record of the financial obligations of monastic and ecclesiastical institutions prior to their dissolution. Royal commissioners reported that the monks of Coventry charterhouse spent over £77 a year on almsgiving, with nearly half of these funds dedicated to supporting twelve poor

[432] *CC*, 20.4. For more on Guigo's attitude towards almsgiving see Molvarec, 'Vox clamantis in deserto', pp. 19-21. Later statutes do not elaborate on the issue of almsgiving to any great extent. The *Statuta Antiqua* stipulated that lay brothers were only permitted to give alms to women at a great distance from their charterhouses; see *SA*, 3.28.9. The sixteenth-century Middle English copy of the statutes concerning lay brothers at Sheen repeated this injunction, stating that no alms should be given to women except 'in places a good way of distance from our houses', see Matthews, 'The Laye Bretherns Statutes', p. 133.

scholars within their charterhouse's precincts.[433] The community gave an annual sum of £26 13*s*. to the warden of a hospital in Oakham, Co. Rutland, for the maintenance of the poor who resided in the house.[434] The monks also gave alms to the poor dwelling within the city limits as well as the nearby parishes of Potterspury and Wolston, whilst they provided an annual sum of 3*s.* and 4*d.* to the nearby Carmelite friary. Within the precincts of their charterhouse the monks were reported to have washed the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday and are said to have distributed alms 'at the door of [their] monastery' each day in the form of bread and beer to the yearly total of £14.[435]

The financial records for the other Carthusian foundations in England are, unfortunately, either much less detailed or have not survived. However, the *Valor* does indicate that the charterhouse of Sheen distributed an annual total of £18 6*s.* 8*d.* in alms to the poor living across its various estates and temporalities, whilst the monks of Axholme provided 23*s.* to the poor on behalf of the soul of the founder of their charterhouse, mistakenly identified as Roger Mowbray.[436] The commissioners also noted that the monks of Mount Grace charterhouse gave 5*s.* to the poor living within their estates at Hinckley each year at Easter.[437] It is likely that their brethren at the charterhouse of Hull were involved to a certain extent in the affairs of the adjacent

[433] In 1399 King Richard II excused the monks of Coventry charterhouse from paying 65 marks annually to King's Hall, Cambridge, in return for supporting twelve poor scholars aged 7-17 within their charterhouse. Unfortunately, it is not clear how this arrangement worked in practice or how much contact the monks actually had with the young scholars. For more on this see Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 90-91. For the possibility that schools were also established at the charterhouses of London and Sheen see Gillespie, 'The Permeable Cloister?', pp. 251-52 and Beckett, *Sheen Charterhouse from its Foundation,* p. 41.
[434] The charterhouse's relationship with the hospital of Oakham is similarly rather obscure. The community had been granted the advowson of the hospital in 1404, however this was subsequently granted to Roger Flore of Oakham only two years later in 1406. For more on this see Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 92-93.
[435] *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII: Auctoritate regia institutus,* ed. by John Clay and Joseph Hunter, 6 vols (London, 1810-34), III, 53-54 and Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 214-17.
[436] For Sheen see *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* II, 53-54 and for Axholme see *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, IV, 135.
[437] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, V, 85 and Rowntree, *Studies in Carthusian History*, pp. 425-26.

almshouse known as the *Maison Dieu* which was established by the founder of their community, Michael de la Pole, in 1384. The foundation charter records that the priors of the charterhouse and the lords of the manor of Myton were jointly responsible for appointing a new master at the almshouse whenever this position should fall vacant. Michael also requested that a chest filled with at least one hundred marks of silver should be stored in the charterhouse's treasury under the custody of the prior, the master of the hospital and the mayor of Hull. He stipulated that these funds were to be released when they deemed it necessary to support the almshouse.[438]

The monks of the Hull charterhouse were even responsible for distributing alms to the poor within the boundaries of their own house. In an indenture signed in October 1462, Prior Henry Gresley (r. 1461-74) agreed that his community would erect two stone images made in the likeness of the Duchess of Suffolk Alice Chaucer and her late husband William de la Pole in a prominent place in the charterhouse's refectory. The indenture indicates that both of their effigies were to be depicted holding a disk in their right hand to symbolise bread and fish and an ale pot in their left hand. Beneath these statues, the prior or the procurator of the charterhouse would distribute food to a poor man and woman who were, in return, obliged to pray on behalf of the souls of the de la Pole family and the Christian faithful.[439] Like the tombs and heraldic arms of their benefactors, these monuments would have therefore served as permanent reminders to the monks of the piety of their patrons. At the same time, these statues may have reinforced to the community the merits of almsgiving as they gathered for their

[438] A translation of the foundation charter can be found in John Tickell, *The History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull: From its Foundation in the Reign of Edward the First to the Present Time* (Hull: Thomas Lee and Co., 1796), pp. 197-200.
[439] John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 273-77 and Luxford, 'Texts and Images of Carthusian Foundation', pp. 297-98.

communal meals in the refectory on a weekly basis and provided an appropriate backdrop for the monks to continue the charitable mission of their patrons in this space.

Taking these examples into account, it is conceivable that the anonymous chronicler of MS e Museo 160 chose to draw attention to the almsgiving of the priors general of the order from the fifteenth century as a means to reflect how the Carthusians of late medieval England were increasingly engaging in charitable works. Sixteenth-century Carthusian readers were encouraged to see that their own commitment to providing alms for the poor and their involvement with local hospitals was mirrored by the desire of successive priors general to care for the material wellbeing of those most in need. As such, they could be reassured that their contemporary charitable practices were in keeping with the past traditions of the Carthusian order.

Alongside caring for the poor, the priors of the Grande Chartreuse are also repeatedly praised in the verse chronicle for their miracle-working abilities. The earliest example can be found in the biographical sketch of Prior Anthelm of Chignon (r. 1139-52). Alongside being of noble stock, Anthelm is praised for performing 'fair miracles with wine' and being granted the spirit of prophecy before he was compelled to take the bishopric of Belley.[440] For the chronicler, the large number of miracles performed by the community of the Grande Chartreuse was the greatest proof that Christ loved the Carthusians more than any other order.[441] However, their regularity could also become quite problematic for the community. Prior Jancelin (r. 1180-1233) was compelled to

[440] 'Ancelin[us] of a nobill kyn/ In devyn & seculare connynge kend/ He wrought faire myracles w[i]þ wyn/ The spirite of p[ro]phecy had he cleyn/ And he was compellit to take/ A bishoprik at was hym geyn', MS e Museo 160, fol. 102v.
[441] For quotation see footnote 356.

ask a dead monk to stop performing miracles for the sake of maintaining the peace and solitude necessary for the community to practise the contemplative life.[442]

When considering the nature of the miracles performed by the priors general, there does appear to be a recurring concern for interceding on behalf of both the sick and the dead. The thirteenth-century Prior Bernard I de la Tour (r. 1247-49 and 1253-59) is particularly noted for his curative abilities. In imitation of Christ, this 'holy prior' is said to have cleansed lepers, 'made many lame men go straight' and also raised 'dead men up right'.[443] Prior Boso (r. 1278-1313) was similarly regarded as being 'right virtuous' for miraculously raising a man from death.[444] In the fourteenth century, a monk at the Grande Chartreuse named John performed 'miracles of healing' during the rule of Prior Clair de Fontenay (r. 1330-36).[445] Furthermore, as mentioned above, many men appealed to Prior William III de la Motte for miracles after his death on account of his reputation for almsgiving.

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[442] 'Gud Iacelin[us] folowet sone/ A man of gret merite & holee/ He co[m]maundit a monk anone/ Of Carthusia dede a while agone/ To cesse of myracles shewinge/ The ded monke obe[i]de hy[m] right sone, All for lif contemplatife lettinge', MS e Museo 160, fol. 103r. Le Couteulx also records that Prior Jancelin was forced to ask the holy monk to cease performing miracles at his tomb in 1193; see *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, III, 130-31. For the use of this topoi in a Cistercian context see Emilia Jamroziak, 'Miracles in Monastic Culture', in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, ed. by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 36-53 (pp. 48-49).

[443] 'In this tym a holy p[ri]ore were/ Of this ord[er] Barnard he heght/ Many miraclese did he fair & sere/ Dede men he raysit vp righte/ Many halte men he mad go streght/ The fowle leporose clensit hee/ He was mad a bishop of gret myghte/ And os a sainte endit glorioslee', MS e Museo 160, fols 102v-103r. Jesus cleansing a leper can be found in Matthew 8.1–4, Mark 1.40–45 and Luke 5.12–16. The healing a paralysed man at Capernaum can be found in Matthew, 9.1–8, Mark 2.1–12, and Luke 5.17–26 whilst the raising of dead men echoes the resurrection of Lazarus in John 11.11-44.

[444] 'Aft[er] hym com holy dane Bosoo/ Os men myght se right vertuose/ For a ded man he raysid thoo', MS e Museo 160, fol. 103r. The first prior of the Coventry charterhouse, Robert Palmer, was similarly said to have resuscitated a dead man; see Hennessy, 'Otherworldly Visions', p. 263 and Luxford, 'The Charterhouse of St. Anne, Coventry', p. 241.

[445] 'Then a man of p[er]rogatife/ Namyd Clarus clere in his ded[e]/ In his tym a monk co[n]templatife/ Callit Iohn did miracles of mede/ Aft[er] Clarus Iames did procede/ Which was p[ri]ore awhill befor/ Aft[er] his deth his miracles did sprede', MS e Museo, fol. 103v.

The sanctity of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse was therefore not defined exclusively by their commitment to advancing their own contemplative development. Instead, it could also encompass a willingness to intercede on behalf of the sick and the dead, with their ability to perform miracles founded upon their feats of contemplation within the wilderness spaces of the Grande Chartreuse. In this manner, the catalogue of priors general can be seen to resemble the chronicle at the beginning of the cartulary belonging to the London charterhouse. As previously noted in section 2.5 of this study, the anonymous chronicler chose to attest to the distinguished piety of former monks of his community by emphasising their commitment to the eremitic life as much as their concern for attending to the needs of the living and the dead. The holiness of the monk Guy of Burgh, for example, was exemplified by his miraculous intervention on behalf of an unnamed earl of Warwick and his wife, enabling them to conceive a child through the power of his prayers. At the same time, the third prior of the London charterhouse, John Maplested, was shown to have fully recovered from an unspecified illness exclusively through the prayers of his brother John Homersley.[446]

Like the chronicler of the London charterhouse, the anonymous monk responsible for the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 therefore reveals an understanding of his order's identity that encompasses more than simply the imitation of St Bruno and the founders of the Grande Chartreuse. Although the commitment to the contemplative life in the wilderness remained the most prominent aspect of this identity, this did not preclude the priors general from engaging with the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses. The chronicler's attitude towards almsgiving and the emphasis he places on the miracles performed by the priors general suggest that

[446] For quotations see footnotes 346-47.

Carthusian monks were redefining how they justified their place within the late medieval Church by the sixteenth century. Rather than being exclusively focused upon their own contemplative development, the chronicler was eager to demonstrate that his order's purpose could be of benefit for the wider Christian society.

3.4 The Ottoman Turks and the Carthusian Order

The verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 encouraged its Carthusian readers to meditate on their order's foundation and to see its development in the wider context of Christian history. By doing so they could recognise the important role that their order played in the progress of sacred history as well as contemporary Christian society. Such self-reflection was not, however, the only purpose of the chronicle. It was also used as a means to project the fears and anxieties felt by the anonymous Carthusian monk and his peers. This is most evident in the substantial amount of attention given to the threat posed by Jews, heretical sects and Muslims towards the Christian faithful. As the chronicler was especially preoccupied with the perceived dangers of Islam, the following analysis focuses on the presentation of Muslims throughout the verse chronicle.[447] It examines what purpose their depiction may have served for an insular, English Carthusian audience far removed from any immediate contact with Muslims, especially Ottoman Turks, in the early sixteenth century.

[447] For the Carthusians' concern with heretical groups see Pavel Soukup, 'Anti-Hussite Texts in Miscellaneous and Other Manuscripts: The Case of the Erfurt Charterhouse', in *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge: Miscellanies in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Sabrina Corbellini, Giovanna Murano and Giacomo Signore (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 83-98. Michael Sargent has also discussed Nicholas Love's anti-Wycliffite stance in the introduction in *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ,* pp. 54-75 and Michael Sargent, 'Nicholas Love as an Ecclesiastical Reformer', in *Faithful to the Cross,* ed. by Van Dijk, Van Aelst and Gaens, pp. 40-64.

The attention given to Muslims throughout the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 likely reflects a general concern with the Ottoman Turks following their conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and ensuing advance into the remainder of Byzantine lands and the Balkans. After their failed siege of Belgrade in 1456, Turkish forces were able to seize control of the rest of Serbia by the end of the decade. This was followed by the annexation of the kingdoms of Bosnia in 1463 and Herzegovina in 1467. This initial period of rapid expansion culminated in the capture of the Venetian colony of Negroponte in 1470, one of the last remaining Christian outposts in the eastern Mediterranean.[448] As Nancy Bisaha has shown, these conquests led to the circulation of lurid accounts which detailed the casualties and atrocities inflicted by the Ottomans on the Christian faithful. These served to heighten popular fears that the Turks would soon advance into the lands of Latin Christendom.[449] The Ottomans' successful siege of Otranto on the southern coast of Italy in 1480 and their prolonged efforts to capture Rhodes in the same year appeared to justify these concerns.

The fall of Constantinople and the continual loss of Christian lands to the Turks throughout the fifteenth century may have stirred the compiler of MS Additional 37049 to include a Middle English version of the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius* on folios 11r-16v of the mid fifteenth-century miscellany.[450] This apocalyptic text was originally

[448] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 80-117.
[449] Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 1-2.
[450] This has been published in *John Trevisa: Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: 'Defenso Curatorum' and Methodius: 'Þe Bygynnyng of þe World and þe Ende of Worldes',* ed. by A. J. Perry, E. E. T. S. OS 167 (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 94-112. A. I. Doyle has asserted that MS Additional 37049 can be dated 'to the middle or third quarter of the fifteenth century' based on a watermark and the costumes of individuals depicted in its illustrations; see A. I. Doyle, 'English Carthusian Books Not Yet Linked with a Charterhouse', in *"A Miracle of Learning": Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning, Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. by Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, and Katharine Simms (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 122-36 (p. 128).

written by an anonymous Syriac author claiming to be a fourth-century Bishop of Olympos named Methodius, although it was actually written in response to Arab advances against the Byzantine Empire at the end of the seventh century.[451] The threat posed by Muslims permeates the entire text of the *Revelations*. It begins with an outline of the history of the world from Creation to the invasion of Israel by the sons of Ishmael and ends with a prophetic account of the events leading up to the Last Judgement. This chiefly consists of describing how Christian lands shall be overrun by Islamic forces and the Christian faithful persecuted on account of their sins before the coming of the Antichrist. The sons of Ishmael, also identified as Saracens, are prophesied to slay priests and pregnant women at holy sites, lie with their wives in churches and tie their beasts to the graves of saints.[452] The compiler of MS Additional 37049 may have believed that the apocalyptic events prophesied by Methodius were coming to fruition in his own time following the loss of Constantinople and the reports of similar atrocities being committed by the Turks against Christians.

The advance of the Ottomans certainly appears to have perturbed some of the most prominent members of the Carthusian order on the continent throughout the second half of the fifteenth century. Dennis Martin has shown how Denys the Carthusian (d. 1471) and Vincent of Aggsbach (d. 1464) actively promoted the literature of female mystics such as St Birgitta in their calls for sweeping Church reform following the loss of Constantinople. For both Denys and Vincent, the fall of Constantinople demonstrated God's displeasure with the Christian faithful failing to live up to the precepts of the

[451] For more on the original context of the *Revelations* see Cynthia Villagomez, 'Christian Salvation through Muslim Domination: Divine Punishment and Syriac Apocalyptic Expectation in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Medieval Encounters,* 4 (1998), 203-18 (pp. 215-16) and John Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 46-50.
[452] *Þe Bygynnyng of þe World*, pp. 100-

Church. They believed the purpose of this divine chastisement was to inspire individual Christians to repent and bring about a true reform of the wider Church.[453] At the same time, Denys composed his polemical treatise *Contra perfidiam Machometi* under the direction of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and wrote his *Epistola ad principes catholicos* to all the princes of Latin Christendom. Alongside attacking the perceived errors of Islam, he urged Christian rulers to stop fighting amongst themselves and instead unite in a large-scale military campaign against the Ottomans.[454]

In the aftermath of the loss of Constantinople, all members of the Carthusian order were required to take part in the defence of the Church by offering prayers for the eventual defeat of the Ottomans. The Carthusian General Chapter included a copy of Pope Calixtus III's crusading bull against the Turks in the *chartae* published in 1456. The General Chapter also stipulated that the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates* should be said during all conventual and private masses for the good health of the pope and for the 'glorious victory of the universal Church' over the Turks, identified as 'the worst enemy of the Christian faith'.[455] *Chartae* from the 1460s and 1470s repeatedly urged Carthusian monks to support secular figures who led attempts to stem the Ottoman advance into Christian lands through their prayers. For example, in 1472 the General Chapter decreed that all members of the order should say prayers and masses on behalf of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary who was

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[453] Dennis Martin, 'Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers', in *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism,* ed. by Luxford, pp. 127-54.
[454] Dennis Martin, 'Carthusians as Public Intellectuals: Cloistered Religious as Advisors to Lay Elites on the Eve of the Protestant Reformation', in *Reassessing Reform: A Historic Investigation into Church Renewal*, ed. by Christopher Bellitto and David Zachariah Flanagin (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2012), pp. 232-53 (pp. 245-48) and Morimichi Watanabe, 'Cusanus, Islam, and Religious Tolerance', in *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. by Ian Christopher Levy, Rita George-Tvrtković and Donald Duclow (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 9-19 (p. 12).
[455] John Clark, **'**The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: London, Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part 2, 1440-1460 (Ff. 136r-300r)', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 100.11 (1991), 1-197 (pp. 146-49) and Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 186.

striving 'to defend the whole of Christendom [and] preserve the [Christian] faith against the incursions and savagery of those Turks'.[456] The Carthusians' apparent eagerness to defend the Church against the Ottomans even led the General Chapter to warn members of the order to not abandon their vows and join the rumoured crusade of Pope Pius II in 1464.[457]

The main source of the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160, the *Fasciculus Temporum*, was completed in the 1470s during this period of particularly heightened anxiety about the Ottomans. As such, it is tempting to suggest that the very real concerns of Rolevinck and his contemporaries about the Turks were simply copied over by the anonymous English monk when he edited and translated the *Fasciculus* in the early sixteenth century. However, as mentioned above, the anonymous chronicler was very selective in this process and frequently chose to delete, adapt and make additions to Rolevinck's text so that the verse chronicle matched his own assumptions and aims. As he chose to retain many of Rolevinck's passages on the threat posed by Islamic forces to Christendom in full, it is likely that he believed these were especially relevant for his sixteenth-century Carthusian audience. In comparison, he often chose to condense Rolevinck's accounts of the reigns of several emperors and popes who were evidently deemed to be fairly unimportant to one-word summaries. For example, during his prayer for the thirteenth century, he condemns Emperor Otto IV as an 'ill' ruler, Frederick II is said to have been even 'worse', Alphonso of Castile is noted to have been

[456] Clark, 'Lambeth Palace MS 413 Part 3', p. 142. For more examples of these personal prayers see Dennis Martin, 'Carthusians, God's Judgment, and the "Infestacio Thurcorum" of the Fifteenth Century', *Analecta Cartusiana,* 254 (2008), 51-66 (pp. 56-57).
[457] Sargent and Hogg, 'MS. Rawlinson D. 318', p. 199.

a 'good astronomer', whilst the other emperors from that century are simply labelled as 'good'.[458]

The chronicler's personal concern with the Turks is further confirmed when considering the post-1474 material where he is no longer reliant on the *Fasciculus* yet draws even more attention to events involving the Ottomans. The remainder of the fifteenth-century prayer is largely taken up by vivid accounts of the sieges of Rhodes and Otranto in 1480 as well as a description of the death of Sultan Mehmed II in the following year, discussed in greater depth below.[459] Furthermore, the anonymous chronicler appears to have kept up to date with recent events involving the Ottomans that took place at a great distance from his own charterhouse. Towards the end of the sixteenth-century prayer he notes that Ottoman forces had driven the Mamluk sultan out of Jerusalem, an event that did not take place until 1517, a year before the verse chronicle was originally completed.[460] Although the chronicler was far removed from any immediate threat posed by Islamic forces, especially the Ottoman Turks, they still appear to have featured prominently in his imagination. In his adaptation of the *Fasciculus*, he built on the fears and anxieties expressed by Rolevinck and constructed an image of Muslims that served his own ends. The following analysis examines how the chronicler chose to present Muslims not just as the imagined 'Other' of Christendom, but more specifically of the Carthusians.

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[458] 'Otto IIII yl, Frederic[us] II warse, Henric[us] VI gude, Will[el]m[us] gude, Alphonsus gud[e] ast[ro]nom[er],/ Ricard[us] gude, Rodulph[us] gude, Adulphus gude', MS e Museo 160, fol. 85r.
[459] See footnotes 482-83.
[460] 'O Ih[es]u [vn]to vs cristyn/ Did com comfurthe latly & new/ At the Saracens & the turk[is] has foughtyn/ IIII ȝer agoo os sais men trew/ On the Palm Sonday þ[e] batell sewe/ Many thowsand on ay ther p[ar]ty sleyn/ The grete turk w[i]þ a riall vewe/ Draf the solden owt of Ierusalem/ Their strif was for that cety then/ The solden has holden it full long[e]/ Now the turk has won it said tru me[n]', MS e Museo 160, fol. 106r.

3.5 The 'monstrous sect of Muhammad' in MS e Museo 160

For the anonymous chronicler of MS e Museo 160, Islam posed the gravest threat to the Church, both historically and at the time of writing the verse chronicle in the early sixteenth century. Throughout the prayers he goes beyond merely providing a cursory account of significant military events involving Islamic forces. Instead, he discusses in considerable depth the various errors of the Islamic faith and replicates many of the late medieval tropes that were used to caricature and demonise Muslims. This can be seen in the extended passage outlining the rise of Islam under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century. This account is remarkable in its length, stretching from folios 54v-56v, which surpasses by far the number of lines dedicated to describing the foundation of the Carthusian order.[461] At its outset the chronicler characterises Islam as the 'sect of Muhammad' which had caused considerable damage to the Church by leading a third of its people away from the true faith.[462] This understanding of Islam as a perverted form of Christianity rather than a new religion is reinforced in his description of the Qur'an.[463] He asserts that Muhammad wrote this 'ugly law' with the help of three masters who were sent by the Devil; the first a Jewish astronomer, the second a heretic, and the third a Christian 'man false of faith'.[464] From its inception Islam was therefore closely associated with other heretical groups and Jews who were all seen to threaten the integrity of the Church.

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[461] As is also the case in Rolevinck's *Fasciculus;* see footnote 387 above for his account of the foundation of the Grande Chartreuse and footnote 473 for his account of the emergence of Islam.
[462] 'Son aft[er] the secte of Machomete/ Vnto Cristendom did mekill trayn/ And the thrid p[ar]te shortly to wete/ Led fro thy faithe O Ih[es]u swete', MS e Museo 160, fol. 54v.
[463] For this tradition in an earlier context than the sixteenth century see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 135-69.
[464] 'Thre mast[er]s the fend se[n]t hy[m] newe/ To help hy[m] to feyn his fals laye/ First was a Iew astronom[er] gaye/ And the secund was an heretike/ Thrid a criste[n] ma[n] fals of faye/ And vgly law thes fowr did write/ And alkaron gar call it tite', MS e Museo 160, fol. 55r.

The chronicler also provides a striking attack on the Prophet Muhammad which follows in a well-established polemical tradition of depicting him as a fraudulent seducer of men.[465] He laments that Christ allowed 'this false Muhammad, most fulsome creature that we know in pride, gluttony and lecherous heat to be leader of so many men' and to steer so many souls to their damnation.[466] He further describes him as 'the deceiver of worldly men, the devil's messenger and false prophet, the forerunner of the Antichrist, the full end of false heresy'.[467] The chronicler also likens Muhammad to the Old Testament figure of Jeroboam who is said to have taken 'ten parts' away from the House of David.[468] This is a reference to Jeroboam's revolt against Rehoboam, king of Israel, which resulted in the separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah.[469] By comparing Muhammad to Jeroboam, the anonymous monk was also alluding to the perception of Muslims as idol worshippers, an idea often depicted in late medieval pejorative images of Muslims.[470] Jeroboam is said to have built two golden calves in the temples of Bethel and Dan for his people to worship and to dissuade them from making sacrifices at the Temple of Jerusalem and returning to the rule of Rehoboam.[471] For the Carthusian chronicler, Muhammad was therefore the true heir of Jeroboam in splitting the Christian Church and leading the faithful away from the true worship of God.

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[465] Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 137-47.
[466] 'O Ih[es]u swete/ It is a meruell[yn] to all men/ That thou wald suffer this fals Machomete/ Most fulsom creatur at we ken/ In p[ri]de glutre & licherus hete/ To be ledere of so many men/ And law giffer os he was then/ To his dampnation & thairs als', MS e Museo 160, fols 54v-55r.
[467] 'Deceyver of the warldly men/ The devill[is] messeng[er] & p[ro]phet fals/ The forgoere of Antecriste/ The ful end of fals heresy/ A grete marchaunt was he first/ & aft[er] a p[ri]nce of thevis suthly', MS e Museo 160, fol. 55r.
[468] 'Thus lik Ieroboam vntrewe/ Fro the howse of Dauid holy kirke dew/ X partes hase he tak awaye', MS e Museo 160, fol. 55r.
[469] 1 Kings 12.1-25.
[470] For more on the representation of Muslims as idolaters see Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 165-68 and Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 129-64.
[471] 1 Kings 12.26-33 and 1 Kings 14.1-20.

In his depiction of the rise of Islam and portrayal of Muhammad, the anonymous chronicler closely follows the original Latin text of the *Fasciculus Temporum*.[472] This can also be seen in the association of the emergence of Islam with the birth of two monstrous creatures at the beginning of the seventh century. In his translation of this marvellous episode, the chronicler describes how two children were born in Byzantium with misshapen bodies. The first child was born with two faces and four feet whilst the second had no eyes or hands and the lower half of its body was in the shape of a fish. He describes how these 'beasts of horrible sight' were often seen swimming in the River Nile 'like a man and woman', until the 'third part of the sun did diminish'.[473] A visual interpretation of this description can be seen in figure 3.4 below which is taken from an early printed copy of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*.[474]

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[472] 'Machometus deceptor orb[is], p[ro]pheta falsus nu[n]cius sathane, p[re]cursor antichristi, co[m]plementu[m] heresim ac toci[us] falsitatis p[ro]digiu[m] circa hec t[em]p[or]a vesania[m] suam o[ste]ntare incepit. Fuit e[u]m magus et mercator vilissim[us] et factus princeps latronum subtilit[er] arabes sibi attraxit, qui tunc valde ab eraclio grauabantur. Persas vicit et gentes alias multas quib[us] dedit legem sua[m] dicens se esse propheta[m] s[an]c[tu]m. Et a deo missum etc[etera]. Hoc eu[m] docuit quida[m] sergius apostata, tam a fide q[ue] a [con]uersatione monastica, q[ui] ipsam lege[m] composuit. Hic velut alter Ieroboam decem p[ar]tes abstulit domui Dauid i[n] ecclesie christi q[ue] pene totum mundu[m] decepit. […] Alcharan[us] liber co[m]ponit[ur] a machameto et trib[us] magistris suis quib[us] dyabolus et auctoritate[m] et industriam ministrabat. Prim[us] m[a]g[iste]r erat quida[m] Iudeus astronom[us] maxim[us], secund[us] Ioh[ann]es de antiochia hereticus, tercius Sergius arrian[us]', Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum*, fols 58r-58v.

[473] 'Grete miracles this tym did in efe/ Comet[is] aperit ferfullye/ In Bisance II^{o} child[er] vnchefe/ Wer born myschapit bodely/ The on had II^{o} faces formally/ And IIII fete had the other child/ W[i]þ bludy speres shotinge sharply/ Wer seyn on nyght[is] w[i]þ light wild/ So was ther born an other child/ That wantid both the hand[is] & eyn/ Fro the middill down of this vnmyld/ Vnto a fische lik was it seyn/ In the flud of Egip Nilo greyn/ II^{o} best[is] wer seyn of horribill sight/ Lyk a man & woman os to weyn/ Mervalusly the so[n] lost his light/ For fro the morn at day was lighte/ The thrid p[ar]t of the son did wayn/ Or it was noone to all me[n]nys sight', MS e Museo 160, fol. 54v.

[474] The original Latin text reads: 'Mirabilia quedam circa hec t[em]p[or]a [con]tigisse narrant[ur]. Cometa apparuit puer quadrupes, alt[er] duos vertices h[abe]ns nati sunt bisancii. Sanguinee haste et lux clarrissima per noctem tota[m] videbant[ur]. Puer nascit sine oculis et manibus q[ui] a lumbis infra erat sicut piscis. In nilo etiam ap[u]d egiptum duo animalia apparuer[un]t humane forme vir et mulier horribilia aspectu. Quasi p[er] vnum diem sol a mane vsq[ue] ad meridie[m] minoratus est de tertia p[ar]te', Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum*, fol. 57r.

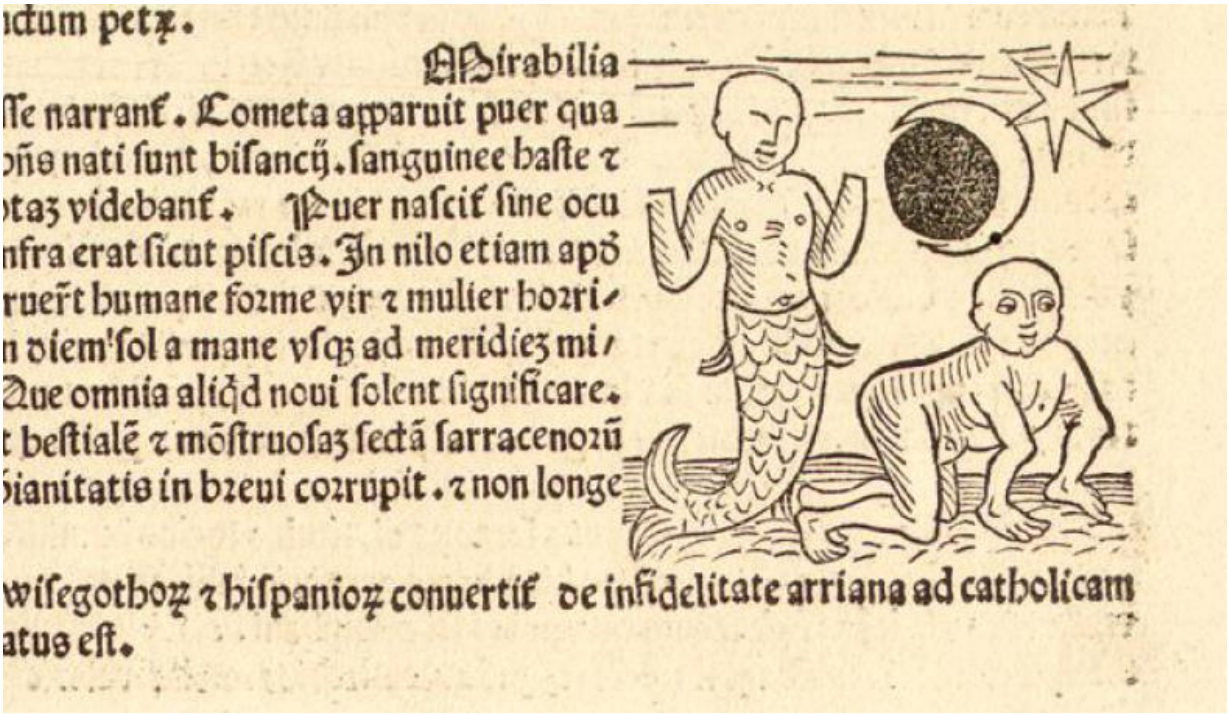

Figure 3.4: Image of two monstrous children born in Byzantium in Werner Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum* (Basel: Bernhard Richel, 1482), fol. 57r

Both Rolevinck and the anonymous English chronicler directly associate these monstrous creatures with the emergence of Islam. Rolevinck's original text explicitly claims that these beasts 'prefigured the monstrous sect of the Saracens', with the third part of the Church that had been lost to the corrupting influence of Muhammad corresponding to the setting of the third part of the sun.[475] Similarly, the verse chronicle describes how these creatures were 'messengers of much pain' and were soon followed by the sect of Muhammad which caused much damage to the Church.[476] The physical deformities of the beasts can also be interpreted symbolically. For example, the four feet anticipate the four writers of the Qur'an in Muhammad, the Jewish astronomer, the

[475] 'Que omnia aliq[ui]d noui solent significare. Quida[m] puta[n]t q[ui] p[re]figuraru[n]t bestiale[m] et mo[n]struosa[m] secta[m] sarracenoru[m] que quasi terciam parte[m] christianitatis in breui corrupit. Et non longe post hec tempora surrexit', Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum*, fol. 57r.
[476] 'Thes monst[er]s ose many men did sayn/ Was messengere of mekill payn/ Son aft[er] the secte of Machomete/ Vnto Cristendon did mekill trayn/ And the thrid p[ar]te shortly to wete/ Led fro thy faithe', MS e Museo 160, fol. 54v.

heretic and the Christian apostate. The lack of eyes for one of the children perhaps refers to the failure of Muslims to recognise the divine nature of Christ. The fishlike creature can also be likened to the portrait of Muhammad in the Toledan Collection from the twelfth century analysed by Walter B. Cahn. In the margin next to a short biography of Muhammad, a composite creature has been drawn with the head of a bearded man and the body in the form of a fish. Cahn has argued this may allude to the mythological Greek Sirens who lured sailors to their deaths on the rocks. The underlying intention was to emphasise the belief that Muhammad was similarly the deceiver of men, leading them away from the true Christian faith and towards their own damnation through his false doctrine.[477]

Once more, by associating Islam with monstrosity, the anonymous monk responsible for the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 was following in a well-established polemical tradition. As Debra Higgs Strickland has shown, pejorative images of non-Christians often involved using grotesque physiognomy and bestiality as markers of error, sinfulness and the demonic.[478] This understanding of Muslims as monstrous is retained throughout the verse chronicle. The chronicler initially identifies Arabs who were first attracted to Muhammad's teachings as 'men much beastly'.[479] He later laments that men increasingly became blind to the miracles of Christ and the worthiness of saints and instead drew towards Muhammad, who is identified as 'this beastly and blind man'.[480] In the eighth-century prayer he once more argues that the

[477] Walter Cahn, 'The "Portrait" of Muhammad in the Toledan Collection', in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object,* ed. by Elizabeth Sears and Thelma Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 51-60.
[478] Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 173-88.
[479] 'The Arabes was men mich bestly/ And of Eracli[us] was sor oppressit/ Thes men Machomete suttellye/ By crafty meyns to hy[m] adressit', MS e Museo 160, fol. 55r.
[480] 'O Ih[es]u this tym men wer blynd/ That aft[er] all thy grac[is] swete/ & myrakilles worthy for to mynd/ Of þ[i]self & of thy saintes kind/ So sone forgat thy gracios lawe/ & aft[er] this bestly man & blinde/ Os to their lord & god did drawe/ This mischefe mast[er]et men w[i]þ awe/ That mekly wald not

followers of Muhammad's heresy who refused to come back to the grace and goodness of Christ can only be regarded as 'bestial' in nature.[481] This sort of rhetoric was utilised as a means to dehumanise non-Christians and to reinforce the conviction that they were agents of the Devil.

For the anonymous chronicler, the apparent bestiality of Muslims was also expressed by their monstrous behaviour towards Christians alongside their grotesque appearance. This can be seen most vividly in his account of the conquests of the Ottomans during the late fifteenth century, a section of the chronicle where the English chronicler is no longer reliant on Rolevinck's *Fasciculus*. Throughout this prayer he repeatedly emphasises the Turks' inherent cruelty and barbaric treatment of Christians. He characterises Sultan Mehmed II, referred to as 'the Great Turk called Muhammad', as the 'most cruel enemy of the Christian state' for seizing a vast array of lands and cities from Christian hands. He argues that this 'cruel Turk [was] by name and deed old Muhammad's son' who lurked in Hell under the Devil, never ceasing to conspire against Christendom.[482] After his account of the Ottoman's successful siege of Otranto in 1480, the chronicler describes how after many years of pursuing wars against Christians the 'great cruel Turk' Mehmed died and was now at the feet of the Devil.[483]

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to hy[m] ȝeld/ Ales Ih[es]u full longe on rawe/ This wikkit secte has won thy feld', MS e Museo 160, fol. 55v.

[481] 'And Machomete w[i]þ his heresee/ Now is it heghist indignitee/ Both in sp[irit]uell & temp[or]all/ That is in erth, O Ih[es]u free/ Of the com this grace & gudnes all/ O fals folk why will they not fall/ Vnto thy faithe so longe approvid/ We may se they ar bot bestiall', MS e Museo 160, fol. 67v.

[482] 'That the gret turk callit Machomete/ Most cruell enmy of cristen state/ In that day fro cristyndome had won/ II^{o} empyrs & IIII kinge rik[is] greate/ XX cuntrees & CC ceties fon/ W[i]þ pepill mo then we nowmb[er] con/ O Ih[es]u se this cruell turke/ By name & ded old Machomete son/ That in hell vnd[er] the devill dos lurke/ ȝit cesis not wikkitly to wurke', MS e Museo 160, fol. 94v.

[483] 'Cruelly faris thes turk[is] vntrewe/ Son aft[er] this co[m] tithing[is] newe/ That the grete cruell turke Machomete/ That many ȝeres wers did p[er]sewe/ Was ded & at the devillis fete', MS e Museo 160, fol. 95v. The scribe of MS e Museo 160 originally forgot to include the term 'cruell' in this reference to Mehmed II and afterwards felt it was necessary to add it in as it is written in red ink above the line.

The chronicler dwells upon several examples of Turkish barbarity throughout this prayer. In his account of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, he claims that the city was betrayed by an unfaithful Christian man who had helped the Ottomans during the siege. As a reward for his assistance, he was crowned as a king for three days before he was then treacherously beheaded by the Turks on the fourth day. This took place alongside the general slaughter of the Christian population, whilst those who survived were sold as slaves.[484] After the siege of Negroponte in 1470, Mehmed II is said to have 'slain many of the clergy right furiously, defiled nuns and fair women and made many glorious martyrs' with the streets of the city flowing with blood.[485] These barbarous acts were also repeated after the capture of Otranto. The chronicler describes in vivid detail how the Turks 'severed to death' the elderly archbishop of the city with a saw usually reserved for chopping down trees. At the same time, priests were killed in their churches, nuns and matrons were raped and both the old and young were mercilessly slaughtered.[486]

Margaret Meserve has argued that the characterisation of the Turks as inherently cruel and barbarous was stressed above all other tropes by Christian writers in the aftermath of the loss of Constantinople. For example, the exiled Byzantine diplomat Cardinal Bessarion lamented that the city had been 'stripped, plundered and pillaged by the most inhuman barbarians, the most savage enemies of the Christian faith, the most

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[484] 'Constantinople that riall citee/ Was betraiete by a criste[n] lede vnlell/ And so takyn w[i]þ turk[is] cruellee/ The turke made this vnlele for his lee/ A king thre days he wore a crown/ On the IIIIth day hedit was hee/ O falshed fayre thou fallis down/ Gret dred had the cristen town/ Many were slayne & sold wer moo/ The Emp[er]or ded opon the ground/ They hedit to do þ[e] cristen woo', MS e Museo 160, fol. 93r.

[485] 'The nobill cety faire & noght durke/ Of Nigropontens he wan fro vs/ The clergy he slew right furiose/ Defolid no[n]nes & fair women/ & mad many martir gloriose/ That the stret[is] all of blud did spen', MS e Museo 160, fol. 94v.

[486] 'The cety of Idrunton they vnd[er] 3ede/ In the land of Cecele is it graithe/ The archbishop old bot strang of faithe/ The holy crose holdinge in hande/ W[i]þ a saw of tree they sew to dethe/ The p[re]st[is] in the kirke killand/ Nonnes & matrons fast desoland/ & old or 3onge owthere soldor slewe', MS e Museo 160, fol. 95v.

ferocious wild beasts'.[487] Another aspect of this strategy involved tracing the origins of the Turks back to the ancient Scythian tribe beyond the Black Sea to emphasise their fundamentally uncivilised pedigree.[488] For crusading enthusiasts these rhetorical devices were utilised in the hope of inspiring a unified Christian response to an alien, barbarian threat to Christendom and western civilization. At the same time, constructing an image of the Turks as the barbarous enemies of the faith could also be a source of comfort to Christian writers, particularly Italian humanists. They could reassure both themselves and their readers that their Christian society and faith remained much more civilized and superior to their Islamic foes, even in the wake of continual military setbacks against the Ottoman Empire.[489]

Given that the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 was most likely written for an internal Carthusian audience, it is more probable that the anonymous chronicler engaged in this sort of rhetoric for the latter purpose. It is unlikely that he sought to inspire Carthusian readers to abandon their vows of stability in favour of taking up the cross against the Turks.[490] Instead, his depiction of the Turks was more likely intended to consolidate his audience's understanding of their own Carthusian identity. The Ottomans were not simply presented as the antithesis of a general Christian ideal but a specifically Carthusian one. This can be seen with the attention given to the violence and brutality of the Turks in the fifteenth-century prayer. The list of atrocities committed by the Ottomans during their conquests stand in marked contrast to the Christian ideals of charity and love. This is expressed most succinctly by the Virgin Mary in her response to

[487] Quoted in Margaret Meserve, 'Italian Humanists and the Problems of the Crusade', in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. by Norman Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), pp. 13-38 (p. 26).
[488] Meserve, 'Italian Humanists', pp. 27-31 and Bisaha, *Creating East and West,* pp. 43-78.
[489] Bisaha, *Creating East and West,* pp. 77-78.
[490] As had been condemned by the Carthusian General Chapter in 1464, see footnote 457 above.

the anonymous chronicler as he reflects on the lack of saints in his own time. She explains that Christ had spoken plainly that it was possible for any Christian to become a saint by keeping the three virtues of 'faith, charity and true meekness'.[491] At the same time, there had been so many 'fair examples' shown to him already that he could contemplate and learn to live virtuously.[492]

For example, the rewards for charitable giving are tangibly demonstrated in the chronicle by the marvellous story involving Emperor Tiberius II Constantine (r. 578-82). During the sixth-century prayer the anonymous chronicler asserts that the emperor was undoubtedly a saint in Heaven on account of being 'so great an alms man', to the extent that his wife complained that he was the 'destroyer of their goods'.[493] He was rewarded for continually placing his trust in Christ after having a stone lifted up from the floor of one of his palaces to stop men from standing on the image of a cross inscribed upon it. Beneath this stone was found a great treasure, with the chronicler marvelling that Christ had so freely rewarded his faithful servant.[494]

Alongside this marvellous tale, it is the priors of the Grande Chartreuse who are presented as most consistently realising the Christian ideal of charity in the verse

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[491] '& my son Ih[es]u sais 3o[u] playnlye/ That 3o[r] self saint[is] felos may bee/ Yf 3e will kep thes v[er]tus thre/ Faith charite & tru mek[e]nese', MS e Museo 160, fol. 97v.
[492] '3e sall be for all at I may doo/ For so many fair ensamplesse/ 3e haue at scus is non 3ou too/ Therfor now advise 3o[u] loo/ Owther saint[is] fellos for to bee/ Or fend[is] feris the on sall 3e doo/ Therfor amend & lef v[er]tuoslee', MS e Museo 160, fols 97v-98r.
[493] 'Regnyt in this VIth hundrethe 3er/ Tiberi[us] on of th[a]m w[i]þowtyn dowt/ Is now a saint in hevyn full cler/ He was strang & fortunat in wer/ So gret an alm[us] man was hee/ That his wif mad[e] on hy[m] plaintes sere/ Ose distroyere of theire gud[is] holee/ But [his] hole trust Ih[es]u was in the/ That [he] sulld want neu[er] wardly gude', MS e Museo 160, fols 50r-50v.
[494] 'An so [he] was seyn son openlee/ On a tym afor hym where he stud/ A ston was layde wher on men 3ud/ & opon it gravyn was a crose/ Then said this holy emp[er]oure gude/ Tak vp that ston[e] it is gret losse/ At mense fete sud foole that holy crosse/ We suld do it more reu[er]ence/ Vnd[er] that ston[e] so gret tresor se/ He fande to sufficiante expence/ Ih[es]u lo thy magnificence/ Is liberall to thy lou[er]s free', MS e Museo 160, fols 50r-50v. The Carthusians of late medieval England evidently believed that this tale held some sort of pedagogic value as it can also be found in the translated excerpts of the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* in MS Additional 37049. For a transcription of this passage see Embree, 'The Fragmentary Chronicle', p. 197.

chronicle. As mentioned above, several of the fifteenth-century priors general of the order are praised for their charitable deeds. The chronicler singles out John III de Griffenburg for providing alms to the poor and William III de la Motte for attracting a large number of pilgrims to the Grande Chartreuse who sought to benefit from his miracles largely as a result of his reputation for giving alms to the poor before to his death. At the same time, many of the priors general are celebrated for their commitment to healing the sick through miracles and interceding for the souls of the dead, as noted previously.[495]

In this manner, the anonymous chronicler portrays the behaviour of the Ottomans as the inversion of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse. Whilst the Turks delighted in the merciless slaughter of Christians, the heads of the Carthusian order personified the ideal of charity through their enduring commitment to caring for the poor, sick and the deceased. The wounding and murder of the Christian faithful by the Turks is in contrast to the miraculous acts of healing and resurrection performed by the priors general of the Carthusian order. It is perhaps also for this reason that the chronicler chose to dwell on the acts of sexual violence committed by the Turks during the sieges of Negroponte and Otranto. In both instances he refers to the Muslim invaders defiling nuns and young virgins as evidence of their barbarous nature.[496] These examples were fed by and served to reinforce the common trope of presenting Muslims as lustful, hyper-sexual creatures. Christian polemicists often criticised the acceptance of polygamy in Islam and the idea that heavenly maidens awaited devout Muslims in the afterlife.[497] For Carthusian monks, the reportedly licentious sexual behaviour of

[495] For quotations see footnotes 428-29.
[496] For quotations see footnotes 485-86.
[497] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 113-46 (pp. 124-26).

Muslims contrasted greatly to the Christian ideal of celibacy and, in particular, the vows of chastity they took when first entering the order.

The anonymous chronicler also endeavoured to stress how Muslims have revelled in worldly, carnal pleasures throughout his prayers. In his account of the rise of Islam during the sixth century he remarks that the Qur'an 'left out all hard things that should grieve and granted all things that might delight' worldly men.[498] He laments that the 'wicked sect' of Islam had gained ascendancy over Christendom and persecuted the Church for nearly one thousand years. However, he urges the reader to recognise that despite having such great riches and worldly possessions, 'Muhammad and all his men now burn deep in Hell with the fiend'.[499] He further implores 'all Christian men' to take heed of the fate of 'these Turks and Saracens' who have allowed the lure of worldly pleasures to turn them away from the true faith.[500]

Once more the verse chronicle closely matches the original Latin text of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum* in this particular diatribe against Islam.[501] However,

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[498] 'And alkaron gar call it tite/ Left owt all harde thing[is] at suld grefe/ And grantid all [th]at myght delit/ Sich os vnto warldly men wer lefe/ Os glotony lichery p[ri]de & mishefe/ Robbery w[i]þ kind[is] of couatise/ Wherfor in shorte tym did thai chefe/ And deceyvit warldly men vnwise/ In most multitude & thus did rise/ This wikkit secte of Machomete', MS e Museo 160, fols 55r-55v.

[499] 'This wikkit secte has won thy feld/ In erth w[i]þ rialty & sheld/ This full thowsand yere & more/ And to this day that big & beld/ & p[er]sewes thy holy kirke full sore/ O Ih[es]u thy sufferance is more/ Then we may think to thes ill men/ Thou giff[is] riches & all warldly store/ And thyn enmyse thai ar we ken/ Now Machomete & all his men/ With the fende burnys depe in hell', MS e Museo 160, fol. 55v.

[500] 'I whak & trembill of th[a]m to tell/ All cristyn men that list to dwell/ O w[i]þ Ih[es]u insample take/ Of thes turk[is] & saracens fell/ Lat warldly plesurs fro 3ow slake/ The way to hevyne is a narrow gate/ Lat the saracens go in the brod waye', MS e Museo 160, fol. 56r.

[501] 'Hii lege[m] abho[m]inabile[m] [con]fixerant, reseca[n]tes quicq[ui]d arduu[m] erat in crede[n]do et difficile in op[era]ndo, [con]cedentesq[ue] om[n]ia ad q[ue] mundani hoies p[ro]ni erant, s[an]c[te] gulam, luxuriam, rapina[m] etc[etera]. Un[de] fac[tum] est vt per potentia[m] et dolu[m] decip[er]ent in breui maxima[m] multitude[n]e[m] ho[m]i[nu]m bestialiu[m]. Et q[uia] lex ista nimis inhonesta et [con]fusa erat q[ui]da[m] hu[m]ana verecundia p[er]moti plura retractaru[n]t ac velud expositores rationabilit[er] interpretabant aliq[ua] nimis me[n]dosa. Vn[de] q[ui]dam christiani etia[m] literati h[oc] colludio decepti fuerunt, q[ui] hystorias transmarinas no[n] vider[un]t. Quare aut[em] tam infamis ho[mo] legifer factus sit et talem tradiderit lege[m] duplex ratio reddit[um]. Prima q[ue] deus no[n] p[er]misit vt aliq[ui]s bone fame ho[mo] a dyabolo assumeret[ur] et lege[m] salte[m] hu[m]ano mo[do] rationabile[m] traderet, sicut nec olim nisi serpente p[er]missus fuit quando euam temptauit. S[e]c[un]da q[uia] machometus summe arrogans fuit, id[eo] quicquid desiderabant carnales concessit, iam sic, iam

the anonymous chronicler reiterates many of these ideas in a later invective against the eight heretical sects that he believed still existed in the sixteenth century.[502] He describes how the 'Siriani' sect had lived under the rule of the 'Great Sultan' of Egypt, likely referring to either of the last Mamluk sultans, al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri (r. 1501-16) or al-Ashraf Tuman bay (r. 1516-17), who were both defeated by the Ottomans in battle. He argues that they were inspired by 'their false Muhammad […] to live in liberty and wine' and they believed that anger, sloth, gluttony and envy were not actually sins. Moreover, they married out of pride and lechery and were ultimately carried off to Hell as punishment for their inherent covetousness.[503]

The apparent excesses of both Saracens and Turks are once more used by the anonymous chronicler to act as a foil to the ideals of his order. Their love of worldly pleasures contrasts with the austere example set by St Bruno which was faithfully imitated by his successors as priors of the Grande Chartreuse. Abandoning this world, they chose instead to practise the eremitic life of contemplation and austerity in the wilderness of the Grande Chartreuse. The humility and meekness demonstrated by the Carthusian priors therefore stands in stark opposition to the excessive and barbarous behaviour of Muslims exhibited throughout the chronicle.

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aliter dispensando. Et ex hac collisione doctrina[rum] variarum et contrariatu[m] totus liber [con]fusus est nec aliquo modo [con]cordabilis. Demum ide[m] q[ua]si coactus r[espo]ndit, q[ui] XII^{m} verba essent in alchorano que mendacium continerent, cetera in veritate persisterent', Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum*, fols 58v-59r.

[502] The chronicler labels these sects as the 'Greki, Siriani, Marrochiani, Iacobiti, Nestoriani, Armeni, Georgiani, Indiani and Maroniti' and denounces their various errors in succession in MS e Museo 160, fols 105v-107v. According to a partially erased note written in the lower margin of fol. 107r, the names of these eight sects were taken from a book that begins with the title 'Born…'. The line in full reads 'octo sect[es] legu[n]t[ur] in libro Born…'.

[503] 'Vnd[er] Machomete þ[e] fals lawberarie/ The gret soldane is their gou[er]nare/ Most p[ar]t in Egipe dos he dwell/ In prid & lichery most thay marie/ And couat[is] caries þ[a]m to hell/ Of ire sloth glotony if ȝe tell/ Or invy thay say they ar no syn/ So þ[er] fals Machomete dos þ[a]m spell/ To lefe in lib[er]ty & wyn', MS e Museo 160, fol. 106r.

In this manner, the depiction of Muslims, in particular the Ottoman Turks, served to shape how Carthusian readers understood the identity and purpose of their order. The Carthusian priors general provided a model image of Christian behaviour that the reader should aspire to emulate. This was, in turn, reinforced by the pejorative representation of Muslims who served as the antithesis of the ideals of the Carthusian order. It is perhaps not necessarily surprising that the chronicler chose to present Muslims as the inversion of his order. From his perspective, the Carthusians were the most beloved order of Christ whereas Islam was perceived to be the 'full end of false heresy'.[504] Whilst the Carthusians followed Christ's example most faithfully, the followers of Muhammad transgressed his precepts most grievously. In this sense, they can be seen to occupy opposite ends of the devotional spectrum, with the Carthusians closest to Christ and Muslims most closely associated with the Devil.

Conclusion

The depiction of Muslims in the verse chronicle therefore can be seen to reveal more about the chronicler's perception of his order's identity than his understanding of Islam. It also highlights his misgivings regarding the state of the late medieval Church as much as his fears over the actual threat posed by the Ottomans at the time of writing the chronicle. The anonymous monk responsible for the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 believed that contemporary Christian society was failing to live up to the precepts of the Church, with the sins of Christian men serving to accelerate the Turkish advance into the lands of Christendom and delay the reconquest of the Holy Land.

[504] For quotation see footnote 467.

By contrast, the Carthusian order is said to have enjoyed the special favour of Christ and prospered throughout its history. From the chronicler's perspective, the order's success rested not only on St Bruno's divinely approved flight from the world into the wilderness but on the Carthusians' commitment to faithfully continuing his eremitical example. In the foundation narrative and the catalogue of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse, he emphasises a sense of continuity between the state of the order in the early sixteenth century and its distinguished origins in the eleventh century. The Carthusians remained protected from the chaos and instability of the secular world, residing with Christ within the sacred spaces of their charterhouses.

Although the commitment to the contemplative life in the wilderness remained an integral part of the communal identity of the order, the catalogue of priors general does also suggest that the boundaries that defined Carthusian holiness were being widened beyond simply the imitation of St Bruno by the turn of the sixteenth century. This is perhaps most apparent in the chronicler's willingness to celebrate the charitable activities of several priors of the Grande Chartreuse from the late Middle Ages. His admiration does diverge to a certain extent from Guigo's rather diffident attitude towards almsgiving expressed in the order's *Consuetudines*. The chronicler was also eager to emphasise the intercessory prowess of the order's priors general. From his perspective, the miracles that they performed on behalf of the sick and the dead signified that the Carthusians were truly loved by Christ more than any other religious order. He believed that the charitable and intercessory activities of the priors ought to be regarded as meritorious acts worthy of imitation and praise, rather than a fundamental transgression of the foundational ideals of the order.

Furthermore, the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 highlights that the Carthusians of early sixteenth-century England were much more eager to acquire knowledge of the affairs of the secular world than has previously been acknowledged. The anonymous chronicler's awareness of the Ottoman armies driving out the Mamluks from Jerusalem in 1517, a year before the completion of the chronicle, indicates that he was in fact highly attuned to recent events that took place a great distance away from his charterhouse. This is also reflected in his account of the meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 in which he marvels at the 'fierce jousting of the knights' and the 'excellent games' played by those in attendance at the summit.[505] The chronicler evidently did not believe that keeping up to date with contemporary political and military matters contradicted his commitment to the eremitic life. From his perspective, all of the events of the secular world were a fundamental part of the course of sacred history which would culminate in the Last Judgement and were worthy of contemplation by his Carthusian peers.

Carthusian readers of the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 could therefore see the events of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the wider context of eschatological time. They were reassured that their Carthusian vocation and the wilderness of their charterhouses offered the best means for them to secure their own salvation whilst enabling them to work for the salvation of others through their prayers and charitable activities. Having been provided with an overview of the history of

[505] 'King Herre the eght of fair Yngland/ & Katryne his gud & v[er]tuose wheyne/ King of France Francis to vnd[er]stand/ W[i]þ Clawdia his wife I weyne/ Thes II^{o} kinges with their courte be deyn/ At þ[e] ynglische palace in rich araye/ Besid Calace did mete so cleyne/ Charls the gret emp[er]o[r] & gaye/ At their dyn[er] fulle lange sat thaye/ Fro none to none w[i]þowtyn cesse/ Kinge Herre alle þ[er] cost[is] did paye/ Many gret astate com vnto þ[at] dese/ Aft[er] iustyng[is] of knight[is] ferse/ And gudly ga[m]mis of ser degree/ [T]hay departid w[i]þ loue & perse/ [God] grauntid lang to last & bee', MS e Museo 160, fol. 108v.

salvation and encouraged to prepare for the imminent Second Coming of Christ, Carthusian readers of the devotional miscellany could embark on a meditation of His Passion by utilising the remainder of the materials in the manuscript.

Conclusion

This study has examined the role that interactions with the secular world played in shaping how the Carthusian communities of late medieval England conceived their own purpose and identity. By focusing on the attitudes of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Carthusian monks, it has questioned the prevailing assumption that any form of engagement with the secular world ought to have been regarded as fundamentally irreconcilable with the eremitic principles of the order's founders. Instead, this study has elucidated how the Carthusians sought to emphasise that they willingly embraced their growing commemorative and intercessory responsibilities. At the same time, this study has shown that the Carthusians were not necessarily as inward-looking as has been assumed. Acquiring knowledge of historical and contemporary events from outside the walls of their charterhouses in fact played an important part in the spiritual instruction and identity formation of Carthusian readers.

This study has illustrated that the Carthusians' perception of their own vocation continually evolved throughout this period largely as a result of their growing contact with the secular world. Chapter 1 outlined the various ways in which the laity's desire to benefit from prayers of Carthusian monks had a fundamental impact on the physical and imaginative spaces of the order's charterhouses. Like other monastic foundations, Carthusian churches were increasingly populated by deceased lay founders, patrons, and benefactors whose tombs, coats of arms and donated objects served as daily reminders for the monks to fulfil the intercessory requests of these individuals. The establishment of chantry chapels and altars further diversified the material setting of charterhouses as well as the liturgical routine of the monks responsible for performing the prayers and masses specified by their founders. The association between individual

monks and their secular benefactors could also be strengthened by the founders of individual cells leaving funds for their occupants to pray specifically on their behalf. This even led to the monks who resided in the cell established by John Colthorpe and his wife at the charterhouse of Hull being referred to by the names of the founders of their cell. The boundaries that distinguished Carthusian communities from their secular benefactors were further obscured by the accommodation of secular guests within Carthusian foundations. Laypeople, even women, were able to access various spaces of charterhouses and even attend the monks' liturgical services in their churches. At the same time, the granting of letters of confraternity enabled laypeople to benefit from the same spiritual services as members of the order upon their deaths, with their names inscribed alongside those of Carthusian monks in the obituary rolls and martyrologies of individual charterhouses as well as the annual obit lists circulated by the Carthusian General Chapter.

The blurring of the boundaries separating the Carthusian wilderness from the secular world is similarly evident in the cartulary of the London charterhouse which was used to commemorate the deeds of Sir Walter Manny and some of the most distinguished members of the community. Chapter 2 highlighted how the anonymous chronicler depicted the monks of his charterhouse embodying the wilderness and contemplative principles of the founders of the Carthusian order, despite its urban setting. The venerable John Homersley was presented as the paradigmatic Carthusian monk for consciously modelling his behaviour on the Desert Fathers and Guigo's *Consuetudines*. During his continuous struggles with the Devil and demons in his cell, Homersley is said to have kept in mind the example of the Desert Fathers who were deceived in the wilderness by diabolic visions and physically tormented by their

supernatural foes. The monk is subsequently shown fulfilling Guigo's call for the Carthusians to preach with their hands as they were unable to do so with their mouths. The anonymous chronicler notes that Homersley occupied himself with preaching the word of God by writing sacred books in the solitude of his cell and driving from his mind the desire for all unstable things.

In this sense, Homersley is presented as the true embodiment of the foundational principles of the Carthusian order and a model for Carthusian readers to follow. Yet the list of chantries inserted on folios 16r-17r of the London cartulary also reveals that the monk served effectively as a personal chantry priest for the Ufford family who gave funds towards the construction and maintenance of his cell. As a result, he would have devoted a considerable amount of his time towards the performance of prayers and masses specifically on their behalf. Homersley's personal commitment to praying for the dead is emphasised by the miraculous tales in the chronicle, with the monk said to have witnessed the soul of King Henry V entering Heaven and, on another occasion, performed a whole psalter on behalf of his deceased brother, Thomas Clough. The London chronicler also chose to highlight the sanctity of the monk Guy of Burgh exclusively through his intercessory activities, describing how his prayers enabled an unnamed Earl of Warwick and his wife to conceive a child.

The London cartulary therefore provides a valuable insight into how a Carthusian community perceived its role in the late medieval Church at the turn of the sixteenth century. The monks of the London charterhouse defined themselves not simply as solitary contemplatives in the heart of the wilderness but as skilled and effective intercessors for their secular benefactors. The performance of prayers and masses on behalf of the souls of their benefactors was regarded as a fundamental part of

their monastic vocation, with the monks' intercessory expertise founded upon their asceticism and their experience of the Carthusian wilderness. As such, this study challenges the traditional assumption that the Carthusian communities of the late medieval period were rather passively at the mercy of the whims of laypeople who sought to benefit from the monks' prayers. By focusing on the perspective of the Carthusians themselves, it has shown that the monks of the London charterhouse shared this conviction and considered themselves to be the most proficient intercessors for their benefactors.

This study has also illustrated how the Carthusians' understanding of their own eremitic identity was neither as uniform nor as static in nature as has been traditionally assumed. Instead, their sense of self was continually reshaped as Carthusian monks appealed to the foundational principles of the order whilst they responded to the particular circumstances of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Chapter 3 of this study has demonstrated how this process of negotiation is exemplified in the catalogue outlining the deeds of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse in the verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160. On the one hand, the anonymous chronicler emphasises a sense of continuity between the order's foundation and its state in the early sixteenth century by noting how successive priors general replicated the example of St Bruno in opting to decline or step down from positions of authority in favour of devoting themselves wholly to the solitary life. At the same time, a considerable number of the priors general are commended for their willingness to care for both the living and the dead, with several figures being praised for performing healing miracles and bringing the dead back to life. From the chronicler's perspective, the intercessory activities of the

priors of the Grande Chartreuse offered the most definitive proof that the Carthusians were truly favoured by Christ more than any other religious order.

The anonymous chronicler of MS e Museo 160 further endeavoured to widen the traditional boundaries that defined Carthusian holiness by drawing attention to the charitable activities of several priors general. His overtly positive attitude stands in marked contrast to the misgivings expressed by Guigo in the *Consuetudines* who believed that the giving of alms had the potential to threaten the eremitic existence of Carthusian communities. Despite this, the anonymous chronicler deemed almsgiving to be a meritorious act worthy of praise alongside the desire to practise the contemplative life in the wilderness. His attitude may reflect the increasingly active role assumed by English Carthusian communities with the monks of Coventry, for example, distributing bread and ale at the entrance of their charterhouse on a daily basis and washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday each year by the eve of the Dissolution. At the same time, the chronicler may have designed the catalogue in this manner to reassure sixteenth-century Carthusian readers that their contemporary charitable practices were an appropriate part of their monastic vocation.

In this sense, the catalogue of priors of the Grande Chartreuse can be seen to encapsulate how the Carthusians' understanding of their own vocation and their relationship with the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses progressed throughout the late medieval period. Like the chronicler of the London charterhouse, the anonymous monk responsible for the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 was keen to highlight that his brethren were not just concerned with their own contemplative development but fervently cared for the material and spiritual wellbeing of their benefactors and wider Christian society. This study therefore suggests that the

Carthusian order should be incorporated into wider discussions regarding monastic charity in late medieval England, an area where they have been traditionally overlooked.[506] At the same time, the charitable activities of English Carthusian communities ought to be given greater consideration alongside the charitable works of continental charterhouses, in particular those based in the Low Countries, which have received much greater scholarly attention.[507]

Whilst the parameters of Carthusian holiness were being refashioned at the turn of the sixteenth century, this study has underlined how the Carthusians' perception of the wilderness they inhabited could also vary throughout the late medieval period. As mentioned above, the monks of the London charterhouse were encouraged to see their precincts as a spiritual battleground in which they were compelled to overcome the threats of demons and monstrous creatures and, ultimately, demonstrate their spiritual vigour. The stories of John Homersley stoically withstanding the machinations of demons were complemented by devotional texts such as the *Desert of Religion* poem in MS Additional 37049 and the *Life of St. Hugh* which encouraged Carthusian readers to guard themselves against the temptations of fiends and the assaults of wild beasts in the wilderness by imitating the ascetic practices of the Desert Fathers.

Alongside encountering such diabolic forces in the solitude of their cells, Carthusian monks also came into frequent contact with the souls of the dead. The London chronicler records how Homersley was repeatedly visited by the spirits of his

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[506] The Carthusians are noticeably absent in surveys of monastic charity such as Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 7-33 and Neil Rushton and Wendy Sigle-Rushton, 'Monastic Poor Relief in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32 (2001), 193-217.

[507] See for example the discussion of the Carthusians' role in monitoring urban hospitals in the Low Countries in Gooskens, 'Curialists, Carthusians, and Hospitals', pp. 235-44.

deceased family members as well as the soul of his Carthusian brother, Thomas Clough. As a result of these encounters, Homersley appears to have established a reputation as an expert on matters relating to the afterlife, with members of his charterhouse approaching him to inquire about the fate of their recently deceased brethren. The chronicler also records how Homersley's vision of King Henry V entering Heaven led to the king's executors placing a silver tomb over his body, convinced that Henry had now attained salvation. Homersley was not the only Carthusian monk to have received privileged access to hidden knowledge on the fate of the dead. The verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 records that St Hugh of Lincoln was visited at night by a dead hermit and informed that the souls of nearly thirty thousand recently deceased Christians were now in Hell. This study therefore supplements previous studies that have drawn attention to the Carthusians' familiarity with the affairs of the afterlife and suggests that the monks' interest may have stemmed from their own first-hand experiences with the dead in the spaces of their charterhouses.

Like other monastic orders, the Carthusians of late medieval England were also encouraged to perceive the sacred spaces of their foundations as entirely distinct from the profane spaces of the secular world. The permeable boundary between the spaces of charterhouses and the divine was emphasised by several members of the order appearing to establish close ties with holy figures. The London chronicler records how John Homersley was visited by the Virgin Mary in his cell one night and admonished for making an error in his writing. The anonymous chronicler of MS e Museo 160 similarly enjoyed a close relationship with the Mother of God who visited the monk to explain the reasons underlying the continual loss of Christian lands to Islamic forces in the fifteenth century. Earlier in the same prayer Christ himself is said to have advised the chronicler

not to worry about the lack of miracles or saints in this century, revealing that he shall return to the world when he is least expected by the Christian faithful. In the solitude of their cells, Carthusian monks were rewarded by being given access to hidden information concerning the Other World as well as the course of sacred history by Christ himself.

The various ways in which the Carthusians interpreted the spaces of their charterhouses ought to be explored much further to bring Carthusian scholarship in line with current research dealing with other monastic orders. This study has shown that the Carthusians did not perceive themselves to be entirely alone in the wilderness spaces of their charterhouses. Instead, their cells were regarded as liminal zones where the monks could come into contact with divine figures from Heaven, the souls of the dead from Purgatory as well as demonic creatures from the depths of Hell. At the same time, the monks encountered the secular world in the physical and imaginative spaces of their charterhouses on a daily basis when passing by the tombs of their benefactors in their churches and gazing at the folios of their cartularies and devotional miscellanies. Rather than a remote vacuum, Carthusian houses were regarded as dynamic spaces that served as a meeting point between this world and the next.

The best means to examine further how the spaces of charterhouses were perceived would be to draw together more systematically available archaeological evidence with written materials, as exemplified in this study by examining the chronicle at the beginning of the London cartulary alongside the remains of the tomb of Sir Walter Manny and that of Philip the Bold of Burgundy at the charterhouse of Champmol. By doing so, this study demonstrated that these tombs may have been consciously designed to stimulate an affective, performative response from the monks of these

foundations. Furthermore, much greater attention still needs to be given to liturgical texts that outline how particular spaces were utilised by the Carthusians as well as the visionary literature of the monks themselves which can provide valuable insights into how their contemplative and mystical experiences were shaped by their immediate surroundings.[508]

This study has also illustrated the vital role that the past played in shaping how the Carthusians perceived their own identity and purpose. It has shown that accounts of the order's foundation in the late eleventh century and its development could be tailored to reflect the present situation and needs of the Carthusians. For example, the verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 likely draws attention to the almsgiving of several of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse to reassure Carthusian readers of the early sixteenth century that their own charitable activities were in keeping with the wider traditions of the order. The chronicler of the London charterhouse similarly fashioned his account of the origins of his community to consolidate and perhaps even shape the monks' understanding of their own vocation at the end of the fifteenth century. The foundation narrative encouraged the monks to see that their growing commemorative and intercessory responsibilities ultimately stemmed from Sir Walter Manny's foundational commitment to care for the souls of the dead buried within the precincts of the charterhouse. The presentation of the history of individual Carthusian foundations

[508] Richard Methley's three autobiographical treatises known as the *Scola Amoris Languidi, Dormitorium Dilecti Dilecti* and *Refectorium Salutis* which were written at the Mount Grace charterhouse in the late fifteenth century offer the best opportunity to explore these issues further. The three treatises have survived in Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS 0.2.56 and have been transcribed in James Hogg, 'A Mystical Diary: The *Refectorium Salutis* of Richard Methley of Mount Grace Charterhouse', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 55.1 (1981), 208-38; James Hogg, 'The *Schola Amoris Languidi* of Richard Methley of Mount Grace Charterhouse transcribed from Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.2.56', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 55.2 (1981), 138-65 and James Hogg, 'The *Dormitorium Dilecti* of Richard Methley of Mount Grace Charterhouse transcribed from Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.2.56', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 55.5 (1981), 79-103.

and the order as a whole therefore served to legitimise the monks' evolving relationship with the secular world, with Carthusian writers proving more than willing to reinvent past traditions to justify contemporary practices.

As well as shaping how the monks perceived their own eremitic vocation and the spaces of their charterhouses, the manuscripts examined in this study played an important role in determining the Carthusians' attitude towards the people and events from the world beyond the walls of their communities. The London cartulary highlights that the monks could establish affectionate, mutually beneficial relationships with their most important secular benefactors. This is demonstrated by the London chronicler consciously blurring the boundaries between Walter Manny and the monks of his Carthusian foundation. The chronicler chose to present the knight as sharing several of the pious characteristics of the monks, from caring for the souls of the dead, reflecting on the inevitability of death to replicating the monks' own struggles with their demonic foes within their cells. At the same time, Manny's aristocratic status and his connections with the royal family were utilised to enhance the prestige of the charterhouse. By constructing Manny as an ideal founder of the charterhouse for both his secular and spiritual qualities, the chronicler demonstrated that the knight's presence at the centre of the monks' choir reinforced the sacred nature of this space rather than undermined it.

On the other hand, the universal verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 exemplifies how the Carthusians of late medieval England were encouraged to perceive the purpose and identity of their order in contradistinction to the fallen state of the secular world and the moral corruption of contemporary society. Throughout the text, the chronicler endeavoured to make clear the distinction between the chaotic, sinful nature of the

secular world and the blissful solitude of the charterhouse. This was underlined by the chronicler likening the order's motherhouse to a keep, suggesting that the founders of the Grande Chartreuse were both physically and spiritually sheltered from the unprecedented series of natural disasters and marvellous events that took place during the eleventh century as punishment for the sins of Christian society. From his perspective, the Carthusian order prospered up to the sixteenth century due to its monks maintaining the eremitic ideals of its founders. In contrast, the rest of Christian society was divinely chastised for failing to live up to the precepts of the Church through the repeated conquests of Islamic forces and the continual failure to regain control of the Holy Land.

The threat posed by Islam to the lands of Latin Christendom is a recurrent theme throughout the universal chronicle of MS e Museo 160. Building on the *Fasciculus Temporum*, the anonymous chronicler presents Muslims, in particular the Ottoman Turks, as the antithesis of the principles of the Carthusian order. The lurid accounts of their violence and brutality contrasted to the Christian ideals of charity and love best exemplified by the priors general of the order. At the same time, the Turks' love of worldly pleasures stood in opposition to the humble, austere example of St Bruno and successive priors of the Grande Chartreuse. In this sense, the presentation of Muslims in the verse chronicle can be seen to reflect the anonymous monk's conception of his order's purpose and identity rather than any actual familiarity with Islam.

The verse chronicle of MS e Museo 160 offers further opportunities to examine the Carthusians' perception of non-Christians and to explore the role that their presentation played in the construction of the monks' sense of self. In particular, the chronicler's depiction of Jews and heretics, both contemporary and historical, merits

much greater assessment than has been possible in this study. At the same time, the chronicler's treatment of non-Christians ought to be analysed alongside the writings of Carthusian writers on the continent beyond Werner Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum*. Comparing these texts with the works of Denys the Carthusian which deal with the apparent errors of non-Christians, for example, would help to establish a much more thorough understanding of how Jews, Muslims and heretics featured in the collective imagination of monks belonging to the Carthusian order. This would also serve to provide further insights into how the Carthusians perceived their own role in the defence of the Church against the enemies of the faith in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The universal verse chronicle in MS e Museo 160 further demonstrates that contemporary events of the secular world could play an important role in shaping how the Carthusians understood their own purpose and identity. Although the monks believed themselves to be dead to the world in the solitude of their individual cells, their contemplative vocation did not preclude them from keeping up to date with contemporary ecclesiastical, political and military affairs. For Carthusian monks, these events were interpreted as a fundamental part of the course of sacred history and demonstrated Christ's continual involvement in the world. The Carthusians of late medieval England could therefore contemplate the world beyond the walls of their charterhouses using MS e Museo 160 and look for signs of Christ's Second Coming when they could finally experience the everlasting joys of Heaven presaged by their eremitic vocation.

By focusing on how the Carthusians engaged with their own manuscripts, this study has also highlighted how both cartularies and devotional miscellanies could serve

to reinforce a sense of collective purpose and identity for their immediate audiences. At the same time, it has demonstrated the importance of analysing such manuscripts in the material context in which they were originally compiled and read. It has emphasised that fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century English monasticism is a period worthy of study in its own right. Much more research is still needed to further deconstruct the prevailing assumption that monastic communities underwent a period of sustained decline after the 'golden age' of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they were superseded by the emergence of the mendicant orders and the growing importance of parish churches as centres of lay devotion.

This study has demonstrated that the best means to challenge the traditionally negative assessment of late medieval monasticism is to draw much greater attention to the attitudes and assumptions of the monks themselves. By focusing on how the Carthusians of late medieval England perceived their interactions with the secular world rather than judging what they should have thought according to a modern interpretation of the foundational ideals of the order, this study has illustrated how they endeavoured to shape the boundaries of this relationship to suit their own spiritual and material needs. It has shown that beneath the rhetoric of uniformity and immutability, the Carthusians did adapt to their growing interactions with the secular world and were in the process of redefining their collective purpose and identity even on the eve of the Reformation. The monks' various encounters with the secular world across the physical and imaginative spaces of their charterhouses had a constructive impact on how they conceived their own vocation and the place of their order in the wider Church throughout the late Middle Ages.

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