

## Chapter Eight

### English Carthusian books not yet linked with a charterhouse

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I first met Billy and Neans O' Sullivan and enjoyed their hospitality in 1956, when I had gone to Trinity to examine many of its manuscripts, primarily those including Middle English,<sup>1</sup> but also ones containing Latin spiritual texts associable with the English Carthusians and Brigittines. As Billy is particularly interested in questions of provenance it seems appropriate here to list the books I know of which bear evidence of having belonged to or been made by English Carthusian monks but have not yet been linked firmly with a specific charterhouse, which would qualify them for entry in Medieval libraries of Great Britain or its Supplement }<sup>2</sup>

There were only nine charterhouses in England<sup>3</sup> before their suppression by King Henry VIII in 1538-9, seven of them founded between 1343 and 1415, a period of expansion paralleled elsewhere in Europe, reflecting the order's exceptional reputation for austerity and devotion. Although the normal complement was thirteen choir monks for a house, with some lay-brethren (*conversi*) and possibly also clerical oblates and lodgers (*donati and preben darii*) in addition, three of the English houses (London, Mountgrace and Sheen) had a higher number of cells, but it has been reckoned that there were never more than 175 professed members in England at any one time.<sup>4</sup> So far only about 106 extant manuscripts and printed volumes have been assigned on certain or strong evidence to any of those houses, including inscriptions by members of known ones. No substantial catalogue of an English Carthusian library is known to survive, but there are a number of lists of books temporarily transferred with monks from one house to another, mostly from the end of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The order continued to lay emphasis on the tradition of copying books but, perhaps because many of their recruits were mature and most of their life was passed in separate cells, it did not apparently in the later middle ages impose distinctive styles of writing even for each house.<sup>6</sup> They did, however, show a special concern for correction and punctuation of their prescribed liturgical and lectionary texts, where the *punctus (circum)flexus* is conspicuous in continental manuscripts (also favoured in the twelfth century by the Cistercians and in the fifteenth by the Fraterherren and Windesheim Canons); in English Carthusian manuscripts it is uncommon and, for some reason, of a different shape, like an abbreviation for 'est'.<sup>7</sup>

I shall start with books incontrovertibly made for English Carthusian use, or adapted for it, proceeding to ones written or annotated by an identifiable monk's hand, and finishing with ones including pieces of Carthusian authorship, or so strongly connected with them that these copies are most likely to have been their possessions.

#### Constitutional

*British Library, MS Harley 2017*, an English armorial of the later sixteenth century, has at its end (fols 141-2) a bifolium from a copy of the *Statuta Antiqua* (1250) of the order, part n, chapters 28-9, in two columns, in a competent tall textura script, with original interspersed comments on particular clauses in a small current secretary hand of the fifteenth century, citing the *Statuta Nova* (1368) and ordinances from the *Carte* (i.e. both general ordinances and specific directives) of the General Chapter 1415, 1417, 1418 and 1428, which would have been superseded by the *Tertia Compilatio* (1509). The initials have penwork flourishing in the distinctively English style.<sup>8</sup>

*British Library, MS Arundel 278* is a copy in quite a good textura of the *Tertia Compilatio* with English flourishing.<sup>9</sup> It has the English form of *punctus flexus*. It may have been Lord William Howard's or Henry Savile's of Banke, from each of whom many of the Arundel collection derive, and so rather from a northern than a southern charterhouse.<sup>10</sup>

*British Library, MS Cotton Nero A11*, folios 130-66, which was Savile MS 154,<sup>11</sup> is an assemblage in several hands, the earliest probably of the first half of the fifteenth century, containing a treatise for novices from the statutes of the order,<sup>12</sup> continued by a later hand and sandwiched within a Carthusian liturgical directory including English forms of reception, profession and confession.<sup>13</sup> The English spelling is strongly northern and assignable to the West Riding of Yorkshire, from which either of the charterhouses of Hull or Mountgrace could well have recruited, but also Beauvale (Notts.) or Axholme (Lincs.).<sup>14</sup>

*British Library, MS Cotton Julius A IX*, folios 23-157v,<sup>15</sup> is a Latin gloss or commentary on the old and new statutes, citing *Carte* to 1452, the first portion (fols 23-57 line 22) in an expert humanist cursive of the early sixteenth century except for the main heading and emphasised words; the chapter headings and the text from fol. 57 line 23 to fol. 74 are in an accomplished set secretary of the same period, said to be the same as that of Parkminster (St Hugh's Charterhouse) ff. 10 (D. 176), the *Cloud of Unknowing and Epistle of Private Counsel*, copied by Blessed William Exmewe of the London Charterhouse (1518-35), so this part of Julius may come from there.<sup>16</sup> It is completed by two other less polished hands, an hybrida (fol. 74v-75v) and an anglicana (fol. 75-157v), the latter with a concluding Latin distich giving the scribe's name as Langton, not found among the lists of Carthusians we have.<sup>17</sup>

*Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 732177i*, is a larger copy of the same *Glosa* by a very similar hand to Exmewe's, with humanist headings, bound with the printed edition of the statutes (Basle 1510) and followed by a number of questions and answers particularly regarding English charterhouses up to 1526, besides the forms of reception of a novice and election of a prior.<sup>18</sup>

*London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 413* is a volume of separate copies of the *Carte* (including obits) of the annual General Chapter at the Grande Chartreuse from 1411 to 1481, made either in England or sent here from abroad. A copy of each had to be made at every house by circulation of an exemplar, and the series should presumably have been kept there for its items of continued validity.<sup>19</sup>

## Liturgical

*London, British Library, MS Harley 3776*, folios 128-35, are two leaves of *Benedictiones per annum* and six of a calendar, in textura, with English flourishing, and original Carthusian commemorations and gradings ('Candel', 'Cap'), including the Visitation, admitted in 1468, and St Bruno (canonised 1514) added.<sup>20</sup>

*Hatfield House (Marquess of Salisbury), MS 292* is a large finely illuminated psalter in the English style of the late fourteenth century, with Flores Psalterii and Orationes of similar date prefixed. There is no evidence of original Carthusian ownership but on fols 17-20v there is added an *agenda pro defunctis* with a litany including 'Hugo ii' (i.e. St Hugh of Grenoble and of Lincoln, or else one of them invoked twice, as was the practice for chief patrons) and St Bruno, written by a type of texthand with broadest penstrokes vertical, like that of William Tregooz, monk of the London Charterhouse in Oxford, in Bodleian Library, MS Douce 262, but larger and more mannered with superfluous hairlines<sup>21</sup>

*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. e. 21* is a fifteenth-century psalter of French origin adapted for Carthusian use<sup>22</sup> by additions in more than one hand, including the English form of the *flexus* on fol. 2v, the grading 'Candel' in the calendar (fols 5-8) and fol. 180r-v in the fere-textura hand of William Darker, monk of Sheen (professed probably after 1471, certainly before 1502, died 1512/13).<sup>23</sup>

*Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough liturg. 9* is a Sarum book of hours with English script and illumination c. 1430 and a calendar including Carthusian feasts (both St Hughs and that of Relics on 8 November) but also later fifteenth-century added obits of two lay families and an abess (perhaps of Mailing, Kent) for one or other of whom, it has been suggested, it might have been copied in London, but I know of no parallel case in this country.<sup>24</sup>

*Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A. N. 24*, fols 44-90v, is a small book of offices and devotions by several hands of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>25</sup> It starts with *Penitencia per totum annum* and includes commemorations of the two St Hughs, Carthusian absolutions (fols 88-9) and 'in dedicacione ecclesie ofrdinis?]' (the last also in Lincoln,

Cathedral Library, MS 64, from Sheen), between 24 June and 8 September. Additions include indulgences of Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) for the Carthusians (fol. 86), and a prayer to St Bruno (fol. 89v). Additions of a collect for St John of Beverley (fol. 55v), repeated on fol.90v ('De sancto Johanne Beverlacensi patrono nostro') may point to the Hull Charterhouse, although its dedication was to the B.Y.M., St Michael and St Thomas.<sup>26</sup>

## Biblical

*Lampeter*,; *St David's University College*, MS 1 is a Vulgate Bible (without Psalter) written in France, 1279, which was in England by the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, or perhaps earlier, when the Psalms were supplied and the Carthusian lection indicators P[rima], S[ecunda], T[ertia], A-H, and 'in Refect[orio]' were added in the margins.<sup>27</sup> The former Chester Beatty Western MS 50 of the first half of the thirteenth century, said to be English, had the same markings added in the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

*Oxford, Bodleian Library*, MS Lat. bib. c. 77, of the thirteenth century, probably French, also has them added by an English hand.<sup>29</sup> Other bible manuscripts with these markings in English hands are *Boston (Massachusetts), Public Library*, MS 202, and probably one sold by H.M. Fletcher, the London bookseller, in 1958.<sup>30</sup> A single leaf of the first 42-line Bible printed at Mainz c.1455, *British Library*, IC. 56a, with contemporary English illumination, has the same added indicators.<sup>31</sup> Since the marginal marking and annotation of many medieval books has only recently begun to attract attention there may be other such bibles awaiting recognition, although not more than two would seem to have been needed in each house.<sup>32</sup>

## Scribes

A number of manuscripts or parts of manuscripts have been identified as written by known Carthusians and have mostly been assumed to have belonged to the houses in which they were professed or stated to be at the time, unless expressly or probably done for another recipient. We know, however, that occasionally Carthusians were moved between houses temporarily or permanently, and that books were sent and possibly made for one charterhouse by another, and so too for at least religious owners outside the order, as they certainly were for the Brigittine nuns of Syon Abbey.<sup>33</sup> We must therefore be cautious in assigning the ownership of work by known scribes in the absence of positive evidence.

The hand from which the biggest number of surviving manuscripts is known is that of Stephen Dodesham, the earliest datable in a very large job for Syon Abbey before 1439, but the first as a Carthusian, at Witham, in 1462, where he was until at least 1469, and subsequently at Sheen by 1471, where he died in 1481/82.<sup>34</sup> That three copies are known by him of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* suggests strongly that he may have been a professional scribe before becoming a Carthusian, but more spiritual books he copied could have been done either before or after that for various owners, as we know ones he did for a devout lay woman, a secular priest and St Albans Abbey, and others probably for the nuns of Syon and Dartford Abbeys.<sup>35</sup> Of his unlocated oeuvre *Oxford, Bodley MS 549*, fols 25-198, was presumably for his confreres for it includes several Latin items on the rule and history of the order.<sup>36</sup> A second hand which inserted English verses on the elements of faith (which could have been meant for the lay brethren), fols 77v-79, in such a way that he must have been in collaboration or proximity (and so probably another Carthusian or else a scribe of Syon Abbey, close to Sheen and known to have been in communication with it), occurs in four manuscripts of English Lives of saints formerly making up a single volume, which could have been made for the Syon nuns or a devout layperson, rather than a charterhouse.<sup>37</sup> *Cambridge, University Library*, MS Kk.VI. 41 is a small volume of Latin theological and spiritual texts by Dodesham's hand, some found particularly in other manuscripts with Carthusian and Brigittine associations.<sup>38</sup> From the comparative neatness of his writing it could have been written at an earlier stage in his career than Bodley 549, at Witham or before.<sup>39</sup>

In *Dublin, Trinity College*, MS (578, of the earliest English translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, his writing is, as in Bodley 549, larger and coarser, and there can be little doubt that it was done for Sheen, for it is corrected by the equally recognisable hand of William Darker, also

monk there, who copied one of the other four known copies of the work in 1502 for Syon Abbey, probably utilising Trinity for it.<sup>40</sup>

I believe Darker to have been the scribe of *Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 221*, containing the only known copies of the Latin translations, 1491, of the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Mirror of Simple Souls* (wrongly ascribed here to 'Russh broke' as a Carthusian prior, a second error found in other English Carthusian manuscripts) with a contemporary marginal attribution to Richard Furth alias de Methley, monk of Mountgrace.<sup>41</sup> It is (apart from a marginal gloss) in a *textualis formata* (excepting the final secretary s) rather than his more usual *ferre-textura* script, but the duct and details seem to me unmistakable.<sup>42</sup> It employs the English Carthusian form of *punctus flexus*. The volume may of course have been made for somewhere other than Mountgrace or Sheen, and the unique contemporary binding stamps have a monogram of the initials 'bt' or 'tb', which happen to be those of Thomas Betson, the contemporary brethren's librarian of Syon Abbey, where binding could have been done for their neighbours at Sheen.<sup>43</sup>

When we go on to look at the other types of evidence for Carthusian ownership we shall meet a number of anonymous scribes who were probably or possibly members of the order, and further matching of pieces of their work offers a main prospect of enlarging our knowledge.

### Annotations

James Grenehalgh, professed at Sheen by 1499, moved by 1508 to the Coventry Charterhouse and dying at Hull in 1529/30, has had repeated notice for his annotations in manuscripts and printed books, especially of contemplative authors.<sup>44</sup> Besides those dating from his previous career as a schoolmaster at Wells 1488-94,<sup>45</sup> and those which have some positive evidence for ownership by a particular charterhouse, there are a number not so firmly assignable but which must or may have belonged to one. The *Chatsworth House (Duke of Devonshire) MS* is an early fifteenth-century copy of Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* books i and n, with spellings of north-west Midland complexion.<sup>46</sup> London, British Library, MS Add. 37790 contains the only known copies of the shorter version of the Showings of Julian of Norwich and of the English translation of Ruysbroeck's *Treatise of Perfection*, one of three copies of the English translation of Margaret Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* (the other two of which belonged to the London Charterhouse, and the Latin rendering by Richard Methley of Mountgrace already mentioned), a compilation on contemplative life drawn from the *Cloud of Unknowing*, Hilton's *Scale* and Hugh de Balma, closely related to one in the north-Midland Carthusian London, British Library, MS Add. 37049 (see below), and copies of the translations of Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vite* and *Incendium Amor* is by the Carmelite Richard Misyn, prior of Lincoln, 1435, for Dame Margaret Heslington, recluse at York, which gives a terminus ante for the volume.<sup>47</sup> It is all by a distinctive hand which was also responsible for London, British Library, MS Egerton 2006, one of two known copies of the translation of Mechthild of Hackebom's *Liber Spiritualis Gracie*, which belonged to Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and his wife Anne Neville (i.e. 1472 x 1485), and for *Cambridge, St John's College, MS G. 21*, the prose translation of Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, which seems to have belonged later to a hermit.<sup>48</sup> The spelling of this scribe, varying somewhat with his exemplars, seems to point chiefly to Lincolnshire.<sup>49</sup> He himself need not have been a Carthusian although in Add. 37790 he was almost certainly working for someone in the order, and Grenehalgh had it to annotate a generation or so later, perhaps at Hull. *London, British Library, MS Harley 6576*, containing Thomas Fysslake's translation of Hilton's *Scale* i and n and other Latin religious texts, is of quarto paper, by one current fifteenth-century anglicana, pp. 1-336, and a more upright one from p.337 to the end (of the same type as that of *Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 6578* from Mountgrace),<sup>50</sup> both accompanied by identical original markings and pointing hands as occur in *Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh. IV. 3*, another quarto paper volume by the first hand of Harley 6576 and of similar Latin contents.<sup>51</sup> Harley has a seventeenth-century contents list evidently copied from a medieval one, starting with the same formula as that in Hh. IV. 3. The latter does not have annotations by Grenehalgh, but on what was its end pastedown, fol. 186, the name 'H Spycer' entwined with 'lady help' and 'ihc'

may be for Henry 'Spesor', professed first at Sheen and then at Hinton, who died in 1489.<sup>52</sup> London, *British Library*, MS Royal 8. A VII contains Hilton's *Epistola de utilitate et prerogativis religionis*, Rolle's *Emendatio* and *Parce mi hi*, and Suso's *Cursus de eterna sapientia* by a current secretary hand with foreign features, datable to the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>53</sup> When and where Grenehalgh annotated this is uncertain, as indeed it is for *British Library*, MS Add. 24661 of Rolle's and other Latin religious texts (only part of a medieval volume),<sup>54</sup> and Cambridge, *Emmanuel College*, MS 35, mostly of Rolle,<sup>55</sup> which have both been tentatively attributed to Sheen and Syon because of the marginal monograms 'JS' and 'JGS' as well as 'JG', token as referring to Joan Sewell, nun of Syon (actually named, but negatively, by Grenehalgh in Emmanuel), as do those in the Rosenbach copy of the printed *Scale* (1494), dated 1499-1500.<sup>56</sup> Another printed book, London, *British Library*, I A 55141, the *Book of Divers Ghostly Matters* [Westminster 1491], has his verbal glossing and notes without evidence of their date or home, but by the contents probably from his religious life.<sup>57</sup>

## Contents

A number of manuscripts have good evidence primarily from their contents of making by or for English Carthusians. Westminster; Archdiocesan Archives, MS H. 38 is a volume of quarto paper (except for one membrane leaf), of which the central portion, fols 82- 155, is in a late fourteenth-century anglicana, written at different times, consisting of short religious texts and extracts.<sup>58</sup> It includes a note in the first person of Carthusian profession in 1393, the forms of profession, absolution and excommunication, and a definition of the secrets of the order. There are also three extracts from Master Adam the Carthusian, rarely so cited outside the order,<sup>59</sup> and one in English from the *Cloud of Unknowing*, possibly the oldest extant witness to a work which may be of Carthusian authorship and which appears to have had a largely Carthusian circulation.<sup>60</sup> It has been suggested that it comes from the London or Sheen house, but its mention of Dr John Shillingford (d. 1406), originally of the Exeter diocese, canon of Salisbury 1385-1406 (although amongst preferments elsewhere), might point to Witham or Hinton.<sup>61</sup> Later contents include *De Dei misericordia* ascribed in one manuscript to Rolle and otherwise found only in the next volume to be discussed.<sup>62</sup>

Dublin, *Trinity College*, MS 321 is a collection of Latin religious texts by two main copyists on quarto paper, datable to the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>63</sup> On fols 52v-53r, in the first hand, it has Latin verses on the origin and history of the Carthusian order, of which the second and longer set (from a treatise by Gulielmus de Yporegia)<sup>64</sup> are also in Bodley 549 by Stephen Dodesham; described above. Another hand in a text of Augustine, fols 71-112, employs the English Carthusian *flexus* and among the other contents are the *De Dei misericordia* and treatise of Venturinus da Bergamo found also in Westminster H. 38, last described, and an extract from the *Imitatio Christi*, of which other early English occurrences are of ten Carthusian.<sup>65</sup> On fol. 54v an indulgence with an unfinished prayer in English evinces several spellings characteristic of the north-eastern quarter of England, a zone in which lay Beauvale, Axholme, Hull and Mountgrace. Trinity 321 in the later sixteenth century belonged to Henry Saville of Banke (W. Riding Yorks.), many of whose books came from northern monasteries, two certainly from Mountgrace.<sup>66</sup>

Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, MS Lat. th. d. 27 is fols 116-236 only of a medieval volume, datable from one item not before 1446, written by two or three hands probably of the third quarter of the century.<sup>67</sup> It contains Latin texts on the relative merits of monastic and solitary life and religious spirituality, three adjoining items in common with Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, MS Lat. th. e. 26, copied by John Feriby monk of Sheen (d. 1444) and one ascribed to John Norton, once monk of the Coventry Charterhouse, presumably the John who was prior there c.1475 and died in 1489. Of course the presence of the piece would not alone point to Carthusian provenance of this copy, but the other contents are conducive to that conclusion, and it has been noticed that a later sixteenth-century name on the book is that of an owner of the estate where the Coventry Charterhouse had been situated.<sup>68</sup>

London, *British Library*, MS Add. 37049 has had a lot of attention in recent years, chiefly for its pictures but also some of its texts.<sup>69</sup> It is a paper volume, with a watermark dating it to the middle or third quarter of the fifteenth century, as do the costumes in the coloured pen

drawings probably by the main scribe, which include many representations of a monk in Carthusian habit.<sup>70</sup> It includes the only known copy of an English poem on the origins of the order, and one of three known copies of the *Desert of Religion*, of which the other two appear to have been made for northern monasteries or nunneries,<sup>71</sup> while the language of two hands of the volume has been placed in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire. Though various writers have supposed it was made at Mountgrace or Hull, in fact Axholme (Line.) or Beauvale (Notts.) may be more likely.<sup>72</sup>

The language of *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e mus. 160* is also thought probably from Nottinghamshire, though references in the manuscript to Beverley and Brantingham, near Hull, may point to the latter as the place where it was written.<sup>73</sup> It is mostly by a very rough secretary hand on quarto paper and contains an English verse chronicle of the world to 1518, based on the Cologne Carthusian Rolevinck's *Fasciculus Temporum* (printed 1474 et seq.), with expressions of pride in the order, a translation of Suso's hundred meditations and pieces of religious drama, and was planned to have pen illustrations of which only two were executed, so in character and appearance not unlike Add. 37049 in being a unique creation of monastic reading and devotion.<sup>74</sup>

*Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.8.26* is an assemblage mostly theological in Latin, consisting of four sections, the last of the earlier fourteenth century, the first in mixed hands of the second half of the fifteenth century (one with content dated 1434) and including 'Confirmado ordinis Carthusiensis breviter ex eiusdem cronicis extracta', fol. 80, and 'absolucio fratrum ordinis Carthusiensis in extremis', fol. 83.<sup>75</sup> It also has two English passages, fols 73-78v, 99v-100, ascribed to Richard [Rolle] of Hampole, in spelling assigned to the north-east coast of Lincolnshire, around Grimsby, and so perhaps from a monk either of Axholme or Hull.<sup>76</sup> There is an added early sixteenth-century note to the chronicle on the writings of John 'Rusbroke' (Ruysbroeck) with the same mistake (that he was a Carthusian prior) as is found with Methley's translation of the *Mirror of Simple Souls* in *Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 221* (described above).<sup>77</sup>

*Dublin, Trinity College, MS 759*, fols 1-147, is by a set mixed hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, resembling, but not the same as, the second hand of *Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.2.56*, the only known copy of the autobiographical meditations of Richard Methley of Mountgrace, dated 1483-87.<sup>78</sup> It is on paper, including watermarks of a distinct type not recorded before c. 1528, which would date it only a few years before the suppression of the order in England, yet we know of other manuscripts of similar character being copied by the Carthusians then.<sup>79</sup> It contains Rolle's *Melos Amor* is, with an ascription to Blessed Richard the Hermit, its text said to be almost identical with the selections in *Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 35*, a volume annotated by James Grenehalgh, possibly at Sheen (see above).<sup>80</sup> There follow two compilations on the love of God, a 'tractatus' and a 'tractatuius', with quotations from Rolle, Hilton, Thomas Gallus (expositor of Dionysius the Areopagite's mystical theology), Angela of Foligno and Mechthild of Hackebom. At the end, positioned so as probably to cover both pieces, is 'Johannes Walsyngham hoc compilavit'. I am inclined to think this may have been the former Benedictine monk who became prior of the London Charterhouse 1477-88, as the genre, the sources and context would fit.<sup>81</sup>

*Oxford, St John's College, MS 177*, a paper quarto with the same type of watermark as T.C.D. 159, and by two secretary hands of the first third of the sixteenth century,<sup>82</sup> contains Pontius's *Vita S. Cypriani* notes on virtues needed for professed religious life here ascribed to Denys [de Ryckel] the Carthusian (d. 1471), whose works are not otherwise attested in England before they began to be printed at Cologne for the charterhouse there, from 1532, and were ordered in quantity by St John Houghton, the last prior of the London Charterhouse;<sup>83</sup> exhortations on monastic life from John Climacus and others; and the *Speculativum Clausorum* or *Speculum Inclusorum*, as it is entitled in the only other known copy of the Latin, London, British Library, MS Royal 5. A. V, which belonged to the Coventry Charterhouse and was annotated by James Grenehalgh.<sup>84</sup> A copy was, however, also among the books taken by John Spaldyng from the London Charterhouse to Hull late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

There are a considerable number of other manuscripts which, on grounds of items they contain and textual links, could well have been made by or belonged to the English

Carthusians in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and future identifications of their scribes or annotators may clinch the connections. *San Marino (California), Huntington Library, HM .36336* is a handsome early sixteenth-century copy, in a contemporary London binding, of the long abbreviation of the life of St Hugh of Lincoln by Adam of Eynsham, of which the only other known in England was owned by the London Charterhouse and the only foreign one by the Toulouse Charterhouse; but that does not exclude the possibility of its being copied for a non-Carthusian admirer of the saint.<sup>86</sup> An instance when content alone is insufficient evidence is the only extant copy of the Latin mystical works of John Norton, prior of Mountgrace c. 1509-22, *Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 57*, which (unlike the unique copy of his confrere Methley's effusions) is well enough written to have been meant for the dedicatee, chancellor of York Minster, and a copy is recorded among the books preserved by former members of Monk Bretton Priory (Yorks.) in 1558.<sup>87</sup> Carthusians, as we have seen, did copy books for other owners occasionally, perhaps frequently, and made their own books available as exemplars for others to copy, just as they produced and gave pious woodcuts, other devotions, and counsel to lay people, both at Sheen and Mountgrace.<sup>88</sup> The cult of their special saints Hugo and Bruno also seems to have spread somewhat outside, at least to their friends, in the early sixteenth century.<sup>89</sup>

There are many more manuscripts in British libraries from continental charterhouses, imported since the sixteenth century, some of which have been or might be mistakenly supposed to be of British medieval ownership. There may be authentically British Carthusian manuscripts waiting identification abroad, since texts favoured by them did get exported and probably by their agency.<sup>90</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> On subsequent visits he pressed me to undertake a catalogue of Middle English manuscripts in T.C.D., to match that of the Latin ones being prepared by Professor M. Colker, but I did not feel able to do so alone away from the collection and because of other commitments; after a local collaborator left Ireland I was glad to give copies of most of my notes to Professor V.J. Scattergood, who has taken over the task.

<sup>2</sup> N.R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books* 2nd ed., Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks iii (London 1964); Supplement, ed. A.G. Watson, Guides and Handbooks xv (London 1987).

<sup>3</sup> E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London 1930), but with a chapter on the single Scottish house at Perth, for which see also now W.N.M. Beckett, 'The Perth Charterhouse before 1500' in James Hogg (ed.), *Analecta Cartusiana* [hereafter *Anal.Cart.*] cxxviii (Salzburg 1988), pp. iii-xii, 1-74. For the only short-lived one in Ireland see Dom Andrew Gray, O.Cart., 'Kinaleghin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* lxxxix (1959), pp. 35-58

<sup>4</sup> M.G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic in Anal. Cart.*, lxxxv, 2 vols (Salzburg 1984), p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 324-9. Dr Vincent Gillespie and I are preparing an annotated edition of them for the British Academy's Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

<sup>6</sup> See A.I. Doyle, 'Book production by the monastic orders in England (c. 1375-1530)' in L.L. Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval book production: assessing the evidence* (Los Altos Hills 1990), pp. 13-15.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 19 (n. 70); see facsimile of London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero A. III, fol. 190v, in J. Hogg (ed.), *Miscellanea Cartusiana: Anal. Cart.*, xiii (Salzburg 1978), p. 89.

8 Later belonging to Randle Holme of Chester (t 1699); see R. Nares et al., *A catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London 1808-12), m, p. 401.

9J. Forshall, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the British Museum, New Series*, 3 pts in 1 (London 1834-40), pt. i, p. 82.

10Cf. A.G. Watson, *The manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London 1969), pp. 99-100.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 48; cf. J. Planta, *Catalogue of manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (London 1802), p. 202, nos. 9-17.