A FRAGMENT OF A WITHAM CHARTERHOUSE CHRONICLE AND ADAM OF DRYBURGH, PREMONSTRATENSIAN, AND CARthusian OF WITHAM.

BY E. MARGARET THOMPSON.

I.

ADAM the Scot (sometimes called the Englishman, or the Premonstratensian), a twelfth-century author of mystical treatises and of many sermons, had some celebrity in his own day; but except for a few scattered details from his writings, his personal history has been hitherto obscure. For the alleged life of him by Godefrid Ghiselbert prefixed to the edition of Adam's Opera¹ published at Antwerp in 1659, consists really of a series of conjectures. That he was identical with Adam of Dryburgh, the monk of Witham Charterhouse mentioned by St. Hugh's biographer,² I long ago assumed.³ This can now be proved from a contemporary Carthusian source.

At the end of a fourteenth-century manuscript volume of sermons of "Master Adam the Carthusian," which once belonged to the monks of the London Charterhouse, and now is owned by the Master of the modern Charterhouse, London, is an extract headed thus: De Vita et Conversatione Magistri Ade Cartusiensis secundum quod habetur in cronica domus de Witham. The original Witham chronicle is not known to exist. This portion extracted was written by one of the Witham monks who knew Adam intimately, for he lived ten years in the same cell with him. This may have been because he had the duty of attending him in his old age, or because

¹ Migne, Patrologia Latina, tom. 198, col. 19 seq.
² Magna Vita S. Hugonis (R.S.), p. 201.
³ On the strength of an extract, or note, on Adam the Witham monk in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix., see my History of the Somerset Carthusians (1895), pp. 71-73.
at that time, the monastic buildings being perhaps not yet completed, two monks might live in one cell as in early years at the Grande Chartreuse. The information given by him he professes to have had from Adam's own lips, or to have gleaned from Adam's writings. The biographer of St. Hugh says that Master Adam of Dryburgh was a man of very high, and almost incomparable, erudition in divine matters. The Carthusian chronicler says that his renown was such that he was sought after by great ecclesiastics and others even in his seclusion at Witham. It is unlikely that there were two contemporary remarkably erudite Premonstratensian canons bearing the same name and both from Scotch houses of their Order.

Master Adam, the illustrious offspring of ordinary parents (parentum mediocrum)¹ according to his fellow-Carthusian, was born on the Border between England and Scotland. As a boy he easily surpassed those of his own age in his lessons. His parents doubtless meant their promising son to devote himself to the study of letters as a means of temporal advancement; but when Adam, after his boyish years, came to perceive a snare of riches rather than a reward of wisdom in his studies, "he withdrew the foot which he had set in the world's entrance," and quitting his home, "sought a habit of holy conversation." There happened to be "in the same province" a monastery of Premonstratensian canons at Dryburgh. Thither the "pious youth" betook himself. If Dryburgh was in the same province, Adam's paternal home was in Berwickshire; his father may have been a Scot of the Border, or an Englishman, or an Anglo-Norman, like Hugh de Moreville, the founder of Dryburgh Abbey. Under the discipline of the canons Adam became an exemplary religious, and was ordained priest when he reached his twenty-fifth year. He proved an excellent preacher, in an Order where preaching had a large part in its system. He was of middle height, handsome, quick-witted, pleasant and merry in talk, charming in manners, and gifted with penetration and a good memory.

When the Abbot of Dryburgh fell incurably ill, Adam was unanimously elected to his office. Out of love to the late abbot,

¹ A reviewer of my book, The Carthusian Order in England, has suggested that this means "middle-class parents"; but the intention of the chronicler is, I think, to contrast Adam's brilliance with the ordinary capacity of his parents.
however, he declined to receive during his life the customary episcopal blessing, and only took on himself the administration of the monastery. As the acting head of his house, it is strange that he was not present at a general chapter of his Order held in France; however the other abbots returning thence into England brought him a summons to Prémontré. There he was received with honour and housed for a time. He happened to be interested in the Carthusian Order, because a Premonstratensian abbot named Roger, “a very familiar friend of his,” had become monk at the Chartreuse of Val Dieu. Therefore while accompanying the Abbot of Prémontré on a preaching tour through France, he took an opportunity of visiting the Chartreuse of Val St. Pierre. He went back to Prémontré determined to become a Carthusian, but for fear of his Order’s opposition hid his purpose until his return to England. Then he applied to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, to help him to get received into Witham Charterhouse. Though furnished with letters by him to the community, Adam on arrival allowed them to receive him like a guest, hiding his intention. After winning their admiration by a sermon, he showed St. Hugh’s letters to them, and the monks rejoicing to have such a colleague willingly granted his desire. But after four or five months in his cell a messenger arrived from the Abbot of Prémontré and the general chapter there, threatening excommunication unless he returned to them within a year. Bishop Hugh coming to Witham on one of his annual visits found him uneasy and sorrowful. He relieved his anxiety, and that very year he communicated with the Premonstratensian general chapter through the Abbot of Newhouse, the head house of that Order in England, and situated in his own diocese, and so influenced them that the Abbot of Prémontré despatched a letter to the Prior of Witham, saying that though they had tried to recall their sometime canon, now Brother Adam of the Carthusian Order, because they believed his return would have been to their honour, at the request of the Bishop of Lincoln and the Abbot of Newhouse, they released him from obedience to the Premonstratensian Order.

1 This chapter and the one mentioned below, as general chapters, were of course held at Prémontré. In writing from brief notes made long before from this manuscript, I stated erroneously that they were held in England and at Newhouse in my book The Carthusian Order in England, p. 73
II.

At this point in the life of Adam of Dryburgh, it will be convenient to consider the probable dates, and to compare some of the details of the foregoing narrative with the few biographical hints contained in the writings of Adam the Premonstratensian.

The letter sent, as above related, to Witham is addressed to “A. Prior of Witham.” A later passage in the Charterhouse manuscript, informs us that the prior who received Adam was Albert, the immediate successor in that office to St. Hugh on his becoming Bishop of Lincoln in 1186; also that Adam died at Witham after about twenty-four years of Carthusian life there, during the interdict laid on England by Innocent III. on account of the obstinacy of King John for seven years. Supposing this to mean the year 1212 or 1213 before John’s absolution by the Pope, the date when Adam entered his Carthusian cell was 1188 or 1189. The biographer of St. Hugh, like the Witham chronicler, says that he had previously been ruling an abbey of the Premonstratensian Order. When Hugh de Moreville founded the Premonstratensian house at Dryburgh, canons were brought from the Abbey of Alnwick in Northumberland in 1152. Their first head was Roger, and he must have been the abbot under whom young Adam was professed, and may have been that Abbot Roger, Adam’s friend, who entered a French Chartreuse. In 1177 he resigned and Girard the prior succeeded to the abbacy of Dryburgh, and certainly ruled in name at any rate until 1184, the date of a bull granted to him by Lucius III. Girard doubtless was that abbot whose infirmity necessitated the election of a more capable actual head in the person of Adam; and if Girard died soon after the date of this papal bull, Adam may have had for two or three years the title, as well as the burden, of that office. Richard, Abbot of Dryburgh, in 1190 witnessed a document relating to Kelso Abbey;¹ before that date, the wings of a dove had been given to Adam, and he had flown away to the solitude of Witham Charterhouse.²

The few hints dropped about himself by Adam the Premonstratensian accord fairly well with the Witham chronicler’s reminiscences.

¹ Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh [Bannatyne Club, 1847], Introduction quoting Chron. Mailtros, p. 88; and p. 194 of text. Mr. Spottiswoode, the editor, calls Richard probably the third abbot of Dryburgh.
² Magna Vita S. Hugonis, p. 201.
of Adam of Dryburgh, as does also the scanty matter which the
canon’s editor Ghiselbert took from the account of him belonging to
the canons of St. Michael at Antwerp. This states that Adam the
Premonstratensian was born in Anglo-Scotia, of noble parents; that
he joined a community of White Canons of St. Norbert in a monastery
in Scotland, where he received instruction from the first fathers of the
Premonstratensian Order, of whom he was almost the contemporary.¹
Anglo-Scotia means clearly that part of Scotland once belonging to
Northumbria, including Berwickshire. The Carthusian’s expression
“ordinary parents” refers probably to the mental attainments of the
father and mother of Adam of Dryburgh, rather than to their rank,
and though he says nothing as to noble birth, his description of his
hero’s youth suggests easy circumstances. As another writer² has ob-
served “the minute knowledge of Michael Canmore’s children”
evined by the author of the De Tripartito Tabernaculo points to
Scotch interests. We will add that his mention of Henry, King
David’s son, as that “gentle and loving man, of pleasant countenance
and of clean heart” (lacteis cordis) is almost affectionate; if his father’s
rank was noble, Adam may have been brought into connection with
the court, and Adam of Dryburgh, who died an old man during the
interdict of King John, might certainly have known Earl Henry,
whose death occurred in 1153.

Adam the Premonstratensian has been usually claimed for
Whithern, but as has been said elsewhere³ from many points of view
Dryburgh would suit equally well. In fact it would suit better.
Adam explains in the De Tripartito Tabernaculo his reason for
placing pictures of English and Scottish Kings in the “tabernacle”
as being because he was “in the land of the English and in the
kingdom of the Scots.” These words can hardly apply to Candida
Casa, otherwise Whithern, in Galloway, which was formerly part of
Strathclyde, though Mauritius à Prato, one of the authorities of
Adam’s editor, the canon Ghiselbert, claimed this distinguished Scot
for the cathedral chapter there.⁴ The words do, on the other hand,
very well describe the locality of Dryburgh Abbey, which stood within

¹ Migne, Patrol. Lat., tom. 198, col. 27.
² In D.N.B., article “Adam Scotus or Anglicus.”
³ D.N.B., article “Adam Scotus.”
⁴ Patr. Latina, tom. 198, col. 27.
the confines of the old Northumbrian kingdom, where there must have been many English landholders, or Anglo-Norman subjects of the King of England. Moreover, Dryburgh exactly accords with the statement of the Antwerp MS. mentioned by Ghiselbert, that Adam was instructed in a Scotch monastery by the first fathers of the Premonstratensian Order. Hugh de Moreville, a Northamptonshire baron, a close friend of King David, and at one time Constable of Scotland, founded the Abbey in his lordship of Lauderdale in the middle of the twelfth century, only ten years after the establishment of the first Premonstratensian house in these islands at Newhouse in Lincolnshire. Though the cemetery at Dryburgh was consecrated in 1150, the canons brought from Alnwick did not come into residence until 1152. Later Hugh de Moreville himself took the habit and died at Dryburgh in 1162. Roger, the first abbot, and even his successor, Girard, might have been among St. Norbert’s later immediate disciples, and so could be numbered among those first fathers of the Order from whom Adam received instruction in the rule of Prémontré.

The only difficulty which the Witham narrative presents is that mention is made of only one visit of Adam of Dryburgh to Prémontré, and that not long before his quitting St. Norbert’s Order for that of St. Bruno. Whereas we know from the author of the *De Tripartito Tabernaculo* himself that before writing that treatise he had already visited the mother abbey in France; and whereas, if owing to the incapacity of the abbot, he administered the Abbacy of Dryburgh, it is to be supposed that he must have attended general chapters there, as representative of the older man. We suggest, as a solution, that the Carthusian chronicler, writing his reminiscences after Adam’s death, confused two visits at least, and described them as one; in any case the last, which was the turning-point in the canon’s career, was naturally the only one which would interest the Witham monk.

The Carthusian narrative, on the other hand, does supply a reason, why Adam the canon, in spite of the authoritative tone of his sermons and his treatises, in addressing the persons to whom he dedicates his works, uses a style so extremely humble. They are always his “fathers,” he is their “son,” the subject of their “paternity,” and not their equal. He does not style himself Abbot, because, even

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1 Sir A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters* (1905), pp. 272, 419.
if elected and acting head of his house, he was not consecrated and had not the title. The Carthusian’s account of the honour with which Adam of Dryburgh was regarded by his fellow-canons quite agrees with what the author of the *De Trípartito Tabernaculo* writes to his brethren at Prémontré in the Proem to that treatise. He tells them that whenever he remembers it, he is astonished at the manner in which their “exaltedness” received his “littleness” and entertained him during his sojourn. Their affection filled him with joy and wonder. In alluding to this stay at Prémontré, he refers to no preaching progress with the abbot through France, nor to any visit of his own to any Chartreuse; nor does he hint at any restlessness or desire to quit the Order for another. He seems to have made merely a quiet sojourn at Prémontré, and incidentally he gives some indications of the date of it, and of that of the above-mentioned treatise. Now that he is in the kingdom of the Scots, he says to his friends at Prémontré, he sends to them, as desired, “the book on the Tabernacle of Moses together with the picture which we composed two years ago at request of some of our brethren, and especially of the illustrious John, an abbot in our land.”¹ This, as the introductory letters to the treatise show, was John, Abbot of Kelso, who ruled there from 1160 until his death in 1180. In the treatise itself, in giving the age of the Church as from the first to the second advent of Christ, he says of this “eleven hundred and eighty years are now past” (II. cap. 6). His list of popes (cap. 12) ends with Alexander III. who died in 1181. He speaks (cap. 13) of Philip, son of Louis, as the reigning king of the French, and Philip Augustus began to reign in 1180; but his words “Henry the third, who was the son of Henry II.” suggest that that prince was dead, and he died in 1183. Adam was, then, probably writing, or perhaps finishing, the *De Trípartito Tabernaculo* in 1183. By 1185, therefore, he had returned from this visit to Prémontré, and was despatching thither the desired copy of his treatise and a copy of the fourteen sermons on the *Order, Habit and Profession of Premonstratensian Canons*. This date is slightly too early to fit the story of the visit given by the Carthusian monk, for Hugh did not become Bishop of Lincoln until 1186. It is, however, quite probable that there were at least two

¹ *De Trip. Tabernaculo, Proem I.* iii.
visits of Adam to Prémontré; he alludes to the wish of the canons there for his return (Proem I. i) and if later he had the charge of Dryburgh, the chief abbot of the Order might well have reasons for demanding his presence besides admiration for his attainments.

Whether Adam of Dryburgh was really ever consecrated abbot of that house must remain an open question. The Abbot of Prémontré, in giving him up to the Carthusian Prior merely calls him “brother Adam, your monk sometime our canon.” But St. Hugh’s biographer states distinctly that Master Adam of Dryburgh had quitted an abbey of the Premonstratensian Order, “which he was ruling” before joining the Carthusians. He thus supports the evidence in a passage in the Charterhouse manuscript concerning Prior Albert, St. Hugh’s successor, presumably also taken from the Witham chronicle. This gives the names of four men who became monks there under the priorate of Albert; of these “the first was Master Adam, an abbot of the Premonstratensian Order of the house of the same Order Dryburgh by name.”

III.

Though he left the canons somewhat furtively, it seems, Adam had not disguised his opinion that the Norbertine was not the highest form of the religious life. Long before (in the De Trip. Tabernaculo, Pt. II., cap. xix.) while claiming for the canons regular, Premonstratensian and others, and monks, Carthusian, Cistercian and others, the privilege of entering the Lord’s House to make the offering of the sweet-smelling savour, he declared the place of the anchorites was the Holy of Holies itself. “The secret and solitary conversation of anchorites,” he said, “may be called the bride-chamber.” As shown above, it must have been about 1189 that he arrived at Witham Priory, a postulant for the solitary life as led by the sons of St. Bruno. So thoroughly did he take to it, that during the four, or five, and twenty years of his Carthusian existence, never, save once, did he go forth from the outer gate of the monastery, and the only path which he trod lay between his cell and the church, according to the Witham chronicler. But his talents were not hidden in his cell. St. Hugh’s biographer relates how the Bishop of Lincoln, on his visits to his former community, and Master Adam were given to mutual exhortation (Magna Vita, pp. 201-203). The chronicler
speaks of a frequent resort to him of church dignitaries seeking his prayers, or desiring to catch the drops of heavenly dew from his lips. At one time Hubert Walter being at Glastonbury Abbey, Robert, Adam’s then prior, got him to come to Witham, ostensibly for the purpose of bestowing a blessing on his enclosed monks, but really with the object of securing an opportunity for himself and the procurator, Randolph, to discuss with the Archbishop a quarrel with some secular persons about a pasture, and to remove from his mind any bad impressions caused by misrepresentations of their opponents. During his visit to Witham, Hubert’s own clerks, in talking about Master Adam, roused the Archbishop’s curiosity, and he stayed until the next day so that he might see him after mass. Master Adam, being pointed out in the cloister, by the prior, had to preach to the primate and his attendants. After listening to a wonderful sermon, Hubert retired with the learned man to his cell to make his confession, and then to Adam’s surprise he undressed to receive the discipline of rods at his hands. He asked him, moreover, to write for him something on the Lord’s Prayer.

Master Adam died, after two years of suffering, at some date before the removal of the interdict laid on the kingdom by Innocent III. Perhaps it was on the Palm Sunday of 1213 that he called to him Prior Robert of Caverford and the rest of the monks to bid them farewell. Two days later he fell asleep, laid on blessed ashes in Carthusian fashion. It was the fellow-inmate for ten years of Adam’s cell, the chronicler himself, who washed his body and sewed it into grave clothes, carried it on a bier to the church and to the grave, and finally laid it in the grave. In case any one would wish to know what he was like, he added, that he was of middle height, and sufficiently stout for his stature, of cheerful countenance, bald-headed, yet with some white hair to increase the reverence inspired by his age and gracious manners.

IV.

After these biographical details the Witham monk gives further proof that the Scotch Premonstratensian and Adam of Dryburgh were one and the same man. He states that the works written by Master Adam before coming to Witham were comprised in two large codices, called, because their contents were in the form of
homilies, the sermons of Master Adam. Doubtless, they were familiar to him as being in the library of Witham Priory; unfortunately he does not describe the contents. Now the London Charterhouse was initiated with monks drawn from the three earlier Carthusian foundations of Witham and Hinton in Somersetshire, and Beauvalle in Nottinghamshire; it had then naturally a close link with Witham, the first house of the Order in England, and would preserve its traditions. One cannot help surmising that the above-mentioned manuscript, belonging to the modern London Charterhouse, was copied for the London Carthusians at Witham. It contains an abridgement of some sermons of Master Adam and the biographical extract from which we have been quoting. Of these sermons ascribed by this manuscript to Adam Carthusianus, six occur elsewhere under the name of Adam Premonstratensis (Migne, Patr. Lat. 198, cc. 219, 251, 269, 393, 401). This shows that among the Carthusians their monk Adam of Dryburgh was generally recognised as Adam, the former well-known Premonstratensian canon. One of the sermons, on St. Hugh of Lincoln, cannot be by Adam of Dryburgh, since it has a reference to a work of Vincent of Beauvais, then scarcely born. One copied by another hand at the end of the volume, for Easter, is not claimed for Adam, and a few others are ascribed to other persons. The manuscript contains also, in shortened form, the Life of St. Hugh written for the monks of St. Hugh by that other Brother Adam.¹

After his mention of the two large codices of sermons, the Witham chronicler set down the titles, so far as he could remember, of the treatises written by Master Adam during the years of his Carthusian existence.² The only treatise in his list known to be extant is the De Quadripartito Exercitium Cellar. Formerly ascribed to Guigo II., Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, it may now fairly certainly be put down to the authorship of Adam of Dryburgh, internal evidence also agreeing with the Witham monk's statement. I have discussed this point and described the little work recently elsewhere (The Carthusian Order in England, pp. 336, 354-67). The Speculum Disciplinae is not as I have suggested (ibid., p. 337) the Speculum de viciis et virtutibus ascribed in the Catalogue of

¹ Introduction to the Magna Vita S. Hugonis (R.S.), p. xxxiv seq.
² See fo. 220 of the Charterhouse MS.
Syon monastery to Adam Carthusianus, for this contains a quotation from Richard Rolle's *Form of Living.*

Supposing the Witham monk's memory to be at fault as to the time of its composition, is the *Dialogus Magistri Ade* in his list, perhaps, the *Soliloquium de Instructione Anime,* a treatise of Adam the Premonstratensian on the religious life of canons regular composed in the form of a dialogue between Reason and the Soul? It is addressed to Walter Prior of St. Andrews and the canons under him there. We do not know what was his connection with them, but to ask them to offer "holocaustum pro filio uteri vestri" implies a spiritual parentage, more properly, one would think, to be ascribed to the religious of Dryburgh. It must have been written between 1162 and 1186, or between 1188 and 1195, the dates of the two priorates of Walter. The author speaks of himself as having much business, which would be the case were he ruling Dryburgh at the time. This *Soliloquium* has been ascribed to Adam of St. Victor, but internal evidence is in favour of Adam the Scot. Not only has it the peculiarities of his style, but there are passages of it which occur almost word for word in the longer discourses of the *De Ordine et Habitue canonic.* Præmon. e.g., the answer of Reason about unreasonable commands of superiors (*Solil.,* lib. I., cap. iv.) and the answer to the same objection in *De Ord. et Habit.,* serm. xiii. (P.L. 198, c. 584). Now in the sermons of the last-named work which deal with the vow at profession, Master Adam is apt to run into dialogues, the interlocutors therein being himself and one of his supposed hearers, instead of the Reason and Soul, and these dialogues are either elaborations of the parts of the *Soliloquium* dealing with the same points, or else the source from which those parts were simply abridgements made by him for his friends at St. Andrews. It may be noted that as to the question of stability in the *De Ord. et Habit.* he would permit departure from the Order to another stricter one, the consent of the superior and convent being first peaceably obtained, which suggests that when he wrote it he was thinking of the Carthusians; he does not give that as a legitimate cause of quitting the Order in the *Soliloquium,* which may indicate its earlier date.

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The edition of the works of Adam the Premonstratensian published in 1659 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, tom. 198) contains:

1. A collection of Sermons for the year, which according to his own preface numbered a hundred, instead of only forty-seven as there printed.¹

2. *Liber de Ordine Habitu et Professione canonicerum Ordinis Premonstratensis*, that is, fourteen homilies or sermons addressed to the abbots of his Order on the so-called rule of St. Augustine. (Migne, *ibid.*, cc. 439-610.)

3. The lengthy discourse in three parts on the Tabernacle of Moses, explaining it in its literal, allegorical, and moral or spiritual significance, called *De Trípartito Tabernáculo*.

4. A treatise, like the last addressed to the canons of Premontré, with the somewhat misleading title *De Triplici Genere Contemplationis*, being three meditations, on the incomprehensibility of God, on the wrath of God against the reprobate, and on the benignity of God towards the elect.

5. The *Soliloquium* or *Dialogus de Instructione Animae* above-mentioned.

A comparison of the style of these sermons and treatises, with that of the Witham treatise, the *Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell*, affords further proof of the identity of authorship. There are in all the same well-balanced sentences, ending very often in rhyming verb, or noun, forms; the same addiction to numeral adjectives, like tripartite, quadripartite, or threefold (triplex) qualifying single nouns, instead of simple numerals with nouns in the plural; the same tendency to run into ejaculation; and the same peculiar trick of transposing adjective and noun, or verb and adverb or adverbial phrase, as “ne superfluitatem enormem et enormitatem superfluam” (*Sermones*, Migne, *P.L.*, 198, c. 387), “sobria honestas et sobrietas honesta in refectorio, matura quies et quieta maturitas in dormitorio” (*De Trip. Tab.*, proem, *ibid.*, c. 613), “expavescere cum stupore et obstupescere cum pavore” (*ibid.*, c. 630), “in serena et amœna

¹ Others attributed to him are contained in the British Museum Add. MSS. 23995 and 34749, and in a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin (*Hist. MSS. Commission Rep. IV.*, 592); Mr. W. de Gray Birch, some years ago, printed others from a manuscript in the Public Library of Rouen: (see also Dom A. Wilmart, *Magister Adam Cartusiensis in Mélanges Mandonnet*, tome II., p. 152, n. 4).
tranquillitate, im tranquilla et amena serenitate, et in serena et
tranquilla amenantitate" (De Quad. Ex. Cellae, P.L., 153, c. 820); and
the same use as figures, though with different applications, of
Paradise, or Eden, and its four rivers (Gen. ii.) in a sermon on the
Nativity (P.L., 198, cc. 248-250), in the De Trip. Tabernaculo,
Proem (ibid., cc. 616-622), and in the De Quad. Exercitio Cellae
(P.L., 153, cc. 823 seq.).

And besides similarity of style, there are passages here and there
in the De Quad. Exercitio Cellae which in thought and language
have close parallels in passages of the Premonstratensian treatises;
e.g., the explanation of Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the
Life in De Quad. Ex. Cellae (P.L., 153, c. 807) and in De Trip.
Tab. (P.L., 198, c. 702), and the meditation on God in De Quad.
Ex. Cellae, cap. xxix, and that in the De Trip. Genere Contempla-
tions, pars I., § 1.

Both the Witham chronicler and St. Hugh’s biographer represent
Adam of Dryburgh as learned. Certainly his fairly numerous, direct
and indirect quotations show him to have been well read. In the
writings of his earlier years, besides St. Augustine, the “father” of
Norbertine and other regular canons, and St. Benedict, his authorities
are SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, and Anselm, Ovid, Arator,
Juvenal, Horace, Boethius, the venerable Bede, Josephus, “certain
modern learned men” (doctores moderni) and others not named on
Jewish antiquities, and Hugh of St. Victor, and even Hippocrates
peritissimus ille medicorum; to these may be added from the
Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell, the Angelic Hierarchy of
Dionysius. St. Augustine was the natural source of the theology of
a regular canon, and there are passages in the writing of Master
Adam such as those on the nature of God above-mentioned, which
seem to be imitative of portions of the Confessions. St. Bernard he
does not quote, though there may be an echo of his devotion to the
Holy Name, in Adam’s sermon on the Circumcision (P.L., 198,
cc. 389-390). Hugh of St. Victor, to whom he refers in one place ¹
and from whose work De Sacramentis he makes a long quotation in
another place,² was undoubtedly a source of inspiration. In fact, the
idea of the De Tripartito Tabernaculo might have been suggested by

¹ De Trip. Tab., pars. II. cap. viii.
² Ibid., cap. xiii. (P.L., 198, cc. 726-727).
Hugh's treatises on the Ark, *De Arca Noe morali*, and *De Arca Noe mystica*, especially by the second, perhaps, where the ark symbolises the Church. It may be noted that as Hugh adorns his ark-church with "icons" of the patriarchs from Adam to Christ and of the popes from St. Peter to Honorius II., so the Premonstratensian puts in his tabernacle-church "icons" of popes and kings. His fellow-Scot, Richard of St. Victor, Master Adam does not mention, though probably in his method of exegesis he took hints from both the Victorines.

Adam of Dryburgh was a preacher and director of souls rather than a mystic, and in what he writes of prayer and meditation there is nothing very characteristic. His mysticism, such as it is, is peculiar to himself in one or two points. Contemplation with him, both in his Premonstratensian writings and in his one surviving Carthusian treatise, is really merely devout meditation on the highest themes, though perhaps that "perfect kind of meditation" with "internal discourses and reasoning" which has been erroneously called contemplation. In his idea of contemplation there is no quickening of the understanding into clear vision, no taste of wonderful sweetness or sense of joy, mentioned by Hugh of St. Victor and other mystical writers. He seems indeed to have shrunk from the possibility of vision, apparently dreading some trick of the imagination, for when contemplating he would have the ears of the heart pricked up to receive the ineffable words which might be spoken, but "the fanciful eyes of the foolish mind" closed lest in the incomprehensible light one should feign something corporeal. He adduced the example of Elijah, who hid his face in his mantle upon hearing the gentle hissing. That joyous state of exultation, the ecstasy or rapture, usually connected with contemplation, Master Adam in the *De Quadrupartito Exercitio Cellae* connects with what he calls "pure prayer" (that is, the prayer of adoration), but he admits there to his new brethren, the Carthusians, that he had never experienced it.

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2 III. Reg. xix. 3 (Vulgate).
3 Perhaps in this he was following the teaching of William of St. Thierry. Cf. Dom J. McCann's *Introduction to the Golden Epistle of Abbott William of St. Thierry to the Carthusians of Mont Dieu*, trans. by W. Shewring (1930), p. xlviii.
Adam's works testify to much industry and some ingenuity in interpretation and in his use of figures, and to his real and devout knowledge of the Scripture, but they afford wearisome reading for to-day. The eloquence of his sermons, so much admired by his contemporaries, is somewhat factitious, but in them and in the homilies on the Premonstratensian Habit and Order, he shows himself zealous as a religious, and a man of practical piety by no means of the long-faced sort, for cheerfulness among the virtues he compared to relish to one's food. He has two depreciatory references to the religious houses of his day. In an Advent sermon to his fellow-canons (P.L., 198, c. 108) he says that the bridesmaids of the Bride are the prelates of Holy Church and "the guardians of this holy convent," and launches forth into a lamentation over the worldliness of those of the time; they care only for their own glory, in dress they might be taken for knights (milites) or worse still for stage-players; they violently exact tithes and oblations, and what they have greedily exacted spend unlawfully. In an Epiphany sermon there is a long tirade against contemporary monasteries "in many places" (P.L., 198, cc. 403-404) where dwell, instead of healthful purity and internal grace, pride and envy, discord and strife, detraction and blasphemies, fathers and sons devouring each other, and so on. Was this why he fled to the silence and strict discipline of the Carthusians at Witham?  

His fellow-monk's little biography of him, I print here in full, with the kind permission of the Master of the Charterhouse, London.

DE VITA ET CONVERSATIONE MAGISTRI ADE CARTUSIENSIS SECUNDUM QUOD HABETUR IN CRONICA DOMUS DE WITHAM.1


1 P.L., 198, c. 262.
2 As to the two treatises extant in French and English versions, "the xii profits of tribulation" and "the ladder of iv rungs . . . to heaven" attributed to Adam Carthusianus, probably quite wrongly, see my Carthusian Order in England (1930), p. 338.
3 This is ff 216r-221 of the Charterhouse MS.
annis jam floridus, studiis literarum quibus addictus fuerat ferventer adhesit. Fuit nempe in sententiis subtilus, providus in responsis, in rei proposte definitione discretus. Verum cum in his atque hujuscemodi studiis multos ire per abrupta viciorum cerneret, et eadem a nonullis magis propter honores seculi opumque vanitates quam propter ipsum sapientiam studiosius amplecti, eum quem in ingressu mundi posuerat retractat pedem, ne si ampliora de scientia ejus at-tingerent, ipse quoque postea in immane precipicium totus iret. Despectus itaque literarum studiis, relict a domo rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sancte conversationis habitum quesivit. Erat autem in eodem tempore quod etiam in presenti clarius effulget in eadem provincia monasterium quoddam canonorum ordinis Premonstratensis quod Driburga dicitur, fama quidem et religione notissimum. Huic monasterio pius adolescens et gloriosus Christi turunculus Adam se contulit, mutatoque habitu gratanter ac devotissime sacro conventui associatus est.

Ingressus itaque scolam Christi summe obedientie bonum et perfecte humilitatis studium, ceterarum virtutum quibus ardenter inhiabat fundamentum sibi locavit. Nec in agendis quid vel quare preciperetur discernere voluit, sed ad hoc solum nitebatur, ut fideliter et humiliter perageret quod a majoribus preciperetur. Sciebat namque non ipsius esse discernere, sed tantum humiliter obedire. Neque enim ignorabat animalem hominem discretum, novicium prudentem, insipientem sapientem in congregatione durare impossibile esse. Et ideo stultus videri voluit ut sapiens fieret. Et hec omnis ejus fuit discretio ut in hoc nullatenus esset discretio. Hec omnis ejus sapientia fuit, ut in hac parte nulla ei esset. Pro his siquidem et hujuscemodi studiis diligebatur a fratribus et carissimmus haberi ob omnibus merebatur. Cunum divinum officium debito fervore et diligentii studio didicisset et memorie tenacis armario congregississet, non sicut nostri temporis invenientibus clausuralibus mos est, inerti otio et desidia, signis nugatoriis aut vanis colloquiis se resolvit, verum incredibili fervore et studio infatigato divine pagini lectioni et doctrine se contulit. In quibus avidissime laborarii ac desudanti, dierum aut noctium spatium vix sufficere potuit. Denique optavit et datus est illi sensus, et invocavit et venit super eum spiritus sapientiae. Et preposuit illam temporalius oblectamentis; divitiae et desideria seculi nichil omne duxit in comparatione illius. Hanc amavit et (fo. 217) exquisivit a juventute sua et quesivit sponsam sibi assumere eam, et amator factus est forme illius. Quam sine fictione didicit, et sine invidia aliis communicavit, et honestatem illius non abscondit. Nam quia venerabilem Bedam presbiterum et alios nonnullulos viros illustres, qui in etate tenera vel adolescencia claustra religionis intraverant per studium judis meditatis et solerti ingenii laborem in divinorum eloquiorum noticia optime noverat plurimum profisci, licet in consimilibus studiis eis equipari non

1 Error for incipientem.
2 This passage on Adam’s novitiate is merely an application to his character of the closing sentences of Chapter V. of the Epistle to the Carthusians of Mont Dieu, now ascribed to William of St. Thierry. (See The Golden Epistle of Abbot William of St. Thierry to the Carthusians of Mont Dieu, ed. by Dom Justin McCann (1930), pp. 30-31. It is possible that the Witham chronicler had formerly been a Chartreux at Mont Dieu.
mereretur, eorum tamen exemplis et ad sublimiora proficere et eorum vestigiis
consimilli quidem devotione quamvis pressu dissimili nitebatur adhovere. Unde
quia ab ipso puenteri sue tempore cor gessit senile et etatem moribus transiens
nulli voluptati animum dedit, circa vicesimum quintum etatis sue annun sacer-
dotium proumeruit.

Factus igitur presbyter, idem mansit qui prius eadem humilitate eademque
obedientie virtute preditus, isdem studiis quibus prius infatigabiliter adhesit.
Et placebat vita ejus et conversatio tam Deo quam hominibus, crescetbatque
fama bonitatis sue per dies singulos et per ora provincialium crebii voluntatarum.
Gratis namque multipli preventus diversorum virtutum dote prefulgebat. Erit
enim statura mediocris, decorus forma, ingenio perspicax, dulcis et jocundus
eloquio et venustate morum pro etate amabilis. Tantoque mentes vigebat
acumine, ut prudenter difficiles solveret questiones et verborum perplexitates et
profundos orationum sinus congrua responsione discinderet, et rationabili et
veridico sermone dilucidaret. Felici in tantum gaudebat memoria, ut quod in
sententiis aut verbis semel didicerat, quotiens necesse esset, posset absque
dificultate proferre. Quod multi literatores assequi non valentes tantam
mentis alacritatem present in homine simplici et claustrali et disciplinis
scolicis minus exercitato miraculis ascribant. Sic enim eum nutrix gratia
ad plurimorum utilitatem et pestumam prosequebatur, ut ei in collationibus aut
cursu sermonis, ut dici solet, omnia ad manum necessaria promptissime
ministraret. Quia etiam gloria pollebat facundia, cepit esse predicator
egregius; unde nunc ab abbate suo nunc vero alius personis concomitatus
ecclesiae et monasterii regionis illius longe lateque peragraendo, verbum Dei
predicabat, et catholicori doctoris et fidelissimi officium decenter impelbat.
Pensatam tamen vir discretus mores hominum, ut sanctum daret canibus, aut margaretas spargeret ante porcos. Et quia eum
celestis docebat unctio, sive literatis sive illiteratis loqueretur, mirum in modum
eruditus et eloquens apparebat, et predicatio tam pondere sententiarum quam
puritate verborum placens et efficax.

Cumque non modico tempore talibus et hujuscemodo florent studii et
sedulo lucrandis animabus invigilaret, ac per hoc gratum Deo munus exhiberet,
abbas monasterii sui in egritudinem decidit incurabilem. Pro quo et ab ipso
abbate et totius conventus unanimi assensu et consensu predictus Adam in
abbatem ejusdem monasterii electus est. Quia vero electioni de se celebrate
(fo. 217r.) cano-lice omnino contradicere minime potuit, curam et administrationem
monasterii tantummodo susceperit; ab episcopo vero benedictionem quam
abbate suo supersit, et omnibus suscipere consensit. Diligebat enim eum valde, et erat eis cor unum et
anima una in Deo. Hiis itaque gestis circa idem tempus fama ejus abbatis
Premonstrati innotuit. Unde per abbates ejusdem ordinis qui a capitulo generali
in Anglia redierant missa legatione precepit in virtute sancti obedientie
quatuis sine dilatatione suam presentiam sibi exhiberet. Cujus preceptis illico
paruit, et veniens Premonstratum, debito cum honore ab ipso abbatte et con-
ventu susceptus est. Cunlque ubi moram faceret et sepius cum viris eruditis-
simis et doctissimis aut de scripturis dissererat aut de divinarum rerum misteriis
collationem cum eis haberet, sive coram eis verbum Dei predicaret, mirum in
modum doctus et eloquens ab omnibus censebatur, et omni acceptione dignis-
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seinus. Siquidem eo tempore tantus defectus tantaque penuria vini in illis locis erat, ut nullus in tanto et tam celebri monasterio uspiam tali poculo potaretur. Attamen Magistro Ade, sic enim ubicumque notus erat appellabatur, sive cum abbate pranderet aut cum conventu, vinum in quantitate satis copiosa apponebatur. Pergebat etiam cum abbate Premonstratense lustrans provincias regni Francorum, et in monasteriis oppidis et civitatis precipue in dedicationibus ecclesiarum, verbum Dei predicabat, et stupebant qui eum audiebant admirantes super hiis que procedebant de ore ejus.

Inter hec audivit quod in eadem provincia quedam domus Ordinis Cartusie haberetur. Denique eodem tempore Ordo Cartusiensis devotissime venerabatur tum propter celebrem famam et sanctitatem venerabilis patris Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi, tum quidem abbas Premonstratensis nomine Rogerus natione Anglicus et ipsi Magistro Ade familiarissimus in domo Vallis Dei Ordinem Cartusiensem intraverat, ubi pro sua devota conversatione a multis venerabilibus et honestioribus viris honore et reverentia dignissime habebatur. Domus itaque illa Ordinis Cartusie de qua audierat est Domus Vallis Sancti Petri, et est in regno Francorum in episcopatu Lugdunensi. Ad hanc igitur domum videndam et visitandam affectu vigente et non segni corporis labore predictus Adam pr*.

Quam cum vidisset non modico locali spatio a vicinis secularibus distantem et popoloso accessu minus communem et intus st deforis auietem summumque silentium verbi comprehendisset, intra se non mediocriter delectatus est dicens, "Vere non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta celi. 0 quam reverenda est Ordo Cartusiensis et omni honore referendus!" Et tactue amori ejusdem Ordinis intrinsecus et sollice satagens in futurum cum a sanctis viis in osculo sancto susceptus esset, et verbum Dei coram eis dignissime predicasset, et meritis eorum ac precibus se commendasset, necnon in hospitalitatis gratiam susceptus valefand est. Ubi quid viderit quid ve mente tractaverit haut segniter memorie reducens, hesitare cepit quid aegeret. Denique si Ordinem Cartusiensem in transmarinis partibus intrare satagaret, profecto sciebat quod Abbas Premonstratensis et alii quamplures in faciem ei resisterent. Si autem propositum et (fo. 218) intentionem suam super hoc eis vel saltem tenuiter propalaret, aut in virtute obedientie vel in comminacione sententie ne id quidem attemptaret, idem abbas nichilominus inhiberet. Ut ergo quod propuerat citius ac certius manciparet effectum, ab abbate licentiatus celeriori redditu properabat in Angliam. Deinde modico post intervallo temporis ad dominum Lincolniensem se contulit quem piis precibus sollicitavit quatinus interventione ipsius ac meritis in domum de Witham Ordinem Cartusiensem intrare ac fratrum loci consortio meretur adjuvari. Cujus preces Episcopus sanctus benigne ac libenter ut decebat admisit. Nec enim quis qualisve vel quantus vir ille fuisset antistitem ipsum latere omnino tunc potuit.

Sumptis igitur pontificalis litteris Priori de Witham ac conventui pro se directis, sepexpect Adam Witham venit. Eodem autem tempore conventus in loco minori morabatur, eo quod locus major necdum perfectus esset,1 ne

1 According to a sound tradition the monk's quarters were on the hill above those of the converses, whose locality was near their church, now the parish church of the village. Hence at Witham, as at the Grande Chartreuse,
proinde dedicatus; et quidem loci solitudine et modo conversandī non mediocris delectatus in amorem solitariam conversationem, flagrantem desiderio estuabat. Cum igitur a priori et ceteris fratribus a osculo sancto devote admissus fuisse, non eis cujus rei gratia venisset statim aperuit. Sed verbum Dei coram eis faciens cujus nuntium et tema fuit *Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine*. Quod ita eleganter digne et luculenter prosecutus est, ut auditores ejus dulci admodum subfoderentur, compunctione et pia accenderentur devotione. Sed et Magister Eustachius, de quo supra pretextatus est, qui sciolus habebatur inter eos in tantum super hiis que procedebant de ore ejus delectatus est, ut completo sermone rogaret obnixe quatinus aliquis ex fratribus ipsum sermonem coram eo, ipso recapitulante posset annotare et tenaci memoriā commendare. Quod diligentissime fieri permiserit. Deinceps vero prout ei libuit prolatī literis domini Lincolniensis cujus rei causā advenisset, humiliter eis ostendit. Cujus petitionēs et desiderio fraternēs devotissime concedentēs gaudebant Deo gratias agentes super tali ac tanti collega celitis eis collato. Sperabat namque prout consequenter experti sunt, illius exemplo et doctrina ad sublimiora nonnullis posse proficere et vite celesti desiderio flagrantius accendi. Ipse autem diligentisēs attendendis quia nocet quandoque differe paratis, familiae suae cum equitaturis et omni supelliciālī ma, nichil sibi prēter indumenta quibus vestiēbat retinens, domum remisit, vale dicens illis, et per eos omniās qui eum prius moverant et dilexerant.

Susceptus autem juxta modum Ordinis Cartusiensis mutatoque habitu in cella positus, conversatus est in timore Dei et magisterio Spiritus Sancti. Necdum vero quatuor aut quinque in cella menses expleverat, cum subito ab insperato nuncio litterās abbatis Premonstrati et capituli generalis ejusdem Ordinis comminitorias acceptit. Quarum summa hunc modum habebat, scilicet quod nisi infra annum a susceptione mandati rediret ad ordinem quem minus discreter exierat, sciret se procul dubio ab omnibus abbatibus Premonstratensibus Ordinis excommunicatum et pro excommunicato habendum. Super qua repentina comminacionem, cepit pavere teedere et mestus esse. Verumtamen hujus nubulose temptationis mestitudinem satis cita et certa depulit consolatio. Domino namque Lincolniensi a primo consecratio sue tempore consuetudem fuit singularis annis, nisi urgentibus negotiis prepediretur, Witham venire, et ibi per aliquod spatium temporis commorari et in cella [fo. 218v] sua que sibi semper vacua manebat, sue racheta amplexibus dulcius deliciari. Igitur dum Magister Adam super comminacione sibi intentata anxius estuaret, et ei repente domini Lincolniensis desiderata presentia; propalatis igitur coram episcopo ab ipso Adam que sibi ab Abbate Premonstrati nuper fuerant demunica, preceptit

there were an upper and a lower house, here called the "locus major" and "locus minor." [Cf. *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* (R.S.), p. 67, the "major" and "minor ecclesia."] This passage in the Witham chronicle shows that the author of St. Hugh's Life was wrong (p. 82) as to both houses being finished under Hugh's priorate.

*Racheta*, or *Rachatta*, *Rachetum*, etc. (from Fr. rachat), redemption or ransom. The chronicler is, of course, referring to Hugh's spiritual intercourse with his Lord and Redeemer in meditation and so on.
episcopus ei nullam curam super hiis aut sollicitudinem gerere, spondens firmiter ac pollicens infra terminum sibi prefixum episcopali diligentia ac providentia pacem et quietem super hujusmodi placitum sibi aucturum. Eodem nempe anno per Abbatem de Neuhus que domo Ordinis Premonstratensis in diocesi Lincolninsii sita est ad capitulum generalem accedentem Dominus Lincolniensis et de excellentia vite solitarie et dignitate professionis heremitice necnon quod sanitarum canonum auctoritate et sacre scripture assertione et sanctorum patrum exemplo liceat unicumque ad artiorem vitam transire, Abbat Premonstrati et capitolo generali ejusdem Ordinis ita probablier ac literatorie studiuit dilucidare, quod idem Abbas Premonstrati et ceteri quotquot erant in capitulo generali congregati per predictum Abbatem de Neuhus ad laudem et honorem et consolacionem Magistri Ade in hunc modum Prior de Witham unanimi scribere decreverunt.

P. permissione divina Premonstrati Abbas et ejusdem ordinis Abbatas in generali capitulo congregati vire venerabili A. Priori de Witham salutem et sincera in domino caritatem. Cum pro revocando ad Ordinem nostrum fratre Adam monacho vestro quondam canonico nostro se Deo labaravimus ob vitae honestatem et suarum affluentiam literarum pro quibus ejus reditum credimus nostrum ordinem eundem ad laudem et honorem et consolacionem Magistri Ade in hunc modum Prior de Witham unanimit scribere decreverunt. Valete.

Talibus igitur literis a capitolo generali Ordinis Premonstratensis adeptis noster Adam animequior effectus et ab conminatione et perturbatione penitus expeditus, totum se Deo devovit, totum se divinis obsequis mancipavit et vitae solitarie fervidus amator in silentio quiete et oratione et sacre scripture meditatione omne tempus vitae sue postquam heremum de Witham ingressus est, devotissime expendit. In tantum ut nuncquam a prima die ingressus sui in domum de Witham januam exteriorem ejusdem domus preter semel exieret, vel in locutorium ante fores ecclesie digresitus sit. Nec aliud in ipsa domo noverat iter nisi quo a cella ad ecclesiam tenditur et ab ecclesia in cellam reditur. Hiis igitur et hujuscemodo studiis et exercitiis indesinanter insistens, placebat tam Deo auam hominibus. Et erat vita ejus celebre conversationem profitentibus speculum et exemplar, et totius norma discipline. Verum etsi diligentius clam destino cella latibulo latere studeret, fama tamen conversationis ejus eum nullatenus delitescere permissit. Que quasi pira glebarum congerie inferius compressa, vi sui fervoris in libertatem purioris aeris erumpens, quamplurimum corda calefecit, et ad oblectamenta huius vitae occidue desidera non sequus accendit. Properabat namque ad eum frequens turbas magnatum, ecclesiasticis dignitatis principes convenerunt, ut meritis ejus ac precibus sese commendarent et ut ex ore ejus rosis celestis perfluuerint stillicidio mererentur perfundi [fo. 219]. Et quia vir sanctus non alter docere potuit quam vixit, liguebatur auditoribus suis sepe cum effectu, et predicatio ejus placens et efficax, que usque ad medullas cordium auditorum quam sepium penetravit. Quod evidentius unius magnatis patuit exemplum.

Denique tempore domini Roberti quondam prioris hujus loci de Witham
de quo loco suo plurima restant dicenda, sancte recordationis Hucbertus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus et totius Anglie primas, cui etiam eo tempore totius regni cura et sollicitudo post regem incumbebat, exosam habuit domum de Witham in tantum ut nec quam piam Ordinem Cartusiensi benigne posset aspicere. Quem utique quidem forestarii, homines quidem maligni et ceteris perversiores eidem domui delatorie aversum vel adversarium fecerant, derogando sumentes occasioem de quibusdem consuetudinibus cujusdem pasturie predicte domus maligna interpretatione asserentes, et Archiepiscopo sugerentes, tales consuetudines viris religiosis minus congrue, que si digne ac verius estiamenetur personis secularibus crudeles satis et pernicioso censeretur. Porro modo intervallo ad expediendas monasterii Glastonii necessitates cum idem Archiepiscopus in provincia et partes domus de Witham contulisset, accessit ad eum predictus prior ejusdem domus, debitissimae excellentie precibus eundem sollicitans ac reverenter expostulans, quatinus domum de Witham Ordinis Cartusie sanctitatis sua presentia dignam duceret et fratres Cartusie inibi ji detentos clausura, optata benedictione sua in Christo domino refoveret. Cujus precibus libentius favens et Witham veniens, in domo inferiori Archiepiscopus hospicio se recepit, ubi juxta possibilitatem mediocris substantiae, ab ipsa domo pene in omnibus administratus est. Verum cum jam Archiepiscopus factus esset hilliarior et amica ad invicem et grata miserament colloquia, procurator domus ejusdem domnus Radulphus vir utique eloquens et sermo satis disserens tempus nactus opportunum, super consuetudinibus predicte pasturie cum Archiepiscopo prudenti effuto disseruit, probabiliter asserens ab antiquis temporibus easdem inductas et institutas, et a generatione in generationem fuisse observatas, magis propter indemnitate ipsius pasturie conservandam, quam ob studium avaricie aut temporali emolumenti lucrum consectandum. Et tam discrete ac prudenter in collatione illa se gessit, ut ipse Archiepiscopus consuetudines predictas non solum permissibiles verum etiam satis rationabiles assereret, et quam tam levi citius malignis delatoribus sifdem dedisset, non mediocris se ipsum reprehendebat. Porro ab hujuscemodi tanquam nugatorius ad seriu disserenda et comoda sese transferentes, de Ordine Cartusie et observantius ejus grata ad invicem collatione conferebant. Erant autem nonnulli ex clericis domini Cantuariensis qui de Magistro Adam plurima didicerant, qui beati Hugonis collaterales fuerant, et domino suo eximiam illius in Christo conversationem et quanta eruditione et in divinis literis intelligentia

1 The loss of this chronicle with its details of the early convent at Witham Charterhouse written by one of themselves is grievous. This Robert, we know from other sources, had been procurator, and was probably among the Chartreux first brought into England. He was the sixth prior of Witham, being the third after Hugh of Avalon (see Magna Vita S. Hugonis, p. 343 and The Carthusian Order in England, pp. 53, 74). Of the monks Eustace and Ralf (Radulphus) we know nothing.

2 This dispute over customs exacted for pasture may have originated in complaints of the men of Cheddar who later violently disputed the rights of the Prior of Witham at Cedderford [Cheddarford]. (See Pat. Roll, 45 Henry III m. 7, and Assize Roll 762, 8 Edw. I. m. 16 dorse.) The foresters would be those of Mendip Forest.
preemineret, studiosius enarrabant. Super quibus tanti viri preconis delectatus Archiepiscopus promisit domino Roberto Priori hec eadem de ipso Adam asserent, in do mo superior in crastino missas se velle audire, et ipsum Adam videre et diligentius alloqui. Quo summo mane cum ascendisset et a Prior in chorume introductus, vidisset sacerdotem ad celebrandum missarum solemn sia juxta morem Ordinis sacerdotalibus vestibus indutum [p. 219v], mirari cepit vestimentum simplicitatem. Et statim ex capella sua preciosam casulam allatam panni diapensi precio bx solidorum precepit super altari offeri et ea sacerdotem statim indui. Missam autem illum celebravit pie memorie dominus Robertus quondam Prior Wintonie. Archiepiscopus vero ad missam illum in cathedra sacerdotali juxta altare se habuit devotius solito orationi insistentis, delectatus quidem loci humiliatem et simplicitatem heremeticæ professionis sumptuosa ecclesiârum ornamenta fastidientis. Expletis igitur missarum solemnibus, congregati conventu, Archiepiscopus cum suis claustrum ingreditur. Dictoque ab ipso Benedictte, quis esset Magister Adam statim qvesivit; quem certo indicio Prior ei desipavit. Ille vero juxta quod scriptum est justus in principio sermonis accusator est sui, illico sic fatus est: "Sancte Pater ego sum Adam peccator vestre Sanctitatis servus." Archiepiscopus vero satis eum benigno alloquendo rogavit ut consolationis gratia coram eo verbum Dei predicaret et divini scientiae ernoquibus eum graciosius opinatam didicerat sibi susque esorientibus aliq uidum saltem vel medicum impartiret. Quod quam digne exime et luculentæ expleverat, rerum certius probavit eventus. Denique quia ille venerabilis pater mediocriter literatus intelligencie scientia imbutus erat, viros sapientes et gnaros et totius facultatis ingenue scientiam preditos contubernales habere consuevit. Et quidem satis prudenter scilicet ut literaturam et scientiam quam minus pollesbat quotiens opus expeteret facilius eam ab aliis depropo mutuaret. Horum igitur quotquot tunc cum ipso Archiepiscopo presentes fuerunt, finito sermone et dignissime completo concordiæ in laudem ipsius Ade devotissime proruperunt, fatentes et contestantes non hominem sed potius Spiritum Sanctum per hominem ipsum fuisse locutum. Mirabatur et gracias Deo agentes quod sancta ecclesia illo in tempore tales haberat lucernas quamvis sub modo private conversationis dilitescent. Quid etiam idem archipresul fecerit, non sine admiratione contuendum est. Nempe expleto sermone quasi sermo divinus singulariter eum ac specialiter tigisset, repente surrexit et Magistrum Adam per manum foras educens ait: "Expectate nos hic; donec redeamus ad vos." Ingressique cellum ipsius Ade mora diuturniori Archipresul de secretis suis cum ipso locutus est profluentibus lacrimarum imibris ab oculis ejus in tantum ut ipse Adam attonitus stuparet. Depositoque indumentis suis tanquam Christi puellæ virgaram impostiones disciplinam ab eo acceperit, devotissime suppliantis quatinus super Dominam Orationem sibi componeret.

Exinde in claustrum regressi, Archiepiscopus fraternitate suscepta, et fratrum se orationibus commendans, pollicitus est plane ac spopondit omni tempore vite sue domum de Witham et occasionem ipsius Ordinis Cartusiani specialiter ac propensiis se dilecturum et honorii et venerationi habiturum. Priori etiam domus illius preceperat quatinus in omnibus necessitatibus et negotiis

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1 Cf. Magna Vita S. Hugonis, pp. 95-96.
domus sue que per eum expedienda consideret, procul hesitatione et diffidentia ad eum securissime properaret. Post que juxta morem confessione peracta et absolutione ab ipso devotissime cunctis presentibus exhibita, elevatis manibus benedixit fratribus, et recedens ferebatur ab eis. Verumtamen quam fideliter (fo. 220) benigne et devote omni postmodum vite sue tempore solverit, quod aliquando fidei sponsione promisit, ad dandum rei certitudinem eminis satis indicium fuit, quod ubicunque Prior de Witham ad eum postmodum venisset quibuscumque viris principalibus ac magнатibus vallatus aut circumseptus esset, venienti assurere reverenter salutare et deosculari et sibi immediate collaboralem sive in mensa sive in locis ceteris idoneis et honestis ipsum habere consueraverit, et equi prioris cum equis Archiepiscopi qui de sella ejus erant ex precepto illius junctim in stabulo locarentur. Preterea cum idem reverendissimus pater pro regni negociis expediendis aliqua preostensum est sacris polleret moribus et juge Deo pie devotionis et defecata orationis instantia longanimi sollicitius gratum sacrificium immolasset, haberetque jam plurimos dies essetque prorogati et quia sibi apostolam Quem diligit Dominus corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit, acriori morbo quem medicum mortuum vocant, correpit est. In qua infirmitate ferme biennio ante dececum sui decoccis et quasi aurum quod per ignem transit probatus mundior et ideo felicior ex carcere ergastulo ad feliciora migravit. Denique cum heremum nostram de Witham xxv pene iii* annis venerabilem viderat et devoctio conversatio illustrissimi redidisset et tam ad Deus quam hominibus gratia esset et acceptus, sub interdicto generali quod imperante domino papa Innocentio tercio propter venerabilis patrem Stephanum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum et ob indurationem Johannis regis Anglorum universam Angliam et Walliam per septennium constringerat, dominica palmarum die convocato ad eum ceto monachorum cum priorie domino Roberto de Caveford^ quasi ultimum illius vale faciens, de conservanda adinvicem caritate et quanta concordia et unitate

1 The chronicler employed this word perhaps in conscious imitation of Master Adam, who used it especially in connection with meditation: defecata meditatio occurs in several places in the De quadrupartito exercitio Cellae.

2 This monk had been a recruit to the Chartreux at Witham from a not very distant locality probably. Caveford (Caueford) was an old spelling of the place Keyford, now part of the town of Frome. In writing from my notes of this manuscript, I unfortunately misread the name, and printed it wrongly in my book (op. cit., p. 76) as Caneford.
uniri deberent, sermonem longius protraxit. Et enim singultu lugubri et lacrimis singulis fratribus deosculatis et ejus benedictionem perfruits, conventus ad cellas reversus est. Feria vero ebdomade sancte tercia, cum jam mori putabatur ab hiis qui ei ministrabant, super cinerem benedictum et cilicium posuit, congregato ad eum de more conventu sine dolore aliquo et gemitu vel suspiriis dormienti magis quam moriendi similis compressis luminum palpebris in Christo feliciter obdormivit. Cujus corpus abluerre et de more Ordinis pannis insiere, in feretro locare et in ecclesiam deferre et ad tumulum portare, in sepulchrum etiam (fo. 226*) deponere, licet immerito mihi qui hec utcumque dictando compilavi gracioso concessum est. Denique cum isto venerabili patre Magistro Adamo comes individuus et socius contubernalis in hac heremo nostra de Witham amplius quam decem annis extitit, non quasi comes aut socius sed potius sicut alumnus et pedesequus, licet ejusdem habitus et Ordinis. Et ideo unde oriundus extiterit aut quomodo ad nostram heremum sua presentia clariorem et devotissimam conversatione diutina sanctiorem reddendam se aliquando transtulerit sicut ab ejus ore colloquendo aut scripta sua legendo didici, brevi ac succincto sermone et minus polito ad noticiam plurimorum tam presentium quam futurorum sic litterario ut prefertur dirivare conavi. Si cui vero in voto fuerit scire Magistrum Adam cujus figura et habitudinis extiterit, noverit eum fuisse statura mediocrem, juxta mediocritatem stature satis corpulentum, facie hilarum, capite calvum, et tam pro venustate morum quam etate et canicie valde reverendum.

Quia vero idem venerabilis vir Magistre Adam sacre scripture intelligentia non mediocriter effusit, antequam Witham adveniret plures tractatus divine pagine edidit, quos in duobus codicibus magnis compegit. Qui codices, quia ea que in illis continentur in modum omeliarum digesta sunt, Sermonarii Magisteri Ade appellantur. Plura etiam opera in domo de Witham ubi per xxii pene iiiiiiiiiii annos monachus ejusdem Ordinis, viz. Cartusiensis sancte et humilime semper sub obedientia vixit, opera digne commemoranda elaboravit. Ex quibus est Libellus super canonem Missae: Item libellus de Quatrupartito Exercitio Celle: Item libellus super Dominica Oratione ad Hucbertum Archiepiscopum: Item libellus qui intitulatur Speculum Discipline: Item libellus qui dicitur Dialogus Magistri Ade: Item libellus quem vocavit Exameron: Libellus de consanguinitate Anne matris Beate Marie et Beate Elizabeth matris beati Johannis baptiste: Item libellus qui dicitur Secretum meum mihi: et plura alia opera meritoria et scripta fecit et edidit que ad presens memoriae minime occurrunt, dicit compilator etc.

(fo. 221.)

DE PRIORE DE WITHAM ALBERTO NOMINE.

Eodem tempore Dominus Hugo Lincolniensis Epicopus cui specialiter auctoritate Capituli generalis domus de Witham commissa fuerat predico Alberto ad se accersito querelas satis graves et querimonias intorsit 1 eo quod

1 The use of this word here is perhaps unusual: the sense seems to be that Bishop Hugh having summoned Prior Albert hurled complaints and laments
at him because of the bad report received from monks and converses alike. Hugh on quitting Witham for the See of Lincoln had probably recommended Albert for election to the priorate as a man of very devout life, and felt especially vexed at his failure as Prior of his beloved convent.

This extract, apparently not quite full, seems to be taken from a part of the chronicle preceding the long passage on Adam of Dryburgh. The names of these recruits under Prior Albert and the description of Master Adam’s appearance and list of works, evidently from this chronicle, are among notes made by W. Mede of Sheen Charterhouse in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix. The Prior of Winchester mentioned was Robert Fitz Henry to whom, after he had become a Carthusian, Richard of Devizes dedicated his De Rebus Gestis Ricardi Primi. Walter Prior of Bath did not remain at Witham. (See Annals of Winchester (R.S.), p. 68.)