

Carmel Clarion

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Carmel Clarion

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From the Provincial Delegate

While it is beneficial for us to recall God's past blessings, if we stay in the past we may struggle with regret. While we must reflect on the future to discern God's unfolding will, if we live in the future we might find ourselves anxious about what we cannot predict or control. We have only the present moment, and it is here that we will find God.

Brother Lawrence of the Resurrection promotes the Practice of the Presence of God. He tells us: "The holiest and most necessary practice is that of the presence of God. It consists in taking delight in, and becoming accustomed to his divine company, speaking humbly and conversing lovingly with him all the time" (p. 105).

Brother Lawrence, recognizing God's presence within our hearts, teaches us to turn inward frequently and maintain brief conversations with God. "It is not necessary to be in church all the time to be with God; we can make of our hearts an oratory where we can withdraw from time to time to converse with him there. Lifting up the heart is enough, a brief remembrance of God, an inner act of adoration (p. 107). These conversations foster our awareness of God's presence.

The spirituality of Brother Lawrence is one of the present moment. He teaches us to ask God for the grace we need at the very moment. He advises us to be sensitive to the promptings of the Spirit and make whatever prayer we are inspired to offer here and now. Lawrence's approach leads us to live in the presence of God. God is not distant. He is with us. We need only learn to turn to him and converse with him as our heart directs us. If we fail, we simply reopen the conversation.

St. Thérèse likewise appreciated the value of the present moment. She states that not three minutes went by without her thinking of God. She also admits that she experienced no insights, no consolation during her periods of prayer. God gave her the graces she needed at the moment she needed them. Nothing was given in advance. Nonetheless she remained faithful to the practice of prayer even though dark and dry.

Thérèse states: "I noticed many times that Jesus did not want to give me provisions. He nourished me at every moment with a completely new food. It is Jesus himself hidden in the depths of my heart who gives me the grace of acting in me, and making me think of all he wants me to do at the very moment" (Ms A 76r).



In his book "Chemin de priere avec Thérèse de Lisieux," Father Victor writes that Thérèse knew the present moment to be the very expression of God's will, whatever its form or content (p. 76). Thérèse realized that we attain God in each event. Each moment is an experience of God.

Fr. Victor continues: "If the Lord asks us at a particular moment to be in a particular place accomplishing a particular action, it's because he is waiting for us there. We encounter him at this precise point and if we are looking for him elsewhere, we will miss him. He is waiting for us there to give himself to us" (p. 77, translation mine).

Brother Lawrence gives us an approach to prayer that makes us more mindful of God's presence. St. Thérèse reminds us that God reveals and communicates himself to us in each event. May we learn from them to find God in the present moment.

Fr. Salvatore, O.C.D.

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To The Carmelite Family

*Probe me, God, know my heart;
try me, know my thoughts.
See if my way is crooked,
then lead me in the ancient paths.*

(Psalm 139)

Introduction

This work attempts to distill recurring themes in the Carmelite tradition. Its purpose is to make available the spiritual wisdom of this eight hundred-year-old religious community.

Carmelites are a Christian religious community born in the early 1200s on Mount Carmel in Palestine. Originally hermits, they soon joined a fast-growing movement in Europe and became one of the mendicant orders of the Middle Ages. Today the lives of Carmelites still blend these eremitical and apostolic roots.

Over the intervening centuries the attempt of the Carmelites to follow Christ has woven a large and colorful historical tapestry. Most Carmelites are relatively unknown to history, including the first Carmelites. But some have become revered figures whose determined search for God has become an inspiration for countless others. Among these are Peter Thomas, Andrew Corsini, Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi, Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, John of St.-Samson, Elizabeth of the Trinity, Thérèse of Lisieux, Titus Brandsma, and Edith Stein.

A tradition of spirituality is like an ancient path. It is shaped over the course of time and well-worn by travelers. People continue to take the path because it has proven to be reliable. Today's traveler trusts its contours because of others' testimony.

The Carmelite tradition is just such an ancient path. The first tracings of the path were begun by a practically anonymous band of men in a wadi, a canyon on Mount Carmel. But slowly, as pilgrims found it a way which aided their journey, the original faint traces deepened, widened, and the path became more distinct and sure. It can now be found on most maps which chart regions of the soul.

A Christian spiritual tradition is a telling of the gospel through the images and language of a particular group of Christians. Their telling of the story is shaped over time as they attempt to respond to the challenges of the gospel. They eventually find their own expressive way of giving an account of the paschal mystery, the dying and rising of Christ, present in their own lives.

Each tradition establishes an atmosphere. The words, the images, the history and the biographies



of the community, all create a spiritual environment for the seeker. A tradition develops a soul language. It creates a land where God's spirit and the human spirit may meet.

This meeting with God takes place in our human experience. A religious tradition provides a horizon within which our ordinary experience is opened to its spiritual depths. In this way a tradition mediates the transcendent and allows us to attend to God's presence and call. The tradition also provides a particular language for interpreting and communicating our experience of God.

The Carmelite tradition tells the story of God's presence to us through images and language which are particularly, but not exclusively, Carmelite. Over their long history Carmelites have shown a preference for certain images and themes from the Christian tradition; they have also drawn from their own imagination to add to the Christian thesaurus.

The Carmelite telling of the story cannot be anything more than, nor should it be anything less than, the Christ story of the gospels. It is the gospel told in the language of a particular community of Christians called Carmelites.

A pilgrim has expectations of a tradition. It should be able to offer a compelling Christian vision for life's journey. It should identify a goal, and warn of difficulties and problems to be encountered on the way. It must provide a map for traveling the way, and offer resources for overcoming its difficulties. A tradition also needs to be able to tell a story of victory over apparent defeat, and celebrate, in anticipation, a goal not yet reached.

Such expectations structure this present work. This interpretation of the Carmelite tradition is *one* Carmelite's perspective. Any one perspective will necessarily be uneven. The principal sources for this work are the documents and history of the early Carmelites, and the writings of the sixteenth-century Carmelite mystics, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross. While other Carmelite figures are included in the work, Teresa and John remain the best exponents of the Carmelite tradition.

John Welch, O.Carm.

Chapter One
THE VISION OF THE CARMELITES

Beginnings of the Carmelite Tradition
and Efforts to Renew

It is one matter to have a vision of life's possibilities; it is another to give it concrete shape, and it is a third matter to sustain the vision. This process is necessary whether for an individual or a community. The longer the vision must be sustained the greater the possibility of it becoming dimmed, and, concomitantly, the greater the need to renew and reinvigorate the original vision.

The Christian community calling itself Carmelite has attempted to sustain a vision for almost eight hundred years. The fact that the vision still energizes and challenges people is testimony to its power. But it is a vision necessarily incarnated in human beings whose faithfulness to the vision suffers the vagaries of human existence. In other words, the Carmelites have frequently let themselves and others down, and have had to remorsefully pick themselves up. The history of the Carmelites, from one perspective, is a lesson about the danger of human hubris and the consequences of neglecting essential values; it is also a testimony to the human spirit, which has the capability of going once more to the well of its imagination and drawing up an image of what once was and what still could be.

"Nor is it in any way good," wrote the Carmelite Teresa of Avila, "for persons to complain if they see their order in some decline; rather, they should strive to be the kind of rock on which the edifice may again be raised, for the Lord will help toward that."¹ The story of Carmel is the story of just such people stepping forward, time and again, to call others to a renewal of the original vision, at the same time reminding them of their own deepest desires.

The following is a brief account of the beginnings of this community, and succeeding efforts by Carmelite men and women to take responsibility for their order and its vision.

The First Carmelites

The path of Carmel begins in a place of attentiveness to God, a mountainous ridge jutting out into the Mediterranean Sea. Mount Carmel forms the southern boundary of the bay of Haifa in Israel. Here between heaven and earth, sea and land, people gathered in prayer, among them the prophet Elijah. He would be identified with the path which would be Carmel.

In the late twelfth century C.E. the original Carmelites gathered on the mountain and in its canyons in order to escape their former lives, to be free of the pressures and expectations which imprisoned them, and to set straight their priorities. Probably most were from other countries, choosing to begin again in an unknown land.

They were from the west, Latins, living in a crusader-protected area called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, or the Latin Kingdom. Under the crusaders, all of Palestine was known as the Kingdom of Jerusalem. But Saladin, at the battle of Hattin in 1187, defeated the crusaders and restored most of the land to Muslim control. Richard the Lionheart recaptured Acre in 1191 and entered into a treaty which gave the crusaders control over a thin strip of land on the coast of Palestine, the remnant of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This coastal land included Mount Carmel. It is most probable that the first Carmelites began living on Mount Carmel sometime after this period. Perhaps some of the hermits were from other eremitical locations in Palestine and Antioch, now untenable.²

The original Carmelites settled on Mount Carmel by a spring known as "the fountain of Elijah." The spring was at the opening of the wadi 'ain es-Siah which was approximately two kilometers inland from the point of the promontory. The wadi ran about a thousand meters east and west, opening to the Mediterranean. Here Carmelites lived for the first one hundred years of their existence.

These men left almost nothing in the way of written records. When history first took notice of them they were already a functioning community. Early in the 1200s, sightings of the Carmelites began to appear in reports of pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. Pilgrims landed north of Mount Carmel at Acre and traveled south along the coast on the *via maris*, passing the location of the fountain of Elijah. Even at this early date the pilgrims were able to report that the church visible in the wadi was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Jacques de Vitry, who was bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1228, also left a testimony to their existence. Identifying locations in Palestine where the eremitical life flourished, he observed: "...others after the example and in imitation of holy solitary Elijah the prophet lived as hermits in the beehives of small cells on Mount Carmel. . .near the spring which is called the Spring of Elijah."³

The earliest recorded communication from the Carmelites themselves has been preserved in the opening lines of their constitutions of 1281. These lines, identified as the *Rubrica Prima*, quite possibly date back to the 1230s when some of the Carmelites had begun migrating back to Europe and their identity was in question. This response was to be given by members of the order when questioned about their heritage:

We declare, bearing testimony to the truth, that from the time when the prophets Elijah and Elisha dwelt devoutly on Mount Carmel, holy Fathers both of the Old and the New Testament, whom the contemplation of heavenly things drew to the solitude of the same mountain, have without doubt led praiseworthy lives there by the fountain of Elijah in holy penitence unceasingly and successfully maintained.

It was these same successors whom Albert the patriarch of Jerusalem in the time of Innocent III united into a community, writing a rule for them which Pope Honorius, the successor of the same Innocent, and many of their successors, approving this Order, most devoutly confirmed by their charters. In the profession of this rule, we, their followers, serve the Lord in diverse parts of the world, even to the present day.⁴

These first Carmelites were men who must have had a conversion in their life, a serious change of lifestyle and a reordering of their values. As part of their conversion they went apart in solitude leaving traditional roles in society. And they were pilgrims, people whose conversion took them to the periphery of society and the church to live on the patrimony of Jesus Christ and there serve their liege Lord.

We do not know the names of these first Carmelites.⁵ But we do know their hearts. From the beginning this tradition rooted itself in the deep hungers of the human heart. These men could only have located themselves on this mountain and begun a life together in response to such hungers, such "deep caverns of feeling," later captured in the poetry of John of the Cross. Why else live where they lived?

We can assume they had tried to feed these hungers with the normal food which nourishes life: relationships, possessions, plans, titles, reputations.

They probably found that their efforts and their control brought little peace to their lives. They had not found food sufficient to feed their hunger.

And so they laid their lives down and began again. Perhaps they were escaping more than simply restlessness. Perhaps lives had come apart in deep disappointment; perhaps they experienced unbearable losses; perhaps they were chased from other places, or even were escaping the law.

But it was more than escape that brought them to Mount Carmel. They assembled there because of a call. I would think they were people who were haunted in some ways and who found one another on a mountain which evoked their desires. People today come to this tradition because they, too, experience themselves as pilgrims on this earth, having deep hungers, and haunted by a call.

The conditions on Mount Carmel are inviting. The site slopes to the waters of the Mediterranean. Its breezes cool the canyon. Within its walls the men lived at slight distances from one another, spending time in reflection and prayer. They read scripture and carried its lines in their hearts. They fasted, abstained from meat, and worked in silence. They gathered regularly: daily for mass, weekly for discussions. They lived a life of poverty, and what they owned they owned together. Their leader was elected and he was to live at the entrance to the site. Life on Mount Carmel focused their scattered lives, and settled their confused minds. It freed hearts that had been anxious about many things. The oratory in the midst of the cells invited them to find a center in the midst of their lives.

These elements were collected into a brief formula of life which became the Rule of the Carmelites. Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem who was living

in Acre, gave this formula of life to the community sometime between 1206 and 1214. He concluded the document with an admonition: "Here then are a few points I have written down to provide you with a standard of conduct to live up to. ...See that the bond of common sense is the guide of the virtues."⁶ While not specifically mentioned in the Rule, there are indications that the hermits on Mount Carmel engaged in some pastoral activity. Such activity would not have been incongruent with the eremitical life.

As early as 1238 Carmelites began to leave Mount Carmel for new sites in Europe. By 1291, after an existence of approximately one hundred years in the canyon, all Carmelites had withdrawn. Muslim and Christian warfare made the mountain untenable. "The inroads of the pagans," wrote Pope Innocent IV, "have driven our beloved sons, the hermits of Mount Carmel, to betake themselves, not without great affliction of spirit, to parts across the sea."⁷

They traveled to Cyprus, Sicily, France, and England. Initially they intended to continue an eremitical existence, but very quickly they were transformed into one of the mendicant orders, taking their place with the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians.

Their formula of life given by Albert changed into its final form in 1247 and became the official Rule of the Carmelites. The change strengthened their common life and allowed them to live, not only in solitude, but also where it was convenient for their way of life.⁸

The development of the order took place over a vast geographical panorama. By the end of the thirteenth century, sixty years after arriving in Europe, the order had grown from a small band of men in a narrow valley in Palestine to about 150

houses, divided into twelve provinces throughout Europe and the Mediterranean. With practically no official documentation of its beginnings, except for its Rule and constitutions, with no founder, and with an anonymous first community, Carmel closed the thirteenth century with its first doctorates in theology. Gerard of Bologna received his doctorate from the University of Paris in 1295. Two years later he was elected Prior General of the order.

The brief time on Mount Carmel forevermore shaped the ancient path of the Carmelite tradition. Each major figure on the path of Carmel returned to the mountain in memory and in heart to be renewed by the original impulses which gathered the group in cells and around the oratory. Perhaps, too, each person read back into the beginnings what he or she needed to find. For example, John of Hildesheim (d. 1375) evoked their memory, but with some romanticism: "The primitive dwellers on Mount Carmel were simple hermits, unlettered, poor, they possessed no parchments, nor were they writers. They were accustomed to pray rather than to write."⁹

Later travelers of the ancient path continued to mine the mountain, going deeper into the themes and implications of that long-ago existence. When Teresa of Avila began her reformed convents of Carmelite nuns she had as a blueprint in her mind the original Carmelite setting on Mount Carmel. Earlier reforms, as well, attempted to return to the original vision.

Decline, the Reform of Mantua, and John Soreth

In the fourteenth century Carmel produced the outstanding figures of St. Andrew Corsini and St. Peter Thomas. Andrew Corsini (d. 1374), from Florence, received a doctorate in theology from the University of Paris, was elected provincial, and

then appointed Bishop of Fiesole. He was known for the simplicity of his life, his care of the poor, and his excellent preaching. Peter Thomas (d. 1366), from Aquitaine, became an advisor to Avignon popes and was sent on numerous diplomatic missions for the papacy, including missions to Serbia and Constantinople for the promotion of church unity. He was appointed archbishop of Crete and Patriarch of Constantinople.

However, the fervor of the order began to wane in the late fourteenth century and the malaise grew worse in the fifteenth century. Religious life slowly entered a period of decline everywhere. The general population of Europe was decimated by a plague, the Black Death, in the years 1348 and 1349. It is not known how badly the disease affected the order directly, but it is known that during a General Chapter in Metz in 1348, two hundred friars died, either during the sessions, or traveling to or from the sessions. The Hundred Years War was another type of plague which affected religious life. During this warfare between England and France (1337-1453) about thirty of the ninety Carmelite houses in France were destroyed, either through fighting or for use in building defenses.

In 1432, Eugene IV modified the Rule of Carmel. This "second mitigation" allowed the friars, on suitable occasions, to remain and walk about in their churches and cloisters and their periphery, and to eat meat three times a week. Later legislation reduced abstinence days to Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. Although not written into the official text of the Rule, this second mitigation concluded the process of the hermits on Mount Carmel gaining mendicant status. Actually, the mitigation merely ratified the lifestyle already prevalent. However, to many people, these changes were an indication of a gradual loss of Carmel's original vision and spirit.

Later reformers, including Teresa of Avila, often rejected this mitigation.

Blessed John Soreth (c. 1395-1471), who had received a doctorate from the University of Paris in 1438, was elected Prior General of the order in 1451. A reform-minded general, Soreth nonetheless defended the changes in the Rule. Movement about the churches and cloisters was a fact and a necessity and did not necessarily undermine the prescription to remain in or near one's cell. He wrote:

To remove the scruples of the weak, this has been declared by Eugene IV to mean that it is permitted to remain and freely walk about in churches, cloisters and precincts of convents, meditating on the law of the Lord, or praying, and serving in proper occupations.

He also defended changes in the abstinence prescriptions:

Our mendicant state does not possess streams nor sources whence fish for the nourishment of the brethren may be obtained....Our Father Basil says in his rule that those foods must by all means be used that can be more easily and cheaply obtained; but in many places meat is of this kind. Therefore out of a sort of pressing need we poor friars are obliged sometimes to eat it, lest on account of abstinence we be found to seek after food of a more expensive kind and difficult to obtain."¹⁰

Although he defended the changes, John Soreth was well aware of the unhealthy state of the order. "The Rule and institutions of the Order now lie everywhere neglected. Who keeps them, or who knows them?"¹¹ he complained. The decline of religious life was marked by an absence of a vital prayer life, serious lapses in the practice of poverty, and a general disregard for the common life.

A reform had already begun early in the fifteenth century when LaSelve, a community located between Florence and Pisa declared itself a "house of observance." It was joined by another community in Mantua. Soon these houses and others who joined them became a distinct entity in the order, the Mantuan reform, and were placed directly under the jurisdiction of the general.

The Mantuan reform stressed silence and a cloister, forbidding entrance to outsiders. The friars were not allowed to be aimlessly outside the convent. Money was distributed from a common chest and the reformers rejected the mitigation of the Rule which allowed them to include meat in their diet three times a week.

A leading reform figure, Blessed Baptist of Mantua, explained, "The Mantua Congregation rising at the inspiration of God from the sordid neglect into which practically the whole Order had fallen, strives to pattern its life and customs after the ancient Fathers."¹² The reform grew under the generalate of John Soreth. By the time of the death of Baptist of Mantua the congregation had thirty-one houses of friars and seven houses of nuns.

Carmelite Sisters

As part of the renewal of the order, John Soreth encouraged the establishment of communities of Carmelite women. The Carmelites had been exempted from responsibility for women's communities in 1261.¹³ But in 1452 a papal Bull, *Cum Nulla*, gave Carmelites the authorization to affiliate women's communities with the order. The first communities of Carmelite women, formally constituted, were in Guelders in the Netherlands, and in Florence. Another early example, initiated under Soreth, was the incorporation of a community of nuns established by Frances D'Amboise in 1460.

D'Amboise, who received the habit from Soreth, reminds one of a later Carmelite nun, Teresa of Avila, when she says, "The Rule is not longer for one than for another.... To consider and be concerned with who is the grandest lady and comes from the noblest and richest family is the doctrine of the devil."¹⁴ The communities of nuns established by Soreth were cloistered.

John Soreth never visited Spain, and consequently communities there developed differently, but most began after *Cum Nulla*. The Incarnation in Avila, founded in 1479, was the earliest Carmelite women's community in Castile. The Carmelite provincial gave the habit to Doña Elvira Gonzalez who became the first superior. In 1513 the Incarnation moved to bigger quarters outside the city. In 1535 Teresa de Ahumada, to be known as St. Teresa of Avila, entered the Incarnation.

The Reform of Albi

Hearing of the Mantuan reform, the Bishop of Albi in Aquitaine, France, contacted members of the reform in northern Italy and invited friars to come to his diocese and reform the Carmelites. He had previously reformed the Franciscans and Dominicans. When only one friar returned as a candidate for the reform, the bishop sought vocations at the University of Paris. Twenty-six candidates responded, twenty-two of whom would eventually enter the order. They lived in the bishop's palace for a month, receiving instruction in the Carmelite life. The twenty-two received the habit of Carmel in the episcopal palace. The bishop then invited the local community of Carmelites to dinner. While the convent was deserted, the novices and the novice master - entered and took possession. The former community were compelled either to join the reform of Albi or go to other communities.

Just as the Mantuan congregation became a separate congregation within the order under a vicar-general, so too the Congregation of Albi received special status. Baptist of Mantua, previously vicar of the Mantuan congregation, had been elected general of the entire order. He warmly welcomed this new reform effort. He wrote:

As from the beginning, I recall, I favored your congregation, when at the request of the Lord Bishop of Albi, I sent Friar Eligius, said to be still living, so ever since I have with a view to your advantage always favored it, favor it now and will continue to favor it, as long as God grants me life. I praise, approve and commend the privileges which his Holiness our Lord the Pope has granted you and your congregation. I exhort you never to abandon your proposal of leading a holy life, but to adhere to it more strongly and constantly day by day. By so doing you will win salvation for yourselves; for those who have set out down the wide road you will provide an incentive for reconsideration and for recalling and pondering the meaning of their vows.¹⁵

As with the Mantuan reform, the reform of Albi produced many holy men. The Albi congregation, because it eventually included the student house at the University of Paris, also counted a number of the scholars of the order. Neither reform impacted the entire order.

The principal area of renewal in the order was north of the Alps where John Soreth had long labored. His renewal of Carmel included a restoration of the common life, a renunciation of possessions, a commitment to a contemplative life, and careful observance of the Rule, constitutions, and liturgies of the order.

Soreth's reforms did not spread to Spain, nor did he or any other general visit Spain in the fifteenth century. An early sixteenth-century report on the Carmelite Castilian houses of Toledo, Avila, and San Pablo de la Moraleja judged them to be in deplorable condition, with a number of the friars giving public scandal. Matters were probably not much better in other Spanish Carmelite communities. The crown became involved in religious life renewal, and after the Council of Trent, when reform was introduced into the entire church, the often difficult relationships among Rome, the crown, and order authorities added to the difficulties of renewal.

Nicholas Audet and a Program of Renewal

In 1523 a major program for renewal of the order was published by Nicholas Audet, former provincial of the Holy Land and now vicar-general of the order. Audet was one of the great generals of the order who labored for thirty years to renew the spirit of Carmel. He was appointed by Pope Adrian VI and confirmed by Pope Clement VII with the authority to visit and reform communities in the order. After consulting with princes and prelates before taking up his task, Audet expressed concern at the situation of the order:

From frequent conversations with them we learned of what sordid conduct many of our brethren are guilty and what a great threat hangs over the good because of their bad example, unless all of us together quickly come to our senses and reform our conduct ... We are threatened unless we quickly confront and immediately provide a remedy for a number of wrong and wicked deeds committed in our Order.¹⁶

Audet's program for beginning a reform was titled *Isagogicon* and it included a number of specific prescriptions, among them:

Within three days of receipt of the prescriptions, each friar is to hand to the prior a list of all his possessions. It is emphasized that what they have is not their own but for their use.

Specific academic disciplines are recommended for the various levels of formation of candidates and further training is recommended, including university training, to raise the intellectual level of the Order.

No one is to live outside a house of the Order; anyone outside the Order is to return.

Sermons are to be given on all Sundays and feast days and each day in Lent.

Superiors are to receive only legitimate income and must cease selling certain privileges such as the office of prior, academic degrees, and permissions to live outside the Order.

Detailed prescriptions are to be followed for liturgical services and presence in choir.

Friars are allowed to leave the house only twice a week, in pairs, and with white mantles. Few lay men are to be admitted into the house, and no women, except those of the nobility who cannot be refused entrance.

Professed students are to follow detailed instructions regarding studies and behavior. When playing sports they must wear their habits.

All are to eat in the refectory; silence is the norm and there is to be reading from the Bible or other suitable book. No bread and wine may be taken to one's room.¹⁷

With this program, additional reform decrees from the general chapter, and a revised version of Soreth's Constitutions, Audet began a visitation of provinces, beginning in Italy, in an attempt to carry out the necessary reforms. The turmoil of the Protestant Reformation added to his difficulties, especially in countries where reform efforts might prove effective. Audet spent three years in France and Germany and managed to introduce reforms in more than one hundred houses. A number of men left the order under pressure to reform. In the Spanish province of Castile, more than half the friars walked away.

In 1553 Pope Julius III ordered the development of a plan for the renewal of religious life. The text of the Bull was submitted to certain superiors for comment, and Audet's comments have been preserved. His supportive, tactful, moderate suggestions show the wisdom gained in his years of struggle to call the order to a faithful following of its original impetus. By the time he died in 1562, a movement had begun in Spain which, had he known about it, would have received his full support. As it was, his successor, John Rossi, gave quick encouragement to this burgeoning reform effort beginning in Castile.

The Reform of Teresa of Avila

In sixteenth-century Spain, at the age of forty-seven, and after living twenty-seven years in the Carmelite convent of the Incarnation in Avila, Teresa de Ahumada gave fresh impetus to the tradition of Carmel. Dissatisfied with the size and atmosphere of the Incarnation, she envisioned small communities of women whose prayer would further the work of the church. These groups of women were to be friends with God and friends with one another.

In her time in the Incarnation the community had grown to more than 140 solemnly professed nuns.

During one period of time more than fifty were living outside the convent, in part because of the difficulty in feeding so many. The Incarnation had a cloister, but it was easily entered by relatives, servants, and young girls for education. Many of the nuns had their own patrimony. Nuns who were of the nobility might have suites with kitchens, as did Teresa who was a doña; poorer nuns lived in dormitories. Singing the divine office took up much of the day. All things considered, the Incarnation was an observant community, but crowded. In too many ways it was entangled with, and mirrored, The surrounding society.

Teresa had a high regard for many of the women in the Incarnation. Later, when others were complaining that Teresa's reform was draining the Incarnation of its best members, she replied that there were more than forty left who could be foundresses themselves.¹⁸

Remembering the beginnings of the order on Mount Carmel, Teresa wanted to reestablish the eremitical conditions which prevailed in the wadi. She wanted her nuns to understand themselves as solitaires in community. They were to follow the primitive Rule of Carmel, meaning the Rule of 1247, which she understood was "without mitigation."¹⁹

The atmosphere of the houses of Teresa's reform was to be conducive to an attentiveness to God. The quiet of the caves and huts on Mount Carmel permeated the rooms and corridors of the new Carmels. Teresa encouraged the women to speak trustingly with Christ, as though with a friend. They could imagine their friend beside them, or within them, especially in gospel settings where he is alone and might appreciate company. Hermitages were established within the convent gardens for times of greater solitude.

But they were also to take time to be present to one another and nurture loving relationships. If you want to know God, she wrote, know God's friends. Initially, Teresa allowed no more than thirteen women in each community, a number allowing for levels of relationships, with the possibility of each woman being known at some depth by every other woman. Teresa set a clear, but challenging, goal: "all must be friends, all must be loved, all must be held dear, all must be helped."²⁰ As friends they recreated, prayed the psalms in chapel, and attended celebrations of the eucharist.

As with the men who were drawn to Mount Carmel, Teresa's women were looking for conditions which would provide a setting, a structure, a support for attending to the mystery which haunted their lives and made them restless and unsatisfied with other forms of living. Teresa herself said, "I wanted to live (for I well understood that I was not living but was struggling with a shadow of death), but I had no one to give me life, and I was unable to catch hold of it."²¹ For many of the women, to enter such a community was like coming home. "It seemed to me," wrote Anne of St. Bartholomew, one of the first members, "that from my earliest childhood until this, I had lived this kind of a life and had dwelt among these saints."²²

When Teresa made her first foundation in 1562, John Rossi was vicar-general of the order. The next year the Council of Trent ended and Rossi had the task of visiting, correcting, and reforming the houses of the order. In 1564 Rossi was elected general and the Counter-Reformation and implementation of the decrees of Trent began. Rossi was appreciative and supportive of Teresa's efforts to renew the order. When he died, Teresa expressed deep sorrow.

Teresa would eventually create an inner space to complement the outer space of her convents. In *The Interior Castle* she imagined the soul as a castle, and life's journey was through the various rooms of the castle to a central room where the king lived. The king, almost imperceptibly at first, invites those wandering outside the castle walls to enter within and join him in a loving union. Teresa's new communities were to be the settings for this interior journey. But she needed allies in her reform.

John of the Cross

Juan de Yepes was restless in his new life with the Carmelites. He had recently completed his novitiate in the order and was now a student of theology at the University of Salamanca. But he wanted something more—or something else. He was considering joining the Carthusians. Obviously, whatever his dissatisfactions were, they had something to do with the deeper hungers of his heart and the conditions in which these could be nourished.

Just at that point in his life, he was introduced to Teresa of Avila, who was busy beginning the second house of her reform in John's hometown of Medina del Campo. Teresa was older than John by twenty-seven years, but she saw in this little friar the person she was seeking to begin her reform among the male Carmelites. John immediately resonated with Teresa's vision, and volunteered to join her movement after he had completed his last year of studies, but only if she moved quickly on the project.

One year later Teresa put John through a short, second novitiate with her, introducing him to the spirit of her reformed communities. He then began his own community with two other friars in an isolated place called Duruelo. Their seriousness

could be seen in the skulls and crosses which decorated the house; their asceticism was evident as the snow came through the cracks of the building and they walked barefoot about the house and the countryside. The blueprint of the first Carmelites on Mount Carmel guided a new expression in sixteenth-century Spain.

When Teresa was assigned back to her original convent of the Incarnation to bring about its reform, she requested John of the Cross as chaplain for the nuns. And so, for a period of two years, until Teresa completed her term as prioress, these two extraordinary people ministered in the same community.

But tensions were growing within the order as a result of the reform efforts. Differing visions and competing authorities led to deep divisions. John of the Cross suffered for his close identification with the reform movement. He was forcibly removed from the Incarnation and taken to a monastery prison cell in Toledo. There, in the dark of his nine-month confinement, John began to compose the mystical poetry which was an expression of his experience of God's love. Later, after he had escaped, John continued writing poetry and also prose commentaries on his poems.

John was a specialist in analyzing the desires of the human heart. He spoke of our desires as always being restless and our hearts endlessly searching. John likened our desires to little children who only momentarily quiet down, but soon erupt again; or like the situation of a lover who waits expectantly for a day with a loved one, only to have the day be a great disappointment. "Where have you hidden, beloved?" he wrote. "I went out calling you, but you were gone."²³

John's conclusion was that human beings have a desire or yearning which nothing in this world can ultimately satisfy. In John's experience only that mysterious Presence dwelling at the center of each one's life is sufficient food for the hungers of the heart. John imaged this Mystery as a night, a flame, a lover. "The soul's center is God," he concluded.²⁴

The Reform of Touraine

The reform inspired by Teresa and John eventually became an order itself, the Discalced Carmelites. In the next century, in France, three men would converge whose spirit provided the impetus which would eventually contribute to the reform of the entire Carmelite order. Peter Behourt had joined the order in 1582, the year Teresa of Avila died. His intent was clear: "From the time I entered the order, I have always chosen, desired, and hoped for the restoration to a better state of the whole province."²⁵ He continually attempted to recruit others to become a core of reform. His efforts in a series of offices in several communities resulted in mixed outcomes. His was not the personality to rally men for a sustained living of a more disciplined life.

But a similar movement in the house of studies in Paris, the Place Maubert, took on life. There, Philip Thibault stood out as a leader. He was acquainted with Pierre Berulle and was influenced by the spiritual movements associated with the salon of Madame Acarie. Thibault and several students made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1600 to ask church and order leaders to allow them a separate existence within the order, or to join the Discalced. They were persuaded to remain in the order and work for its reform.

Thibault joined Behourt and a small community at Rennes. He was to be sub-prior and novice master. The friars renewed their profession, bound themselves to an effort at reform, and mandated a second novitiate for all who joined the reform. The Observance of Rennes had begun. Eventually Thibault became prior, and to the reform he contributed the new forms of prayer then current in French spirituality.

Joining the community in Rennes in 1612 was a lay brother, John of St.-Samson. John was blind from the age of three, an orphan at ten, and a devout, prayerful searching soul who had been living in Paris with a grocer near the Carmelite house in Place Maubert. He spent long hours of prayer in the church. John was musically gifted and on one occasion asked one of the friars if he could play the church organ.²⁶ John eventually was given a room in the convent in recompense for playing the organ and giving lessons. He became part of a study group in the house and listened to spiritual texts read aloud.

John entered the Carmelite novitiate at Dol, just as the community fled because of a plague. John remained to nurse the other novice who had become ill. Eventually John contracted the disease and had to recover at a sanatorium. At age forty-one he entered the reform community of Rennes, joining Behourt and Thibault, made the prescribed second novitiate, and remained at Rennes for the rest of his life. He became unofficial spiritual director for generations of novices and professed students. He was also esteemed and visited by many well-known people of the day who came to talk to the blind mystic of Carmel.²⁷

The Observance of Rennes spread to other houses and became the Reform of Touraine. It was a reform

which took inspiration, in part, from Teresa and the Discalced Carmelites. The Italian Discalced Congregation's Constitutions of 1611 were available to members of the reform as a model of legislation which was also a spiritual document. The contemplative nature of Carmel was emphasized by the statutes of the Touraine reform as they encouraged "the practice of divine contemplation and the love of holy solitude, formerly the only part of our sacred Order, now its principal part." Again, "for our Carmelite forefathers dwelling in deserts and solitude one thing was necessary: to attend upon (*vacare*) God by the continual exercise of contemplation." But since they were now also called by the church to active ministry, "the nature of our institute requires that to mystical theology, which is the best part for Carmelites, we should add the assiduous study of letters and the sciences."²⁸ The Reform of Touraine was part of an order-wide movement of the Stricter Observance. Eventually Touraine's statutes were the basis for reform throughout the Carmelite order, influencing legislation into the twentieth century.

The Carmelite Witness

The renewal of a life begins deep down in the heart. Individuals are often alone in pulling their lives together and beginning again. Often, the reform of a community depends, similarly, on just one person's desire for change. Their spark is joined quickly by similar embers in the hearts of others.

Most efforts at reform die. Some are misguided, some lack the soil to take root, some are concretized in structures which humanly are unsustainable. Given the history of Carmel, it is remarkable that the fragile life woven in a wadi on Mount Carmel has not been completely unraveled by the vicissitudes of history and human fickleness. That Carmel exists today could be interpreted as a result of the Spirit

moving over chaotic waters; human inconsistency and sinfulness answered by divine faithfulness.

Carmel learned to tell the story of the human heart as a love story. Thinking they were searching for something missing in their lives, Carmelites discovered they were being pursued by a loving Presence whose desire for them gave them increased life, greater freedom, and a trustworthy relationship for their guidance.

The core value at all times in Carmelite history has been that mysterious Presence met deep within searching lives. Carmelites have left a trail of structures and literature born out of engagement with that Presence. The ways of organizing Carmel's life have been multiple: an orderly, eremitical life in a canyon on the mountainous ridge of Carmel; later, a community of men living in the midst of people and serving their needs; still later, communities of women, cloistered and active, in the service of the church; and always, individuals who go even farther apart in the solitude of hermitages.

The external structures are meant to assist an internal journey which Carmel's literature has imaged in various ways: among them, a journey through a castle, traveling a "little way," a passage through a dark night, a search for the beloved in mountain pastures. The last image recalling where it all began.

NOTES

1. Teresa of Avila, *The Foundations*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh, O.C.D., and Otilio Rodriguez, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1985), chap. 4, par. 7.

2. Joachim Smet, O. Carm., *The Carmelites*, 1 (Darien, IL: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988), 5.

3. Carlo Cicconetti, O. Carm., *The Rule of Carmel*, trans. Gabriel Pausback, O. Carm., ed. Paul Hoban, O. Carm. (Darien, IL: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1984), 62.

4. Smet, 15, 16. The original Latin text may be found in Adrianus Staring, O. Carm., *Medieval Carmelite Heritage* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), 40, 41.

5. See Elias Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Teresianum, 1979), 189-193. Of the first generation of Carmelites who actually lived on Mount Carmel, only three names are known for certain: Dominic and James, witnesses to a will in Acre in 1273, and William of Sanvico who was definator from the Holy Land at the general chapter of 1287.

6. See *Albert's Way*, ed. Michael Mulhall, O. Carm. (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989). The text of the Rule can be found on pages 2-21. An English translation of the Rule is in the Appendix of this present work.

Albert was chosen Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1205. Arriving in the Holy Land he settled his See at Acre during the first months of 1206. Before his election as Patriarch he was Bishop of Bobbio in 1184 and of Vercelli from 1185 until 1205. During that time he had been delegated by Pope Innocent III to develop a "form of life" for the Humiliati, a group of workers who had several conflicts with the hierarchy. It was a movement comprised of clerics and lay celibates as well as some married people. Albert became both Patriarch of Jerusalem and Papal Legate to the Holy Land. He was given the task of reintegrating the Holy Land.

7. Smet, 10.

8. The Rule of 1247 shows a strengthening of community life and a movement to towns as the Carmelites took on a mendicant status. It does not set up an opposition between a contemplative life and ministry since these new mendicants would

have understood themselves as contemplatives as well. Probably a predominantly lay group in the beginning, the Carmelites quickly became more clerical.

9. Smet, 50.

10. Ibid., 73.

11. Ibid., 67.

12. Ibid., 76.

13. Women and lay men had been associated with the order in one form or another from early times. Records show that in 1284 lay people affiliated with the order through vows of some type. In 1304 a woman made a profession in Bologna. In 1343 a husband and wife made vows in Florence, vows which seem to be identical to the vows of the friars. Joan of Toulouse is an early fifteenth-century example of a woman associated with the order living as an anchoress. See Smet, 88.

14. Smet, 95.

15. Ibid., 110, 111.

16. Ibid., 155.

17. For further details see Smet, 155-158.

18. For a description of the problems of the Incarnation see Kieran Kavanaugh's introduction to St. Teresa of Avila's *The Foundations* in *The Collected Works*, 19, 20.

19. Knowledge of the Rule would have been part of Teresa's formation. But it is not known if she had access to a copy of the Rule. A manuscript rather recently discovered seems to have belonged to the Incarnation. It has three versions of the Rule, but in poor Spanish.

Neither Albert's formula of life nor the final 1247 text of Innocent IV forbids owning property in common and having fixed income. But a papal decree in 1229 forbade the ownership of common property and possessions. When Teresa was informed of this understanding of the Rule she decided to found her communities, "in poverty," without endowment.

By the time of the first foundation of St. Joseph's

in Avila Teresa had a copy of the Rule and it appears to have been, along with customs, the only legislation for the new foundation. The text of the Rule in St. Joseph's was identical to the text used at the Incarnation, since the mitigations after 1247 were not written into the text of the Rule. Insisting that the Rule and Constitutions be read together, Teresa was instrumental in having published the first printed edition of the Rule in Spanish. See *Saint Teresa and the Carmelite Rule* (Roma: Casa Generalizia Carmelitani Scalzi, 1994).

20. *The Way of Perfection*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2, chap. 4, no. 7.

21. *Life*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa*, chap. 8, no. 12.

22. *Autobiography of the Blessed Mother Anne of Saint Bartholomew* (St. Louis, MO: Translated from French by a religious of the Carmel of St. Louis, 1916), 17.

23. John of the Cross, "The Spiritual Canticle," in *The Collected Works of St. John of the Cross*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh, O.C.D., and Otilio Rodriguez, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1991), stanza 1.

24. *The Living Flame of Love*, in *The Collected Works of St. John*, stanza 1, par. 12.

25. Smet, 3, 36.

26. John of St-Samson's musical abilities were apparently highly developed. He is reported to have been able to play two types of keyboard instruments, four stringed instruments, and three woodwinds. For further details of his life and a study of his poetry see Robert Stefanotti, *The Phoenix of Rennes*. (Peter Lang Publishers, 1994).

27. John of St-Samson left more than four thousand pages of dictated notes. A critical edition of his collected works has been prepared by Hein Blommestijn, O.Carm., of the Titus Brandsma Institute in Nijmegen.

28. Smet, 3, 57.

Chapter Two THE FLAMING ARROW

An Early Plea to Return to the Desert

This chapter highlights a unique document in the order's history. Very early in the development of the Carmelite tradition, a general of the order wrote a letter complaining about the order's loss of its contemplative spirit, which, he believed, was being dissipated as Carmelites began to minister in the cities of Europe. In this letter he challenges the Carmelites to remember their original vision. He reminds them of their desert origins.

This chapter and the following one focus on Carmel's analysis of the obstacles which block our spiritual journey. These forces frustrate our deepest desires, and they hinder our relationship with God. The Carmelites consistently agree on the ultimate challenge: *determining who or what will be God in our life*. The challenge or problem may be posed in various ways: In what or whom do we ultimately trust? Where do we look for our affirmation, validation, security? What is our foothold or anchor in life?

The disappointed general believed the order had fashioned idols for itself in the cities. Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross analyzed the problem as one of false selves and false gods. Their contributions will be presented in the next chapter.

Carmel and the Desert

The first Carmelites identified with certain ideals of the desert-dwellers of Egypt and the Middle East. Anthony, who shut himself up in an abandoned fort for many years, and Pachomius who organized large communities of ascetics, went apart from the society of their day to do battle in the desert with

demonic forces. They left the temptations of the cities and empires and faced the temptations of the devil in vast wildernesses.

The early Carmelites went into the solitude of the desert to focus their lives exclusively on God. Their mountain was the land of Elijah, whose sojourns in the desert led later generations to identify him as the paradigm of the monk. In solitude, life is met in its starkest terms. One either passes through the desert victorious, or one succumbs. The Carmelite was encouraged to make his cell a desert within the desert, to stay in or near it day and night meditating on the law of the Lord.

Carmel's solitude, in the midst of Crusader and Muslim conflict, forced an encounter within the hermit. Letting go of all external footholds, the hermit opened himself to the war within. The Carmelite entered a realm of both good and bad spirits. The heart of the Carmelite became the battlefield on which the forces of freedom and the forces of slavery fought.

Desert literature understood inner life as a combat with the demons as adversaries. The Rule of Carmel is, in part, desert literature. It warned of the devil on the prowl seeking to ambush souls and devour them. In order to defeat the foe, the Carmelite is urged to put on God's armor: a breastplate of justice, a shield of faith, and a helmet of salvation; he is to take up the sword of the spirit.¹ The Rule reminded the Carmelite of Isaiah's words: Your strength will lie in silence and hope.²

A desert carefully tended becomes a garden. In the imagination of Carmelites, Mount Carmel represents not only the solitude in which the hermit wrestles demons, but it also represents the flowering of new, verdant life. The invitation to Carmel offered

by the tradition is an invitation to open one's life to the loving activity of God and so to the blossoming of one's life. The garden is a counter-symbol to the desert. Mount Carmel represented solitude and stark battle to the Carmelite, but it was also a place of physical beauty which offered fresh water, thick forest, striking vistas, and the company of wild animals.

The Flaming Arrow

A struggle arose within this young community when it moved to Europe and joined the ranks of the mendicants. Nicholas the Frenchman, Prior General of the order, warned these desert warriors that they would be defeated by the cities of Europe. His letter, remembered in the order as *The Flaming Arrow (Ignea Sagitta)*, urged a retreat back to the slopes of Mount Carmel, if not literally, then wherever and however such an eremitical life can be established.³ The city was undermining the Carmelite charism of an individual hermit living in a community of hermits. The deeper societal involvement was robbing the hermit of his solitude and causing dissension in his communal life. For the desert-dweller, the city was a place of temptation and danger. The sophistication of the city was eyed warily by those who lived in rusticity.

The Flaming Arrow is the earliest document on record produced from within the order itself. Since the letter is dated 1270, only twenty-three years after the Rule was finalized by Innocent IV, it has been hypothesized, with no evidence however, that Nicholas may have lived on Mount Carmel. His is one of the more vigorous defenses of the eremitical life written in the Middle Ages. If we can reach back over the centuries in empathy, Nicholas becomes a remarkably accessible person.

Nicholas' letter, which is quite a lengthy tract, uses as a framework the situation of a mother (the order) dealing with her stepsons (the innovators in the cities) and her legitimate sons (those who remain faithful to the eremitical ideal). In the letter Nicholas addresses, at different times, the mother and her two sets of sons.

Nicholas grieves at the decadence brought upon the mother by the stepsons. He personally has suffered as general of this community: "...where my own interior life is concerned, when I realize how much time I have lost I find anguish wherever I turn, and no amount of consolation can assuage my grief."⁴ But the elaboration of these complaints he reserves for later; for now, his thoughts are on the suffering of the order. Formerly, she was esteemed among all the orders "for the greater sureness of your secret contemplation."⁵ But now the order is embroiled in the city and Nicholas has contempt for what he considers deceitful justifications. He disdainfully rehearses them:

"We have not the least intention of resisting the divine will, but of conforming to it; for our purpose is to edify the people of God, preaching his word, hearing confessions, giving advice, and performing other good works, to our own profit and that of our neighbors. This, rightly and properly is our wholehearted desire. This is the reason—and a very good one—why we left the desert's solitude to come and carry out these works amid the throngs of the cities."⁶

Nicholas then asks the mother for permission to castigate these wayward stepsons who have abandoned the desert life for the city. They think they are better serving themselves and their neighbor when ministering in the cities, but, in fact, both were better served in solitude.

As long as you persevered in solitude in your contemplations, your prayers and holy exercises, with profit to yourselves, the renown of your holiness, wafted abroad like a perfume, far and wide, over city and town, brought wonderful comfort to all those it reached; and it attracted many, in those days, to the solitude of the desert, edified by its fragrance, and drawn, as though by a cord of tenderness, to repent of their misdeeds.⁷

He argues that such religious should be "different" (we would say counter-cultural), but the Carmelites are no longer different and it is to their shame. When people see that these men "are no different from themselves in their vicious ways, they may sometimes praise them to their faces, but behind their backs they deride them and hold them up to ridicule, for they rightly deem them of little worth."⁸

Nicholas is particularly appalled by Carmelite preaching. It is not actually an attack on the introduction of ministry as mendicants. Even on Mount Carmel there apparently was a limited ministry which included preaching from time to time. Nicholas remembered:

Sometimes, however, though rarely, they came down from their desert, anxious, so as not to fail in what they regarded as their duty, to be of service to their neighbors and sowed broadcast of the grain, threshed out in preaching, that they had so sweetly reaped in solitude with the sickle of contemplation.⁹

Nicholas complains, however, that the Carmelites in the cities are not properly trained for this ministry, nor do their lives warrant that they be heard. Carmelites had established houses near the theological schools of the day, such as Cambridge (1247), Oxford (1253), Paris (1259) and Bologna (1260), but they did not begin attending such schools

until 1271. They were practicing a lay preaching, prevalent in the mendicant groups, which did not require formal study. Nicholas castigated them:

They prate away before the common folk—without understanding a word of their own rigmorole—as boldfaced as though all theology lay digested in the stomach of their memory, and any tale will serve their turn if it can be given a mystical twist and made to redound to their own glory. Then, when they have done preaching—or rather tale-telling, there they stand, ears all pricked up and itching, to catch the slightest whisper of flattery but not a vestige do they show of the endowments for which, in their appetite for vainglory, they long to be praised.

What is it indeed but a foolish craving for human praise and the vain glory it occasions that moves men like these to preach, devoid as they are of learning and right conduct alike? If they achieve anything at all by their words, they bring it to naught again by their example. The ambitious presumption, the consummate impudence of these unlettered creatures, whose moral conduct deserves nothing but contempt, in trying to usurp the office of preaching, is not only an abuse, it is sheer absurdity.¹⁰

Nicholas has no better opinion of the Carmelites' ability to hear confessions and counsel people. These "illiterates" cannot diagnose one disease from another: "Ignorant alike of theology and law, they are unable to distinguish between one form of leprosy and another, loose what should not be loosed, and bind what should not be bound....It is hard to refrain from laughter...."¹¹

Surely there were many Carmelites who were able to preach and counsel competently. Nicholas rejects that opinion; he could not find them. He reminds the reader that as general he has traveled throughout the order and observed Carmelites in

many provinces engaged in their ministries. He has sadly concluded: "...how very few there are who have knowledge enough or aptitude for these offices."¹²

The order is rife with "earthly attachments" and "unseemly roving."¹³ Nicholas does not recognize this "new order that has appeared in the cities..."¹⁴ He is not impressed with the mobility of these erstwhile mendicants:

The main reason for your wanderings is to visit not orphans but young women, not widows in their adversity but silly girls' in dalliance, beguines, nuns, and highborn ladies. Once in their company you gaze into each other's eyes and utter words fit for lovers, the downfall of right conduct and a snare to the heart.¹⁵

At the very least, Nicholas wanted preaching reserved to those who were actually studying theology. But he also wanted the order to resist a deepening engagement in ministry. Among the reasons for Nicholas' opposition to such ministry was that it called the Carmelite from places of solitude outside the cities to places within the cities. Carmelite houses now were a cluster of rooms in a single building rather than a cluster of huts, caves, or cells arranged in a countryside.

Was it not for a purpose that he (the Holy Spirit) laid down in our rule that "each one is to have a separate cell"? It does not say "contiguous" but "separate," in order that the heavenly Bridegroom and his Bride, the contemplative soul, might converse the more secretly as they repose therein....But you city dwellers, who have exchanged your separate cells for a common house, what spiritual task do you perform there in full view of one another, what are your holy occupations? When do you ponder God's Law and watch at your prayers?¹⁶

Nicholas' complaint about the noise and busyness of the Carmelite houses in the city is reminiscent of Teresa of Avila's difficulties with life in the convent of the Incarnation in Avila, although Teresa's nuns did not seem to be as restless as the friars described by Nicholas:

What use to you in the city are cells that no one enters except at bedtime, so that he might sleep and rest in greater security? As I said you scurry about the lanes and streets of the city at random all day—do you not?—and as soon as you get home, down you sit, cheek by jowl, to exchange rumors and gossip. Why, your whole day's labor is vanity. You reserve your empty cells for sleep alone—do you not?—and spend a third of the night, if not half, in foolish chatter and immoderate tipping. Cells are of no use to those whose thoughts and pastimes are vain. They are for those who make prayer their business.¹⁷

Nicholas argues that the mitigation in the Rule of 1247 which states that Carmelites may make foundations in solitary places, *or in other suitable and convenient locations given them*, has been misinterpreted. The intent was not to make foundations in cities where the spirit of the Rule would be endangered. He argues that "unsuitable and inconvenient sites should not lead to the introduction of a way of life foreign to our order...."¹⁸

The uniqueness of the Carmelites does not lie in the three vows, which other religious communities profess. The Lord has placed certain communities in the cities to nourish the people. These communities are learned, are familiar with scripture and live virtuous lives. "Those of a simpler cast, however, those with whom he holds secret colloquy, he marked out to be sent into the desert. ..." ¹⁹ Such are the Carmelites.

Nicholas then stirs the reader's imagination with a portrait of desert life and its blessings. It is not difficult to believe he is reminiscing about Mount Carmel:

In the desert (*in solitudine*) all the elements conspire to favor us. The heavens, resplendent with the stars and planets in their amazing order, bear witness by their beauty to the mysteries higher still. The birds seem to assume the nature of angels, and tenderly console us with their gentle caroling. The mountains too, as Isaiah prophesied, "drop down sweetness" incomparable upon us, and the friendly hills "flow with milk and honey" such as is never tasted by the foolish lovers of this world. When we sing the praises of our Creator, the mountains about us, our brother conventuals, resound with corresponding hymns of praise to the Lord, echoing back our voices and filling the air with strains of harmony as though accompanying our song upon stringed instruments. The roots in their growth, the grass in its greenness, the leafy boughs and trees—all make merry in their own ways as they echo our praise and the flowers in their loveliness, as they pour out their delicious fragrance, smile their best for the consolation of us solitaries. The sunbeams, though tongueless, speak saving messages to us. The shady bushes rejoice to give us shelter. In short, every creature we see or hear in the desert gives us friendly refreshment and comfort; indeed, for all their silence they tell forth wonders, and move the interior man to give praise to the Creator—so much more wonderful than themselves.

But Nicholas breaks from his reverie:

...But in the city, the elements teem with such corruption that you too are contaminated and directly infected.... For melodious birdsong you hear men

and women brawling, as well as their animals—mostly dogs and pigs—and an unspeakable din rings in your ears persistently. For green grass and leafy branches you have muddy streets to tramp each day. For the scent of fragrant flowers, your nostrils drink in pestilential draughts of the intolerable stench of depravity.²⁰

At the end of his letter, and after having grieved over the terrible state of the order, Nicholas sadly regrets his own inability to change the situation, and he laments what the effort has done to him.

Ah me! I have so many reasons for sorrow. ... Who can forbid my grief? For I see that I have made no contribution to the common good in all this time, while I have not been acquiring any merit for myself either. ... There can be no recovering a single moment of the time I have lost. I have spent it uselessly, and now I must go back and begin again when I should be drawing to a close.²¹

As disillusioned as he is, Nicholas will not deny his zealous love for the order:

Is it not my ardent love for you—excessive perhaps—that has kept my soul in such a state of infatuation that I hardly knew who I was, what I was, where I was, or what I should do?

Out of devoted love for you it was that I sailed the seas and journeyed from country to country, that I spent my time and wore out my body; and all my persistent labor for your good, in the face of opposition from your stepsons, has been in vain, for I have brought you no profit. Apart from the merit of my good intentions, then, I count as lost all the heavenly treasure I could have been laying up all this time in a solitary cell.²²

Nicholas concludes by admitting that he never should have been Prior General:

How could I have presumed, how dared to govern you, I who have never learned to govern myself? How could I have had the audacity to set myself up as a teacher before I had learned to be a pupil, and calmly to pass rash judgment on others before I had learned to examine my own conscience? Alas, Mother! Why did I undertake, in all obedience, to till your field, when it was against the precept of the Law about the ox and the ass—who will not pull together under the same yoke—that I have had to plough? ...I have learned always to be cautious in the future.²³

Nicholas resigned his office as Prior General of the order in 1271. How *The Flaming Arrow* from Nicholas the Frenchman was received in the Order is not known. Formal theological studies were introduced in 1271. The Carmelites continued their immersion into the Mendicant movement.

The Carmelite Dilemma

The first Carmelites deliberately shed family, possessions, and other forms of security when they went to the solitude of Mount Carmel, there to meet God and the demons, face-to-face. But then events of the first century of the order's existence continued to strip them beyond relinquishings of their own choosing. When they wanted to re-enter European society, now on their own terms, they found difficulty in gaining footholds. The simple life and group anonymity had to be exchanged for newer forms of living which required a deep anchor in the essential values of life on the mountain.

There was no going back to Mount Carmel, which by 1291 had to be completely abandoned. And there was no living in the cities of Europe as though time on the mountain had never happened. The needs were great and the response of the mendicants was a powerful witness to the gospel. Carmelites

remained contemplatives, but contemplatives whose prayer opened them to pastoral responses in the Europe of their day.

Whether in the streets of the emerging cities, or in the silence of their cells and oratories, Carmelites returned to their homeland in memory, realizing in a new way the heritage that was theirs. Their mountain was the site of a great contest pitting the faithful Elijah against the prophets of a false god. "How long will you go limping with two different opinions," he cried. "If the Lord is God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him." (1 Kgs 18:21) It was this Elijah who found himself almost despairing, without strength to go on.

Newer members of the community were taught to respond to inquiries that they were part of a group formed on Mount Carmel and they were in a long line of prayerful people who had lived on the mountain from the time of Elijah and Elisha. The memory haunted them: either follow the Lord God, or follow Baal, but no longer "limp along." In one way or another the struggle against false gods, the realization of their powerlessness, and the surprising, nourishing presence of the true God in their lives would be the constant themes of these Carmelites. They identified with Elijah, and even claimed him as their founder.

Moreover, they increased their devotion to Mary, who had been a model for them from the beginning. They were her brothers, and had prayed in an oratory dedicated to her on Mount Carmel. For them, she modeled a mode of trusting surrender to God's mercy and will. The lives of both Elijah and Mary spoke of an inner structure which was compatible with the desert into which the earlier Carmelites had withdrawn. They spoke of the essence of the desert existence,

the true desert, which no longer relies on a specific place and geography.

Nicholas the Frenchman in *The Flaming Arrow* anticipated the complaints of later Carmelite reformers. Long before the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century renewals of Carmel, Nicholas was identifying problems which would be perennial in Carmel. The centered, focused, harmonious life described in the Rule had been abandoned, in his estimation, when the Carmelites left places of solitude to live in the hearts of the cities. There they joined the people in worship of the golden calf while Moses was with God on the mountain.

The quiet hermits had become garrulous rovers! Their preoccupations had brought discord and division to community life. When were they ever alone, he asked, taking time to be with God? Anticipating the critiques of later reformers, including Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross, Nicholas accused Carmelites of idolatry. He condemned their attachments which turned them from freedom to slavery.

NOTES

1. *Albert's Way*, ed. Michael Muihall, O. Carm. (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), 13-15. See also the Appendix of this present work.
2. *Ibid.*, 17.
3. Nicholas, Prior General of the Carmelite Order, *The Flaming Arrow*, trans. Bede Edwards, in *The Sword* (June, 1979), 3-52.
4. *Ibid.*, 19.
5. *Ibid.*, 18.
6. *Ibid.*, 21.
7. *Ibid.*, 22.
8. *Ibid.*, 22, 23.
9. *Ibid.*, 28.

10. *Ibid.*, 23.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, 24.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, 25.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, 31.
17. *Ibid.*, 32.
18. *Ibid.*, 29.
19. *Ibid.*, 30.
20. *Ibid.*, 36, 37.
21. *Ibid.*, 41.
22. *Ibid.*, 42.
23. *Ibid.*

Chapter Three

FALSE SELVES AND FALSE GODS

According to Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross

Nicholas the Frenchman, in his letter of lament, mocked the illusions of his beloved Carmelites. What they understood to be necessary adaptations of lifestyle and ministry, he believed to be debilitating attachments. What they offered as evidence of good works and concern for the edification of the people, he dismissed as the products of enslaved hearts which no longer were free to hear God's call. They were following idols created by their own hands. Perhaps Nicholas' critique was partially the result of a dyspeptic disposition, but his observations and analyses contain perennial concerns. He knew the human heart.

Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross, writing primarily for the men and women of the order, made observations which echo and amplify the concerns of Nicholas.

Teresa of Avila and Self-knowledge

The problem in life, said Teresa of Avila, is that we do not know ourselves.¹ We have a certain level of understanding, but, essentially, we do not grasp our reality. We wander outside the castle of our lives, preoccupied with many things, in each of which we search for something more. Teresa said that for eighteen years in the convent she was torn between numerous preoccupations and the call to a deeper living. She wrote: "...for more than eighteen of the twenty-eight years since I began prayer, I suffered this battle and conflict between friendship with God and friendship with the world."² She named some of the things which preoccupied her: family, friends, business affairs, possessions. Each was potentially good in itself, but each shouting so loudly for attention that any quieter, steadier call had little chance to be heard. Her heart was scattered in these many centers of her life and she was drawn outside herself.

True self-knowledge is elusive because we ask others who we are; we look to those around us for the identity and affirmation we desperately seek. Teresa gradually realized that she had been seeking self-affirmation in both the society from which she came, and from the religious life she had entered. In both cases she had been looking at herself through others' eyes.

Teresa was particularly vulnerable to society's constrictions. She was a woman, writing in the vernacular, about experiences of God. Any one of those realities was sufficient for suspicion on the part of the learned authorities of the day. It is startling to realize that religious women were not encouraged to go beyond vocal prayer. They were not to reflect within themselves upon the words they were speaking. As part of her reform, Teresa

argued for mental prayer. She encouraged her sisters to think inwardly about the realities they were expressing when they said the "Our Father" and "Hail Mary."

Teresa was captivated by the image of the original Carmelites as solitaries in community. She wrote that when she and her sisters could finally enter their new foundations and close the door they breathed a sigh of relief. What seems to us, perhaps, to be a restrictive setting, was a place of freedom for the women of Teresa's reform. Society's norms and judgments were, to a great extent, suspended within the walls of her foundations.

Teresa had another, potentially debilitating, concern which involved social realities in the Spain of her day. Her father was Jewish, and to have Jewish blood was to be vulnerable in sixteenth-century Spain.³ Teresa's grandfather, a Jewish convert to Christianity, had confessed to the Inquisition in Toledo that he had relapsed, that he had been practicing Judaism in secret. He and his sons, including Teresa's father, were made to join public processions on seven first Fridays in order to atone and be reconciled.

The family moved to Avila. There, apparently, they were able to buy a "certificate of nobility," opening the way to public respect and possible acquisition of wealth. They could display a coat of arms and use the titles Don and Doña. Many in Spain had bought their way into nobility but were resented by the Old Christians who had *limpieza de sangre*, or "purity of blood." The Catholic monarchs enlisted the New Christians in a struggle against the Old Christians for control of Spain.

Over the centuries old families had married into households of "impure" blood. As tensions increased in Spain these families, too, became vulnerable

to accusations. The Inquisition, it is thought, was originally begun to monitor the converts to Christianity. If a family were denounced to the Inquisition it could mean disgrace and financial ruin. Teresa's family was in just such a precarious state.

Teresa, the New Christian, saw the possibility in religious life of an "alternative society," just as the early church had been. Studies have shown that some of the first members of her new community of St. Joseph's in Avila shared her background. It suggests she strongly attracted other New Christians and many of her patrons and benefactors also shared her social origins.

(Teresa's foundations attracted the urban middle-class, where you would expect to find New Christians. Her communities also had their share of the needy, as well as the aristocratic. But, apparently, a woman considering entering one of Teresa's communities would normally come from a family of at least moderate means.

Originally, Teresa eliminated dowries for her candidates. Later, she thought it unsuitable if someone brought no dowry, and we read of her commenting favorably upon the suitability of a candidate, in part, based on her potential dowry. While Teresa grew to appreciate the income from dowries, she says she never refused a worthy candidate who had no dowry. Teresa was flexible on the amount of the dowry, but five years after her death the new Order began requiring a fixed dowry once more.

Because of the expectation of a dowry, and because Teresa insisted that candidates be literate, in order to read the Divine Office, the mass of country folk were probably excluded from her communities.

By 1581, when her work had just about been completed, records show that most of the sisters in the reformed convents were from urban areas, with the small group of lay sisters coming mainly from rural areas.⁴

The Carmelite Order which Teresa was reforming ["of the cloth," she called them], observed *limpieza de sangre* beginning in 1566, just when Teresa was starting her reform. She, however, regularly admitted New Christians throughout her life. Fifteen years after her death, in 1597, the Discalced Carmelites, now a separate Order, also instituted statutes of purity, forbidding entrance into the community of any person with Jewish or Moorish blood going back four generations. Teresa would not have been accepted into her own Order.

Among her benefactors, too, were New Christians. In founding a house in Toledo Teresa had the support of Alonso Alvarez, a *converso*, or as Teresa wrote, a man whose family was "not from the nobility." Many of the townsfolk complained. She said she did not pay much attention to the criticism because, "I have always esteemed virtue more than lineage."⁵ She did have to work out a compromise allowing a wealthy noble family to endow the chapel and Alvarez to help buy the house, "one of the nicest in Toledo," Teresa noted with satisfaction. She wrote, "Our Lord desired to give me light in this matter, and so at one time He told me that lineage and social status mattered not at all in the judgment of God."⁶)

Life inside Teresa's new communities did not, however, guarantee the self-knowledge she believed was critical for a Christian. Not only were her sisters not to claim any worth based on their family background, but they were not to substitute another form of hierarchy and privilege based on religious living. Teresa insisted that the goal for her

sisters was to want what God wants. The whole purpose of prayer is conformity with God's will. Their ultimate goal is not to be contemplatives, or to have a spiritual life, or to have special experiences in prayer, but to strive to find God's will. With that seeking comes one's true identity and in that relationship one experiences affirmation. Any other foothold in life will not offer true support. Even the very security of a well-ordered life may become an obstacle to deeper penetration of the rooms of the castle.⁷

The self-knowledge Teresa eventually gained consisted of two fundamental truths. The first truth was a realization of her essential poverty. She came to know her inattentiveness to God, her fragmentation and dissipation. She acknowledged her sinfulness. And, on her own, she was absolutely powerless to control her life. Left to her own insight, energy, and vision she was unable to pull her fragmented life together. The harder she tried, she confessed, the more she was stuck. Nor was there anything offered her by society which could validate her life. She realized the essential poverty of her life.

But Teresa counseled that it would be a great mistake to focus solely on our unfaithful and sinful condition. Such an emphasis could lead to a humility in which one is overwhelmed by shortcomings and therefore paralyzed in life. "If we are always fixed on our earthly misery, the stream will never flow free from the mud of fears, faintheartedness, and cowardice."⁸ Such a humility undermines a person and defeats any attempts to engage life. This kind of humility, Teresa taught, was one of the most serious temptations of the devil.

The second, and more important, truth about her life was that this poor woman was immensely rich.

At the core of her life was a reality which sustained her life, empowered her, and was her truest identity. She knew about God in her mind; she had to learn to trust that God in her experience. She became convinced that we live life buoyed on a sea of mercies. We cannot claim the credit; we can only live with gratitude. Once she knew who she was, fear fell away, and she lived with focused energy.

Her advice was to focus on Jesus, and in the light of that love to know ourselves as we really are. When the primary gaze is on God, then one's poverty can be acknowledged; but it does not become the final word about our existence. The final word is seen in God who continues to love us to health and calls us into union.

This humility makes one buoyant and confident. The world is vigorously engaged, not because we are our own source of strength, but because God is faithful and gives us vision and strength. "So I say, daughters, that we should set our eyes on Christ, our Good, and on His saints. There we shall learn true humility, ...and self-knowledge will not make one base and cowardly."⁹

John of the Cross and the Enslaved Heart

John of the Cross identified our basic problem as an "enslaved heart." We continually give our hearts away in adoration at the altar of false gods. Our fundamental desire, he believed, was for the Mystery at the center of our souls, the God of our belief. The only place we are able to meet this God is in the world within and around us. John observed:

Pouring out a thousand graces
He passed these groves in haste
And having looked at them,
With his image alone
clothed them in beauty.¹⁰

God's creatures introduce us to God. However, in John's analysis, whoever or whatever introduces us to God may soon take God's place. The heart easily mistakes the traces of God for God. That which we can see, touch, taste, feel, hear has the power to transfix us, and the heart, tired of its continual seeking, begins to settle down with lesser gods. We let our lives be slowly centered around this trace of God and ask of it to be ultimate, to be the answer to our deepest desire. John calls this type of relationship an attachment. In an attachment the heart gives itself away in slavery to an idol, asking some part of God's creation to be uncreated.

John's analysis is that whenever we give our hearts away in an attachment, we not only become like that which we love, but we become possessed by our loves, "because love not only equates, but even subjects the lover to the loved creature."¹¹ The satiation is so distorted that John describes it as slavery. The heart is no longer free to grow in God's love. He writes: "...freedom has nothing to do with slavery. And freedom cannot abide in a heart dominated by desires, in a slave's heart. It abides in a liberated heart, in a child's heart."¹²

John observes how our desires are never satisfied and so they weary and tire us: "Just as a lover is wearied and depressed when on a longed for day his opportunity is frustrated..."¹³ We become sluggish in the things of God and cold in our charity toward our neighbors. Virtue becomes a burden. The suffering caused by our appetites is compared to lying on nails, or being held prisoner, chained to our appetites. And they do not have to be great attachments. Small ones can be corrosive as well, such as,

the common habit of being very talkative; a small attachment one never really desires to conquer, for

example, to a person, to clothing, to a book or a cell, or to the way food is prepared, and to other trifling conversations and little satisfactions in tasting, knowing, and hearing things, and so on.¹⁴

It does not take much for one's freedom of spirit to be severely impaired: "It makes little difference whether a bird is tied by a thin thread or by a cord."¹⁵

The enslaved heart results in two deaths: whoever or whatever we are asking to be our God cannot bear the expectation. We begin to smother our loves by asking them to be more than they can be. Not only do our loves begin to die under the pressures, but we ourselves begin to die. We cannot grow past our god; a lesser god means a lesser self. Nothing (*nada*) is sufficient food for our hungers, except the God who is No-thing.

A Carmelite Perspective

Does the analysis of the Carmelites hold true today? Are we still struggling with demonic forces, wayward desires, enslaved hearts? As anachronistic as the language sometimes is, people who hear this tradition recognize their own struggles in it. The heart that is enslaved with a relationship, or by possessions, or has been caught in addictions recognizes a description of its plight in John of the Cross.

Whatever preoccupies or absorbs us to the neglect of a true center in our lives becomes a false god. Locked into possessions, relationships, projects, societal expectations, identities in such a way that we are locked out of our selves and the core of that self, we are kept on the periphery of our lives. It is a life of unreality. We are unable to see things, and live them, as they truly are.

We, in our tight grasp, turn others and things into whatever we need them to be. The child is turned into an extension of ourselves. The community is used to feed us. The ministry or project is distorted because it serves our unacknowledged needs. Our prayers become bargaining.

The heart cannot stop yearning for fulfillment, hungering for nourishment. Unable to trust in an Unknown Presence, the heart fixes on what is at hand, often compulsively. Attachments, ways of asking God's creation to be God, lead to addictions, behaviors which feed on the insubstantial.

And Teresa's complaint that we do not truly know ourselves (false self), becomes more and more convincing to one who has been forced to make an inner journey for one reason or another. On that journey, either in analysis with a therapist, or simply through greater listening to one's life, the unknown parts of the self begin to emerge. Initially, the shadow side of the self almost defeats the effort to grow. It is too painful to meet and acknowledge. With the deeper awareness of the inauthentic ways we have been living, comes also a greater sense of our sinfulness. Our poverty may be extreme and we can only acknowledge it, in silence and in hope.

The concrete life issues that often bring us to our knees in an admission of powerlessness are infinitely varied. But the human spirit is often compelled to lay down its arms and admit to no further strength or vision, like Elijah in the desert. All a person can do is wait. And that is when the possibility of reconstructing life, but on a different basis, becomes a reality. What on the surface seems to be an adult crisis, at depth may be a challenge to one's faith. In what or whom can I place my trust as I proceed in life? On what foundation can I count as I begin to rebuild? Where is my true strength?

Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross provided extended analyses of problems which earlier generations would have recognized. False selves and false gods are a perennial problem. The first Carmelites wrestled with them as hermits; they encountered them again in Europe. They continually reminded themselves of their primary activity: a prayerful encounter with God whose love undermines all false claims and restores health to the soul.

Carmelites were challenged to carry within them the very conditions they had experienced around them on Mount Carmel. The silence of the wadi now had to be an inner stillness. The silence had to be so interiorized that whether preaching in the streets or reflecting in their cells, at the core of their activity was a quiet listening. The solitude of the wadi now had to be translated into an inner desert which accompanied the Carmelite in any situation. In the first two centuries of the order's existence these contemplative themes found ever newer expression as the tradition deepened.

John Welch, O.Carm.

NOTES

1. Teresa of Avila, *The Interior Castle*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh, O.C.D., and Otilio Rodriguez, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1980), The First Dwelling Places, chap. 1, no. 2.

2. *The Book of Her Life*, in *The Collected Works*, 1, chap. 8, no. 3.

3. In 1492, not too long before Teresa's birth in 1515, Ferdinand and Isabella captured the last Moorish stronghold of Granada, uniting Spain after an eight hundred-year effort to reconquer it from the Moors.

The Jewish population lived principally among the Moors. As Spain was slowly united through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the church being the most important unifying force, more and more pressure was put on the Jews to convert. In the same year Ferdinand and Isabella captured Granada all unconverted Jews were expelled from Spain.

The converted Jews were called *conversos*, or New Christians. Decrees were passed barring *conversos* from most major religious orders, including the Carmelites, from civic offices, and from senior colleges at the Universities. By the time Teresa was beginning her reforms *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) was a critical concern in practically all public life. Cf. Rowan Williams, *Teresa of Avila* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing, 1991).

4. Cf. Teofanes Egido, "The Economic Concerns of Madre Teresa," in *Carmelite Studies*, IV, ed. John Sullivan, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1987).

5. Teresa of Avila, *The Foundations*, in *The Collected Works*, 3, chap. 15, no. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 16.

7. "The great danger is in supposing that our regular and controlled lives give us some sort of claim upon God, so that we become bitterly resentful if God is

apparently not at home to us in the way we should like." Williams, *Teresa of Avila*, 118.

8. Teresa of Avila, *Interior Castle*, in *The Collected Works*, 2, The First Dwelling Places, chap. 2, no. 10.

9. *Ibid.*, no. 11.

10. John of the Cross, "Spiritual Canticle," in *The Collected Works of St. John of the Cross*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh, O.C.D., and Otilio Rodriguez, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 1991), stanza 5.

11. John of the Cross, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, in *The Collected Works*, Book 1, chap. 4, no. 3.

12. *Ibid.*, no. 6.

13. *Ibid.*, chap 6, no. 6.

14. *Ibid.*, chap. 11, no 4.

15. *Ibid.* chap. 4.

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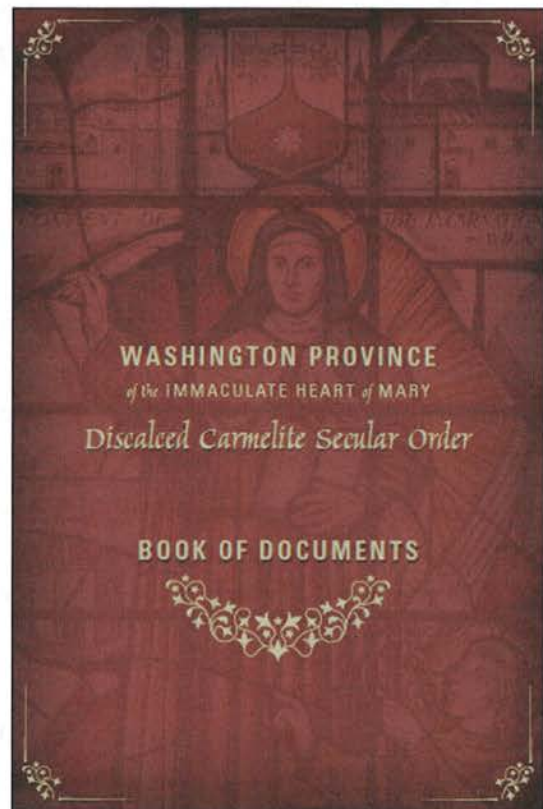
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