

PAPAL INDULT, CULT, VENERATION AND FRANÇOIS DU PUY'S VITA OF SAINT BRUNO THE CARTHUSIAN

PAPIESKI INDULT I KULT ŚW. BRUNONA KARTUZA A JEGO ŻYWOT AUTORSTWA FRANÇOIS DU PUY

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Abstract

The article deals with the issue of the cult of Saint Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order. The scholarly literature had so far failed to present this matter from the perspective of canon law and that has caused numerous ambiguities and terminological errors, that have also affected the way in which scholars perceived the development of this saint's cult. The public cult of St. Bruno was only authorized by Pope Leo X in 1514, when he allowed the Office of St. Bruno to be celebrated within the Order. The article also presents the connections of this papal indult with the *Life of St. Bruno* written by the General of the Order, François du Puy.

Keywords: Saint Bruno, Carthusians, Leo X, cult, hagiography

Abstrakt

Artykuł ten podejmuje zagadnienie kultu świętego Brunona, założyciela Zakonu Kartuzów. W dotychczasowej literaturze naukowej brakowało dotąd przedstawienia tej kwestii z perspektywy prawa kanonicznego, co powodowało liczne niejasności i błędy terminologiczne. Ta sytuacja związana była również z rozwojem kultu tego świętego. Na jego publiczne sprawowanie zgodę wyraził dopiero papież Leon X w 1514 r., kiedy to pozwolił odprawiać oficjum ku czci św. Brunona w obrębie zakonu. Artykuł przedstawia także związki tego papieskiego indultu z żywotem św. Brunona napisanym przez generała zakonu François Du Puy.

Słowa kluczowe: Św. Bruno, kartuzi, Leon X, kult, hagiografia

Introduction

The founders of religious orders constitute a significant group among saints and blessed in the Catholic Church. Their understanding and application of the Gospel, being of divine inspiration, could be perceived as a signpost pointing towards Heaven [Schulmeister 1971, 47-52]. In some instances, the impact of these *institutores* on society has been so powerful and obvious that it led, *circumstantiis non obstantibus*, to a swift official affirmation of their sainthood in the form of a beatification or canonization shortly after their death.¹ In most cases, however, the papacy avoided haste and careless action in this delicate and important matter, as a letter of Pope John XXII to Thomas of Lancaster about the canonization of Archbishop of Winchester, written in 1319, clearly indicates: “[...] scire te volumus, quod Romana Mater Ecclesia non consuevit, super tanta causa praesertim, praecipitanter aliquid agere, quinpotius tale negotium sollempnis examinationis indagine ponderare.”²

This paper, in an effort to solve some of the ambiguities, investigates the path that led to Leo X’s authorization of the celebration of an office in honor of Bruno of Cologne within the houses of the Carthusian Order, with special attention paid to the *Chartae* of the Carthusian General Chapter. In addition, it also analyzes the relationship between this official papal indult and the *Vita Brunonis* written by prior general of the Order – François du Puy.

Bruno’s life has been subject of many detailed studies, but a brief summary will be sufficient to provide some context for further considerations. He was born in Cologne in the year 1030, where he also obtained his first education. Not long after, in 1056, he was appointed by the bishop Gervais de Château-du-Loir to the office of *magister* in the renowned cathedral school of Reims. It is very likely that this position made it inevitable for him to engage in the most fierce contemporary theological disputes concerning the problem of universals and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Bruno held the office of *magister* for almost 20 years. During this time, he

¹ Just to name two very evident examples, St. Francis of Assisi died in 1226 and was canonized just two years later in 1228. St. Dominic de Guzman died in 1221 and was canonized 1234.

² *Litterae Cantuarienses: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, edited by J. Sheppard, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, Appendix, p. 400-401.

became known for his knowledge and integrity.³ After leaving Reims as a result of a simoniac crisis and spending some time in a kind of exile, his new vocation became increasingly evident. Although he was not the first to leave the world, it must have been quite shocking for the people around him to see a man of his position, status, and age commit himself to the *fuga saeculi*. Bruno at first joined Robert of Molesmes and his cenobitic community, which later on contributed to the founding of the Cistercian Order. This was, however, not the kind of life Bruno was looking for and so in 1084 he established a new hermitage in the valley of Chartreuse [Louf 2013, 216]. Bruno led the newly founded monastery until 1090, when he was called to Rome by his previous student from Reims – Odo de Chatillon, who became Pope Urban II. Having experienced a peaceful and contemplative life at Chartreuse, Bruno grew weary of the agitated and restless conduct of the *Curia Romana*. The Pope, though, could not afford to lose such a valuable advisor and so he offered Bruno the episcopal see of Reggio in Calabria, but the proposition was turned down. Then, the founder of Chartreuse had, most likely with the help of Urban II, erected a new monastery called *Santa Maria della Torre*.⁴ There is a quite common confusion regarding the name of the new foundation,⁵ resulting from the fact that shortly after Bruno's death in 1101, his successor in the office of prior, Lanuin, established a new coenobitic community just about a kilometer from the hermitage of Santa Maria, called *Sancti Stephani de Bosco*.⁶ It took a different path of development compared to the Chartreuse and was soon (1191) taken over by the Cistercian Order. The recuperation of *Domus Sancti Stephani* followed in the year 1513, which was related to efforts the Carthusian Order made to obtain an official approval of Bruno's sainthood.

³ Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, I 11 (PL 156) 853: “fuit [...] Bruno quidam in urbe Remensi vir, et liberalibus instructus artibus, et magnorum studiorum rector”; Hugo von Die, *Epistolae extra registrum*, Ep VIII: PL 148, 745: „[...] commendamus gratiae sanctitatis vestrae, [...] dominum Brunonem Remensis Ecclesiae in omni honestate magistrum.”

⁴ More about the reasons why Bruno stayed in Calabria: Posada 1987, 146.

⁵ It might be even found in the writings of Carthusian Hagiographers, e.g. *Vita Brunonis* written by the prior of the Charterhouse in Basel Heinrich Arnoldi ca. 1486. See Dziemski 2020, 99, 102.

⁶ More about the name and how it is represented in the earliest medieval sources: Ceravolo 2017, 101.

1. Why was there no beatification or canonization in the 12th century?

While in the ancient and early medieval Church the expressions *sanctus* and *beatus* were used alternately and in the same sense, certain members of mendicant orders interpreted the praxis of the Holy See too extensively and promoted local, but also public cults of people, which they then called blessed because the term “blessed” did not yet have canonical content. Urban V, in 1386, called this undermining of binding law *fraus* [Veraja 1983, 16]. In the 15th century, *beatus* was someone, *qui privatis in locis a privatis personis in Sanctorum coetu esse creditur*. It was Sixtus IV who connected the title blessed with public cult when he approved the veneration of Johannes Bonus in 1483.⁷ Veraja, in his book, presents 29 more examples of papal approval of local cults in the 15th and 16th centuries. After the foundation of the Congregation of Rites, it was common to allow or confirm the veneration of a certain person in some monasteries of the same order, the whole order, dioceses, or sometimes a kingdom, usually as a step preceding the canonization. Slowly but steadily, the terms *beatus* and *sanctus* acquired their own specific meanings. However, even until the reform of Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) there was still some confusion [Misztal 2003, 159-60]. Some bishops believed that they had the competence to approve the public cult of people who had died on the territory of their diocese. Quite often people would venerate someone who, although passed away in *opinione sanctitatis*, was never officially canonized. There was also a great deal of disorientation regarding the difference between the private and public cult and between a particular cult that had received papal approval and canonization. This confusion was also visible in art⁸ and poetry. Therefore, the papal reform was set to resolve the ambiguity and establish the legal procedure of the canonical process of canonization at the level of the diocese, where an inquiry into the life of the candidate and the miracles that prove his sainthood were necessary. The reform of Urban VIII also completely changed the current order of canonization proceedings. Before, it was more likely that a certain person would be canonized when he or she had already enjoyed a public cult (*via cultus*). This was also the normal path

⁷ “possit pro beato venerari” [Veraja 1983, 19].

⁸ Heinrich Arnoldi has devoted an entire chapter of his *Vita Brunonis* to the subject of the difference in depicting saint and blessed: *Capitulum XX Differentia in figurando sanctos vel beatos, canonizatos vel non canonizatos* [Dziemski 2020, 108].

that led to canonization. From then on, however, the *via ordinaria* required that the person was not yet publicly venerated (*via non cultus*), although some exceptions were accepted (*casus exceptus*) [ibid., 113-15, 162-64].

As has been shown, it is necessary to understand the difference between canonization and beatification, since these technical terms cannot be used interchangeably.⁹ Beatification is a legal act that allows the veneration of a certain saint on a restricted territory or in a certain religious order, whereas canonization introduces an obligation to venerate a particular saint in the entire Catholic Church. However, Benedict XIV, in his great work *De servorum Dei beatificatione, et beatorum canonizatione*, adds that the most important difference lies in the fact that the canonization, as opposed to the beatification, is a final and definitive act.¹⁰ The legal institution of beatification is younger than that of canonization and was introduced over a long period of time. It has its provenance in inconclusive decisions of bishops, synods, and popes during medieval times. Since the 15th and 16th centuries, there was a growing number of papal beatifications using the legal phrase *ut possit pro beato venerari*, and it was Pope Leon X who reserved the act of beatification to the Holy See in 1515 – *cum nulli liceat quemquam pro beato absque auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae venerari* [Veraja 1983, 18-19, 28-33]. As for the canonization that originated with the cult of martyrs (1st – 4th century) and was later on enriched by the application of *translatio* or *elevatio*, there were at first no precise rules that led to confirmation of sainthood [Amore 1977, 68-77]. However, the Fifth Council of Carthage (401) made the diocesan bishop responsible for the determination of a martyr's sanctity [Kemp 1948, 15], marking the beginning of a process that led finally to papal reservation by Alexander III with his well-known decree *Audivimus* in 1181. Of course, there is evidence of both the necessity of papal affirmation before *Audivimus* [Hertling 1935, 174-79] and independent acts of canonization afterward, but this important decree presents a milestone in the development of what is today known as the canonization process.

⁹ As it quite often happens see: Paravy 2017, 17-52; Zadnikar 1983, 248; Hogg 1995, 126; Posada 1987, 262.

¹⁰ "Idcirco ultima differentia inter beatificationem et canonizationem minime quidem constituenda erit vel in permissione Cultus vel in eius coarctatione in personis aut in locis particularibus, quae in beatificatione habeatur, secus ac in canonisatione, sed extrema et definitiva de sanctitate sententia cultum aliis sanctis debitum in universa Ecclesia per canonizationem nequaquam vero per beatificationem praecipiente." I, 38, 14.

Subsequently, Bruno, who died in 1101, might have been beatified or canonized, e.g., by the bishop of Squillace, Giovanni de Niceforo (who also made donations to the newly founded *Santa Maria della Torre* [Cervolo 2017, 101], which was situated in his diocese) under the conditions generally applicable at that time. First and foremost, there needed to be the will of either the people or a religious community that perceived a certain individual as a saint (*opinio sanctitatis*). This was, of course, based on the heroism of his virtues and, very often, the miracles that he performed. As we can see, no formal obstacle stood in the way of Bruno's beatification or canonization at that time. Furthermore, a mortuary roll¹¹ sent by the monks of *Santa Maria della Torre* after their founder's death clearly demonstrates that Bruno was recognized as a saint not only by the community he led, but also by others who sought his intercession.¹² Secondly, there are also accounts of miracles related to Bruno's tomb in Calabria. The author of *Chronica Laudemus* [Wilmart 1926, 77-142], written about 1250, is the first to mention that the water flowing from Bruno's grave had the power to cure diseases. The same story was later reproduced in various Carthusian texts, e.g., the *Ortus et Decursus Ordinis Cartusiensis* (1398) [Vermeer 1929, 99] or the *Vita* by Heinrich Arnoldi (1486) [Dziemski 2020, 102]. A more detailed narrative on the veneration and devotion that Bruno enjoyed is quoted by C. Byeus in his foreword in *Acta Sanctorum*. He mentions¹³ the *Vita* composed by Peter Blomevenna – prior of the Charterhouse in Cologne. It was printed by the Carthusians about 1516. However, the issue of Blomevenna's works on Bruno calls for some further inquiry. There are at least three slightly different versions of the text dated either to 1515 or 1516. They also have different titles: *Vita sancti Brunonis*,¹⁴ *Divi Brunonis Carthusiensis ordinis fundatoris vita*¹⁵ – which is the longest and contains the same sapphic verse by S. Brant that might be found in the *Vita*, written by François du Puy, and finally, *Sermo de Sancto Brunone confessore initiateore ordinis Carthusiensis*,¹⁶ which is supposed to be the sermon preached by Blomevenna at the Carthusian General Chapter in 1516 [Clark

¹¹ More in: Beyer, Signori, and Stickel 2014; Excoffon 2003, 3-17; Constable 2017, 139-48.

¹² E.g. Tituli No. 1, 3, 39, 52, 79, 146, 175 178 in: Beyer, Signori, and Stickel 2014.

¹³ AS Oct, t. III, p. 694.

¹⁴ VD 16 B 5746.

¹⁵ VD 16 B 5745.

¹⁶ VD 16 B 5756.

2011, 166]. The *Sermo* has a different beginning,¹⁷ but from the fol. 19r, it reproduces the text of *Vita sancti Brunonis*. C. Byeus, by saying “quae sub contextae a se Sancti Vitae finem in litteras mittit Blömenvenna” refers to the version entitled *Divi Brunonis*, which contains a thorough account of the recuperation of the Calabrian Charterhouse and Bruno’s miracles, ends with a narrative on the veneration of Bruno’s tomb and the reverence he received from people of all conditions and social strata. This passage substantiates the existence of Bruno’s cult and aims to deliver proof of his sainthood. It was, as mentioned above, normal conduct before the reform of Urban VIII (*via cultus*). Without refuting it, the observation has to be made that Blomevenna’s account was written about 400 years after Bruno’s death, and this could have an impact on its credibility. But even if Bruno was venerated as a saint, it still stands that he was neither beatified nor canonized until the 16th century. It is all the more puzzling because there were Carthusians canonized much before Bruno, e.g., Hugh of Lincoln or Anselm of Belley [Louf 2013, 214]. Nevertheless, the question of why Bruno was not beatified or canonized in the 12th century still remains. Nabert claims that in spite of the praise that Bruno received in the mortuary roll, it was Guigo I, his successor at Grande Chartreuse, who, through establishing the first legislative text – *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, became the reference authority [Nabert 2003, 181]. The text itself was written at the request of the priors of the newly founded charterhouses in Portes (1115), Saint-Sulpice (1116), and Meyriat (1117) [Hogg 1970, 18]: “Amicis et fratribus in Christo dilectissimis, Bernardo Portarum, Humberto Sancti Sulpici, Milioni Maiorevi prioribus et universis qui cum eis Deo serviunt fratribus, Cartusiae prior vocatus Guigo et qui secum sunt fratres perpetuam in Domino salute.”¹⁸

With even more monasteries being erected at that time (Les Écouge, Durbon, Silva-Benedicta, Arvieres), and the *Consuetudines* being approved by the Pope in 1133, it became necessary to establish an institution that would ensure homogeneous celebration of divine office and observance of the Carthusian customs.¹⁹ Thus, the first General Chapter was summoned in 1140 or 1141. Shortly before, in the year 1132, the original monastery

¹⁷ UB Basel Mscr A IX 29 Fol. 4v-18r.

¹⁸ Guigo I, *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, Prologus (PL 153), p. 635.

¹⁹ See the document found by Mabillon in: Hogg 1970, 21.

at Grand Chartreuse was completely destroyed by an avalanche that also resulted in the loss of the archive and death of seven monks. Those who survived had to move two kilometers down the valley and start building new buildings for the community. Despite the catastrophe and other difficulties the Carthusian had to face, only in the 12th century 36 new charterhouses were founded as well as a female branch, established in 1145. All these circumstances surely impacted the actions the Carthusians took in the initial decades of the Order. Furthermore, Paravy points to the long and drawn-out process of constructing the memory and identity of Carthusians that was influenced by the surrounding culture and the inseparable ordinary preoccupations [Paravy 2017, 18]. The Order was also known for its seclusion and eremitical spirituality, which certainly did not promote the idea of boasting or advertising the sainthood of its members. Later on this notion became proverbial: *Cartusia sanctos facit, sed non patefacit* [Martin 1992, 1]. Heinrich Arnoldi elucidates on this matter in one chapter of his *Vita Brunonis – Ratio cur ordo Carthusiensis parum curet de miraculis et canonizatione suarum personarum*, quoting a certain prior of the Grand Chartreuse, who said that ‘the calendar is already full of saints and the Church of God does not need any Carthusian feasts’ [Dziemski 2020, 110]. The same motive was also employed almost 100 years earlier by Boniface Ferrer, a Carthusian monk from the house Porta Coeli [Martin 2003, 199]. The same idea of humility, which makes up one of the cornerstones of Carthusian spirituality, encouraged many members of the Order to publish their writing anonymously to avoid unwanted publicity.

Additionally, the 12th and 13th centuries were the times when popes, by means of canonization, wanted to give an example of saint bishops,²⁰ pointing to those who carried out their duty with heroic dedication and true love for people as opposed to some, whose misconduct cast a shadow on the Catholic Church. Both Carthusian saints mentioned before, Hugh of Lincoln and Anthelm of Belley were bishops, and their canonization fits in the papal endeavor of rehabilitating the episcopate after the crises it experienced from ca. 950 to about 1050 [Bligny 1984, 106].

Finally, it also seems that the distance that separated the original foundation at Grand Chartreuse from Santa Maria della Torre was a major factor that disrupted regular communication between the two. Furthermore,

²⁰ See Krafft 2005, 58-674; Paciocco 2013, 277-99.

the lavish ducal donations to the latter and the distinct ambient, differing from that of France, profoundly modified the conditions of monastic life, which became increasingly open to the inflow of postulants. This, as a result, made a strict eremitical vocation, which implied a small number of community's members, impossible to maintain, eventually ending with the overtake of the monastery by the Cistercian Order in 1091 [Paravy 2017, 47].

2. The developments that led to Leon X's indult of July 19, 1514

The growth of the Carthusian Order, slow at first, enjoyed rapid acceleration in the 14th and 15th centuries, with 105 and 45 new houses founded at that time, respectively [Hogg 1987, 5-26; R  thing 1967, 9-50]. At the brink of reformation, there were about 200 charterhouses spread throughout all of Europe.²¹ It was common for Carthusians, known for their piety and learning, to be sought by the most noble and royal patrons. In the 14th century, the initiative of founding a new charterhouse was rarely from the monks themselves [Lorenz 2002, 5]. Another important development took place in the 13th century. The establishment of a monastery Vauvert near Paris may be regarded as a turning point in the history of the Carthusian Order. Until then, new charterhouses had always been founded in isolated locations such as a valley or the wilderness. Subsequently, they were quite often located near municipalities [Witkowski 2004, 82]. This shift, without relaxation of the strict observance,²² led to a closer relationship with the world surrounding the charterhouse than previously. Jedin called the results of this change a 'Copernican shift' [Jedin 1949, 115]. The pressure of the outside world and certain events like, e.g., the Avignon Captivity or the Great Western Schism, affected the mentality of the monks. They found themselves in a position where they had to face various accusations and defend their customs, like in the case of accusations against fasting from meat [Paravy 2017, 39]. The work *Ortus et Decursus Ordinis Cartusiensis* bears further evidence that the dialogue with the outside world was taken seriously, with its author refuting the allegations concerning the austere observances in the Order [R  thing 1967, 94]. The documents of the General Chapter are a great source of information on this matter.

²¹ A list of the charterhouses may be found in *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis* printed by Amerbach in 1510 in Basel on fol. 311r-312r (e.g. UB Basel AK VI 21).

²² See Martin 1995, 41-66.

The experience of the Great Schism, which left deep wounds in the body of Church, taught Carthusians to be prepared for eventual reappearance of the divisions. In the year 1512, the General Chapter ordained that *si oriretur schisma in ecclesia* the monks would not favor any of the contending parties “continuing to conform with the truth and the judgment of the Holy Mother Church” [Clark 1998, 50-51]. Closer relations with the world made the Carthusians more liable to outside opinions and keen to avoid publicity and scandalous behavior. There are at least two instances supporting this assumption. The first case was treated by the General Chapter in the year 1490. It was related to monks who had transferred between the houses. This, according to the charter, might have been regarded as an act of *fugae* or even *apostasiae* and might result in *scandalum* [Idem 1999, 59]. As a solution, the *visitatores* were ordered to approve only those transfers that had an urgent cause and were in accordance with the Carthusian *Statuta*. In addition, the charterhouses were to be on alert and ready to capture and incarcerate vagabond Carthusian monks. The other example comes from the year 1499 [ibid., 89], but the ordinance was also repeated in the year 1504 [Idem, 12-13], thus the matter had not been swiftly resolved. At first, it prohibited the practice of *ars alchimia et quinta essentia* in the province of *Alemaniae Inferioris* and *Reni*, but later it was extended to the entire Carthusian Order. Again, the main goal of this ordinance was to suppress the melting of precious metals and the emergent scandal.²³ Thus, the effort to avoid shameful conduct is clearly visible and implies lively relations with the outside world. Moreover, in the 15th century Carthusian monks from cities like Nuremberg, Cologne, Freiburg, Basel, Strasbourg, and Paris exchanged letters with leading humanists and lent books to printers and scholars [Martin 1995, 45]. This is especially true in the case of the Basel Charterhouse *Vallis s. Margarethae*, where fruitful cooperation between the monks, members of the university, printers, and scholars took place [Wilhelmi 2002, 21-27; Heinzer 2014, 113-28]. It was also quite common for humanists, university professors, and printers (very often represented by one person) to enter the Carthusian Order and become monks. This might seem very contrary to the traditional notion of humanism,

²³ “[...] tempus et vitam in alchimia et quinta essentia consumant, multasque experientias faciant, iuxta Apostoli dictum, semper addiscentes et nunquam ad veritatis scientiam pervenientes, aurum et argentum flent, et in dispendium patrimonii Christi et Ordinis scandalum in nihilum redigant” [Clark 1999, 89].

which actually did not mean the turn of perspective from God to human [Lefèvre 1998, 1-43]. That kind of understanding of humanism can be hardly identified in the writings of representative humanists, who first and foremost dealt with Latin literature and language [Stroh 2007, 153]. In their opinion, poetics is best able to express the truth, and the most important issues have been represented by means of poetic metaphor (platonian myths, evangelical parables, and the Sacred Scripture in general) and not syllogism [Iannizzotto 1959]. Therefore, the shift leads not from God to human, but rather from logic to rhetoric, from metaphysics to utilitarian attitude, from *via contemplativa* to *via activa*. Of course, this is a general tendency and its examples are not omnipresent [Swieżawski 1983, 43] and implicit. It influenced, however, from the 14th century on, the culture and the minds of people, among which there were also future Carthusians. Johannes von Heynlin presents a splendid example of this issue. He entered the Basilean Charterhouse in 1487 after studying and later lecturing at the Universities in Erfurt, Leipzig and Paris, where he became the rector of Sorbonne. He was also the first, accompanied by Guillaume Fichte, to establish a printing press in France [Febvre and Martin 2014, 190]. The editions created at that time consist both of classical authors like Sallust, Wallerian Maximus, Cicero, or Plato and contemporary humanists like Gasparino Barzizius or Laurentius Valla. It was people like Heynlin who, contributing to the phenomenon of *docti cucullate* [Müller 2006, 367], played a major role in the diffusion of humanism north of the Alps. Schweizer, acknowledging the role the Charterhouse in Basel played in the development of humanism and art of print, calls it *geistieger Brennpunkt am Oberrhein* [Schweizer 1935, 28]. This slow but ongoing process that started around the 13th century prepared the ground for the initiative to obtain papal approval of Bruno's veneration on July 19, 1514. Along the way, however, was the recuperation of *Domus Sancti Stephani*.²⁴

The idea is mentioned for the first time in the documents of the General Chapter of the year 1487: *Priori domus Neapolis non fit misericordia. Et faciat diligentiam ut domus Sancti Stephani de Buscho restituatur Ordini* [Clark 2011, 60] and does not reappear until 1497 when more specific decisions were made, including an introduction of a modest tax that would cover

²⁴ The whole process has been depicted in detail in: Clark 2003, 239-47. The Charters concerning this charterhouse have been collected by: Hogg 2013.

the expenses associated with the papal bull by means of which the monastery would return to the Carthusian Order. As there are no master copies of the charters for the years 1491-1503, and the only available information might be found in excerpts made by Dom Jean Chauvet; further developments concerning this issue remain unknown. In 1503, François du Puy became the general of the Order, and from the year 1506 to 1509, the matter of publication *Tertia Compilatio Statutorum* was the primary concern of the General Chapter [Clark 1992a, 58, 81, 91; Idem 1992b, 109, 118]. After the publication of the statutes by Amerbach in 1510 in Basel, and the completion of repairs that needed to be carried out at Grand Chartreuse from 1510-12 due to a fire that seriously damaged some of the buildings, the issue of recuperation of *Domus Sancti Stephani* was reintroduced by an ordinance for the visitors of *Lombardia Remotior*. They were supposed to negotiate with the Cardinal of Aragon, who had the abbacy in his possession, the conditions of his resignation and were to keep General du Puy regularly informed [Idem 1998, 54]. As it happened, the Prior of Naples exceeded the mandate given to him by the General Chapter and committed the entire Order to pay a considerable amount of money as a pension to the Cardinal. Failure to fulfill the obligation would result in *poenis ac censuris* [ibid., 58]. The *doctor utriusque* François du Puy, recognizing the danger of the situation, called a private chapter to meet in February 1514. From its decisions it is known that already during the priorate of Ambrosius in the Charterhouse of Naples (1504-1507) [Idem 1992, 24, 106], the Order, under similar conditions, could have regained the Calabrian foundation. On that occasion, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, Grand Captain of the King of Spain, was able to ensure the payment of a smaller pension, but the General Chapter would not accept the condition of legal responsibility that might burden the Carthusians.²⁵ The private chapter sought the help of Cardinal of Pavia, who was the Protector of the Order, and through his mediation, an agreement was reached. The Cardinal of Aragon was to receive 2,200 gold ducats of pension, but after his death this sum would not be transferred to his successors. This stipulation was quite important to the Carthusians because du Puy feared that after the Cardinal's death the pension might be transferred to someone else, making the obligation everlasting. This agreement needed

²⁵ Gonzalo Fernández, in his pious affection for the Carthusian Order, after his original offer was not accepted, financed the foundation of Charterhouse in Grenada in 1513. See Clark 2011, 147.

the ratification of the coming General Chapter; however, a series of papal bulls authorizing the repossession of the monastery by the Carthusian had already been issued by Leon X in late 1513 [Hogg and Leoncini 2018, 22], and the first group of monks arrived on site on February 27, 1514 [Clark 2003, 242]. Thus, in the same year, after the recovery of *Domus Sancti Stephani* with the body of the *primus institutor* of the Order, a delegation of four priors headed to Rome to ask Leon X for permission to celebrate an official feast of Bruno in the Carthusian Order.

3. Canonizatio, beatificatio aequipollens, confirmatio cultus or...?

As mentioned before, there is a great deal of confusion concerning Pope Leon X's decision of July 19, 1514. It was mainly caused by not referring to strict canon law terminology. Some call it canonization, others use the term beatification, and some add that it was actually a *beatificatio aequipollens*. Or maybe it was just a confirmation of a preexisting cult (*confirmatio cultus*). First, it should be pointed out that the decision was made by *oraculum vivae vocis* [Idem 1998, 70], meaning that the Pope had not issued any written document concerning this issue. The Pope, as the supreme legislator, is not bound by any obligatory form to make new laws or legal prescriptions. However, the indult was issued by Cardinal Antonius, who was the protector of the Carthusian Order, and was corroborated by the signature of other witnesses in order to avoid any *dubium* [ibid., 70].

Pope Leon X, at the request of a delegation of four Carthusian priors (*supplicamus*), found it reasonable to grant permission (*licentiam concedere dignaretur*) to celebrate Bruno's feast (*festum quotannis in eius memoria ac solenne officium celebrandi*) and to commemorate him on other occasions (*commemoratio caeteris diebus*). This decision was neither a canonization nor a *canonizatio aequipollens* [Veraja 1975] because this was done by Pope Gregory XV in 1623,²⁶ and there are no instances of canonizing someone who had already been canonized.

The problem of beatification is more complex. An act of formal beatification, as opposed to what is called *beatificatio aequipollens*, requires a legal inquiry into the life and deeds of a certain person, thus a canonical procedure that ends with a papal decree. As for the *beatificatio aequipollens*, it

²⁶ AS Oct, t. III, p. 700.

needs to be underlined that the term was first coined by Prospero Lambertini (Benedict XIV) in the 18th century and was used by him in an ambiguous manner. He would describe it as a papal approval of a decision *super casu excepto*,²⁷ secondly as permission for celebration of mass and office and lastly a case of beatification that lacked *iuris solemnitatem*.²⁸ This opinion, although upheld also in the 20th century [Noval 1932, 6], can no longer be accepted because beatification means an introduction of a new cult and the procedure, which used to be called *beatificatio aequipollens*, but in fact did not exist, is a beatification after the confirmation of a cult [Misztal 2003, 113]. However, in Bruno's example, the decision was made about 120 years before Urban VIII reform and introduction of *casus exceptus*, which allowed, or rather confirmed (*confirmatio cultus*) public devotion to a person whose public veneration was already based on general consent of the Church, papal indult, permission of the Congregation, writings of the Church fathers, or a cult *ab immemorabili*. This reform was meant for cases precisely like that of Bruno's. His public cult was established by means of papal indult and not *confirmatio cultus*, which was a legal institution introduced some 120 years later and afterwards erroneously called *beatificatio aequipollens*. Furthermore, this institution can hardly be applied to Bruno because before Leo X's decision he did not enjoy any public cult.²⁹ This was also observed by someone who had used and annotated the exemplar of Carthusian Statutes now held at UB Basel.³⁰ This print after the original text of the *statuta* has some additional information concerning Leo X's permission. On fol. 318v, the indult was copied with the following caption: "Leo decimus dedit ordini nostro privilegium venerandi publice in ecclesiis nostris dumtaxat personis ordinis nostri beatum Brunonem cum solemnibus festo et quotidiana commemoratione, etc." This shows exactly how the indult was understood by the Carthusians. Bruno was perceived as a saint, as was already demonstrated in the case of the mortuary

²⁷ Referring to the decrees of Urban VIII.

²⁸ *De servorum Dei beatificatione, et beatorum canonizatione*, C XXXI, XXXII.

²⁹ In the understanding of canon law, a public cult means a cult exerted by persons lawfully appointed in the name of the Church. "Cultus si deferatur nomine Ecclesiae a personis legitime ad hoc deputatis et per actus ex Ecclesiae institutione Deo, Sanctis ac Beatis tantum exhibendos, dicitur publicus: sin minus privatus." *Codex Iuris Canonici Pii X Pontificis Maximi iussu digestus Benedicti Papae XV auctoritate promulgatus* (27.05.1917), AAS 9 (1917), pars II, s. 1-593, can. 1256.

³⁰ AK V 3.

roll. Furthermore, it is more than plausible that he was regarded as such in the Carthusian Order as well. Evidence can be found, for example, in Boniface Ferrer's text "Libellus ostendens quod ad probandam sanctitatem et puritatem ordinis cartusiensis non est necessarium quod dictus ordo habeat sanctos canonizatos vel quod in eodem ordine fiant miracula."³¹ His sainthood is also implicitly present in the idea that Carthusians do not appeal for an official approval of their member's sainthood, as expressed in *Ortus et Decursus Ordinis Cartusiensis* [Vermeer 1929, 116]. According to Gaens, almost 75% of the extant manuscripts of *Ortus* come from Carthusian Charterhouses, and the text itself was recommended for Carthusian novices by Dominic of Prussia [Gaens 2017, 232, 236]. Thus, the work was meant rather for the inner audience of the Order. The same can be said about the *Vita* by Heinrich Arnoldi, which is preceded by a handwritten note: "Illam partem primo rescibatis ut curam pro noviciis habeamus."³² As mentioned above, this work also dwelt on the idea that Bruno's sainthood did not need official approval. All these texts were meant to explain Carthusian spirituality and customs to those who had recently entered the Order. The care for proper monastic formation remained a focal point of the General Chapter [Hogg 1989, 114]. Similarly, the initiative to obtain papal approval for the public veneration of Bruno did not contradict the Order's attitude towards humility and its position to avoid publicity. Contrary to what Collins claims [Collins 2008, 81], Carthusian did not aim for a canonization that would extoll the Order and its founder. They rather sought to honor God and his faithful servant Bruno without the unwanted pomp and worldly splendor, and this is exactly what they accomplished on July 19, 1514.

4. The 'official' Vita of Saint Bruno

This last section explores the relationship between the consequences of Leon X's decision and the *Vita* written by François du Puy. The ordinance of the General Chapter from the year 1516, after confirming the directives from the previous year [Clark 1998, 71-72] and giving liturgical instructions concerning the new feast, ends with a demand to read the newly printed *vita* in the refractory when celebrating the commemoration

³¹ Printed in: Villanueva 1806, 226-35.

³² UB Basel A VII 30 fol.225v.

of Saint Bruno.³³ Clark postulates that this might refer to an anonymous *vita* from the year 1509, just to add in the footnote that the *vita* written by du Puy might have also furnished the text [Idem 2003, 243]. The latter conception is fully sound and evidence that corroborates it can be found in the UB Basel Mscr E II 4. A provenience note claims that the print belonged to the Charterhouse in Basel, and that among other works it contains *Vita Beati Brunonis confessoris primi institutoris ordinis carthusiensis que singulis annis in die festo ipsius in refectorio monachorum legi debet prout mandatum est in charta anni 1515 ubi sic dicitur: Et nichilominus ordinamus quod de vita eius noviter in Basilea impressa legatur in refectorio singulis annis in singulis domibus ordinis nostri in dicto festo.*³⁴ Thus, this note points directly to du Puy's work. Furthermore, it also adds that this *vita* was printed in Basel, an information absent in the text of the original ordinance of the General Chapter [ibid.], but one that can be found in the colophon of the print. Thus, it was the work of du Puy that was supposed to be read throughout the entire Carthusian Order, but when was it printed exactly? The text vaguely mentions that it was impressed *noviter* and various catalogues display ambiguity in the dating ranging from 1510 to 1515.³⁵ The only information provided by the print itself, as mentioned above, is the location where it was impressed – the colophon reads *Basileae*. The text of the *vita* lacks the name of the author, and there is also no indication of the publisher. Paravy credited it to Amerbach [Paravy 2003, 19], probably because of his close ties with the Carthusians and the fact that he had published the *Statuta*, but Amerbach died in 1513 and his printing house was taken over by his son Basilius [Witkowski 2001, 43]. Furthermore, Sebastiani, in her monumental work (830 pages), ascribed the print of this work to Froben [Sebastiani 2018, 199]. The same information might

³³ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 10889 f. 10v-11r: “Ordinationem in precedenti capitulo factam circa celebrationem festi beati Brunonis patris nostri confirmamus. Et eam perpetue in ordine nostro observari volumus et mandamus. Hoc addimus quod sicut in letaniis privatis ita et in conventualibus ponatur et scribatur et abinde dicatur sancte Bruno ora pro nobis et in martirologio sub die sexta octobris scribantur hec verba. In Calabria depositio beati Brunonis confessoris primi institutoris ordinis cartusiensis et nichilominus ordinamus quod de vita eius noviter impressa legatur in refectorio singulis annis in singulis domibus ordinis in dicto festo.”

³⁴ UB Basel Mscr E II 4 Fol. Br. A digitalized version is available: https://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/titleinfo/24627809 [accessed: 24.08.2022].

³⁵ BSB-Ink D-323; GW V Sp.573a; VD16 D2991.

be found in all other catalogues that mention the *vita* written by du Puy; however, in doing so, they all seem to refer to the same source – a laconic sentence from Frankfurter Bücherfreund, which reads: “[...] ist auch die Vita Beati Brunonis (Hain 4010, Proctor 7788) keine Inkunabel und kein Druck von Bergmann, sonder ein solcher von Froben zwischen 1513 und 1515” [Koegler 1919/20, 473]. But the evidence that reaffirms this ascription can be found in one of the copies of *Vita Brunonis* from UB Basel that again used to belong to the Basilean Charterhouse. The provenience note on fol. Ar reads as follows: “Liber fratrum Carthusianorum domus Vallis beate Margarethe Basilee minoris donatus partim (quantum ad vitam beati Brunonis etc) a magistro Joanne Froben calcographo Basiliensi partimque ab aliis quantum ad reliqua hic contenta.”³⁶ Froben, who printed *Vita Brunonis* for the Carthusian Order, also donated a single copy to the charterhouse in his town, Basel. This was not the only instance when he acted this way.³⁷ As for the authorship of the text, it has to be observed that it was printed, in accordance with the Carthusian custom, anonymously. In 1524, this *vita* with some minor stylistic amendments was reprinted by Jodocus Badius in his *Opera et vita Sancti Brunonis* and was later published in *Acta Sanctorum* as *Vita Altera*.³⁸ The first to ascribe it to du Puy was Laurentius Surius, who used its text alongside that of Blomevenna to write his own *vita* [Surius 1574, 588-606].

As for the dating of du Puy’s work, the text was surely printed after the decision of Pope Leo X because the author refers to it in his work. Thus, the *terminus postquam* is July 19, 1514. It was mentioned above that the General Chapter in 1516 ordered this *vita* to be read at the feast of Saint Bruno. It seems, however, that this instruction only confirmed what was already decreed at the Chapter, which started on May 7, 1515 [Clark 2011, 158]. Furthermore, the year 1515 is corroborated by the handwritten note from UB Basel Mscr E II 4, although the excerpts of Carthusian capitularies

³⁶ UB Basel Aleph D I 18 Digital copy: https://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/titleinfo/25571379 [accessed: 24.08.2022].

³⁷ In a print of Erasmus’ Adagiorum Chiliades from 1513 (UB Basel DB IV 10) a similar provenience note might be found on fol. 1r: “Liber Cartusiensis in Basilea donatus a domino Johanne Froben de Hamelburg Impressore ac cive Basiliensi [...]” Digital copy: https://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/titleinfo/12665440 [accessed: 24.08.2022].

³⁸ The Bollandist have used the amended version from Badius and have left out the last part of the work, which was of an ascetic nature. See AS Oct, vol. III, p. 707-21.

prepared by Dom Chauvet for the year 1515 lack the paragraph concerning the lecture in the refectory [Idem 1998, 71-78]. This is either due to the fact that Dom Chauvet was using incomplete *exemplares* or to an error in the note that was supposed to mention the Chapter of 1516. The former seems more plausible, and thus the *terminus antequam* would be 7 May 1515 (beginning of the Chapter). In addition, there is one more piece of evidence pointing to this year, namely a handwritten remark from the print, which is currently being held at Zaragoza. After the colophon *Basileae*, a user of the book wrote simply 1515.³⁹ Therefore, it is most likely that the *vita* was printed in the first half of the year 1515 by Johann Froben.

Conclusion

This article has addressed the uncertainties that might be encountered in scholarship regarding the introduction of Bruno's public cult and the *vita* written by du Puy. Most of these doubts were caused by either an imprecise application of terms from the realm of canon law or the fact that various authors paid more attention to different topics concerning the life of Saint Bruno and the Carthusian Order in general. As has been shown, the cultural and historical developments influenced the Carthusian monks and the societies from which they came from. Without changing the core of the hermit vocation and spirituality, they entered into a fruitful dialogue with the outside world and attracted many intellectuals and humanists, one of whom was François du Puy, who after successful engagement in the reform work under Laurent I Bishop of Grenoble, joined the Carthusian Order [Angotti 2003, 139] in 1500. Just three years later, he became the general prior and began work related to the new edition of *Statuta* finished in 1510. Then came the matter of recuperation of *Domus Sancti Stephani* and the request for papal permission to publicly venerate Saint Bruno. Shortly after, his *vita* was printed in Basel. It was aimed, just as many of Bruno's *vitae*, at providing Carthusians with useful information regarding the Order and its spirituality. The ascetic exhortation at the end of the *vita* also pointed to the permanent actuality of the Carthusian vocation [Paravy 2003, 21]. In general, the monks enjoyed and used this work. With the *tituli*

³⁹ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza P-2760-7, Fol. 54v. Digital copy: <https://bibliotecavirtual.aragon.es/i18n/consulta/registro.do?control=ARA20120000285> [accessed: 24.08.2022].

from the mortuary roll attached, it was regarded as a good recommendation of the Order and its founder.⁴⁰ The final part, which consists of a prayer, was later on hand copied and inserted by Carthusian monk Georg Carpentarius into a paper manuscript entitled *Exercitium spirituale quotidianum*⁴¹ making it even more accessible. Du Puy, who owned an opulent library of which more than 200 incunables are extant to this day [Idem 2004, 254], wrote a widely used book that has continued to enrich the Carthusian Order and its members.

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⁴⁰ Aleph D I 18 fol. Ar: "Vita beati Brunonis [...] cum titulis [...] in commendationem ipsius et totius ordinis."

⁴¹ UB Basel A X 95 fol. 204r-206r: "Ex legenda sancti Brunonis precatio ad Deum Optimum Maximum ex diversis concinne et eleganter compilata."

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