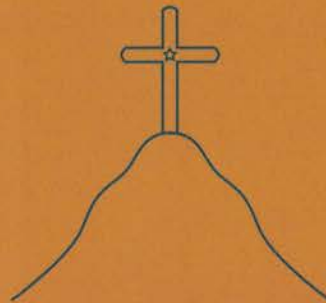


*The Origins  
of the Carmelites*



Carmel Clarion  
Summer 2018  
Volume XXXIII, No. 3



# Carmel Clarion

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# Figures of the Carmelite Origins



*The Proyhet Elijah*



*Our Lady of Mt. Carmel*



*St. Albert of Jerusalem*



*Hermits Living on Mt. Carmel*

## From the Provincial Delegate

There are two figures that have inspired Carmelites throughout the ages. Elijah the prophet and Mary the mother of Jesus. Elijah is a figure larger than life. One with great zeal for the Lord God of hosts, heroic in his deeds. He is a man of God whose word is effective. What he predicts comes true. The widow's meager resources, her flour and oil, do not run out at his command. Moved by compassion he restores her son to life.

He is a man of faith and courage. As we continue reading the text from the Books of Kings we see him confront the prophets of the false gods and call the people to uncompromising fidelity to the covenant. He challenges them to commit themselves to the covenant they have abandoned. His message is: The Lord is God, do not waver, follow him.

Then exhausted and discouraged, having fled for his life, we see him most vulnerable. It was at this moment that he experienced God on the mountain, not in the predictable, dramatic events of nature, not in the mighty wind or the earthquake, but in the silence, in the gentle breeze.

We will later see him confront the evil king for his shameful deeds and vindicate the poor and lowly. Elijah embodies, and is for us, a model of the prophetic dimension of our Carmelite charism. He hears the Word of God in silence and boldly proclaims it when bid to do so.

Mary, the mother of Jesus, whom we honor under the title of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, is for us too a model of faith. The first Carmelites named their oratory and their community after her. From the very beginning Mary was patroness, protector, mother, queen and sister to us. We were first known as the Hermit Brothers of Our Lady of Mt Carmel. We pledge ourselves now, as they did then, to a life of allegiance to Jesus Christ in the company of Mary.

Throughout her life, as God unfolded his mysterious plan, she responded in faith. When God revealed his will to her at the Annunciation through the angel Gabriel, she said "yes," without knowing all that

would follow. When the time came for the birth of the child and there was no room in the Inn, she trusted that God would provide for them. When the child's life was in danger and Joseph took them into Egypt, she believed that God would keep this holy family safe. Now as refugees seeking protection in a foreign land, she and Joseph once again placed their trust in God. When the child was lost and then found in the temple, she put aside her anxiety and was confident that the Father's will would be accomplished.

At the wedding in Cana, Mary recognized the needs of the couple and presented them to her Son. She was instrumental in his performing his first sign. She continues to be concerned about our needs and presents them to him.

Mary was present at the foot of the cross and shared in her Son's suffering. She comforted him in his most painful anguish. The brown scapular we wear is a sign of our devotion to her and of our desire for her protection. We hope that she will comfort us at the hour of our death. When the apostles, awaiting the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, devoted themselves with one accord to prayer, Mary was with them.

When our faith is tested, we can look to Mary for comfort. When God seems silent, Mary will show us how to trust. When life seems overwhelming, Mary will help us along the journey of faith. When we go through the dark night, Mary will point out the way to Jesus.

When Mary recognized that God had chosen her; that God had found favor with her; that God had touched her, her song was one of gratitude and praise. As we come to recognize more the presence and action of the Spirit of God in our lives, we must take up Mary's song. With her we too declare: "My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord. My spirit rejoices in God my savior."

Salvatore Scieurba, O.C.D.



## Carmelite Origins – Founts of Inspiration

Those of you have been privileged to visit the site of the original Carmelite foundation in the Wadi es Siah near Haifa will never forget your first approach to the holy place. Very likely you will have come south along the coast road from the present Carmelite monastery on the promontory of Mt. Carmel overlooking the city of Haifa. From this point of departure, the site of the original monastery can be reached after a leisurely walk of about 4 km. It would be very desirable for a modern pilgrim to approach it on foot, thus to appreciate the mode of travel best known to the early monks. As a pilgrim today, one would traverse a coast highway that is paved and smooth. It was not always thus, but it was a route used for centuries by a multitude of people. In earlier times, it was the approach road for many of the conquering armies who disturbed the peace of Israel and caused fright and terror to its people: the forces seen in vision by Jeremiah as the "boiling cauldron whose face is from the north" (Jer 1, 13).

The armies of Alexander also came this way; still later came the armies of the Crusaders. This road also saw the armies of Napoleon... It would be the route taken by St. Albert if, according to artistic tradition, he came from Acre to consign the Rule to the first monks. And still at that period, it would be the well-documented pilgrim way for those making their way from the north to Jerusalem. Some of these, coming from Acre and points north, visited the monastery, as they followed the pilgrim route. Within the monastery, they

would have noted a little church dedicated to our Lady. Then they would continue south through Athlit, Caesarea, and inland to the Holy City.

### **Monastic Site**

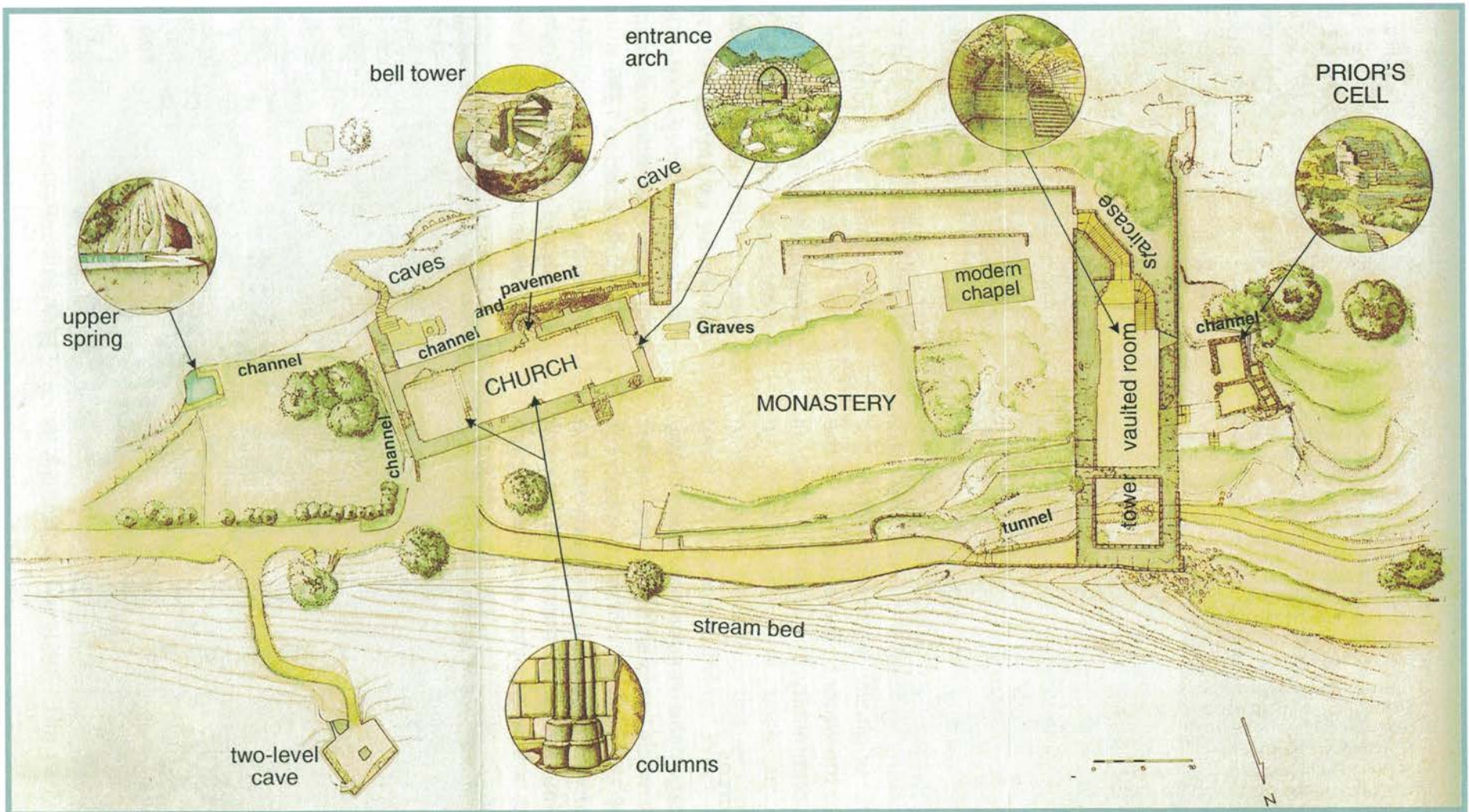
Now in turn our, we come to the junction on the left, which leads up to the present archeological site of the ruined monastery. The first thing we notice is a fertile, well-watered garden called the "bustan." When we ascend the valley, we will become aware of the source of its fertility: the two precious fountains that provide irrigation for the valley and supplied life-giving water for the first monks. One fount is on the left as we approach and is the one that came to be known as the "fountain of Elijah." It emerges from the rock on the northern slope of the valley just where it begins to get narrow as we approach the ruins of the monastery. This is the fountain referred to in the Rule of Albert: "Albert by the grace of God, patriarch of the church of Jerusalem, to his beloved sons B and the other brothers who live in obedience to him near the fountain (of Elijah) on Mt. Carmel."

The modern pilgrim to the Wadi es Siah might easily pass by this water source without noticing it. The anthrum in the rock, from which the water issues, has been shut off from sight. After the conquest of Palestine by the allies at the end of the First World War (1918), a pump house was installed next to the spring to drive the water to the headquarters



Albert, called by God's favor...to his beloved sons in Christ, B. and the other hermits under obedience to him who live on Mount Carmel near the spring....An oratory should be built as conveniently as possible among the cells, where, if it can be done without difficulty, you are to gather each morning to participate in the celebration of Mass.  
 [The Rule of Albert]

We are the descendants of those who felt this call, of those holy hermits on Mount Carmel who in such great solitude and contempt of the world sought this treasure, this precious pearl of contemplation.  
 [St. Teresa of Jesus]



OCD map for restoration project , 1990s



of the British forces high above the spring to the east. Both the pump house and pipe are at present in a dilapidated state. Nowadays, a pipe conveys the water to a little reservoir in the lower valley where it is used by those who dwell there. But, near its point of origin, the pipe is pierced to form a little trough of water used by the sheep and goats that traverse the valley under the care of their shepherds.

Carmelite historians are agreed that the Rule reads simply: "near the fount." But even in crusading times and in the earliest constitutions (c. 1281), this source is called "the fountain of Elijah." A little further on, when we reach the monastic site, we see on the southern side of the chapel a second fountain emerging from a crevice in a rock. A channel, originally enclosed within the cloister, fed the water to the buildings for the use of the community.

### **Water Sources**

At this stage, the reader may ask, "Why place so much emphasis on the water sources of the valley?" First, a supply of fresh water was absolutely necessary for the monastic foundation. In those days, a water source was a *sine qua non* requirement for

any habitation that had to be assured and secured. Secondly, and more relevant to my purpose, I have often seen in these foundations of the Wadi es Siah an image of Carmelite beginnings and development. Many times in reality, and now in imagination as I approach the monastic ruins, I note how these fountains irrigate the valley, creating life and growth in abundance. The "bustan" at the entrance to the valley from the sea is testimony to this in the fertility that abounds. This garden has supported at various times orange and lemon trees, pomegranate, vines, and palms. It may be conjectured that it had been tended originally by the early monks.

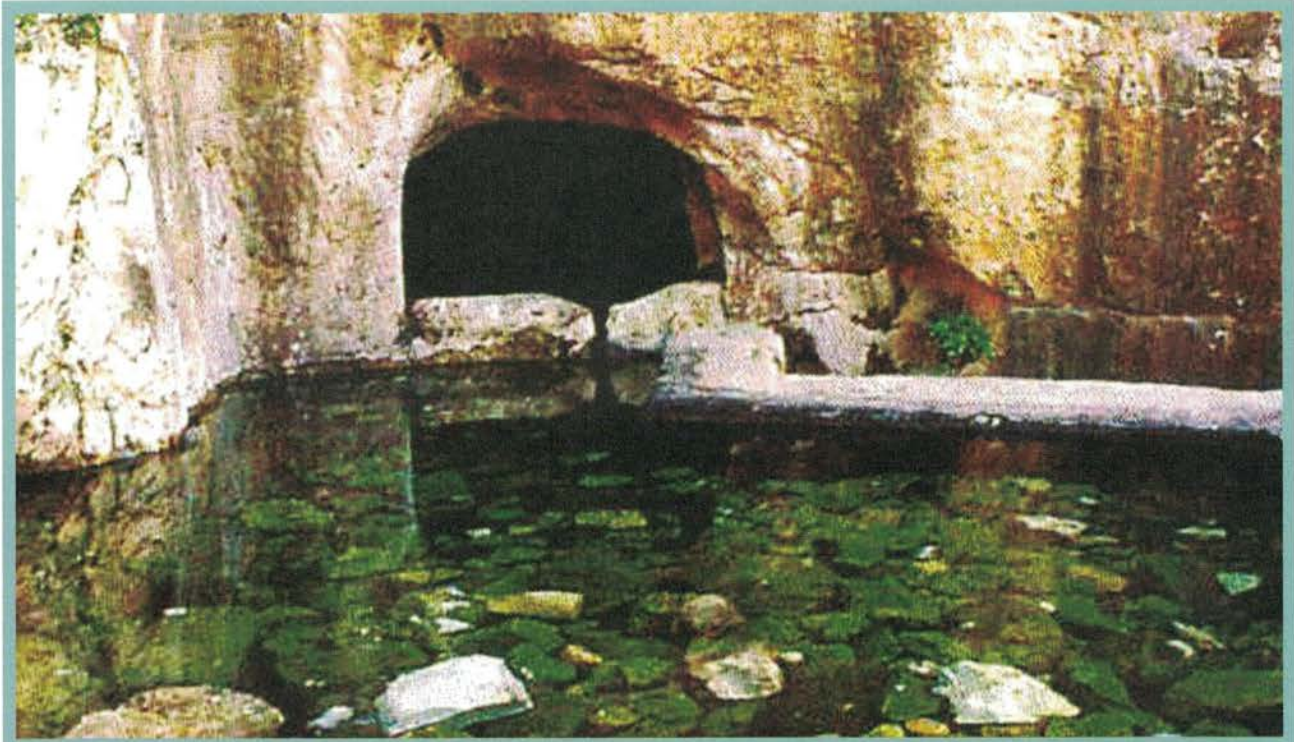
### **Living Symbol**

This vitality and abundance in the valley is for me a living symbol of Carmel's origin and development. The early sources that nourished the lives of the first community were rustic and simple. Yet they had within them an exuberant vitality, which in the course of history, expanded to luxuriant growth. A mediaeval map, published by Roericht dated to 1235, about twenty years after the death of St. Albert, shows a spring simply entitled "fons vivus" emanating from the monastery and abundant enough to



Wadi 'ain es-Siah. The spring of Elijah as it appears today.





The upper spring situated behind the apse of the church, at one time standing within a perimeter wall of the monastery. Detail showing the cave and the water cistern.

reach the sea. In a later map, this same spring has the title to which we are accustomed: "Fons Helye" (fount of Elijah).

The "fons vivus" (living spring), which was abundant enough to reach the sea, is for me highly evocative, foreshadowing the future. The sea is of course the Eastern Mediterranean. Visible from the monastic settlement, it might seem to beckon the monks to faraway places, what early Irish monks called "isles of the blest."

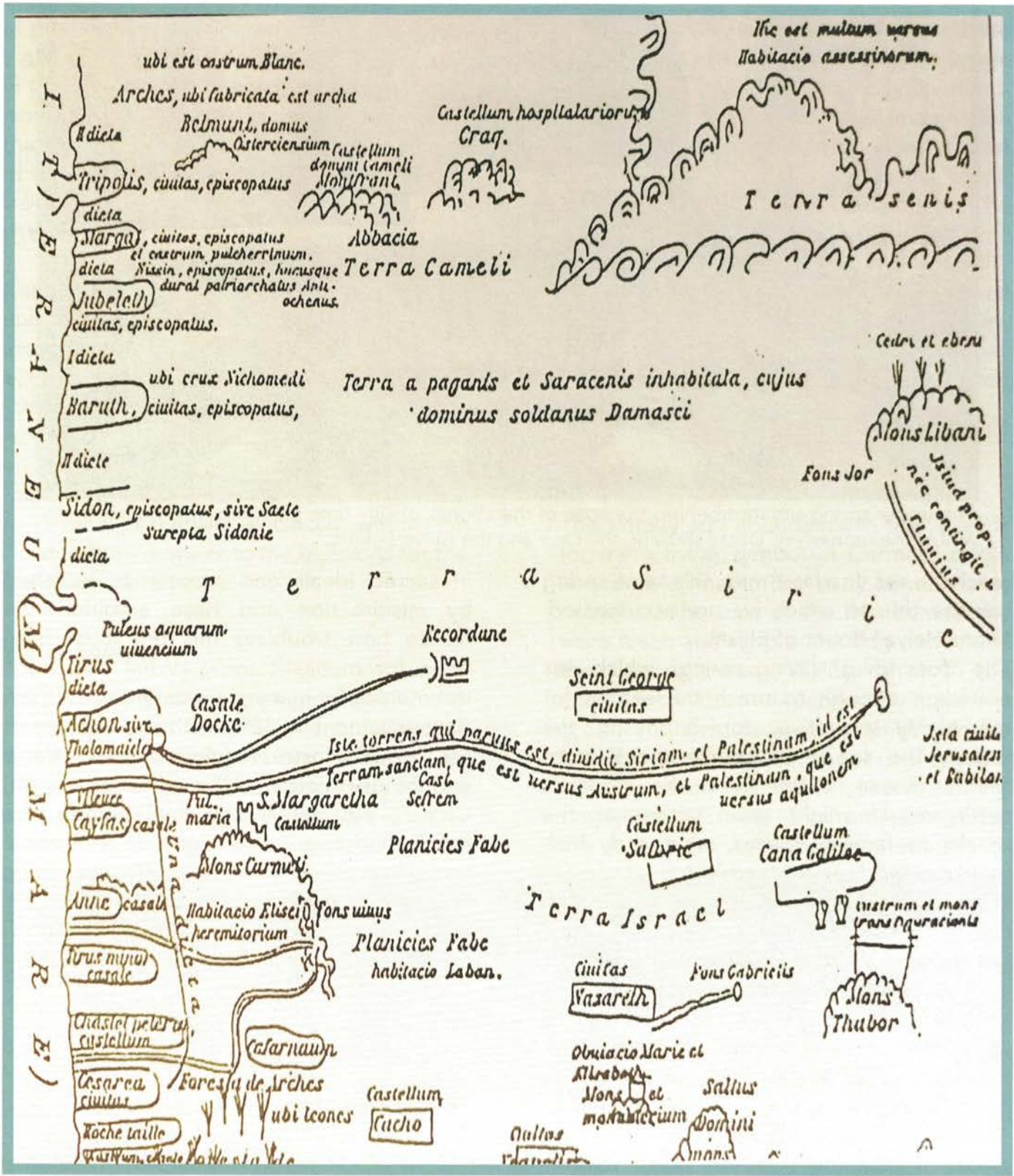
Left to themselves and in peaceful tranquility, the monks would scarcely have thought of expansion of Mediterranean lands. But God's ways are very strange at times, and his plans can evolve in mysterious ways. For in fact, the monks were not left to themselves and their peaceful eremitical life. The environment of their origin was the Palestine of Crusading times. Their sojourn in the valley roughly spanned the period from the fourth Crusade (1202-4) until the end of the seventh and last Crusade (1291). As we look back on the history of the Crusades—at once admirable

in sacred ideals and sometimes blotched by misdirection and base ambition—we realize how troubling this era must have been for monastic living. What had been threatening for many years came to an abrupt denouncement in 1291 with the capture of the Crusader fortress of Acre by the Moslems and the destruction of the monastery on Mt. Carmel. But before this final demise, the monks had begun the migration to Europe, some say as early as 1238. Cyprus, Sicily, France, and England experienced the arrival of the monks from the East; and gradually the Carmelites began to be noticed throughout the West.

### *Obstacles Overcome*

The implementation was not a tranquil event. It was more characterized by the psalmist's: "Those who sow in tears." But gradually as times passed, the Carmelites began to experience visibly the blessing of God and, as they noted, the benevolence and protection of Our Lady. The early obstacles





The Map of Roehricht



were overcome, and Carmel could develop and expand in the new environment.

The living spring that had originated in the monastic site of Mt. Carmel became a steady and powerful stream; and where it flowed, it brought forth an abundance of fruit. It permeated the European religious scene, gradually adjusting itself to new realities that it encountered. And it achieved this while holding firmly and prayerfully to its eremitical origins. It abided exactly by its eremitical ideals in some of the earliest foundations: Aygalades in France, Hulne, and Aylesford in England. These foundations and others like them would remain a testimony to the eremitical style of life that characterized Carmelite origins.



But the Carmelites in Europe also became part of the mendicant movement with their Dominican and Franciscan brethren, and this required quite an adjustment, not without a lot of soul searching. University life, central to the mendicant orders in Europe at the time, became part of the Carmelite apostolate; parish work also. But because Carmelites had a vivid memory of their origins, a very special effort was made to accept all these developments against a background of prayer, recollection, and contemplation. The tension between these two realities played itself out in subsequent years.

### ***Ignea Sagitta***

During these years, the great concern was to preserve and develop the call to prayer and contemplation in conjunction with the demands of apostolic activity. The coexistence of the two was not always peaceful, for the type of change the Carmelites were undergoing at this time is never without a

certain attrition. Hence, some felt the strain and a certain instability as things evolved. There were even appeals to abandon the apostolic work and revert to the eremitical way of life. The most notable intervention in this context was fervent appeal of an ex-general of the Order whom we know as Nicholas of Narbonne (the Frenchman). He penned a treatise, which he entitled "Ignea Sagitta - The Fiery Arrow." He characterizes the monks who have left the desert for "the city" not as true sons of Carmel but only stepsons. "Tell me," he writes, "where among you are there preachers who are able and willing to preach in the proper manner...illiterates, ignorant of learning and the law,

they loose what should not be loosed and bind what should not be bound." The citadel of Carmel is not the fortified city but the open desert..."see how we hermits are consoled in body and soul in a manner wonderful beyond belief." In lyrical idyllic fashion, he describes the attractions of the solitary life. Towns and cities have much to distract us; in solitary places, all speaks of God. The beauty of the firmament draws the soul to higher things. The flight of birds is like the choirs of angels.

The surrounding hills are like the choir of the divine office, responding to the hermit's praise of the Creator. He goes on: "The creatures which we see and hear in the desert brings us refreshment and comfort as our companions. Even though silent, they preach in a marvelous fashion and spur us on to the praise of our Creator." This most earnest and fervid appeal surely served to keep Carmelites ever in mind of their eremitical origins and the need to preserve the primacy of prayer and contemplation in the midst of apostolic activity.



## *Teresa and John*

In the name of things, it is never easy to strike and preserve the perfect balance between contemplation and apostolic activity. Indeed, it seems to be "a work in progress" to be tackled in every successive age in our existence. Our Constitutions and our literature are witness to that as we try to be faithful to the spirit and our developing charism in the Church.

What was easily the greatest and most powerful impetus in that development came in the sixteenth century through the lives and influences of Teresa and John. The renewal brought about through them was to have a decisive effect on the Order thenceforward. The emphasis on prayer and contemplation in their personal lives was paramount. And this they bequeathed to their renewal of the Carmelite Order, which saw an extraordinary flowering of mysticism in the Church. And yet, all the prominence given to prayer proved to be compatible with great apostolic zeal that encompassed even work in the foreign mission fields of the Church. For this indeed was one of the consequences of the work of renewal brought about by the words and works of Teresa and John. Mission work—what might be seen as highly incompatible with prayer and contemplation—came to be seen as a very legitimate expression of both. And in the history of the Carmelite missions, we have many examples of missionaries who achieved a near perfect balance between prayerfulness and apostolate. Their lives could be written under the subtitle "Contemplative and Apostolic."

The decision concerning contemplation and missionary apostolate came just as the Teresian renewal was consolidating itself following her death and that of St. John. The question arose in acute fashion at a time when



a considerable body of opinion deemed the two activities to be incompatible. It engaged the fledgling congregation at the highest level for some time.

The views of Teresa and John were central to the discussion. And the final nuanced resolution that contemplation and apostolate were indeed compatible and even supportive of one another owed much to the spirit and apostolic vision bequeathed by Teresa. This is reflected very clearly in the guiding text that we have in our Constitutions at the present time: "The evangelization of the world, so intimately part of the very nature of the Church (Ad Gentes, 1-2) in as much as it is to be accomplished primarily through love and prayer, has always been a priority in our Order's apostolic work" (references here to the chapter acts 1605 and 1630). Our holy mother St. Teresa passed on to the Order the ardent missionary zeal that burned in her heart, and it was her wish that her friars



should undertake missionary activity. This missionary zeal should be faithfully fostered, all should have the missions very much at heart, and vocations to the missions should be encouraged throughout the Order (CC. n. 94-ch.6: Our Order's apostolic role).

### ***Sister Water***

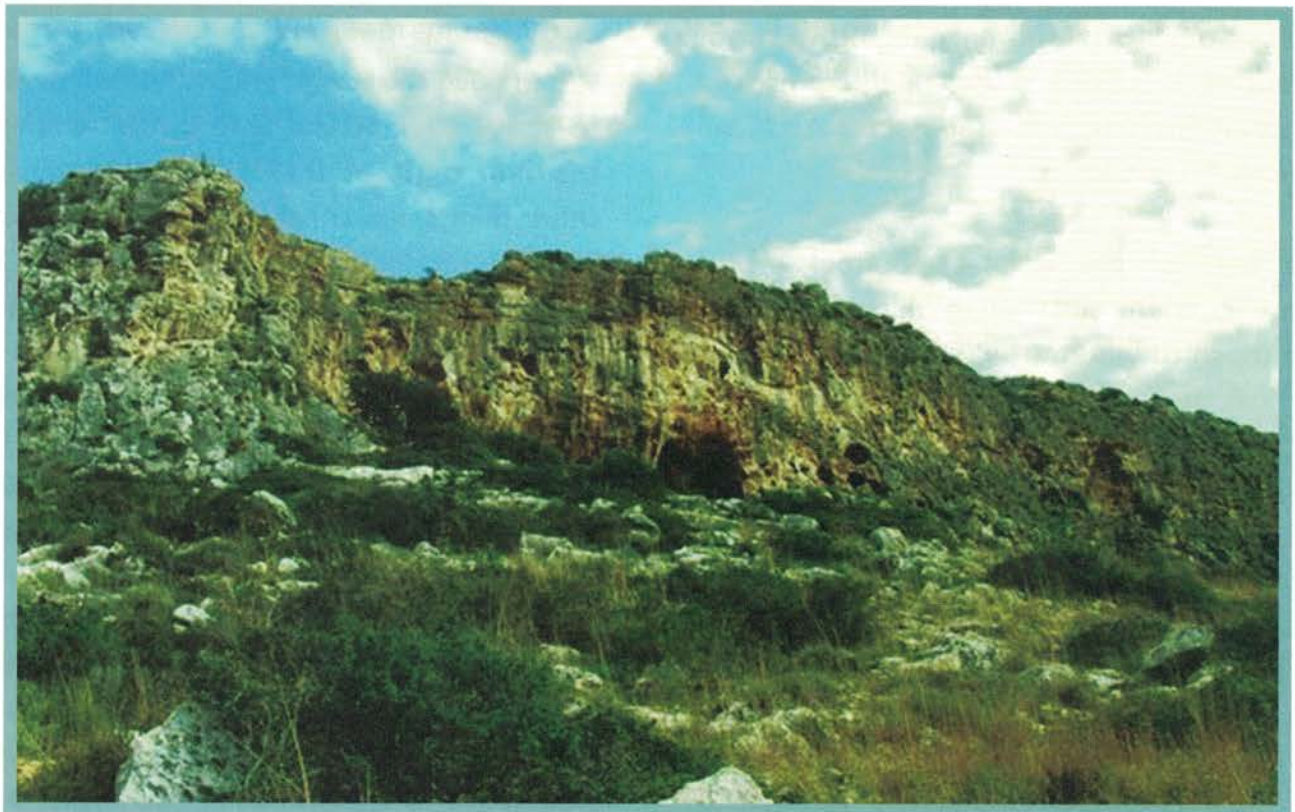
And this might be a suitable moment to bring to a close these reflections that began with the springs of water that gave life to the valley where Carmel had its origins. Water, invoked to the praise of our Creator by St. Francis under the tender title of "sister" and characterized as "very serviceable to us, and humble and precious and clean" was also very dear to Teresa and serviceable to her. She could use the diverse modes of irrigating a garden as a framework for describing the whole gamut of progress in prayer.

Perhaps the presence and flow of water in the Wadi es Siah may also have caught the imagination of the founding Carmelites as they "pondered the law of the Lord day and night keeping vigil in prayer." In their spiritual pondering on the Scripture, did they perhaps recall:

And he (the Angel) showed me the river of life-giving water, sparkling like crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the city. On either side of the river grew the tree of life, producing fruit each month. And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations (Rev. 22,1-2).

Michael Buckley, O.C.D. †

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Caves on Mount Carmel.



# The History of the Rule

We know that the word "context" may mean "real facts" as well as very vague concepts. Generally speaking, the term includes a number of relevant factors which help us understand the meaning of a text. For example: context may mean a sentence (when related to a word we are explaining), a paragraph or a chapter; the author and his writings; the person to whom something is addressed. Context may refer to the actual, physical place, or to the psychological, historical or social environment in which the text or message was born, or where it can be in some way placed. The historical context is one of the relevant factors in interpreting a text. In fact, the meaning of a word or text is not established by the unchanging world of essentials. It is born of the changing mixture of situations which are subject to human, changeable situations.

The text of the Rule of Carmel makes reference to the situation in which the author, and those to whom it was addressed, lived; not just at the time when they received it, but also as they evolved and matured; as they submitted to the Rule and reacted to it; as they felt challenged and made decisions in the face of it. The Rule, therefore, reveals and communicates the experiences and the perspectives of the founding group on the situation or on the tangle of questions which the situation itself imposed upon them. It is a very precious perspective, because it is the result of a reading of faith, under the influence of the Spirit, of the situation which

surrounded them. We are dealing here with the founding charism as lived in a particular circumstance.

The attempt to reconstruct the historical context of the Rule is limited to that situation and period in which the Rule was born, i.e., to its origins. What I am trying to do is to "bring the history back to that state of fluidity in which decisions had yet to be taken;" to "break up once again the contents, the results and the form of the finished work of action;" to appeal again, in a certain way, to "the living force of decision-making from which these works or these facts took their origin" (Hans Freyer).

When I use the term "origins," I do not want to limit myself to the time of the writing of the first draft of the Rule, which, besides other things, never reached us. By "origins" I mean the definitive, approved draft of 1247. I do not pretend to reconstruct the whole, overall context. I have to select between the various factors which, as I see it, serve to "introduce" the Rule and help us make our first acquaintance with it. In order to keep my selections within certain limits, I shall proceed along two distinct lines:

- I. Dates and historical references: either found in the text of the Rule itself or in the writings of external witnesses.
- II. The wider social and cultural context in which they can be placed.



## I. DATES AND HISTORICAL REFERENCES

### 1. The Author

The first evident appearance of the Carmelites on the scene of history is documented by the prologue of the Form of life: "a group of hermits who live near the Fountain, on Mount Carmel, under obedience to Brocard." They ask Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to give them a "Form of life" according to their proposal or project. Albert<sup>1</sup> is qualified in the text as Patriarch of Jerusalem, which helps us limit the time of the first drafting of the text, or better still, the time of its concession: i.e., between the year 1206 and 1214. In fact, Albert was elected Patriarch in 1205 and arrived in the Holy Land and fixed his See at Acre (a few kilometers away from Mount Carmel) during the first months of 1206.<sup>2</sup> He was murdered during the procession of the Feast of the Holy Cross (September 14) of 1214. Before being elected patriarch, he was Bishop of Bobbio in 1184, and of Vercelli from the year 1185 until 1205.

His formation as well as his experience are certainly useful elements in constructing the context, even from the point of view of its interpretation. I shall limit myself to reminding you of the following points in his life: his formation as canon regular of Mortara which entailed the constant reading of the sacred scriptures, the sharing of goods in common, a union of hearts, as well as a certain austerity of life. His juridical and literary preparation, his ability to solve conflicts and his knowledge of the phenomenon of his times known as "the mendicant movement," all were part of his previous experience. As a bishop he had, in fact, lived in a particularly lively area

from the point of view of the existence of these movements: the Lombard Paupers, the Arnaldisti, the Chatari and the Humiliati. Equally important is the fact that he was delegated by Innocent III to give some sort of organization and a "Form of life" to the Humiliati, a group of workers who had had a few conflicts with the hierarchy. This movement comprised clerics, lay celibates, as well as some who had married. His qualification as "Patriarch of Jerusalem" and as "Papal Legate to the Holy Land" brought with it a special dedication to the "obsequium of the Cross" and laid on his shoulders the care of reintegrating the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup>

### 2. The Recipients of Albert's Form of Life

The newly constituted group had already left behind the initial stages of their coming together, had already a definite point in their evolution. By now they already constituted and, through selection of a leader, were jointly bound to another—all bearers of exactly the same charismatic imperatives. Their next step was to enumerate and codify their relationships as a group: within themselves, within the church and with their leader. They had to define unanimously their aims, their symbols, their means of livelihood, their mode of dress, government, etc. This is what Albert did for them. His intervention, using technical and juridical terminology, qualified them and constituted them into one *collegium*.<sup>4</sup> Before that they had been a disparate group without any secure juridical unity.

We do not know their country of origin, except in a very general way. Virtually contemporary witnesses agree that they were "Latins," and that they called themselves "Brothers of



Carmel." Jacques de Vitry (+1240),<sup>5</sup> a witness who was very close to the time and place we are talking about, places them among the "pilgrims" consecrated to God, coming from different parts of the world, who were gathering in the Holy Land "attracted by the perfume of the holy and venerable places." A reference to a stage before Albert's intervention, which can throw some light on the initial project, can be found in texts which refer them as "Latin brothers...living in penance" or laudably (*laudabiliter*) dwelling "in holy penance."<sup>6</sup>

### 3. The Place: Mount Carmel and the Fountain of Elijah

This site on Mount Carmel has been clearly identified today, without any shadow of doubt, in Wadi-'Ain-es-Siah, near the fountain traditionally called "The Fountain of Elijah." Both literary as well as archeological evidence, and some maps of the time, all coincide in making this identification. It is situated some 3 or 4 kilometers from Haifa, 25 km. from Acre, and 35 km. from Caesarea Marittima.

There two springs (fountains) at the site: an upper and a lower one, The spring (*fons inferior*) at the time of the Crusades was known either as "The Fountain of Elijah" or simply as "The Fountain." Both of these names, as well as their associations with the Prophet Elijah, preceded the arrival of the Latins to that place. Most probably it was started by a Byzantine group which had established a "laura" there. "When the hermits of Carmel established themselves in Wadi 'Ain-es-Siah the place was already steeped in sacred tradition."<sup>7</sup> No wonder that Jacques de Vitry

concluded that they had decided to follow the example of the holy prophet and solitary, Elijah; and no wonder that the Carmelites had accepted the tradition and ingenuously linked it with the time of Elijah!<sup>8</sup>

### 4. Literary Genre

While not intending to enter into any philological arguments here, I would like to point out the fact that, both in the request made by the hermits (in the Prologue) as well as in the concession of Albert, our text is called a "form of life" or "formula for a way of living together" (*conversationis formula*). In the juridical language of the time, this terminology was used for statutes which were **not** Rules, *i.e.*, traditional norms for a "regular life" (monastic or canonical). Even in the fluidity of the terminology used, as well as the typology of those times when religious life was "in its birth stages," at a time of creativity, of new forms, this expression (*viz.*, form of life) reveals that they belonged to one of these relatively new forms. Moreover, this kind of "statute" was "requested," notwithstanding the claims of Albert that there were multiple forms of solutions already adopted by the Fathers for those who intended to live "*in obsequium Jesu Christi*."<sup>9</sup>

### 5. The Post-Albert Period: to the Time of Innocent I

As we have already mentioned, the historical context of the Rule should not be restricted to Albert's time nor to the places of origin only. In fact, the Rule "which we profess in different parts of the world up to today"<sup>10</sup> is that which is contained in the Bull of Innocent IV "*Quae honorem conditoris*" from 1247, which "declares, corrects and mitigates"



Albert's text and announces that all previous copies of it should be thus corrected.<sup>11</sup>

The present text, therefore, already incorporates the continuous experiences and evolutions which it had undergone: from the approval by Honorius III in 1226, up to the confirmation and other interventions of Gregory IX (e.g., the prohibition of possessing anything, even in common, of Innocent IV—which came before the above-mentioned Bull) as well as the evolution of life and its organization (in such matters as General Chapters, itinerancy, apostolic activity).

I do not want to claim that everything is spelled out in the Rule, but that the above mentioned points form its historical and vital context. With the massive migration (in fact, a return) back to Europe, starting perhaps in the year 1238, the cultural and environmental conditions which had determined the living interpretation of the Rule were changed. We know that there are evident traces of such changes within the text itself.<sup>12</sup>

## II. SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL CONTEXT

### 1. In Palestine

The Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem was already very much reduced when the hermits on Mount Carmel asked Albert (1206 - 1214) for the *Formula Vitae*. They possessed only the coastline, about 90 miles long, from Acre to Jaffa. The major Latin settlement was at Acre, a cosmopolitan city made up of French, English, Italian, German, Frisian and Spanish (especially Catalans from Barcelona) inhabitants. The indigenous people (i.e. the Jews, who often came from other places, the

Moslems and the traditional Eastern Christian communities) lived around the city, but were not allowed to settle inside the city itself for obvious reasons of security.

The various nationalities remained autonomous, and organized themselves in "communes" or corporations, each with its own church. The local bishop, as well as the Patriarch of Jerusalem, along with many other "local" bishops, together with their chapters, lived at Acre, because their "local sees" were situated in occupied parts of the country.

Their country of origin, their status in life, as well as their reasons for being in the Holy Land, all played a major part in the composition of the Latin population of Acre. For military and defence purposes you had knights, military orders and peasants rubbing shoulders with nobles. Following the path of devotion, there were pilgrims, hermits and monasteries dispersed all over the country. Others settled in Palestine for reasons of commerce and profit: the marine republics of Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Marseille and Barcelona were all represented there. This, at least, was the situation up to the time of the defeat of Hattin (1187).<sup>13</sup>

Near Carmel, in Haifa, there existed a "*signoria*" based more or less on the European type. Carmel belonged to the diocese of Caesarea Marittima. Besides these Latin settlements, more or less stable, others came with each "*passagium generale*," i.e., pilgrims coming every year around Easter and during the summer months: these included merchants and crusaders in addition to male and female







dicat nuno: in laudib; matutinis. In alijs quoq; horis septies simili orationem sigillatim dicat oratio privi officia uel  
prima: in quib; ipsam quidam dicit debentis. nullus frum aliqd e; e; ppim dicat. sed sint uob oia oia uolub;  
biat iniqu; pmanu pno uel: p frum ab eodem ad idem officiu deputati put cuiq; op; erit: inspectio etiam;  
7 necessitatib; singulor;. A finos aut; siue mulos put una ex postulat; necessitas uob b; uolub;. 7 aliqd aia  
lum siue uoluntiu; nututiu;. Oritoru; put comodi; sic; potit; cōstruit in medio cellular; ubi mane p sin-  
gulos dies ad audienda missaz; sollempnia cōuenit; debeat; ubi hoc comode fieri potest. dñico q; dieb; ul; alijs  
ubi op; fuit de custodia ordio; rari; salute; tēctio; ubi etiā ex officio; raulpe; frum; si que in aliquo depōsit;e  
fuit caritate; media corrigit; Jeuniu; singlis dieb; exceptis dñico; obfuetio; a festo exaltationis scē cru-  
cis; usq; ad dñi; dñico; resurrectionis; nisi infirmitas ul; debilitas corpis; aut; ab a; uel; cā; rēuunū; solu; suadeat  
quia necessitas nō h; legē;. Ab estu carniū; abstinentis; nisi; p infirmitatis; ul; debilitatis; ueniedo; suanē;. **P**  
et quia uos oportet frequēt; mōdicat; uinantes ne sitis hospitib; onerosi ex ita domos uas; sumē; potatis  
pulchra; cocta; cū; canib;. sed; rēanib; sup; mare; uel; lucib;. Quia uo; tēptatio; ē; uita; hōis; sup; tē;. 7 tōmo; q;  
p; uolūt; uisū; in xpō; psecutōem; parauit;. Adūsari; q; uā; diabulus; tāquā; leo; rugiens; acut; q; raris; quem  
deuoret; o; sollicitudine; studitis; indai; armata; di; ut; possitis; stare; adūsus; insidias; inimici;. Accingedi; sit  
lūbi; angulo; castitatis; mūnendū; ē; pax; cogitandib; scis; scriptū; ē; etiā;. cogitatio; scē; p; uabit; te;. induen-  
da; ē; lorica; iustitie; ut; dñm; dñm; iūm; ex; toto; corde; 7; ex; tota; aia; 7; ex; tota; uirtute; diligatis; 7; p; xpm; uim;  
tāquā; uos; ipos;. Sumēdū; ē; tōmū; scitū; fidei; in; q; possitis; oia; tela; neq; sumi; ignea; p;tingere;. Omne; fide;  
etiā; impossib;le; ē; placē; deo;. galat; q; saluatio; capiti; iponenda; ē;. ut; de; solo; saluatore; spero; saluē;. q; saluū; facit;  
p; fuit; a; peccatis; eoy;. Gladi; autē; spō; q; ē; ubi; dei; habundant; habet; in; ore; 7; in; cordib; iūis;. 7; q; uob; agēda;  
fuit; uisū; dñi; fuit;. facit; dñm; ē; uob; aliqd; op;e;. ut; semp; uos; diabulus; inueniat; occupatos;. ne; ex; ociosi-  
tate; uia; aliqd; uisū; aditū; ad; dñm; ualeat; inuenire;. habetis; in; hoc; beati; iohanni; ap;li; magistru;. parit;  
7; exemplū; in; euāg;io; xpō; q; h;at; qui; positus; ē; 7; dat; adeo; predicator; 7; doctō;. gentiū; in; fide; 7; ueritate; que;  
si; scitū; fuit; nō; potit; abire;. In; labore; inq; et; fatigatōe; suū; uis; uos; nocte; ac; die; opantes; ne; que;  
uim; grauiam; nō; quasi; nos; nō; h;emus; p;ntem;. sed; ut; uos; metipos; forma; dā; uim; uob; ad; imitand; nos;. sū;  
cū; eim; q; uos; h;e; denūtiat; ubi; uob; qm; si; quis; nō; uult; opari; nō; māducat;. Audiuim; etiā; uis; uos; quosdam;  
ambulantes; in; quiete; nich; opantes;. h;is; autē; q; eimodi; sunt; denūtiat; et; obsecram; in; dño; ihu; xpō; ut;  
cū; silentio; opantes;. suū; panē; māducent;. h;ec; uia; scē; ē; 7; bona; abulne; i; ea;. Cōmēdat; autē; ap;le; silentiū;. **P**  
cū; meo; p;pit; opandū;. 7; quē; modū; p;pha; reser;it;. cultus; iustitie; silentiū; ē;. 7; rursus;. In; silentio;. 7; spe-  
rent; fortitudo; uia;. h;ec; statum;. ut; dō; cōpletorio; silentiū; teneatis; usq; ad; p;na; dictā; sequētis; diet;. alio;  
uō; tē; uat; silentij; nō; habet; obfuetio; tēta;. diligēt; tam; amulitō; cauent;. qm; sic; scē; ē;. et; nō;  
mū; expēta; dicit;. in; mlti; loquo; peccm; nō; dēerit;. et; q; in; cōsiderat; est; adloquēdū;. sentiet; mala;. h;e;  
q; multo; ubi; uis; ledit; aian; suā;. 7; dñs; in; euāg;io;. de; o; uerbo; otioso; qd; locum; sicut; hōies; reddent;  
izatiōe; de; eo; in; die; iudicij;. faciat; q; uis; q; statim; uerbo; suo;. 7; seruos; rectos; hōi; suo;. ne; forte;  
labatur; 7; cadat; in; lingua;. 7; tēnabilis; sit; casus; eius; ad; mortē;. custodiens; cū; p;pha; uias; suas;. ut; nō; delinquat; in;  
lingua; sua;. 7; silentiū; in; quo; cultus; iustitie; ē;. diligēt; rante; studeat; obfuet;. du; autē; fuit;. B;. 7; q; post; te; in;  
statu; fuit; prior; illud; semp; habetis; i; arte; 7; fueris; i; ope;. qd; dñs; ait; in; euāg;io;. Quicq; uoluit; int; uos; ma-  
ior; fieri; erit; minor; uir;. 7; q; uoluit; int; uos; p;mus; ē;. erit; tū; seruo;. Vos; q; oia; h;is; pōt; uim; honore;  
honorat; xp̄m; p; cogitatis; quā; ipm;. qui; posuit; illū; sup; capita; uia;. et; ceter; p;positio; ait;. qui; uos; audit; me;  
audet;. qui; uos; sp̄nit; me; sp̄nit;. ut; si; fueritis; i; iudiciū; de; cōceptū;. sed; de; obediā; mēamini; et;ne; uis; mer-  
cedan;. h;ec; uis; scriptum; uob; cōmū;latō; i;e; formulam; statuentes; sū; quā; uis; debetis;. Ouis; autē;  
fugit; p;uit; ip̄e; dñs; cū; redierit; reddet; ei; uis; tū; discreatione; que; uis; ē; moderatix;. Actū; lugd;. anno;  
dñi;. 1277;. dñi; pp; Innocentij; quarti;. Anno;. 5;. bel; sep̄bi;. nulli;. g;. 7;. c;. nre; cōfirmationis;. 7;. c;. **P**  
Quis;. 7;. c;. Lugd;. bel; acob;. Anno;. 5;. **fr̄s; domus; i; heronimoy; d; ar; lembech; 7; d; cōrussen**

**P**refatū uob; auct; in uirtute obediē; fr̄. p̄. m. q. de starlembech; 7; de cōrussen castra que cast; remebus;  
clar; me;. Dix; auct; tāquā; in expugnabilia ad tpa longa inuenit; currens cū omi; diligentia 7; sollicitu;



Pietro Lorenzetti, St. Albert giving the Rule to the Hermits on Mount Carmel. The work was commissioned by the Carmelites of Siena between 1327 and 1328. The painting represents different episodes of the Carmelite tradition. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.



pilgrims, all wanting to visit the "Holy Land of the Lord."

After the year 1187, and especially with the election of Innocent III in 1189, the theological motive for visiting the "Land of the Lord" prevailed over all other motives. Because of the loss of practically the whole of the Holy Land (especially Jerusalem), popular emotions ran high. Few, if any, thought of any other reason except the religious and theological motive for visiting the Holy Land. In fact, the situation of the Holy Land at that time did not favor any reason except the religious! The conditions were such that the hermits could not have been present on Mount Carmel between the years 1187 and 1192.

## 2. In the West<sup>14</sup>

The end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century were turbulent times; tension ran high at various levels. Yet it was also a very creative time, full of the ferment of new ideas. Mobility was the new characteristic of all the aspects of life: movement, journeys here and there, pilgrimages, commerce, social leveling, as well as interpersonal rapport, intellectual awakening, etc. The principal factors of this transformation seem to have been:

a) The demographic explosion of the twelfth century which reached its culmination in the thirteenth century. This provoked, on the one hand, a boost for economic expansion (the availability of manpower opened up new horizons), but on the other hand this skewed the equilibrium that had existed between the population and the means of sustenance. Because of other unforeseeable events (e.g.,

famine and drought) it was impossible to produce enough food for all those who lived there. In addition to these and other reasons, the new nobles, on an entirely different level, began to find it difficult to provide a good position for themselves in a land that was not their own. Masses of farmers were entering the cities looking for work. This only enlarged the great number of the poor already living there.

b) Other types of work, besides agriculture, appeared on the scene: the craftsmen and the merchants brought to the city monetary and mercantile markets. Money became an important commodity and various types of lending for interest were not very easily distinguishable from "usury."

c) The center of life moved from the countryside into the city. New class divisions appeared: those who lived in the "*borghi*" (or suburbs), who were neither noble, nor clerics nor farmers. The craftsmen and the merchants acquired a certain importance and autonomy and became a new class, between the nobles (whether clerical or lay) and those who had no rights but lived on the fringes of society.

The "communes" appeared as a type of government, independent of the feudal lords and emperors. They promoted a new form of government within the cities. The population in these "communes" participated much more in the running of their own affairs. Rivalry and conflicts started between cities, or even between suburbs, because of their tendency to try and expand themselves and their influence, and to acquire more territory in order to enlarge their alimentary resources.



A new type of worker appeared on the scene: the full-time, intellectual worker. Schools and universities multiplied. Important works were translated. This brought about an exchange between the Moslem and the Greek cultures.

d) Feudal bonds became less stringent as the old social classifications became inadequate to include the new classes appearing in the cities. The church, faced with the threat from Moslem quarters, focused its attention on the Holy Land and continued to preach the crusades. But this type of preaching did not seem to be adequate in the new situation. On the one hand, it seemed to be very distant from the actual situation then prevailing. Because of their many and diverse practical needs, people belonging to certain social categories—*i.e.*, merchants, craftsmen, nobles, soldiers, etc.,—lost interest in what they had held in high esteem before. On the other hand, this type of crusade-preaching was no longer accompanied by the “evangelical life,” which was claimed by certain movements of the time: the pauper and evangelical movements. The church appeared to be ruined by the burden of the riches she possessed and had to administer and defend. This happened among all its component parts: clergy, bishops, monks... The church’s place—among the people, and near the people—was no longer adequately filled by the monk, who now appeared to be an artistic, holding a place of prestige.

However, there were many institutions of every type working among the poor. The bishop himself served as “procurator” on behalf of the poor. Even the community property of the canons regular served to

help the poor. The monasteries periodically distributed food and other sorts of help. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were times which saw the refounding of charitable institutions and renewed criteria for a theology of assistance to the poor. It was at this time that the Hospitalers appeared on the scene. Pope Innocent III tried to tackle the problem of discerning between the different evangelical and mendicant movements, while searching for a way of creating new forms of religious life within the church. Meanwhile, the struggle against heresy became more incisive, though repressive methods were at times still in use (especially against the Albigensians and Cathari).<sup>15</sup>

### 3. Spiritual Currents and Movements

Christianity was hit at the time by spiritual currents which interested all categories of the faithful, and not only the “*ordines*” which were officially constituted among the “*oratores*” (those who pray). The common characteristic of all these currents has been called by some “evangelical awakening.” The belief that all the faithful were called to live their own lives in close agreement with the Gospel gained ground. One could no longer hold that salvation came because of one’s position in the church, or because of one’s formal adhesion to its doctrines. Salvation was to be achieved through a religious and committed “form of life” for each true Christian. In direct and quasi-literal encounters with the Gospel, each of the individual extant rules, as well as the various “*forms*” of religious life, was clearly understood to be limited—simply “*rivulets*” emanating from that “Rule of Rules, which is the Gospel.” With the return to the Gospel,



it was Christ who returned to the center of attention and imitation, together with his way of life and that of the Apostles.

The concrete forms through which these "convictions" passed into individual and collective lives are more or less all contained in the introduction to the Rule: the life of holy penance, the pilgrimage, becoming a hermit, poverty and the form of apostolic life according to the first community of Jerusalem. Obviously we can barely touch the outside of each of these forms which, directly or indirectly, make up the cultural and spiritual context in which the text of the Rule sank its roots, both as a whole and also as single particular themes.

#### **a) Life in "Holy Penance"<sup>16</sup>**

The life of "holy penance" was born of the Gospel's invitation to convert oneself and "do penance" because of the immanent coming of the Kingdom (Mt 4:17). It was an invitation addressed clearly as much to the laity as coming from the laity. This idea was inspired and, in a way, expanded by the canonical, public penance employed by the church in its first centuries. It even reached the Middle Ages, although it had then been emptied of its more powerful contents. It had been reduced to a public form of penance imposed, even against the will of the person, to expiate grave public sins.

This free decision to "do penance," to put oneself in the condition of a penitent (*ordo poenitentium*), this change of life, had to be made known externally through some kind of symbol (e.g., a change of dress); and the actualization of this conversion was

recognized by a real change in one's social position. Often the whole process began in front of a bishop or a priest who imposed a "penance" or "way of life" (or "form of life" or, simply, a "life"). That is why both the sign and the conversion of heart it represented came to be identified with varying emphases either with "penance" or "detachment" (e.g., pilgrimages and long journeys away from home; periods of exile; being on the road; begging; being a hermit) or with physical suffering (fasting and abstinence).

Beyond binding oneself through the traditional discipline of the church, "life in holy penance" had the advantage of placing a person within the canonical order, even if he were only classified among the "*conversi*" (converted), which was one of the lesser categories of ascetic life.

Ways of living in "holy penance" were many. Apart from living inside a monastery with the monks or the canons regular, some were "solitaries" (not easily distinguished from hermits); others lived in groups; others stayed in the cities, and some even led a married life. Very often they became the beginning of a movement which frequently went on to develop other values. Peter Waldo<sup>17</sup> began his life according to the evangelical form after he had experienced a conversion. Francis of Assisi says openly: "the Lord allowed him to start to 'do penance;' and his first followers presented themselves as 'men of penance, coming from Assisi.'<sup>18</sup>

#### **b) "The pilgrimage to Jerusalem"**

The pilgrimage was a form of conversion and a true rite of penance imposed "for the



remission of sins." Its clear value lay in breaking one's bonds with the world—with all that one holds secure, even one's social position. It was an ancient form of penance and one particularly congenial to the condition of the people of that age. It found good ground in persons living at the time of the writing of the Rule: people of extraordinary mobility and the will to go from one place to another. Everybody seemed to be on the move in those days. The "pilgrimage to Jerusalem" (its values and motivations), was continually urged by the preaching of the crusade, which, under Innocent III especially, reached a certain theological richness along with a sure power of persuasion. From the spiritual and the religious point of view, the attraction of the "pilgrimage to Jerusalem" lay principally in the fact that it was the historical place where the mystery of redemption was enacted, almost a bond uniting the whole of Christianity to the mystery of redemption.<sup>19</sup>

The conquest of, or the visit to, the Holy Land put one in touch with the human realities of the life of Jesus (love, suffering and humility). It occasioned a new way of contemplating Christ: a preeminence was given to Christology in the individual and collective religious experience. Finally, it fostered the imitation of Jesus as man. It was an historical Christology which completed and integrated Pauline Christology without upsetting it. To go on the "pilgrimage to Jerusalem" was an exercise in faith; it was a practical expression of the following (*sequela*) of Christ.

The "pilgrimage to Jerusalem" was also enriched by images from the biblical tradition of the Old Testament. One pilgrim

who went up to Jerusalem was Abraham who left his land behind him. The difficulties a pilgrim went through during the journey were compared with the sufferings of Job. Above all, the pilgrimage was considered to be a new Exodus. The fact that the place was occupied by non-Christians was the profanation by the Gentiles spoken of in the scriptures (Psalm 78, Lk 21:24). This biblical tradition gave meaning to physical contact with the city, the "center of the world," and with the images that were derived from it.

At the same time there was the possibility of seeing and of understanding Jerusalem through an exegetico-allegorical reading of the texts, which were already very much in use. Behind the earthly Jerusalem, which all could see and know, there was another Jerusalem—the true one—of which the earthly one was only an image. God had chosen the earthly Jerusalem to be an image of the celestial one, seen only by the eyes of faith, thanks to the prefigurings of the prophets. Jerusalem was also the place of eschatological waiting, the place where the battle with the anti-Christ would one day take place.<sup>20</sup>

Connected with the "pilgrimage," as a preliminary to it, was a certain form of "poverty." Especially with Innocent III, after his failure to arouse interest for an armed crusade among the nobles, the crusade came to be preached to the poor. The rich were "not worthy" to fight for the Holy Land. How could one follow Christ, who was naked and poor on the cross, wearing the heavy armor of the rich.<sup>21</sup> Quite often the "pilgrimage to Jerusalem" turned out to be



the pilgrim's last journey. A glorious destiny: to die where Christ died! "Suffer for Christ, live with him and be buried with Him, so that Christ will grant you the grace of arising with him in glory."<sup>22</sup>

There is one last conviction I would like to mention here: The Holy Land belonged to Christ physically, because he inherited it by right from the Father and had acquired it by his blood. Therefore, it had been promised to and should be inherited by his 'faithful.'<sup>23</sup>

All these traits, given different emphases, were common to the idea of the "pilgrimage to Jerusalem," whether it was undertaken "just for devotion" and "atonement," or whether it had as its purpose the liberation of the city "by armed force." The "preaching of the Cross" (i.e., the invitation to take up the sign of the Cross and become a crusader) and, in a special way, the appeals of the Popes repeatedly used these motivations to spur on the princes and the Christian populace *ad obsequium Jesu Christi Crucifixi*.<sup>24</sup>

The conviction arose that, were the Holy Land to be won back again for Christianity, it would have to come about through the proclamation of a "holy war" against the enemies of the Cross of Christ. This created the figure of the knight/monk in either the military or the hospitaler orders.<sup>25</sup> At the very time when the hermits first appeared on Carmel's mountain chain, the various sects and groups of the *devoti* (such as the penitential associations formed by lay persons) introduced the idea of "election"—of a society of the poor. Slowly the idea of an armed crusade was forgotten, while the

desire of a crusade by the "pure of heart" (who might win the Holy Land without the use of arms) began to gain ground. It would be a crusade which would triumph, not through the efforts of men, but through the agency of a miracle at an hour to be determined by God on behalf of the "kingdom of the saints."

"The knight/monk of the former epoch gave way to the *vir spiritualis* (the spiritual man), who is poor, weak and predestined to the glory of the saints."<sup>26</sup> Contemporaneously, the very idea of an **armed** crusade became the object of violent attacks from heretical quarters (such as the Cathars and the Waldensians).<sup>27</sup> St. Francis of Assisi's decision to risk meeting the Sultan face to face and ask for peace is well known, and it fits into the overall pattern of such a change in thinking.<sup>28</sup> There is no doubt that the decision of the hermits of Mount Carmel to follow a "form of life" (*formula vitae*) presented itself within the spiritual dimensions of the ideals of poverty and of an attachment to that Holy Land where Christ, the Master, lived and walked. I describe this spirituality as one of simply *being there, being present*.<sup>29</sup>

As to the official and broadly held ideology which regarded the liberation of the Holy Land, and especially the freeing of Jerusalem, as a necessity, I think it would be difficult to prove that the group of hermits who lived on Mount Carmel did not share this same vision, as well as believe in it. Moreover the Patriarch Albert, held in such high esteem by Innocent III, had been sent there with the principal aim of fostering the "recovery and integration of the land where the Lord was born." It was this man who wrote the Rule for the hermits



of Carmel. It is to be expected, then, that he was especially dedicated to the "*obsequium of the Cross*" in a most literal sense.<sup>30</sup>

### **c) Hermits<sup>31</sup>**

Eremitical life was one of the traditional forms of the ascetical life. Even given the permanency of certain spiritual values, they may yet take diverse forms of organization and have different emphases in different places. The eremitical life sometimes places the emphasis heavily on solitude, while at other times the emphasis is on poverty; sometimes one finds the emphasis on choir prayer, at other times it may be on manual labor.

The desire to retire to the "desert" (*in eremis*) could only be undertaken by those who had prepared themselves by means of a long novitiate and through preparation within the monastic life. This desire to "retire" might also be the immediate consequence of a life conversion by spending one's life in "holy penance" (*sancta poenitentia*). One might be impelled to make such a decision at the conclusion of a pilgrimage.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw an awakening and a flourishing of hermits in the West. The majority of them, at least in the beginning of the movement, did not require entry into monastic life, nor even into any similar sort of organization. Their style of life did not place them among the "orders," nor among the prestigious social classes (such as that enjoyed by the monks and the canons regular), but left these hermits among the laity, and, like the "penitents," in the lower ranks and margins of social life.

Paradoxically, but only at first sight, they felt themselves closer to the simple people and to the poor. Their simple life, their relatively loosely binding structures, their poverty of dress (they walked barefoot, wore unkempt beards, lived wherever they could find a place or simply in cabins), the language they used when exhorting the people to penance, all these were quite accessible and comprehensible to the people. It brought the people to love them more than the clergy or the monks. This held true for the more established hermits in groups, and also for those living alone and for those who were expressly "*itinerantes*" or belonged to the same "*forma apostolica*." It seems to me that a brief glance at what we may call a "constellation of institutions" of various kinds of European hermits does not justify the repetition of the commonly held belief that the Carmelites found a less than favorable place on Mount Carmel for the continuation of their life "in solitude."<sup>32</sup>

### **d) Mendicant Movements and the apostolic life<sup>33</sup>**

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the idea of finding an inspiration for a way of life directly tied to the Gospels created in people a two-fold aspiration towards environments and places both quite distant and distinct from those in Europe. They sought "evangelical poverty" and "a form of life" like that of the Apostles. By renouncing all earthly goods in "voluntary poverty," they sought to renew Christian life by following Christ through imitating the "way of life" of the Apostles. This is what those who followed the two basic ideas intended: evangelical poverty, and a "form of life" according to



the Apostles. These became the focal points of a new concept of Christianity. They were accompanied by explicit denunciations and criticisms of the way of life of the clergy and the monks. Sometimes they contested their right to exercise ministry since they did not live according to the "form" of the Apostles. In this way some tended to dissociate themselves from the church; but others chose this way of life with simplicity, explicitly professing their obedience to the hierarchy of the church. Above all under Innocent III they laid down the foundations for new forms of religious associations: itinerant preachers, and later, the mendicant orders themselves.

It was not the first time that the apostolic "form of life" was put forth as a requirement for a reform of the life-style followed by the clergy and the monks. Both groups hearkened back to the example of the primitive community in Jerusalem (viz., sharing their material possessions, life in common, unity of hearts, the anticipation of the heavenly Jerusalem, and [for the canons regular] the care of souls); however poverty, at least collectively, was not very evident, nor was it even sought after as a value. The very form in which they travelled from place to place, even when preaching, did not differ very much from the way the rich travelled: using horses and taking with them loads of equipment and manpower. There was even the obligation of providing for all the needs of a monk or a cleric while travelling, to save him the embarrassment of having to beg. But the way the Apostles travelled and lived had been described in the Gospels: carrying no gold or silver with them, no money in their purse, using no

travelling bag, nor two tunics, nor sandals, nor staff. Because the worker has a right to be fed, they ate and drank whatever was provided in the houses in which they stayed. "As you go along (*itinerantes*) preach that the Kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Mt 10:7-9; Lk 10:7; 9:3-8).<sup>34</sup> This was the way in which the Cathari, along with the Albigenesians, presented themselves in the south of France; it was also the theme of the Waldensians and other heretical movements. Moreover, this was the way in which the "itinerant hermits" had presented themselves followed by the "Catholic Poor" of Durand of Huesca (1207), then by Bernard Prim's community of itinerant preachers (1210), and finally by the followers of Dominic and Francis of Assisi.

Following the way of thinking of that time, as well as the canons of the church, preaching belonged properly to the bishops (*Ordo doctorum*), then to the curates or others to whom the mandate had been given. The maximum that a layman could do was to exhort others to do penance (this is what the followers of Francis did initially). But the heretical movements openly held that every Christian had the obligation of announcing the Gospel (something the other groups held only implicitly). The authority for doing this came more from their poor "form of life" than from priestly ordination. The opposition of the clergy to this position lasted the whole of the thirteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

A characteristic of these penitential movements, as was also true of the hermits, was the affective rapport that existed between them and the faithful. They were not divided by rank or social class. They felt



themselves to be “brothers”—both among themselves and with all other Christians: an apostolic “fraternity.”<sup>36</sup> Insofar as they were “converts” themselves, the hermits of Carmel took their place among the ordinary people.<sup>37</sup> They did not attempt to climb the social ladder but were simply “brothers of penitence.” They could not call themselves “monks” or “canons regular.” The form of poverty which they had chosen was one which “prohibited” them from possessing anything, *even as a community*. Their mendicant status depended on this, along with the itinerant life-style which they had chosen.

The city and the villages were the places most in need of itinerant preaching. The proximity of their listeners, along with their simple and practical form of life, allowed them to respond to the diverse social conditions of those who came to hear them. In the beginning neither Francis nor Dominic had established themselves in the city. In fact, Francis continued right to the end of his life to live long periods of true eremitical life. Both of them feared stabilizing themselves in the city. Even when they did settle there, most of the time it was on the outskirts of the towns or in their surrounding areas.<sup>38</sup>

The Carmelites had hitherto encountered and understood this form of life (already in Palestine from 1220 onwards). They found it again when they came to Europe—a life already affirmed, yet very strongly contested by the episcopacy. The bishops were anything but disposed to encourage them, as has been remarked in other places. Their requesting and obtaining from Pope Innocent IV “a state in which they could be ‘of use’ to themselves

and to their neighbor” was their own autonomous decision, taken after their discernment of the situation in which they found themselves.<sup>39</sup>

#### **e) Marian, Elijan and Near Eastern elements**

We can only briefly record the fact that Mount Carmel is very near to Nazareth. In addition to this was the great development of Marian devotion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, “the great Marian century!” The first chapel on Mount Carmel was dedicated to Mary. In addition, we have already mentioned Elijah. Witnesses who observed the Carmelites read rich meanings into their choice of that place. Enveloped in the Byzantine traditions of Elijah’s presence, the hermits were defined as “imitators of the holy and solitary Elijah.”

The Near Eastern context of the Order is less evident, notwithstanding the proximity of monasteries of Greek Christians nearby. But surely their choice of taking over an abandoned Heritage, a Byzantine “*laura*,” should give some sort of context for understanding them.<sup>40</sup>

### **III. CONCLUSION**

In order to complete the description of the historical context we would have needed to go through all the successive contexts in which the Rule of Carmel has ever been lived, what Bernard Lonergan has called the “cumulative contexts.” I am well aware, therefore, that the historical context which I have just presented is



not enough by itself to supply a criterion or relevant factor for interpretation—not even as the “historical context.”

Implicitly, and even sometimes expressly, I have shown what I think are the lines along which the historical context allows us to see into the Rule and, consequently, what type of reading and what kind of response the Carmelites wanted to give to the historical situation. But it is the task of the one who examines the text itself, using hermeneutical criteria, to find the true and real interpretation. Mine is only a modest contribution.

However, I think it is important to remain in constant touch with these realities which come from a past that has in some ways formed us all. A past, understood as “memory” in the Biblical sense, that is, re-encountering the

traditions of 1281. To those who do not know how to reply to the questions of “when” and “by whom” was the Order initiated, we should like to be able to give a short formula, however imperfect—paraphrasing the ritual formulas of the feasts of Israel—one which a person can remember and transmit. “Our ancestors were pilgrims, come to Mount Carmel to live in holy penance... they received a Rule which we profess and live up to this very day.”<sup>41</sup>

This article is reprinted with the permission of the Carmelites of The American Province of the Most Pure Heart of Mary.

*Albert’s Way*, Edited by Michael Mulhall, O.Carm.



The facade of the church with the entrance arch reconstructed.



*Called to Live  
in Allegiance to Jesus Christ*



*Each one of you is to stay in his own cell or nearby,  
Pondering the Lord's law day and night  
and keeping watch at his prayers  
unless attending to some other duty.*

*— The Carmelite Rule, Number 10.*



## Notes

1 Born into the Avogadro family about the year 1150, he was bishop of Vercelli from 1185 until 1205, when he was elected by the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem to succeed Godfrey, who had resigned the patriarchate.

2 For further information on Albert of Jerusalem (or, of Vercelli) cf. Joachim Smet, "St. Albert of Jerusalem, Ascent, (1965), 35-46. Vincenzo Mosca, *Profilo storico di Alberto patriarca di Gerusalemme*, a dissertation for the license in Canon Law, Rome (1983). Luigi Zanoni, *Gli Umiliati nei loro rapporti con l'eresia, l'industria della lana ed i comuni nei secoli XII e XIII sulla scorta di documenti inediti*. Milan (1911). Herbeert Grundmann. *Movimenti religiosi nel Medioevo*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1974; pp. 65-74, especially p. 67, n. 10. For the historical dates of the hermits on Mt. Carmel cf. Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*; 4 vols. Darien, IL (1975-1985); cf. I:1-19.

3 Migne, PL (*Patrologia Latina*) 215:146;215, 540; cf. also 215: 141-145. Carlo Cicconetti, *The Rule of Carmel*, Darien, IL: Carmelite Press, 1984; pp. 70-72. Albert's Intervention was not, in my judgment, an act of jurisdiction in his role as Papal Legate, but as Patriarch of Jerusalem.

4 Cicconetti, *The Rule*, pp. 72-76.

5 Bishop of Acre from 1216-1228.

6 Jacques de Vitry. *Historia orientalis sive Hierosolimitana*. Duaci, 1597; f. 85 ff., c. 51, cited by Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, p. 61-62. Smet suggests that the hermits on Mt. Carmel might have come from other groupings of hermits living throughout the Holy Land before the defeat of Hattin in 1187. These would have come seeking refuge no earlier than 1192. Cf. Smet, *op. cit.*, 1:6.

Concerning the formula, "*agentes poenitentiam*" or "*In sancta poenitentia*," cf. *Constitutiones Capituli Londinensis, anni 1281*, ed. by Ludovico Saggi, *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 15 (1950), 208. Cf. also, Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55.

7 Clemens Kopp. *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel.*, Paderborn, 1928, cited in Elias Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel*, Rome: Teresianum, 1979, p. 73. For the identification of the site of the first hermitage of the Carmelites cf. *idem*, pp. 52-55; 157-169.

8 Jacques de Vitry, *loc. cit.*, "...moreover, holy men renouncing the world, drawn by various affections and desires and inflamed by fervor of religion, chose the most suitable places for their purpose and devotion... others, after the example and in imitation of holy, solitary Elijah, the prophet, lived as hermits in the beehives, or small cells, on Mount Carmel... near the spring which is called the Spring of Elijah." Cf. Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, p. 62 Cf. also the Constitutions of 1281, *Rubrica prima*, l.c., 208 C. Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, p. 54; E. Friedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-103. Joseph Baudry, OCD. "Elie et le Carmel," *Carmel*, (1977), 154-168. Cf. also his "Origines Orientales du Carmel: Le Mythe et L'histoire," *Carmel*, (1977) 327-344.

9 For the significance of such phrases as "form of life" cf. Cicconetti, *ibid.*, pp. 76-84.

10 Constitutions of 1281, 208.

11 Innocent IV, *Quae honorem Conditoris omnium*, October 1, 1247. The critical edition may be found in Cicconetti, *ibid.*, 144-151, where one may also find a comparison with the previous Albertine text.

After this intervention the text of the Rule did not undergo any further correction. One further mitigation might be found via the faculty which the Pope gave to the General in 1432 to dispense from abstinence from meat, and for recreation. It is in reference to these mitigations that the Discalced speak, even today, of the "Primitive" Rule of Innocent IV. Cf. *Constitutiones Fratrum Discalceatorum Ordinis Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo*, Rome, 1981, p. xi "Regola 'Primitiva'...a Beato Alberto Patriarcha Hierosolimitano tradita et ab Innocentio IV confirmata." The quotation marks around "Primitiva" is the only new addition to this formula.

Concerning the mitigations of 1432, cf. L. Saggi, "La mitigazione del 1432 della regola carmelitana; tempo e persone," *Carmelus* 5 (1958), 3-29. For the issue of denominating the Rule as corrected by Innocent IV with the term "Primitive" cf. L. Saggi, *Le origini dei Carmelitani Scalzi*, Rome, 1985; p. 17. Cf. also "S. Teresa de Jesús



y 'la Regla primitiva'" in *Un proyecto de vida; la regla del Carmelo hoy*, ed by Bruno Secondin, Madrid, 1983; pp. 133-147. In the same collection cf. also Bruno Secondin, "Las 'mitigaciones' ayer y hoy," *ibid.*, pp. 178-187. Tomas Alvarez, OCD, "Nuestra 'Regla del Carmen' en el pensamiento de Santa Teresa," *ibid.*, pp. 148-162.

A good historical introduction to the Rule is that of Hugh Clark, O.Carm. and Bede Edwards, O.C.D., *The Rule of St. Albert*, Aylesford and Kensington, 1973.

12 For the mitigation back to the West, cf. the Dominican writer, Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, Duaci, 1624 (written about 1240): In the year of Our Lord 1238, because of the inroads made by the pagans, they were forced to disperse from that site [Mt. Carmel] to various of the world." The same author testifies to the approbation by Honorius III and gives some citations from Albert's "form of life." Cf. Cicconetti, *ibid.*, p. 96-97.

13 Cf. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge: University Press, 1952-1955; cf. vol. 2.

14 Emanuele Boaga, "Il contesto storico socio-religioso ed ecclesiale della Regola," in *La Regola del Carmelo Oggi*, Rome: Carmelite Institute Press, 1983, pp. 37-54. One will find an ample bibliography on this topic on pp. 40-41. Cf. also Christine Thouzellier and Yvonne Azais, "La Chrétienté romaine (1198-1274)," in *L'histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Augustine Fliche and Victor Martin (eds.), 20 vols., Paris (1946-51); vol. X, cf. also vol. IX. Also, André Vauchez, "La spiritualité de l'Occident médiéval," in *La spiritualité du Moyen Age occidentale*. Paris (1975), esp. pp. 83-90. Jacques le Goff, *Il Genio del Medioevo*, Mondadori (1959), pp. 14-25 and 68-75.

15 H. Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-108. Michel Mollat, *The poor in Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, New Haven: Yale University press, 1986. Cf. also his *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII<sup>ème</sup> au XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, Rome (1981).

16 Cicconetti, *ibid.*, pp. 27-34, cf. the Notes on pp. 318-319. Cf. also Gabriele Giacomozzi, *L'Ordine della Penitenza di Gesù Cristo; contributo alla storia della spiritualità del secolo XIII.*, Vicenza, 1962. G.G. Meersseman and E. Adda, "Pénitents ruraux communitaires en Italie au XII<sup>ème</sup> siècle," in *RHE* 49 (1954), 348.

17 Founder of the Waldensian movement in the generation that saw Francis of Assisi's birth (i.e., 1173-1179).

18 Manselli, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-102. Also, Magli, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-47.

19 Cicconetti, *ibid.*, pp. 39-43 with notes on pp. 321-322. Cf. also, Paul Alphandery and Alphonse Dupront, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade.*, 2 vols, Paris (1954-57), pp. 20-22. Frequently the pilgrimages would culminate in taking the habit or in making vows while in the Holy Land. For the traditional worth ascribed to the pilgrimage, and its biblical origins, cf. Ceslaus Spicq, *Vita e peregrinazione nel Nuovo Testamento.*, Città Nuova, 1973 [originally, *Vie chrétienne et pèlerinage selon le Nouveau Testament*. Paris]. Jean Leclercq, *Aux sources de la spiritualité occidentale*. Paris, Du Cerf, 1964, pp. 35-52. Raymond Oursel, *Les pèlerins du moyen age*. Fayard, 1963, pp. 32-35. Here one finds this definition of the pilgrim: one who "in a given moment of his life decides to take a journey to a certain holy spot while totally subordinating the whole organization of his existence to this journey." Magli, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-116 describes the bond between the life of a penitent and the pilgrimage: "The physical encounter with the places in which the mystery of the redemption took place is certainly the oldest and most constant reason for the pilgrimage." So, too, Alphandery, *op. cit.*, p. 28. He also remarks on the attraction of Jerusalem for the pilgrim. *idem*, p. 24, and 266-277. Cf. also, Bruno Secondin, "Tentare fraternità: Il progetto evangelico del Carmelo," in *Profeti di fraternità*, Bruno Secondin (ed.), Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1985; pp. 67-101, especially notes 48 and 59.

20 Innocent III, *Cum iam captis*, in PL 216, 744 ff. Cf. Cf. also Alphandery-Dupront, *op.cit.*, p. 31, 43 ff. For the sense of eschatological tension cf. *idem*, pp. 300-301, 344.

21 *Idem.*, pp. 240-244, 250, 266-272. Peter of Biois held that the Holy Land belonged to the poor, as to promised inheritors, because the Lord, by living there, had rendered it so, "according to heaven." Cf. p. 242. At this time the various sects, devout groups, penitential associations formed among the laity had made prevalent the idea that only the poor were loved by God. Cf. pp. 304-305, as well as S. Runcimann, *op. cit.*, 11:784.

22 Alphandery and Dupront, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Cf. also Cicconetti, *The Rule*. pp. 41-42.



23 Alphantery and Dupront, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-361. Ingenuously they put forth the intivation to the Sultan to become a Christian, and to turn over the Holy Land to its rightful owners, the Christians. Cf. Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43, "The Patrimony of Jesus Christ."

24 Cicconetti, *ibid.*, p. 41: "A pilgrim is a penitent who sets out on a trip to perform voluntary or imposed penance. A crusader includes military activity risking his life for the love of Christ and for the remission of his sins. A hermit is a penitent who, more or less, has adopted a stable abode." Étienne Delaruelle, "Les ermites" in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, Atti della I Settimana di studio (2 vols. Milano: Mendola, 1962) 1:225. For the significance of the term *obsequim Jesu Christi*, cf. Cicconetti, *ibid.*, pp. 61-65, 296-311.

25 R. Manselli, *op. cit.*, p. 10-11. Alphantery and Dupront, *op. cit.* p. 303, 359, 361.

26 Alphantery and Dupront, *ibid.*, p. 305.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

28 Cf. the old legends cited in Alphantery and Dupront, *ibid.*, p. 360-361.

29 Urban IV, *Ex vestrae Religionis* (1262) pointed to their commitment to the Holy Land and their dedication to Jesus, "Who had acquired the Holy Land by the pouring out of his blood." Cf. Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, p. 305-306. Two recommendations from Pope Martin IV in 1282 and 1283 attested that the Order had existed "from time immemorial" and had been instituted "for aid," *in solatium*, to the Holy Land: *ibid.*, p. 306-307.

30 *PL* 215; 540; but cf. also 141-145; *PL* 215; 700; *PL* 215; 146. Albert of Jerusalem was praised because it fell to him, for the most part, to save the Holy Land if it were not to be entirely lost. Some exclude (which seems to me gratuitous and hasty) that the spiritual "arms" were in any way in rapport with the struggle to recover the Holy Land. It would be very difficult for the hermits, even given their grouping and the "way of life" given by Albert, to have been free from the prevailing and official ideology, which held that it was an injury to Christ to leave the Holy Land in the hands of the "infidels." Francis notwithstanding, even the Franciscans used to preach and exhort Christians to go on the crusade. Cf. Alphantery and Dupront, *ibid.*, 303. They even concretized the Antichrist into the Muslims. *ibid.*, 301.

31 Cicconetti, *ibid.*, p. 34-39. Jean Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-52, 203-237. M. Mollat, *op.cit.*, 88-95, 143-144. Vauchez, *op. cit.*, 154-156. Smet, *The Carmelites...*, 1:7-11. Clarke and Edwards, *op. cit.*, 15-18.

32 Cf. also Cicconetti's bibliography, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-321.

33 H. Grundmann, *op. cit.*, 15-96, 316-317, 428-436. A vast medicant movement among women, though it had great difficulty in being recognized, characterized the end of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries. Cf. pp. 147-290. Cf. also H. Vicaire, O.P., *Histoire de Saint Dominique*, Paris, 1957; pp. 77-79, 128-134, 454 ff. Also, I. Magli, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-20.

34 C. Cicconetti, *ibid.*, 193-198, and especially the notes on pp. 338, 341. Cf. H. Vicaire, *op. cit.*, 151, n. 65, 66. Innocent III got a living for a deposed ecclesiastic so that he would not have to beg (*ne cogatur in cleri opprobrium mendicare*) 7 May 1199; *PL* 214; 602 A; *PL* 215; 682. The same idea belonged to the Cistercians who wished to support themselves through manual labor, "*absque rubore mendicandi*." Francis of Assisi said that they ought not feel ashamed if Satan forced them to beg. Cf. H. Vicaire, *op. cit.*, 272, 287-290, 353, 389-390, 413-417, 446-448, 451. Cf. also, Jesus Alvares Gomez, "Diversi tipi dipovertà nella storia della vita religiosa," in *La povertà religiosa*. Roma: Claretianum, 1975; pp. 109-125. Also, Rudolf Maria Mainka, "I movimenti per la chiesa povertà nella XII secolo," in *idem.*, pp. 141-155.

35 H. Grundmann, *ibid.*, 37-44, 74-95. H. Vicaire; *ibid.*, 128-33. "According to the model which they imagined to have been that of the Apostles; they went out two by two, weakened from fasting, with unkempt beards, barefoot...with only one tunic, not taking either gold or silver in their pockets, nor taking any from the people." Cf. p. 129. For the struggle that was launched against the mendicants cf. C. Cicconetti, *op. cit.*, 213-220; and R. Manselli, *op. cit.*, 98, 137, 189, 212, 242; also M. Mollat; *op. cit.*, 150-154.

36 Cf. O. Steggink, "*Fraternità apostolica*," in *Profeti di fraternità*; pp. 41-65.



37 R. Manselli, *op. cit.*, 91, 119, 130-131, 178-179, 242-263. Cf. O. Steggink, "Fraternità apostolica," *idem*. Cf. also M. Mollat, *op. cit.*, 138-177.

38 Cf. *supra*, n. 32. Joined to this form of chosen poverty (*viz.*, the absence of all possessions and revenues, journeys without gold or silver) was the obligation to manual labor in return for their single, daily meal. In fact the condition of the poor consisted in the fact that "these arms, once one's elementary needs have been satisfied, should hold onto nothing." So, Jacques de Vitry, cited in Mollat, *op. cit.*, 124. Again, "the poor are essentially those whom the weakness as of their means of survival leave at the mercy of everyone in society." *idem*, 141. Cf. also H. Vicaire, "Les origines dominicaines de la mendicité religieuse et la condition d'humilité mendicante selon Saint Dominique," *La vie dominicaine* 34 (1975). From the very beginning the mendicants did not settle in the city for fear of an inherent incompatibility with the life of poverty. When they did begin to settle there, they did so at a certain distance from the city, in the outskirts. So, Mollat, *op. cit.*, 143-144.

39 Innocent IV, *Paganorum incursus*, July 27, 1246. [This date in the *Bullarium Ordinis Carmelitarum* has been corrected in the critical edition done by Adrian Staring, "Four Bulls of Innocent IV: A Critical Edition," *Carmelus* 27 (1980), 281.] Bede Edwards had denied the authenticity of this bull in his review of my book. He was denying the transformation of the Order into a mendicant one by Innocent IV. Staring, however, shows its authenticity. Cf. *Ephemerides Carmeliticæ* 24 (1973), 428-432; cf. also Edwards' *The Rule of St. Albert*, p. 23. Here he affirms no doubt over the bull's authenticity. No special importance seems to be given to the phrase: "the desire to attain, with the aid of the Apostolic clemency, a state in which they may, with God's help, rejoice in furthering their neighbour's salvation," expressed in this bull at least a year prior to the modification of Innocent. Cf. Joachim Smet. *ibid.* Thus it speaks of a passing to apostolic activity "without premeditation" as a consequence of the ever increasing choice of the city as a place of habitation. Supporting this thesis is the reaction of Nicholas the Gaul (1270), which would be inexplicable had the choice for apostolic activity occurred deliberately.

Bede Edwards then defines this passing over to apostolic activity as a yielding to the temptation flowing from frequent travelling for the purpose of begging. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 28. With all due respect I must say that I disagree with this position completely. In fact, the wrath of Nicholas the Gaul is not explicable—not even after the Bull of Innocent IV, *Devotionis augmentum*, of August 26 1253, which gave permission to preach and to hear confessions, "because there were already many religious who are sufficiently prepared in theology accompanied by the concessions of various popes about relocating themselves in the cities." Cf. the preceding Note. Moreover Smet's hypothesis leaves that desire, linked to a Papal intervention unexplained, which could only have had any outcome and reason, if in fact they had recourse to a modification of the Rule. For a fuller treatment of this, cf. *The Rule....*, pp. 136-143, 208-212. Also, Joseph Baudry, "Le Carmel médiéval devant le choix "désert-ville," in *Carmel* (1977), 303-305, especially 295, n. 5. Keith Egan, "An Essay toward a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England," *Carmelus* 18 (1972), p. 90. It is indicative that the first foundations before 1247 (Hulne, Aylesford, Losenham and Bradmer in Great Britain; Messina in Sicily and Les Aygalades near Marseilles) were all outside of but nearby to populated areas and large cities. The same was the case for the other mendicant groups, the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

40 Ludovico Saggi, "Santa Maria del Monte Carmelo," in *Santi del Carmelo*. Rome: Carmelite Institute, 1972; pp. 111-115. Redemptus M. Valabek, "La presenza di Maria nella fraternità carmelitana," in *Profeti...* *op. cit.*, 103-124.

Elias Friedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 95-102, 200-205. J. Baudry, "Élie et le Carmel," in *Carmel* (1977), 154-168. Cf. also his "Origines orientales du Carmel. Le mythe et l'histoire," *idem*, 327-344. Sr. Eliane, (an orthodox nun), *La Regla del Carmelo: puntos comunes y diferencias con el monacato ortodoxo*, in *Un proyecto de Vida. La Regla del Carmelo hoy*. Bruno Secondin et alii (eds.). Roma: Editiones Paulinas, 1985; 183-193.

41 *Constitutiones* 1281, *Rubrica Prima*, 1. c. À propos the "cumulative contexts" of the Rule, cf. Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology*. NY: Herder and Herder, 1972, esp. pp. 163-164, 183-184, 312-314, 324-326. Egidio Palumbo, "Lecture della Regola lungo i secoli," in *La Regola del Carmelo Oggi*, Bruno Secondin (ed.). Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1983, pp. 157-165. Also in the same collection, Domenico Lombardo, "Gli strati della Regola e loro significato," *idem*. pp. 151-155. Here one should also see the final consideration made by Bruno Secondin on pp. 233-235.



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