

*ebst Registern*, Berlin 1893; Mario Roques, *Recueil général des lexiques français du moyen âge*, 2 vols., Paris 1936, 1938; Richard R. Rouse et Mary A. Rouse, "Statim venire: Schools and Preachers and new Attitudes to the Page", in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Mass. 1982, pp. 201-225; Michael Sargent and James Hogg (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Latin 9887, Part 1: 1438-46 (Ff. 1-144)*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 100:3 (1984), pp. 25, 47, 7, 86, 129, 150, 163; Uguccone da Pisa, *Magnae Derivationes of Uguccone da Pisa: a reproduction of MS Laud 626 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, The Modern Language Association of America, Collection of photographic facsimiles* 30, New York 1925; Robert-Léon Wagner, *Les Vocabulaires français: I: définitions - les dictionnaires*; Paris 1967, p. 120; Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii aevi posterioris Latinorum: alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittelalterlicher Dichtungen*, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1969; Hans Walther, *Proverbia nentiaequae Latinitatis Medii Aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, 6 vols., Göttingen 1963-69; Olga Weijers, "Excicography in the Middle Ages", *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 139-153; Terence Russon and John G. Doolittle, *Les Débuts de la lexicographie française: Estienne, Nicot et le Thésor de la langue françoise (1606)*, Toronto et Buffalo 1977; Ioh. Wrobel (ed.), *Eberhardi thuniensis Graecismus*, Bratislava 1887.

## THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PRESENT DAY<sup>1</sup>

JAMES HOGG

Bruno from Cologne,<sup>2</sup> who directed the cathedral schools in Reims from 1056 onwards, where he himself had received his education, was nominated Chancellor of the archdiocese in 1075, although his relations with the simoniac Archbishop Manasses were already strained. He felt himself drawn to the eremitical life and after an experiment with two companions at Sèche-Fontaine near the Abbey of Molesme, from which

<sup>1</sup>For bibliographical indications see the end of this article. Recent articles in encyclopedias include: James Hogg, "Der Kartäuserorden gestern und heute", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 193, 2002, pp. 33-38, - an expanded version of the entry in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*<sup>4</sup>; James Hogg, "Kartause" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup> 5, cols. 1266-67; James Hogg, "Kartäuser", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup> 5, cols. 1268-1270; James Hogg, "Kartäuserinnen", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup> 5, cols. 1270-71; James Hogg, "Kartäuser", in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 17, pp. 666-73. Among the older entries the following can still be consulted with profit: Anon. [Maurice Laporte/John Baptist Briglio], "Certosini", *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* 2, cols. 782-802; Stanislas Autore, "Chartreux", *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 3, cols. 1045-71; H. Becker, "Liturgie [der Kartäuser]", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5, 2002, cols. 1020-21; Amand Degand, "Chartreux", *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 3, cols. 1045-71; Jacques Dubois, "Certosini, II. Osservazioni critiche nel quadro della storia monastica generale", *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* 2, cols. 802-21; Jacques Dubois, "Kartäuser, Kartäuserinnen", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5, 2002, cols. 1018-20; Yves Gourdel, "Chartreux", *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique. Doctrine et Histoire*, 2, cols. 705-76; F. Macalli, "Certosini, Architettura dei", in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* 2, cols. 821-38; Monaca Certosina, "Certosine", in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* 2, cols. 772-82; Longin Ray, "Chartreux (Règle des)", *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 2, cols. 632-662; Longin Ray & Pierre Mouton, "Chartreuses (Règle des moniales)", *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 2, cols. 626-32.

<sup>2</sup>How little we really know of St. Bruno is demonstrated by the proceedings of the Paris Conference: cf. Alain Girard, Daniel Le Blévec and Nathalie Nabert (eds.), *Saint Bruno et sa postérité spirituelle: Actes du colloque international des 8 et 9 octobre 2001 à l'Institut catholique de Paris*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 189 (2003); cf. also *Analecta Cartusiana* 214 (2003), which contains: James Hogg, "Der heilige Bruno" (pp. 5-16), James Hogg, "Lives of Saint Bruno" (pp. 17-41), Un Cartujo de Aula Dei [Dom Servilio Betancur († 1993)], "Vidas de San Bruno (c. 1030-1101)" (pp. 43-52), Stanislas Autore, "Bibliothèque de Saint Bruno" (pp. 53-111). Gérard Posada, *Vie de Saint Bruno*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 115 (1990), and his later *San Bruno: Biografía y carisma (~1030-1101)*, BAC Madrid 2001, both of which also treat the spiritual dimension of the Saint. Bernard Bligny, *Saint Bruno, le premier chartreux*, Rennes 1984, offers the most perceptive purely historical biography. Virtually all the known facts of Bruno's life are alluded to in James Hogg, "Bruno, le premier chartreux" in *La Grande Chartreuse: Au delà du silence*, Grenoble 2002, a collaborative volume, coordinated by Chantal Spillemaecker, adviser Pierrette Paravy, with remarkable photos taken by Michel Lecomte, pp. 8-16. Unfortunately, the publisher could not be convinced to distinguish "Lanuin" in Calabria (p. 16) from "Landuin" at the Grande Chartreuse and dated the retrocession of the Grande Chartreuse with 1190 instead of 1090 (p. 14). The further contents of this otherwise splendid publication are: Sylvain Excoffon, "Le désert de Chartreuse" (pp. 18-31); Daniel Le Blévec, "Histoire d'un monastère et d'un ordre" (pp. 32-42); René Bourgeois, "L'expulsion de 1903" (pp. 43-45); Robert Bornecque, "L'Architecture de la Grande Chartreuse" (pp. 46-63); Chantal Spillemaecker, "Du monastère au musée" (pp. 64-67); Alain Girard, "La galerie des Cartes" (pp. 68-79); Paul Hamon, "La bibliothèque" (pp. 80-87); Marie-Françoise Bois-Delatte & Sandrine Marchand, "Les manuscrits du Moyen Âge" (pp. 88-99); Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, "Les moines copistes" (pp. 100-09); Pierrette Paravy, "Les incunables de François Du Puy" (pp. 110-17); Nathalie Nabert, "La spiritualité cartusienne" (pp. 118-29); Gérald Chaix, "Le rayonnement de l'ordre" (pp. 130-43); Chantal Spillemaecker, "Mille ans d'économie" (pp. 144-55); "Seul avec Dieu": Entretien avec Dom Marcellin Theeuwes (pp. 156-68).

the Cistercian Order was to take its origin, he settled in the Chartreuse mountains in the early summer of 1084 with six companions under the protection of the Bishop of Grenoble, Hugh of Châteauneuf,<sup>1</sup> where a group of wooden huts round a simple church were erected at Casalibus, higher up the valley than the present buildings of the Grande Chartreuse. Six years later Bruno had to leave the Chartreuse mountains, as Pope Urban II, a former pupil at Reims, summoned him to Rome owing to the investiture crisis, which had led to the creation of an antipope, Clement III. Bruno found life at the curia irksome and, after declining the possibility of his election to the archbishopric of Reggio in Calabria, obtained permission to withdraw to Calabria, where he founded a new hermitage near Serra San Bruno in 1091. He died there on 6 October 1101. Thereafter the foundation in Calabria developed independently and from 1193-1514 was affiliated to the Cistercian Order, as cenobitic aspects of the observance had predominated over the founder's eremitical intentions. When the Carthusians returned in the early sixteenth century,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Marie-Ange Chomel (translator), *Guigues le Chartreux: Vie de Saint Hugues, Evêque de Grenoble, l'Ami des Moines*, Introduction et annotation de Bernard Bligny, *Analecta Cartusiana* 112:3 (1986). Guigo records how Hugh received Bruno and his companions: "Il n'avait pas vécu trois ans comme évêque depuis son retour du monastère [la Chaise-Dieu], voici qu'arrive maître Bruno, très célèbre par sa piété et sa culture, image idéale de la noblesse d'âme, du sérieux et d'une entière perfection. Il avait comme compagnons maître Landuin, qui après lui fut prieur de Chartreuse, les deux Étienne, celui de Bourg et celui de Die (ils avaient été chanoines de Saint-Ruf, mais par désir de la vie solitaire, avec l'autorisation de leur abbé, ils avaient rejoint Bruno); Hugues, qu'on appelait le chapelain parce qu'il était le seul parmi eux à exercer les fonctions sacerdotales, et deux laïcs, nous les appelons convers, André et Guérin. Ils cherchaient un endroit propre à la vie érémitique et n'en avaient pas encore trouvé. Ils arrivèrent, mus par cet espoir et attirés par le doux parfum de la sainte existence de l'évêque. Lui les reçut avec joie et même avec respect, discuta avec eux et combla leurs vœux; sur ses conseils, avec son aide et en sa compagnie, ils allèrent au désert de Chartreuse et y bâtirent. À peu près à cette époque, Hugues avait vu en songe Dieu construire dans ce désert une demeure pour sa gloire, il avait vu aussi sept étoiles qui lui montraient le chemin. Or ils étaient sept. C'est pourquoi il embrassa volontiers leur projet et aussi ceux de leurs successeurs; jusqu'à sa mort il aida de ses conseils et de ses bienfaits les occupants de Chartreuse. Avant, il est vrai, il brûlait tout entier des feux de l'amour de Dieu, mais grâce aux exemples de ces hommes et à leur connaissance familière, il s'embrasa pour les exercices de cette manière de vivre toute céleste comme si, autour d'un flambeau qui brûle, on dispose beaucoup d'autres flambeaux allumés." Hugh spent so much time with the hermits that Bruno was obliged to remonstrate with him: "Avec les chartreux, il se comportait non comme un maître ou un évêque mais comme un compagnon, un frère très humble, tout prêt à rendre service à tous autant qu'il le pouvait; le vénérable Guillaume, alors prieur de Saint-Laurent, plus tard abbé de Saint-Chaffre, très lié lui aussi à maître Bruno par un respect religieux, et qui partageait la cellule du bienheureux Hugues - car en ce temps-là ils vivaient deux par cellule - se plaignait vivement auprès du maître Bruno de ce qu'il assumait le premier toutes les plus humbles besognes de la cellule. Non content de ne pas se conduire en évêque, il ne se conduisait pas comme un compagnon, mais plutôt comme un serviteur. Guillaume affirmait avec une grande tristesse qu'il ne lui était possible de toucher à aucune des besognes domestiques que selon la coutume on doit accomplir chacun à son tour de rôle, car Hugues en avait toujours toutes accomplies le premier. §Pieux et zélé, il vivait dans une telle solitude que maître Bruno le poussait quelquefois à s'en aller en lui disant: "Allez, allez trouver vos brebis, et acquittez-vous de ce que vous leur devez." A cette époque, enflammé d'ardeur pour l'humilité et la pauvreté, Hugues décida de vendre toutes ses montures, et, après en avoir réparti le prix aux pauvres, le parcourir le pays à pied pour prêcher. Mais maître Bruno, homme d'un profond bon sens, aux avis auquel il se rangeait comme on obéit aux ordres d'un abbé, ne fut pas d'accord avec lui. Il craignait peut-être qu'il se glorifiât ou qu'il fut taxé d'originalité par les autres évêques, ou, ce qui ne faisait pas de doute pour lui, qu'il ne pût mener à bien sa tâche à cause de la rudesse des chemins et de leur caractère accidenté." (pp. 39-42)

only vague memories of Bruno and Lanuin, his successor in Calabria, remained, though their bones were discovered in the church.<sup>1</sup>

Although the hermits in the Chartreuse mountains dispersed on the departure of Bruno for Rome, they soon reassembled under Landuin, prior at Casalibus 1090-1100, who had been nominated on Bruno's departure. The small community proved more stable than many of the eremitical groups of the period<sup>2</sup> and under Guigo I,<sup>3</sup> fifth prior 1109-1136, the friend of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, and Bernard of Clairvaux, the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*<sup>4</sup> were compiled, apparently between 1121-1127, to furnish detailed information for the priors of Portes,<sup>5</sup> St. Sulpice<sup>6</sup> and Meyriat.<sup>7</sup> Bruno did not write a Rule, but the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* reveal his thoughts and intentions, adapted by the experience of the daily observance over the years. Although the stress lay on the eremitical aspects, excluding all direct pastoral activity, certain cenobitical elements were also present, - the communal chanting of Matins, Lauds and Vespers in the church and the refectory on Sundays and major feasts, though the other canonical hours were recited by the individual monks in their cells. The Mass was seldom celebrated in the early decades, but from the thirteenth century onwards a considerable increase in the frequency of celebration and a multiplication of feastdays can be observed, though after Vatican II many feasts were reduced or

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Pietro De Leo, "S. Bruno di Colonia e la Certosa di Calabria nella "Genealogia Circa Primordia Gentis Carthusiae di Costanzo de Rigetis", in Pietro De Leo, *Certosini e Cisterciensi nel Regno di Sicilia*. Soveria Mannelli 1993, pp. 31-97, here pp. 62-64, quoting the text of Costanzo di Rigetis: "Mortuus autem fertur eiusdem corpus sepultum fuisse in spelunca quadam, ubi poenitentiam aegit, quae distat ab ecclesia Sanctae Mariae quantum est iactum lapidis ... §Ab incarnatione autem Domini anno millesimo centesimo secundo, a nativitate autem primo, a spelunca autem superscripta eiusdem corpus translatum fuisse dicitur in ecclesiam sanctae Mariae, in maiori altare et adhuc locus vacuus apparet, a quo translatum fuisse fertur et in hac sancti Stephani ecclesia et positum in pede arcis maioris capellae a parte cathedrae sacerdotis et ibidem secreta multum tempus iacuisse dicitur et ex alio latere arcus positum fuisse corpus beati Lanuini eiusdem successoris et ibidem iacuisse usque ad tempus abbatibus Pandulphi ultimi, qui ea deponens posuit in altari, ubi modo iacet sicut patres oculata fide viderunt."

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Maurice Laporte, *Aux sources de la vie cartusienne*, 8 vols., In Domo Cartusiae, 1960-71, and the critique in Jacques Dubois, "Quelques Problèmes de l'histoire de l'ordre des chartreux à propos de livres récents", in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 63 (1968), pp. 27-54; André Wilmart, "La chronique des premiers chartreux", in *Revue Mabillon* 16 (1926), pp. 77-142; Alain Girard, Daniel Le Blévec et Pierrette Paravy, *Saint Bruno en Chartreuse, Analecta Cartusiana* 192 (2004).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. un chartreux [Maurice Laporte], *Guigues Ier: Méditations (Recueil de Pensées), Sources Chrétiennes* 308 (1983); Gaston Hocquard, *Les Méditations du bienheureux Guigues de Saint Romain, cinquième Prieur de Chartreuse (1109-1136)*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 112 (1984-87); Christophe Chalameat, *Spiritualité et méditation chez Guigues I<sup>er</sup>, prieur de Chartreuse, Analecta Cartusiana* 145 (1998); James Hogg, "Guigo von Kastel", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 193 (2002), pp. 59-65.

<sup>4</sup>Maurice Laporte (ed.), *Guigues Ier: Coutumes de Chartreuse, Sources Chrétiennes* 313 (1984).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Ambroise-Marie Bulliat & Léon Joly, *La Chartreuse Sainte Marie de Portes*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 67 (2001), and Daniel Le Blévec, "La transmission de l'héritage spirituel de saint Bruno. Remarques sur les premières affiliations à la Chartreuse", in Alain Girard, Daniel Le Blévec et Pierrette Paravy, *Saint Bruno en Chartreuse*, pp. 39-46, here pp. 41-44.

<sup>6</sup>St. Sulpice did not, however, accept the *Consuetudines* and was affiliated to the Cistercian Order in 1133.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Daniel Le Blévec, "La transmission de l'héritage spirituel de saint Bruno. Remarques sur les premières affiliations à la Chartreuse", pp. 44-45.

even eliminated to underline the essential solitary aspects of the Carthusian vocation.

The *Consuetudines Cartusiae* offer a detailed account of the observance practised, whereby a simplified liturgy,<sup>1</sup> adapted to the needs of a small group of hermit monks, who called themselves originally the "pauperes Christi" (Christ's poor men), of which elements were selected from the practices of the Abbeys of Chaise-Dieu and Cluny, as well as from neighbouring bishoprics, was adopted. The activities of the laybrothers (*conversi*), who were charged with the administration of the estates, constituting the "desert" surrounding the monastery itself, are outlined, whereby the solitude of the monks was also assured, visitors being normally stopped three kilometres below Casalibus at the *correrie*, where the laybrothers were housed with the procurator, who was charged with their spiritual welfare as well as general supervision. A limited and austere hospitality was offered to such guests as were received, normally at the *correrie*. The *Consuetudines* conclude with an encomium of the solitary life as an efficacious means of seeking God and were approved by Pope Innocent II on 22 December 1133. The original buildings<sup>2</sup> had been destroyed by an avalanche on 30 January 1132, which led the community to transfer *ca.* two kilometres lower down the valley to the site of the actual Grande Chartreuse.

Before the convening of the first General Chapter in 1140 or 1141 by Anthelm, prior of the Grande Chartreuse,<sup>3</sup> which marked the *de facto* foundation of the Carthusian Order, the individual houses which practised the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* were subject to their diocesan bishop. Such heremital groups were to be found at Portes (1115), les Écouges, Durbon, Silve-Bénite and Meyriat (all 1116), Arvières (1132), Mont-dieu (1136), Montrieux (1137)<sup>4</sup>, Vallon (1138), Vaucluse (1139), and Val-Saint-Pierre (1140). Bouvante (1144), Oujon<sup>5</sup> (1146) and Le

<sup>1</sup>For the Carthusian liturgy cf.: Hansjakob Becker, *Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers*, *Münchener theologische Studien, Systematische Abteilung* 39 (1971); Hansjakob Becker, *Das Tonale uigios I, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung* 23 (1975); Hansjakob Becker, *Die Kartause: Liturgisches Erbe und konziliare Reform: Untersuchungen und Dokumente, Analecta Cartusiana* 116:5 (1990); Emmanuel Cluzet, *Particularités des prières de la messe chartreuse; Particularités du Temporel et du Sanctoral du Missel Cartusien, Analecta Cartusiana* 1:26-31 (1994); Augustin Devaux, *Les origines du Missel des Chartreux, Analecta Cartusiana* 99:32 (1994); Emmanuel Cluzet, *Sources et Genèse du Missel Cartusien, Analecta Cartusiana* 99:34 (1996); and Caroline Steyn, *Three Unknown Carthusian Liturgical Manuscripts with Music of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries in the Grey Collection, South African Library, Cape Town, 2 vols., Analecta Cartusiana* 167 (2000).

<sup>2</sup>They were situated at an altitude of 1,175 metres above sea level. The site was prior 1139-51.

<sup>3</sup>The correct date was established by Raymond Boyer, *La chartreuse de Montrieux aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Marseille 1980, pp. 149-66; cf. also Karl Thir & Raymond Boyer, *Les chartreuses de Montrieux et de La Verne, Analecta Cartusiana* 75 (1985), and Daniel Le Blévec, "La transmission de l'édifice spirituel de saint Bruno. Remarques sur les premières affiliations à la Chartreuse", in Alain Bard, Daniel Le Blévec et Pierrette Paravy, *Saint Bruno en Chartreuse*, pp. 39-46, here pp. 45-46. A group of hermits may well have inhabited the site earlier, however.

<sup>4</sup>f. Laurent Aubeson, Gabriele Keck & Jean-Daniel Morerod, *Notre-Dame d'Oujon (1146-1537): Une chartreuse Exempleire?*, *Cahiers d'archéologie romande* 65 (Lausanne 1999).

Reposoir<sup>1</sup> (1151) were affiliated in the following years. Those priors who attended the General Chapter<sup>2</sup> presented letters from their diocesan bishop, renouncing his jurisdiction over such communities, which henceforth were subject to the General Chapter. Though at first the assembly seems to have been convened irregularly, from 1155 until the French Revolution it met annually; thereafter from 1837 onwards biannually, unless warfare rendered the meeting impossible. Presided over by the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, legislation and decisions were taken by a group of eight diffinitors, elected from the assembled priors, whereby only the prior of the Grande Chartreuse was a permanent member of the diffinitory, the other priors not being eligible for re-election in the following year. Thus all new legislation had to be ratified by two different diffinitories. After the Second Vatican Council all the priors present were invited to participate in the legislative process. The General Chapter also nominates the provincial visitors, charged with visiting the individual houses in their province biannually in order to ascertain that the observance is satisfactory, the Order having been divided into 18 provinces between 1301 and 1442, though with the decline of the number of charterhouses visitors were nominated for the individual charterhouses in 2003 rather than for the much reduced provinces. Between the sessions of the General Chapter, the prior of the Grande Chartreuse is empowered to take all important and urgent decisions, whereby he may request the assistance and advice of four priors nominated by the General Chapter, - normally from charterhouses not too distant from the Grande Chartreuse. The individual priors - including the prior of the Grande Chartreuse - are required to tender their resignation at each General Chapter. The Diffinitors then decide in each case whether the prior should be confirmed in office or not.

The proverbial assertion *Cartusia numquam reformata quia numquam deformata* (the charterhouse has never been reformed, because it was never deformed) has to be understood in the context of the Order's vigilance to maintain a high level of observance,<sup>3</sup> though over the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. James Hogg, *L'ancienne Chartreuse du Reposoir, aujourd'hui Carmel, et les Chartreuses de la Savoie, Analecta Cartusiana* 39:2 (1979).

<sup>2</sup>The priors of Portes, Les Écouges, Durbon, Meyriat, and Arvières. Cf. James Hogg, *Die ältesten Consuetudines der Kartäuser, Analecta Cartusiana* 1, (1970), p. 117; Bernard Blyny, *Recueil des plus anciens actes de la Grande-Chartreuse (1086-1196)*, Grenoble 1958, 53-58. For a perceptive treatment of the conception of the Carthusian General Chapter cf. Leo Moulin, "L'Assemblée, autorité souveraine dans l'Ordre des Chartreux", in *Res Publica* 12, n. 1 (1970), pp. 7-75; and Leo Moulin, "Lo sviluppo costituzionale nell'Ordine dei Certosini", in Pietro De Leo (ed.), *San Bruno e la Certosa di Calabria: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi per il IX Centenario della Certosa di Serra San Bruno (Squillace, Serra San Bruno 15-18 settembre 1991)*, *Bibliotheca Vivariensis* 4 (1995), pp. 91-101.

<sup>3</sup>For life in the charterhouse in the first century of the Order cf. Bernard Blyny, "Les chartreux et la pauvreté", in *Le Moyen Age* 57 (1951), pp. 27-60; Bruno Barrier, *Les activités du solitaire en Chartreuse d'après ses plus anciens témoins, Analecta Cartusiana* 87 (1981); Maurice Laporte (ed.), *Lettres des premiers chartreux, I: Saint Bruno, Guigues, saint Anthelme, Sources Chrétiennes* 88 (1962); Maurice Laporte (ed.), *Lettres des premiers chartreux, II: Les moines de Portes, Sources Chrétiennes* 274 (1980).

centuries numerous modifications and supplements to the Rule were promulgated. Under Anthelm various liturgical enactments were approved and in 1170 the substantial *Consuetudines Basilii*,<sup>1</sup> divided into 48 chapters, ordained numerous amendments. Further significant modifications were promulgated in the *Statuta Jancelini* (1222) and the *De Reformatione* of Prior Bernard in 1248.<sup>2</sup> The original fasting on bread and water three days a week was reduced to once a week and the monks were no longer obliged to cook for themselves individually during the week. The priors inevitably had more contact with the outside world as the Order expanded, - in the twelfth century there were 36 new foundations, of which 28 in present-day France,<sup>3</sup> the rest spread over Styria, at Seitz 1160 and Gairach 1169, Piedmont, at Casotto<sup>4</sup> 1171, Val de Pesio 1173, Losa<sup>5</sup> 1191, transferred to Montebenedetto in 1200, England, at Witham in 1178, and in Aragon, at Scala Dei<sup>6</sup> in Catalonia 1194. Hugh of Avalon,<sup>7</sup> a professed monk of the Grande Chartreuse, where he became procurator, was sent as prior to Witham, as the royal foundation was beset with difficulties, but was soon promoted to the important see of Lincoln, whilst other Carthusians were elevated to French sees, Anthelm dying in the odour of sanctity as Bishop of Belley.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1140 and 1150 the nuns of St. André de Ramières, who apparently followed the Rule of Caesar of Arles, sought contact with the Carthusians and John of Spain († 1160), prior of Montrieux near Toulon and later of Le Reposoir in the mountains of Savoy, supplied them with a copy of the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* and possibly liturgical books. Meanwhile the nuns had moved to Prébayon in Provence, but the official affiliation to the Order followed in the mid-thirteenth century under the priorate of Bernard de la Tour.<sup>9</sup> Various communities were founded in

<sup>1</sup>Text in *Analecta Cartusiana* 1 (1970), pp. 142-218.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. James Hogg (ed.), *The Statuta Jancelini (1222) and the De Reformatione of Prior Bernard (1248)*, Vol. 2: *The MS. Grande Chartreuse 1 Stat. 23, Analecta Cartusiana* 65:2 (1978). The critical edition will appear in 2006.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Bernard Bigny, *L'Église et les Ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne au XIe et XIIe siècles*, Paris 1960; and Bernard Bigny, "L'érémisme et les chartreux", in *L'eremismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII, Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali* 4, Milan 1965, 248-63.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Silvio Chiaberto, *La Certosa di Casotto: Le Fasi Medievali*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 60:4, 1995.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Marisa Bosco (ed.), *Cartario della Certosa di Losa e Monte Benedetto dal 1189 al 1252, Deputazione subalpina di Storia Patria, Biblioteca Storica Subalpina* 195 (1974).

<sup>6</sup>Cf. James Hogg, *La Cartuja de Scala Dei*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 41:3 (1980); Ezequiel Gort i Juanpere, *Història de la Cartoixa d'Escaladei, Col·leccio Tostemps* 27, Reus 1991; *Scala Dei: Primera Cartoixa de la Península Ibèrica i L'Ordre Cartoixa: Actes Congrès Internacional* 21, 22 i 23 de setembre de 1996, a l'antiga hostatgeria de la cartoixa de Scala Dei, *Analecta Cartusiana* 139 (1999); Pere de Manuel, *Chartreuse de Santa Maria d'Escaladei*, Barcelona 2003.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Decima Douie & Hugh Farmer (eds.), *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, 2 vols., London 1961-62.

<sup>8</sup>Jean Picard, *Saint Anthelme de Chignin, Vie par son chapelain*, Belley 1978; Louis Trenard (ed.), *Saint Anthelme Chartreux et Evêque de Belley: Livre du huitième Centenaire 1178-1978*, Belley 1979.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Micheline de Fontette, "Recherches sur les origines des moniales Chartreuses", in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique* 2, Paris 1965, pp. 1143-1151; James Hogg, "The Carthusian Nuns: A Survey of the Sources of their History", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 62:2 (1993), pp. 190-293; Augustin Devaux, "Premier Chapitre pour une histoire des moniales chartreuses", in Augustin Devaux, *Études et Documents pour l'Histoire des Chartreux, Analecta Cartusiana* 208 (2003), pp. 1-42. The sad history

alpine valleys in France and Northern Italy, but they all suffered from poverty and the frequent warfare in the area. There is specific legislation for Carthusian nuns in the *Antiqua Statuta* (1271), Part III, chapter XXXIV. The prioress was charged with the direction of her community, but she was expected to consult the vicar, a Carthusian appointed by the General Chapter to act as chaplain to the nuns. The vicar was often supported by another monk and a small group of laybrothers for heavy work on the estates. On occasion, several monks resided at a nunnery in the Middle Ages. The nuns receive virginal consecration and as diaconesses are permitted to read the gospel at the mass. The Rule for the nuns was somewhat milder than for the monks and they inhabited single rooms on a corridor rather than individual houses. The meals were taken in the refectory daily and there were regular times of recreation in common. In the later thirteenth century foundations tended to be in less remote areas, so that the nuns might be protected from plundering, but most of the nunneries remained poverty-stricken, and several even had to educate girls in order to help out the finances. The prioress of Poleteins, Marguerite d'Oingt († 1310), compiled mystical treatises which are also a significant contribution to the vernacular literature of the period.<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of the thirteenth century a controversy arose between the prior of the Grande Chartreuse and his community and the other houses of the Order, - there was a general feeling that the Grande Chartreuse enjoyed a too preponderant rôle .... The superior of the Dominican Order, Hubert de Romans, was called upon to arbitrate and on 16 February 1255 all parties agreed to the compromise which he presented.

In 1271 the *Antiqua Statuta* were finally approved after a decade of discussion, whereby the various additions, amendments and modifications to the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* were collected in a single text, which thereby *de facto* replaced the *Consuetudines* for all practical purposes. A further collection of more recent enactments of the General Chapter following the scheme of the *Antiqua Statuta* was promulgated in 1368, entitled *Nova Collectio*, whereby both collections then enjoyed legislative force. The process was repeated with the *Tertia Compilatio* in 1509, all three collections being printed along with the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* by Amorbach in Basel in 1510 with excellent indices compiled by the Carthusian humanist Gregory Reisch,<sup>2</sup> prior of the charterhouse of Freiburg-im-Bresgau.

In the thirteenth century, with the rapid spread of the Mendicant Orders, the momentum of the expansion of the Carthusians diminished

of the nuns of Bertaud is treated in detail in Pierre Jacques Le Seigneur, *L'Ordre des Chartreux dans le diocèse de Gap, Analecta Cartusiana* 191 (2004).

<sup>1</sup>Cf. A. Duraffour, P. Gardette, P. Durdilly (eds.), *Les Œuvres de Marguerite d'Oingt, Publications de l'Institut de Linguistique Romane de Lyon* 21, Paris 1965.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lucia Andreini, *Gregor Reisch e la sua Margarita Philosophica, Analecta Cartusiana* 138 (1997); Lucia Andreini (ed.), *La Margarita Philosophica di Gregor Reisch*, edizione ed introduzione, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 179 (2002).

somewhat with only 31 new foundations, but in the fourteenth century the apogee of the Carthusian Order was reached with 106 new charterhouses, of which 13 were located in the Low Countries. Thereafter a numerical decline can be observed, with only 45 new foundations in the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries new foundations were often situated near towns,<sup>1</sup> in opposition to the original sites in remote alpine valleys, surrounded by estates appertaining to the charterhouse to ensure almost total isolation. Certainly this change was partially due to the wishes of founders, rich merchants increasingly replacing royal and aristocratic benefactors, who required easier access, as well as for motives of general security, - isolated monasteries, such as Pesio,<sup>2</sup> were repeatedly sacked by bandits and marauding troops. Also the total rejection of all ecclesiastical benefices became less absolute and estates outside the boundaries of the original Carthusian "deserts" were accepted periodically to assure the economic stability of various communities. Exceptions to the limitation of personnel to a prior and twelve monks with 16 laybrothers were also permitted at the Grande Chartreuse, Vauvert, and Villeneuve-lès-Avignon,<sup>3</sup> to name only three examples,<sup>4</sup> though triple charterhouses first originated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at Parkminster in England and Aula Dei near Saragossa under the threat of French anti-clerical legislation. Over the centuries the architecture of the charterhouses evolved, also. The early wooden buildings were replaced by more durable constructions in stone. and, though there was no distinctive Carthusian architectural style to match that of the Cistercian Order, the essential elements - the Great Cloister with the monks' cells and their individual gardens, the church with the refectory and chapterhouse grouped round the Little Cloister - remain constant. Even today such charterhouses as Montebenedetto,<sup>5</sup> founded in 1200, Mombracco in 1310, and Banda in 1498 in Piedmont or Schnals,<sup>6</sup> founded 1325 in South Tyrol, fascinate the beholder in their

<sup>1</sup>e.g. Vauvert in the suburbs of Paris already in 1257, Naples (1329), Coblenz (1331), Strasburg (1335), Cologne (1334), Bologna (1334), Lucca (1338), Florence (1341), Freiburg im Breisgau (1345), Würzburg (1348), London (1370), Rome - Santa Croce in Urbe (1370), Hull (1378), Coventry (1381), Bern (1397), Seville (1398), Basle (1401), Ferrara (1452), Rome - Santa Maria degli Angeli (1561) and Evora (1587), - the list is not exhaustive. Foundation dates are problematical, depending on whether one accepts the foundation charter, the arrival of the first monks, or the official incorporation into the Order by the General Chapter.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Giorgio Beltrutti, *Le grande abbazie del Piemonte*, Vol. 2: *La Certosa di Pesio; vicende storiche della grande Certosa e del Piemonte narrate dalle Chronica Carthusiae Vallis Pisij*, Cuneo 1978; Giorgio Beltrutti & James Hogg, *La Certosa di Pesio*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 73 (1979); and James Hogg, "The Construction of the Charterhouse of Pesio", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 201 (2003), pp. 91-127.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Alain Girard & Daniel Le Blévec, *Chartreuses du Pays d'Avignon: Valbonne, Bonpas, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 122 (1986).

<sup>4</sup>Many charterhouses added additional cells, such as Mount Grace, founded in 1398, without becoming "double charterhouses". Others erected a complete second Great Cloister.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Silvio Chiaberto (ed.), *Certose di Montagna Certose di Pianura: Contesti Territoriali e Sviluppo Monastico, VIII Centenario della Certosa di Monte Benedetto, Villar Focciardo - Susa - Avigliana - Collegno 13/16 Luglio 2000*, Borgogne Susa 2002..

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Georg Mühlberger, *Die Kartause Allereengelberg in Schnals*, Lana 1995.

overwhelming simplicity, whilst the grandeur of such well-endowed charterhouses as Pavia,<sup>1</sup> founded in 1392, or even the grandiose Padula,<sup>2</sup> Naples,<sup>3</sup> Florence,<sup>4</sup> El Paular,<sup>5</sup> Miraflores<sup>6</sup> and Jerez de la Frontera,<sup>7</sup> dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>8</sup> hardly seem, with their architectural and artistic treasures, to fully accord with the severity of the Carthusian ideal.<sup>9</sup>

In the early days sixteen laybrothers with the aid of a few mercenaries or paid workers were normally capable of administering the estates of a charterhouse and assuring the day-to-day life of the community, but inevitably elderly laybrothers had to be replaced and in the later Middle Ages the number of vocations for the *conversi* declined markedly, so that new categories were introduced - the *redditi*, some of whom assisted in choir, though they were subjected to less austere discipline than the monks, whilst others aided the laybrethren, and the more numerous *donati*, who promised to serve the charterhouse faithfully without salary, but took no vows. Rare cases of female *donatae* are known, though the original ideal excluded women totally from Carthusian estates. Aspirations of *conversi* to be promoted to the status of monks were rejected by the General Chapter in 1453, 1470 and again in 1889, though after Vatican II the separation between the choir monks

<sup>1</sup>Cf. James Hogg, *La Certosa di Pavia*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 52, 1992, 1994.

<sup>2</sup>James Hogg, *The Charterhouse of Padula*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 54, Vol. 2: *Album* (1978).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. James Hogg, *The Charterhouses of Naples and Capri*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 57, Vol. 2: *Album*, (1978).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Giovanni Leoncini, *La Certosa di Firenze nei suoi rapporti con l'architettura certosina*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 71 (1980), and his later *Le Certose della "Provincia Tusciae"*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 60, (1989), which deals with all the charterhouses of the Carthusian Province of Tuscany.

<sup>5</sup>Ildefonso M. Gómez M.B. & James Hogg, *La Cartuja de El Paular*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 77 (1982).

<sup>6</sup>James Hogg, *La Cartuja de Miraflores*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 79:2 (1979).

<sup>7</sup>James Hogg, *La Cartuja de Jerez de la Frontera*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 47:2 (1978).

<sup>8</sup>Cf. for this period: James Hogg, "Everyday Life in the Charterhouse in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs* 3, Vienna 1980, pp. 113-146; James Hogg, *Mittelalterliche Caerimoniae der Kartäuser, Teil 1*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 2 (1971).

<sup>9</sup>On Carthusian architecture, apart from the studies already cited, cf. Anon. [Ludolph Jacquemart, Pacomius de Farconnet, Bernard-Maria Dubosquet & Gerard Hulbosch], *Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, 4 vols., Tournai - Parkminster 1913-19, with engravings - of questionable historical value in some cases - of virtually all the charterhouses founded up to the beginning of the twentieth century; David Knowles & W.F. Grimes, *Charterhouse*, London 1954; Bernard Bligny, "Les fondations cartusiennes d'Italie", in *Monasteri in alta Italia dopo le invasioni saracene e magiare: secoli X-XII*, Turin 1966, pp. 35-51; Marijan Zadnikar, *Srednjeveška Arhitektura Kartuzijanov in Slovenske Kartuzije*, Ljubljana 1971; Gabriel Le Bras, *Les Ordres Religieux: La vie et l'art*, Paris 1979, pp. 562-653; Jean-Pierre Aniel, *Les Maisons de Chartreux: Des Origines à la Chartreuse de Pavie*, *Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie* 16, Geneva 1983; James Hogg (ed.), *As Cartuxas de Portugal*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 69 (1984); James Hogg, *The Charterhouse of Rome*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 78 (1984); Karl Thir & Raymond Boyer, *Les Chartreuses de Montrieux et de La Verne*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 75 (1985); Jean Picard, Karl Thir, Giovanni Leoncini, James Hogg, *La Grande Chartreuse, et les Chartreuses de Portes, Sélinac, et Pierre Chatel*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 61 (1986); James Hogg, Michele Merola & Giovanni Leoncini, *La Certosa di Trisulti: Art & Architecture*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 74:2 (1991); Giovanni Leoncini, *La Certosa dello Spirito Sancto presso Lucca*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 60:5 (1994); Augustin Devaux, *L'Architecture dans l'Ordre des Chartreux*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 146 (1998); James Hogg (ed.), *Los Cartujos en Andalucía*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 150 (1999).

and the laybrothers became less absolute, the laybrothers being invited to participate in the chant of the canonical hours in choir and even being permitted to inhabit unoccupied monks' cells in some cases. Changes in economic conditions also led to repeated modifications in the number of animals permitted, as well as the extent of the monastic possessions. El Paular near Segovia became so wealthy that the General Chapter obliged it to found the charterhouse of Granada in 1506.

During the Great Schism the Carthusian Order was split in two after a period of initial hesitation.<sup>1</sup> The Grande Chartreuse and the French and Spanish charterhouses adhered to the Avignon Popes, whilst the charterhouses of the Holy Roman Empire, with a few exceptions, and those in England supported Urban VI and his successors in Rome.<sup>2</sup> At first the Prior General of the Roman Obedience resided in Italian charterhouses and the General Chapter was held successively in various charterhouses,<sup>3</sup> but in 1391 the charterhouse of Seitz as the oldest foundation of the Roman Obedience was selected as the seat of the Prior General and the General Chapter. The period was dolorous for the whole Order and many houses suffered from acute poverty due to the uncertainty of the times. Stephan Maconi († 1424), the former secretary of Catherine of Siena and prior general of the Roman Obedience, was largely responsible for terminating the schism in 1410.

The Carthusian Order produced a number of significant spiritual writers in the medieval period<sup>4</sup>: Guigo II (†1193)<sup>5</sup>, Adam of Dryburgh (ca. 1150-1212), Guigo de Ponte<sup>6</sup> († 1297), Hugh of Balma<sup>7</sup> (late 13th century), Ludolph of Saxony († 1378), whose famous *Vita Christi*<sup>8</sup> influenced Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila and Francis de Sales, as well as innumerable Carthusians, including the present writer during his

<sup>1</sup>For an account of the Carthusian Order during the Great Schism, cf. James Hogg, "L'ordine certosino nel periodo dello Scisma", in Pietro De Leo (ed.), *L'Ordine Certosino e il Papato dalla fondazione allo scisma d'Occidente*, Soveria Mannelli 2003, pp. 157-338.

<sup>2</sup>The charterhouses of the Low Countries were divided between the two obediences, and some of the Rhineland charterhouses fluctuated between them. The charterhouses of the Kingdom of Naples at first adhered to the Avignon Obedience, but later acknowledged the Urbanists.

<sup>3</sup>In 1382 the Urbanists decreed that future General Chapters would be held alternately at Mauerbach in Austria and Montelli, near Treviso, but in 1385 it was convened to the charterhouse of Florence.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. James Hogg (ed.), *Kartäusermystik- und -Mystiker*, 5 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 55 (1981-82). For a profound survey of Carthusian spiritual writing from Bruno to Augustine Guillerand, cf. Giuseppe Gioia, *La Divina Filosofia. La Certosa e l'amore di Dio*, Cinisello Balsamo (Milan) 1994.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Edmund Colledge & James Walsh (eds.), *Guigo II: Lettre sur la vie contemplative. Douze Méditations, Sources Chrétiennes* 163 (1970); James Hogg, "Guigo II", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 193 (2002), pp. 67-71.

<sup>6</sup>Philippe Dupont, *Guigues du Pont: Traité sur la contemplation*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 72 (1985); Dennis Martin (translator), *Carthusian Spirituality: The Writings of Hugh of Balma and Guigo de Ponte, The Classics of Western Spirituality*, Mahwah (New Jersey) 1997, with an important introduction and notes by the translator.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Francis Ruello & Jeanne Barbet, *Hugues de Balma: Théologie Mystique*, 2 vols., *Sources Chrétiennes* 408-409, 1995-96; Harald Walach, *Notitia experimentalis Dei - Erfahrungserkenntnis Gottes: Studien zu Hugo de Balmas Text "Viae Sion lugent" und deutsche Übersetzung*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 98:1 (1994).

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Walter Baier, *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der Vita Christi des Ludolf von Sachsen*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 44 (1977).

years in the charterhouse, and Nicolas Kempf<sup>1</sup>. Denis the Carthusian,<sup>2</sup> the friend of Nicolas of Cusa, offered a synthesis of the religious knowledge of his times in most of its aspects in his voluminous work compiled in the fifteenth century. The prior of the charterhouse of Bologna, Niccolò d'Albergati (1375-1443), was elevated to the cardinalate, and was entrusted with important peace missions as Papal Legate.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Carthusians had been ardent copyists of manuscripts, but after the invention of printing they soon availed themselves of its facilities. The first book printed by the Carthusians appeared at Parma in 1477. At various periods thereafter fifteen charterhouses possessed printing equipment, including the Corriere of the Grande Chartreuse. In the late nineteenth century a real printing press was established in the charterhouse of Montreuil-sur-Mer for the production of liturgical books and works concerning the Carthusian Order. Transferred first to Tournai in 1901, when anti-clerical legislation made the closure of the French charterhouses imminent, the antiquated machinery stuttered to a halt in the charterhouse of Parkminster around 1954. Modern developments in computer technology subsequently rendered such presses in any event obsolete.

Although Guigo stressed the importance of books in the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* XXVII, the Carthusians could scarcely be classified as an Order devoted to learning, though the charterhouses of Basle and Cologne played a certain rôle in the spread of humanism. Books were intended more as an aid to spiritual progress than a means of pursuing abstract learning. Thus in 1437 the General Chapter warned against devoting too much attention to Canon Law, in 1462 against astrology, 1489 against useless preoccupation with prophecies, and 1380, 1470, and 1504 condemning alchemy, - presumably in the wider sense of seeking the quintessence of life rather than the conversion of base metals into gold!

On the eve of the Reformation the Order was still highly esteemed for its strict observance and the sixteenth century saw fifteen new foundations, seven of which were in Spain and Portugal. 39 charterhouses were, however, suppressed during the chaos of the Reformation, including the whole of the English Province and in those areas in Germany, the Low Countries and Switzerland, where Lutheranism or Calvinism prevailed. In Germany the whole of the Carthusian Province of Saxony was thus lost. A number of monks apostatised, though in England and Holland a not insignificant group of

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Karl Jellouschek, Jeanne Barbet & Francis Ruello (eds.), *Nicolas Kempf: Tractatus de Mystica Theologia*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 9 (1973); Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf, Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 49, Leiden 1992.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Dirk Wassermann, *Dionysius der Kartäuser: Einführung in Werk und Gedankenwelt*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 133 (1996); Stefan Podlech, *Discretio: Zur Hermeneutik der religiösen Erfahrung bei Dionysius dem Kartäuser*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 194 (2002).

Carthusians preferred martyrdom to renouncing their faith. The Cologne charterhouse, which was particularly active in supporting the Counter-Reformation, publishing the works of Denis the Carthusian, as well as those of its own professed monks, such as Johannes Justus Lansberg (Lanspergius, 1490-1539) and Laurentius Surius (1522-1578), also aided the first Jesuits during the early years of the development of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> In 1542 the General Chapter forbade the reading of the works of Erasmus and admonished not to waste time studying Greek and Hebrew.

The Carthusian nuns also suffered during the Reformation period. The General Chapter insisted that the number of nuns should be limited in accordance with the revenues available. The nunneries of Prémol, Salettes, Gosnay and Bruges were all plundered.

In 1582, during the priorate of Bernard Carasse (1566-1586), a new edition of the Carthusian Statutes, the *Nova Collectio Statutorum*, separating the Rule from the liturgical prescriptions, which for the first time were printed separately as the *Ordinarium*, was promulgated to bring the Rule into accord with the legislation of the Council of Trent. A Novice Master had been introduced already in 1567, though the Vicar continued to play an important rôle in the formation of novices up to the French Revolution. Efforts to found a charterhouse in the New World foundered on the resistance of the Spanish monarch, who felt the need for missionaries was more pressing than for contemplative monks, though the project was approved by the Carthusian General chapter in 1563 and 1564.

In the seventeenth century twenty new charterhouses were founded, twelve of which in France, but in the eighteenth century there were no new foundations. In the Age of Enlightenment no benefactors could be found, who were willing to donate the substantial resources necessary to found a charterhouse. Subsequently, all new foundations were financed by the Order, with the aid - where possible - of benefactors.

In the seventeenth century the Spanish Carthusian Antonio de Molina († 1612) wrote an *Instrucción de sacerdotes* in the charterhouse of Miraflores near Burgos, which exercised an important influence on the training of priests in the post-Tridentine period.

In the late seventeenth century the Grande Chartreuse was once again rebuilt under the direction of Innocent Le Masson, prior of the Grande Chartreuse 1675-1703, after the eighth disastrous fire over the centuries. The monastery then took on its present austere but harmonious appearance. Endowed with a strong personality, Innocent Le Masson was a gifted spiritual writer, who also promoted historical studies concerning his Order, culminating in the *Annales* of Dom Charles Le

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gérald Chaix, *Réforme et Contre-Réforme catholiques: Recherches sur la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 80 (1981).

Couteulx and the *Ephemerides* of Leo Le Vasseur, besides his own *Disciplina Ordinis Cartusienis*, originally published as the first volume of the *Annales*.<sup>1</sup> His correspondence<sup>2</sup> was formidable and he was successful in limiting the inroads of Jansenism, which remained largely confined to the charterhouses of Northern France. He also engaged in a polemical controversy with Armand Jean de Rancé (1626-1700), Abbot of La Trappe, concerning the primitive Carthusian observance and the fidelity of the Carthusians to their original ideal. He was responsible for finally suppressing the corrieres for the laybrothers in 1679, owing to the possibility of irregularities for a group living at some distance from the charterhouse, but, in fact, the laybrothers had been recalled to the charterhouse proper in the later Middle Ages. It would be foolish to pretend that life in the charterhouse in the late seventeenth century was identical with the lived experience of St. Bruno. The expansion of the Order led to numerous obligations to founders and benefactors, so that the mass, seldom celebrated in the early decades, when a charterhouse was content with a single altar, had, on occasion, to be celebrated conventually three times, not to mention the private masses of the individual monks. Nevertheless, during Innocent Le Masson's priorate the Order still counted 173 houses, divided in 16 provinces, with 2,500 choir monks, 1,300 laybrothers and 70 nuns.

Innocent Le Masson was also vigilant to avoid the spread of Quietism among the nuns, for whom he also penned a number spiritual writings and compiled a guide to aid them in their way of life. Anne Griffon of Gosnay († 1641)<sup>3</sup> had recorded her mystical experiences in the first half of the seventeenth century, but she seems to have suffered from psychological problems, as did Teresa Bunn († 1967) of Nonenque in the twentieth century.

Jansenism continued to trouble the peace of a number of French charterhouses in the early eighteenth century during the priorate of Anthony Tocquet de Montgeffond (1703-31), a schismatic "Jansenist" charterhouse being opened temporarily in the Low Countries.

Many charterhouses, particularly in Spain and Italy, received baroque embellishments in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which in some cases, such as Granada, seem scarcely in keeping with earlier Carthusian legislation.

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of historical studies concerning the Carthusians cf. James Hogg, "Historiographie des Kartäuserordens", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 215 (2004), pp. 5-29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Augustin Devaux (ed.), *Dom Innocent Le Masson Général des Chartreux: Correspondance*, Vol. 1: *Avant le Généralat - Pastorale pour l'Observance - 1661-1675-1681*, Vol. 2: *Assaut contre les Statuts en Espagne et en France 1681-1685*; Vol. 3: *Affaires Courantes - Affaires Mineures - Parmi les Querelles Dogmatiques 1686 - 1690 - 1703*, Vol. 4: *Table des Citations Bibliques; Table Analytique; Table des Noms de Personnes; Table des Noms de Lieux; Table de Références aux Statuts de l'Ordre; Quatre jugements sur Dom Le Masson*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 206, 2003-2005.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for Gosnay at the period: Augustin Devaux, "Les Moniales Chartreuses de Gosnay vues par leurs pères visiteurs 1619-1668", in Augustin Devaux, *Études et Documents pour l'Histoire des Chartreux*, pp. 43-106.

In 1775 and 1782-1783 the Emperor Joseph II ordered the suppression of all charterhouses in his territories, - Austria, Flanders, and Lombardy, - as he regarded contemplative Orders as useless to society. The Carthusian nunnery in Bruges was thus also closed in 1783. In 1784 the sixteen Spanish charterhouses were united in a National Congregation, which no longer recognised the authority of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse. Even so, on the eve of the French Revolution there were still 126 charterhouses, though virtually all were extinguished by the French Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic regime. 51 Carthusians suffered martyrdom during this troubled epoch. All the Carthusian nunneries were victims of the French Revolution and were closed by 1794, the prioress of Gosnay even suffered martyrdom through the guillotine.

After the restoration of the monarchy in France in 1815, a small group of Carthusians from the Part-Dieu in Switzerland united with others who had secretly remained together at Romans in Dauphiné to reopen the Grande Chartreuse in 1816. Thus a revival of the Order in France and Italy began, which gained impetus during John Baptist Mortaize's lengthy priorate of the Grande Chartreuse (1831-1863). The General Chapter was convened again in 1837 and the Carthusian Provinces of France and Italy re-established in 1839. Anti-clerical legislation caused the closure of the two Portuguese charterhouses at Evora and Lisbon in 1834, which had survived the French Revolution. The charterhouses incorporated in the National Spanish Congregation were similarly suppressed in 1835, though a few monks were tolerated at Miraflores as custodians of the charterhouse, to protect its artistic treasures. The charterhouses in Poland were closed at much the same period, - Gidle (1819), Dantzig (1826) and Bereza (1831). Ittingen in Switzerland followed in 1848.

The Carthusian nuns were also revived at this period, a group having gathered at Osier in 1819, but the pilgrimage site was scarcely suited to a community leading a solitary life. The Grande Chartreuse thus aided them to purchase Beauregard (Isère). New foundations were made at Montauban (Tarn-et-Garonne) in 1854 and Notre Dame du Gard (Somme), a former Cistercian monastery, in 1870, but the anti-clerical legislation in France caused them to be evacuated in 1901, though the nuns were able to remain at Beauregard. Those from Montauban settled at Motta Grossa, near Riva di Pinerolo in Northern Italy, whilst those from Notre Dame du Gard, after two decades in unsatisfactory quarters in Belgium, were transferred to the former Cistercian Abbey of Nonenque in Aveyron, France, in 1928, which offered a perfect solitude. Owing to the uncertainty of the situation at Beauregard, the Order purchased the former Franciscan monastery of San Francesco at Giaveno, but the community of Beauregard was not forced into exile. The buildings of the two new Italian foundations were, however, not really suited to the Carthusian life. After the Second Vatican Council the nuns finally

received their own statutes, approved by the General Chapter of 1973, which permitted them to hold their own General Chapter at the Grande Chartreuse. Their desire for greater solitude led to new foundations in the later twentieth century, better suited to a more eremitical way of life.

The Italian charterhouses which had been reopened were again closed, - first Le Reposoir in Savoy and Collegno<sup>1</sup> in Piedmont in 1855, then under the law of 7 July 1866 Padula, followed by Pavia (1881) and Naples (1921), a few monks being tolerated as custodians in the meanwhile. In 1873 Trisulti<sup>2</sup> was threatened, though it was only finally abandoned in 1947. The charterhouse of Rome<sup>3</sup> was closed in 1884. Meanwhile, in France the Carthusians settled at Mougères (Hérault) in 1825, and reopened Montrieux (Var) in 1829, Bosserville near Nancy in 1835, Valbonne (Gard) in 1836, Portes (Ain) in 1855, Vauclaire (Dordogne) in 1858, Le Reposoir, reopened again after the annexation of Savoy by France in 1860, Sélignac (Ain) in 1869 and Montreuil-sur-Mer (Pas-de-Calais) in 1870. Later in the nineteenth century a more tolerant climate allowed charterhouses to be re-established in Switzerland at the Valsainte in 1863, at Montalegre in Spain in 1867,<sup>4</sup> in Germany at Hain near Düsseldorf in 1869, though it was closed from 1875-90 during the "Kulturkampf", in England, where the new charterhouse at Parkminster was erected in 1873, and at Pleterje in Slovenia in 1899, though Parkminster, Pleterje and Montalegre were destined to receive monks expelled from France, where the charterhouses were evacuated in 1901, although the Grande Chartreuse remained open until 1903, when the community was ejected by military force on 29 April, settling at the former charterhouse of Farneta near Lucca in August 1904, which constituted the Grande Chartreuse in exile, until the prior Ferdinand Vidal, accompanied by Dom Michael d'Abbadie d'Arrast and Dom Bernard Chastenet de Géry reoccupied the Grande Chartreuse on 21 June 1940 during the chaotic conditions of the Second World War, when German troops were already in the vicinity of the Chartreuse mountains.<sup>5</sup> On 6 August a further group of Carthusians, who had been waiting at Voiron, entered the Grande Chartreuse and the regular observance recommenced. The French charterhouses of Montrieux<sup>6</sup> and Sélignac had been reopened from 1929 onwards, the monks being passively

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Anna Maria De Leonardis, *La Certosa Reale di Torino a Collegno e luoghi di devozione per la città (1641-1853)*, Turin 1998.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. James Hogg, Giovanni Leoncini & Michele Merola, *La Certosa di Trisulti*.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. James Hogg, *The Charterhouse of Rome*; and Lidia Cangemi, *La Certosa di Roma*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 171 (2002).

<sup>4</sup>The first community that followed the full prescriptions of the rule was only established in 1901, however.

<sup>5</sup>No suitable use had been found for the buildings after the expulsion of the Carthusians in 1903. Efforts to install a summer university proved abortive.

<sup>6</sup>The monks of Montrieux had settled at La Cervara, south of Genua, in 1901.



tolerated, whilst the communities of Valbonne and Vauclaire settled in the Spanish charterhouse of Aula Dei,<sup>1</sup> repurchased in 1901.

During the Spanish Civil War several Carthusians of Montalegre were assassinated,<sup>2</sup> though General Franco restored Porta Coeli to the Order in 1945 and Jerez de la Frontera in 1948, the Spanish charterhouses forming their own province from 1949 onwards, to which Evora in Portugal, reopened in 1960, was affiliated.

After the Second World War a group of Italian charterhouses had to be successively closed owing to diminished recruitment, - Trisulti and Pavia in 1947, Florence in 1957 and Pisa in 1969, as well as Mougères in France in 1977. The German charterhouse at Hain near Düsseldorf, which lay in close proximity to the airport, was also suppressed and the community transferred to new buildings at Seibranz near Bad Wurzach in Allgäu in 1962. The nuns of Beauregard, housed in unsuitable buildings, were transferred to a new charterhouse at Reillanne in the Alpes-de-Haute Provence in 1978, whilst the Spanish nuns from San Francisco had already moved to the former Cistercian Abbey of Benifaza (Castellon de la Plana), situated in a formidable solitude, in 1967.<sup>3</sup> In 1977 the monks of Vedana, near Belluno, were replaced by a group of nuns from San Francesco, seeking a more solitary observance, who remained until 1994. When the charterhouses of Monte Grossa was closed in 1998, the nuns were transferred to Vedana, whilst San Francesco was suppressed in 1994, the community occupying the new charterhouse of Dego in the province of Savona. Nevertheless, recruitment has proved difficult, the recently founded Order of the Sisters of Bethlehem, the new occupants of the charterhouse of Jerez de la Frontera, who acknowledge St. Bruno as their inspiration, having attracted considerably more vocations than the Carthusian nuns.

The first foundation in the New World, envisaged at Sky Farm in 1951, was finally realised at Mount Equinox in 1971, - the charterhouse of the Transfiguration in Vermont -, followed by a charterhouse in Southern Brasil, Mostero Nossa Senhora Medianeira, Ivorá, under construction since 1985, and la Cartuja San José at Dean Funes, in the province of Cordoba in Argentina, where building operations commenced in 1997. After considering the possibility of a foundation on the Philippine Islands, the decision was taken to undertake foundations for both monks and nuns in South Korea in 1999,<sup>4</sup> but the charterhouses of

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Irénée Jaricot, *La Cartuja de Santa María de Montalegre. Compendio Histórico*, Montalegre 1960; [Domingo-Maria Cardona], *Las cartujas de Montalegre, Sant Pol de Maresme, Vallparadis, Ara Cæli y Via Cæli, Analecta Cartusiana* 41:2 (1983).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. José Maria Canals, *Martirio de los monjes de Montalegre asesinados en Tiana y en Barcelona el día 20 de julio del 1936 y el 15 de octubre del mismo año*, Grande Chartreuse 1996.

<sup>3</sup>Benifaza was officially incorporated into the Order by the General Chapter of 1971. For the buildings cf. James Hogg, *La Cartuja de Benifaça, Analecta Cartusiana* 41:7 (1980).

<sup>4</sup>Considerable progress has been made with the buildings of the charterhouse for monks at Modong, but that for the nuns is still in the planning stage.

Séalignac and Jerez de la Frontera had to be closed in 2001 for lack of vocations.<sup>1</sup>

In 1926 the Rule, *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis*, was emended to conform to the requirements of the new *Codex Iuris Canonici*, promulgated in 1917. The process was repeated after the Second Vatican Council, resulting in the more radical *aggiornamento* of the *Statuta renovata Ordinis Cartusiensis* (1971) and the new *Ordinarium* (1975). The strict separation of the choir monks and the laybrothers in the church was abandoned. The liturgical calendar was also drastically revised, eliminating or reducing in rank many feastdays and curtailing the offices for the dead to allow more time for solitary prayer. Matins and Lauds remained, however, as the Night Office, although until the late Middle Ages they were sung early in the morning.<sup>2</sup> The migration of religious from other Orders, under the privilege of transferring to a more severe observance, was restricted to exceptional cases to eliminate the influx of elderly candidates, whose habits were already firmly established and who could scarcely be integrated into the Carthusian way of life. A further revision of the Statutes in 1991 under the title *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis* was necessary to bring them into conformity with the new Codex of Canon Law.

In the later half of the twentieth century the spiritual writings of Augustine Guillerand (1877-1945)<sup>3</sup>, a professed monk of the Valsainte and later prior of Vedana, attracted a considerable audience, as did those of Dom Cyril Pearce, former novice master of the Grande Chartreuse and later prior of Parkminster, as well as various compilations of spiritual writings by contemporary Carthusians.

In 1975 four French Carthusians undertook a new foundation at Parisot<sup>4</sup> in the diocese of Montauban under the direction of a former prior of Montrieux, Dom Ange Helly, where they endeavoured to relive the spiritual experience of St. Bruno in absolute poverty and extreme simplicity, inhabiting primitive concrete huts in a wood, grouped round an austere chapel, but the experiment has not attracted postulants nor was it recognised by the Order. A similar experiment of the nuns, the Désert Sainte Roseline at Saint Vincent-sur-Jabron (Alpes de Haute-Provence), launched by a former prioress of Reillanne, Guillemine van Nieuwburg, in religion Mother Mary-Gertrude, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Digne, although slightly less radical, also appears unlikely to survive.

<sup>1</sup>In December 1999 there were 340 Carthusian monks, including the laybrothers, 24 novices and 12 postulants. The nuns numbered 75, with 2 novices and 7 postulants.

<sup>2</sup>An ordinance of the General Chapter in 1423 allowed the monks to return to bed after Matins and Lauds, so presumably these offices were fixed at around midnight at this period: cf. Maurice Laporte, *Ex Chartis Capitulum Generalium Ab initio usque ad annum 1951*, In Domo Cartusiae 1953, Admonition 2428.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. André Ravier, *Dom Augustin Guillerand*, Bruges 1965.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. James Hogg, "A Visit to the Parisot "Carthusians" in the Easter Week of 1993", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 62:3 (1993), pp. 235-254 (with illustrations).

The Order seems to be setting its hopes for the future on foundations in the New World and Asia, though it remains to be seen whether latent vocations in such countries are stable enough to support the rigours of Carthusian observance.

### SUMMARY BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

A history of the Carthusian Order which meets the requirements of modern historical research is still to be written. On 4 May 2000, after two previous meetings at the Grande Chartreuse and discussions with the Prior General, Dom Marcellin Theeuwes, and the archivist of the Grande Chartreuse, Dom Luc Fauchon, Daniel Le Blévec signed a contract with Éditions Honoré Champion in Paris for a three volume history of the Order, *Histoire de l'Ordre des Chartreux*. For the first volume up to the eve of the Reformation, concluding with the priorate of Dom Francis Du Puy (1503-1521, † 15 September 1521). Hans-Jakob Becker was charged with the the liturgy, Bruno Rieder OSB with the "Propositum Cartusiense", Dennis Martin, with "Carthusian Spirituality in the Later Middle Ages from Guigo II to the End of the Fifteenth Century", Sylvain Excoffon with "Les Temporels Cartusiens au Moyen Age", Raphael Witkowski with medieval Carthusian libraries and the charterhouses in Eastern Europe, Daniel Le Blévec, with the Carthusian Nuns, and Alain Girard and Giovanni Leoncini with art and architecture, whilst Daniel Le Blévec and James Hogg would deal with the general history of the Order in the medieval period. Gérard Chaix was entrusted with Volume 2, dealing with the period up to the French Revolution. Volume 3 would continue the history up to the Present Day. Unfortunately, the illness of Daniel Le Blévec and various health problems and the advancing age of James Hogg have retarded progress on the first volume. Meanwhile the second volume of the new *Monasticon Cartusiense*, edited by Gerhard Schlegel and James Hogg, dealing with the charterhouses in Germany and Central Europe, appeared as *Analecta Cartusiana* 185:2, in 2004. The remaining volumes are planned for 2005-2007. [Un Chartreux, originally Cyprian Boutrais] *La Grande Chartreuse*, Bellegarde 1998, 17th edition, revised by Jacques Dupont and others, remains valuable as an informative orientation. A fair amount of source material is available, much of it published in the *Analecta Cartusiana*, Berlin/Salzburg 1970- , - there are virtually 300 volumes to date: Stanislas Autore, *Scriptores Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 20 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 120, 1993-95; Stanislas Autore, *Scriptores Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis: A-C*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 200, 2003; Clement Bohic († 1621), *Chronica Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 4 vols., 1911-1954; John Clark, Jan de Grauwe, James Hogg, Michael Sargent, and Francis Timmermans (eds.), *The Chartae of the Carthusian General Chapter*, 34 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 100, 1982- ; Ildefonso-Maria Gómez and Un Cartujo de Aula Dei [José-Oriol Puig], *Escritores Cartujanos Españoles, Scripta et Documenta* 19, 1970; Albert Gruys [Gruis], *Cartusiana*, 3 vols., CNRS Paris, 1977-78 (2 Augustin Devaux & Gabriel van Dijck, *Nouvelle bibliographie cartusienne*, La Grande Chartreuse 2005 as CD-ROM, much superior to its predecessor); *Ittinger Schriftenreihe*, 5 vols., Kartause Ittingen 1985- ; Charles Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 8 vols., Montreuil-sur-Mer 1887-1891; Innocent Le Masson, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Vol. 1, La Corrierie 1687; reissued as *Disciplina Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Montreuil-sur-Mer 1895 and *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:18-20, 1993; Leo Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 5 vols., Montreuil-sur-Mer 1890-93; Nicolas Molin (†1638), *Historia cartusiana*, 3 vols., Tournai 1903-06; T. Petreius, *Bibliotheca Cartusiana*, Cologne 1609; José-Oriol Puig-Rigau, *Escritores Cartujos de España*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 161, 2001; Georgius Schwengel, *Opera*, 20 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 90, 1981-84; Benedetto Tromby, *Storia critico-cronologica-diplomatica del Patriarca S. Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano*, 10 vols., Naples 1773-79,

reissued as *Analecta Cartusiana* 84 in 22 vols., 1981-83; G. Vallier, *Sigillographie de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, Montreuil-sur-Mer 1891. The secondary literature has become extensive in recent years, so only a limited selection can be indicated here: E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, London 1930; Yves Gourdel, "Le culte de la Sainte Vierge dans l'Ordre des Chartreux", in *Maria* 2, Paris 1952, pp. 625-78; James Hogg (ed.), *Die Kartäuser in Österreich*, 4 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 83, 1981-95; Marijan Zadnikar, *Die Kartäuser: Orden den schweigenden Mönche*, Cologne 1983; Jan de Grauwe (ed.), *Historia et Spiritualitas Cartusiensis*, Destelbergen 1983; Ildefonso Maria Gómez, *La Cartuja en España*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 114, 1984; James Hogg (ed.), *Die Kartäuser und die Reformation*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 108, 1984; James Hogg (ed.), *Kartäuserregel und Kartäuserleben*, 4 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 113, 1984-87; Jan de Grauwe, *Historia Cartusiana Belgica*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 51, 1985; Bernard Bligny & Gérard Chaix (eds.), *La Naissance des Chartreuses*, Grenoble 1986; Janez Hollenstein & T. Lauko, *Wo die Stille spricht*, Pleterje 1986; Elena Barlés Báguena, "Aproximación a la bibliografía general sobre la arquitectura monástica de la Orden Cartujana", in *Artigrama* 4, 1987, pp. 259-75; Robin Bruce Lockhart, *Botschaft des Schweigens*, Würzburg 1987; James Hogg, "Die Ausbreitung der Kartäuser", in *Analecta Cartusiana* 89, 1987, pp. 5-26; Geraldo Posada, *Der heilige Bruno. Vater der Kartäuser*, Cologne 1987; P. Amargier, Régis Bertrand, Alain Girard & Daniel Le Blévec, *Chartreuses de Provence*, Aix-en-Provence 1988; Margrit Früh, Jürg Ganz & Robert Fürer (eds.), *Die Kartäuser im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Ittinger Schriftenreihe* 3, 1988; James Hogg (ed.), *Kartäuserliturgie und Kartäuserschrifttum*, 5 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 115, 1988-90; Wilhelm Bösen, *Auf einsamer Straße zu Gott*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1989; Daniel Le Blévec & Alain Girard (eds.), *Les Chartreux et l'art XIV<sup>e</sup> XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1989; James Hogg (ed.), *The Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes*, 35 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 99, 1989-99; W. Schäfke (ed.), *Die Kölner Kartause um 1500*, 2 vols., Cologne 1991; James Hogg (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Kartäuserordens*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 125, 1991-92; Ange Helly, *Bruno von Köln*, Würzburg 1992; James Hogg (ed.), *Die Kartäuser und ihre Welt*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 62, 1993; Alain Girard & Daniel Le Blévec (eds.), *Crises et Temps de rupture en Chartreuse*, *Analecta Cartusiana* New Series 6, 1994; Margrit Früh & Jürg Ganz (eds.), *Akten des 11. Internationalen Kongresses für Kartäuserforschung in der Kartause Ittingen*, Ittingen 1995; James Hogg (ed.), *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, 14 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 130, 1995-97; M. Koller (ed.), *Kartäuser in Franken*, Würzburg 1996; Augustin Devaux, *La Poésie Latine chez les Chartreux*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 131, 1997; James Hogg, "Kartäuser", in Peter Dinzelsbacher & James Hogg (eds.), *Kulturgeschichte der Christlichen Orden*, Stuttgart 1997, pp. 275-296; James Hogg (ed.), *Die Kartäuser und das Hl. Römische Reich*, 4 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 140, 1998; Jan De Grauwe & Francis Timmermans, *Prosopographia Cartusiana Belgica Renovata (1314-1796)*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 154, 1999; Juan Mayo Escudero, *Santos y Beatos de la Cartuja*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 159, 2000; Santiago Cantera Montenegro, *Los Cartujos en la religiosidad y la sociedad españoles 1390-1563*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 166, 2000; Jürg Ganz & Margrit Früh (eds.), *Das Erbe der Kartäuser*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 160, 2000; James Hogg (ed.), *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit*, 3 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 157, 2001; Adelindo Giuliani, *La Formazione dell'Identità Certosina (1084-1155)*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 155, 2002; Karl Thir & James Hogg, *Der hl. Bruno und die Kartausen Mitteleuropas*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 190 (2002); James Hogg (ed.), *Die Reichskartause Buxheim 1402-2002 und der Kartäuserorden*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 182 (2003, 2004).

<sup>1</sup>This bibliography contains essential titles not mentioned in the preceding notes.

### Abbreviations for the article "Carthusian Spirituality"

- AC** *Analecta Cartusiana*, ed. James Hogg, Berlin 1970, Salzburg 1971ff.  
**BAC** *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*, Madrid.  
**BBKL** *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. F.W. Bautz, 1975ff.  
**Catholicisme** *Catholicisme*, Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain, ed. G. Jacquemet, 9 vols., Paris 1954-82.  
**Devaux/van Dijck** *Augustin Devaux, / Gabriel van Dijck*, Nouvelle Bibliographie cartusienne, CD-Rom, La Grande Chartreuse 2005.  
**DS** *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique. Doctrine et Histoire*, publié sous la direction de M. Viller, SJ, assisté de F. Cavallera, et J. de Guibert, SJ, Paris 1932-95.  
**Escritores** José-Oriol Puig-Rigau (†), *Escritores Cartujos de España*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 161 (2001).  
**Gruys** Albert Gruys, *Cartusiana. Un instrument heuristique*, Paris 1976-78, 3 vols.  
**Le Couteulx** D. Carolus Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusienis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429*, 8 vols., Montreuil-sur-Mer 1887-1891.  
**Le Vasseur** D. Leon Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusienis*, 5 vols., Montreuil-sur-Mer 1890-93.  
**Molin** D. Nicolas Molin, *Historia cartusiana ab origine usque ad tempus auctoris anno 1638 defuncti*, 3 vols., Tournai 1903-1906.  
**n.d.** no date; sans date; ohne Datum; senza anno; sin año  
**n.p.** no place; sans lieu; ohne Ort; senza luogo; sin lugar  
**OGE** *Ons geestelijk Erf*, Antwerp 1927ff.  
**OGL** *Ons geestelijk Leven*, Tilburg, 1921ff.  
**Petreius** F. Th. Petreius, *Bibliotheca Cartusiana*, Cologne 1609 (reprinted: Farnborough 1968).  
**Tromby** D. Benedetto Tromby, *Storia critico-chronologica diplomatica del Patriarca S. Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano*, 10 Vols, Naples 1773-79 (reprinted AC 84, 1981-83, 22 vols).

## CARTHUSIAN SPIRITUALITY<sup>1</sup>

JAMES HOGG

### 1. Medieval Carthusian Spirituality

If there is no school of medieval Carthusian writers<sup>2</sup> quite to match the early Cistercians, the Carthusians nevertheless made a significant - and often idiosyncratic - contribution to medieval spiritual literature. Of the numerous Carthusian treatises relatively few achieved the dignity of print, many remaining in manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Problems of attribution are also often insoluble. Even the major figures remain shadowy, - their works over the centuries being commonly attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux and other better known writers.<sup>4</sup> Some authors have been printed perhaps beyond their spiritual merits, such as the translator Heinrich Haller of the charterhouse of Schnals in South Tyrol, due to the devotion and

<sup>1</sup> Christian names for which a current anglicized form is habitually employed are frequently written as in English in the text, though in quotes the original form has, of course, been retained. Where no current English equivalent is available, such names have been left in the original language.

<sup>2</sup> In 1997 a reputable English publisher produced an anthology of Carthusian spiritual writings: Robin Bruce Lockhart, *Listening to Silence: An Anthology of Carthusian Writings*, London 1977. Though it furnishes texts translated into English of extracts from St. Bruno up to late twentieth century Carthusians, the compilation is not particularly helpful. Maybe due to the compiler's poor eyesight, there are numerous errors and contradictions, whilst the translations are often unsatisfactory. The present survey is decidedly subjective and by no means exhaustive, - only those Carthusians who seemed to the present writer significant have been included.

<sup>3</sup> For the bibliography cf. Theodore Petreius, *Bibliotheca Cartusiana*, Cologne 1609, where numerous authors and their works are cited. Yves Gourdel, "Chartreux", in DS 2 (1953), cols. 705-76, offers extensive lists under "Travaux des Chartreux sur la Spiritualité" (cols. 763-76), which is by no means exhaustive. For more detailed and up-to-date information, cf. the entries for the individual authors in Augustin Devaux & Gabriel van Dijck, *Nouvelle bibliographie cartusienne*, available on CD-ROM from the Grande Chartreuse 2005. More limited in scope is *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd edition 1978ff, third edition in preparation, where the entries enter into considerable detail, though the articles for the Carthusians are not always accurate. There is a brief introduction to Carthusian spirituality in Jacques Dupont et alii, *La Grande Chartreuse*, Bellegarde 1998<sup>17</sup>, 69-75, and in Nathalie Nabert, "La spiritualité cartusienne", in *La Grande Chartreuse: Au delà du silence*, Grenoble 2002, a collaborative volume, coordinated by Chantal Spillemaecker, adviser Pierrette Paravy, with remarkable photos taken by Michel Lecomte, 118-28. The chapter for the projected history of the Order by Dennis Martin, "Carthusian Spirituality in the Later Middle Ages: from Guigo II to the End of the Fifteenth Century", offers a wide and perceptive panorama, whilst the articles collected under the title "La voie cartusienne: Une vie cachée en Dieu", *Carmel* 107 (2003), present valuable insights: Nathalie Nabert, "Prologue: Un ministère d'union divine", 5-9; Daniel Le Blévec, "Un érémitisme tempéré", 11-19; under the title "Une voie ascétique": Nathalie Nabert, "L'ascèse du corps", 21-41; Alain Girard, "L'ascèse du regard", 43-57; Nathalie Nabert, under the heading "Une vie christocentrée", "Une rencontre avec l'humanité du Christ", 59-68, and "Une dévotion à la Passion du Christ", 69-71; Nathalie Nabert, under the heading "Louange et vie contemplative", "La liturgie", 73-82, and "La vie contemplative", 83-97; and Nathalie Nabert, "Épilogue: Dans les pas de Marie", 98-99. For the Spanish Carthusian authors, cf. José-Oriol Puig-Rigau (†), *Escritores Cartujos de España*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 161 (2001).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. André Wilmart, "Les écrits spirituels des deux Guigues", *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 5 (1924), 59-79, 127-58; André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Âge latin*, Paris 1932, 217-60.