

LOVING PRESENCE: MARY AND CARMEL

A Study of the Marian Heritage of the Order

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CHAPTER 3: Evolution of the Order's Marian Consciousness

Most of the ideas in the previous chapter are found developed in the following centuries. The Order's Marian consciousness evolved rapidly.[65] If we are to appreciate the development we must not only examine the existing documentation carefully, but we must above all try and have a feeling or empathy for the situation of Carmelites in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Otherwise we run the risk of being totally out of sympathy with a delicate and complex evolution. Moreover, we need to keep a few salient points before our minds as we seek to understand the way in which the Order's Marian life originated.

The Brothers began to come to Europe about 1238.[66] The migration would seem to have been gradual from then to 1291 when the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was conquered. They brought with them their Rule, a contemplative way of life strongly marked by asceticism. Surely they missed above all their chapel on the holy Mountain, dedicated to Mary. Indeed we see them dedicating a monastery in Europe to Mary as early as 1235.[67] They came to a Europe which as we have seen in the Introduction was very rich in devotion to Mary. The Carmelite Brothers easily inserted themselves into this Marian culture. They began a process of integrating their own heritage with the congenial Marian life of Europe.

They seem to have placed great store by their sense of Mary as Patron, symbolised by their Chapel in her honour on Mount Carmel. Already in 1282 the General, Pierre de Millau, in a letter to Edward I of England seeking his support asserted that the Carmelite Order was especially founded in honour of Mary.[68] This was stated again in the general chapter of 1287.[69] Later John Baconthorpe (d. ca. 1348) would say that "God...willed to establish the Brothers of Carmel for the praise of his Mother".[70] And he looked to the end of the ages when Carmelites will be rewarded for their special role of militant service for the praise of Mary and the honour of Christ.[71]

In the time of adjustment and a searching for their identity, a firm ground for the Brothers was their relationship with Mary, their Patron. But there were other elements too: their contemplative ideal and their memory of Elijah.

3.1 Elijan Origin of the Order

We have already noted that the Elijan was already strongly asserted in the *Rubrica prima* of the 1281 Constitutions. It is not difficult to see how the Elijan theme was developed in response to opposition to this new Order, which did not have a clear historical founder such as Saint Dominic or Saint Francis. The Carmelite Brothers knew that they had been on Mount Carmel for a long time. It was a holy mountain, associated with hermits from very ancient times, and indeed with the great prophet Elijah. They saw in him a great prophet and a great contemplative, one who like Moses had met the living God on Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19:11-18). They knew that despite the opposition they encountered in Europe their way of life was ancient and authentic.

In the Middle Ages, as in biblical times, truths were often transmitted by myth. With our modern sense of historicity, we are often not comfortable with myth: we ask the wrong question. Instead of asking, "what does the myth mean?" we ask, "did it happen?" And a myth has a truth which is not the explicit assertions of the myth.

The truth which lay behind the Elijan myth was the fact that the Carmelites recognised in Elijah an idealized figure whose inspiration they followed when they dwelt as hermits near his historic well. Being contemplatives they sought his spiritual experience of the living God; consecrated to chastity they saw him as the first Old Testament exemplar of their ideal of perpetual continence for the Kingdom; as hermits they saw in him a fellow desert figure who had left all to seek God alone.[72]

The form the myth took was an apparent claim by our authors of an historical continuity between the prophet of the eighth century B.C. and the Order as it existed in Europe from the thirteenth century. Many good scholars and theologians of the Order devoted an enormous amount of energy to finding scriptural and patristic links in the chain going back to Elijah. Many biblical figures as well as Palestinian hermits and saints were seen as part of the historical continuity of the Order. As history such work is valueless. But it is not so much a legend as a myth. And it has its own truth as in terms of identity and spirituality.

3.2 Mary and Elijah - Mary and Carmel

Mary was gradually inserted into this Elijan myth or hagada.

3.2.1 Early writers

The Chronicle *De inceptione ordinis* (ca. 1324) stated that after the Incarnation the successors of Elijah and Elisha built a church in honour of Blessed Mary near the font of Elijah. It asserted that from the time of the patriarch Aiméric (d. 1196) they were known as the hermit Brothers of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel.[73]

The fourth chapter of the *Speculum* of Jean de Cheminot (ca. 1337) affirmed that like them the successors of Elijah and Elisha embraced chastity dedicated to the Lord. Two Old Testament texts, which would become traditional in the Order, were applied to Mary: "The glory of Lebanon shall be given to it, the majesty of Carmel and Sharon" (Isa 35:2); "Your head crowns you like Carmel" (Cant 7:5). A legendary note was found in the statement that Mary along with other virgins used to visit the place of the hermits because of their sanctity and the beauty of the place: "It was appropriate that the mother of virtues should honour the place and the sons of such holiness and devotion by her presence".[74]

Jean de Cheminot also recalled the oratory in honour of the Virgin Mary built after the Ascension and that to distinguish the Carmelites from others, they were called "the Brothers of the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary" – a title later recognised solemnly by the Holy See.[75]

3.2.2 John Baconthorpe

Belonging to the same period was the English Carmelite John Baconthorpe (d. ca. 1348). Extremely learned in philosophy, theology and canon law, he had the medieval sobriquet of "Doctor Resolutus". His writing is at heart polemical, since he is seeking to defend the Order from detractors; it is also spiritual, a reflection on the deepest roots of the Order. He wrote four works that are of interest from an Elijan-Marian viewpoint:[76] *Speculum de institutione ordinis pro veneratione Beatae Mariae*, the first treatise which deeply unifies the Elijan and Marian traditions of the Order; *A Tract on the Rule of the Carmelite Order*, which sets out to show that the Rule corresponds in many ways to the life of Mary; *Compendium historiarum et iurium*, a historical and juridical defense of the Order; *Laus religionis carmelitanae*, a defence and exaltation of the Order especially in its relation to Mary.

In Baconthorpe we see both previous ideas developed and new ones emerging for the first time to our knowledge. Mary is distantly seen by the prophets as venerated on Carmel.[77] It is especially because of her the place of Carmel is honoured;[78]

the physical beauty of Carmel is a reason why it should have been given to Mary the most beautiful one.[79]

Following an apocryphal legend, he recounts how Mary was brought by an angel to Mount Carmel; it was on the mountain that she, rapt in contemplation, became God's spouse through a vow of virginity.[80] In several places he records the chapel built on Mount Carmel by the contemplative successors of the prophet in honour of the Virgin Mary and the choice of a Marian title.[81] Indeed the whole of Book I of Baconthorpe's *Laus religionis carmelitanae* is an extended attempt to bring together Carmel and Mary; through sometimes laboured and false etymologies, biblical allusions, legends, and at times profound spiritual insight, he insists that the Order being Carmelite belongs rightly to Mary.[82]

Baconthorpe seems to have been the first to view the small cloud seen by Elijah (1 Kings 18:44) as a symbol of Mary: after the drought it restored the fruitfulness of the earth.[83] "The love of God descended on Mary....and through Mary the rains of mercy and grace descended on what was dried up, and thus restored all things." [84] Future Carmelite authors, following Ribot, would make this a major Old Testament symbol of Mary and draw out from it many implications.

Carmelites are rightly called after her, a point acknowledged by the Holy See.[85] Apart from the notion of exemplarity developed in our next chapter, Baconthorpe's major contribution was the union of the Marian and Elijan elements of the Order's tradition and his specification of the implications in terms of patronage of the Order's choice of Mary as its titular along with the oratory established in her honour. These too will be examined more in the next chapter.

3.3 A First Elijan - Marian Synthesis: Philip Ribot

It is now generally agreed that if the Catalonian Provincial, Philip Ribot (d. 1391), was not the actual author of four major pseudepigraphal works, they were at least from his time.[86] By far the most important of these was the *Institute of the First Monks*, ascribed to John XLIV, Patriarch of Jerusalem (ca. 412?). It has been suggested that the first chapter on the ascetical and mystical ideal of the Order may be an earlier document, perhaps from the late thirteenth century,[87] but one should await the publication of the critical edition by Paul Chandler before taking such an hypothesis seriously. However, since it is entirely Elijan and does not mention Mary, it need not concern us here. On the Marian teaching of the other books, Ribot depends on previous writers, but can be said to have furthered their ideas developing a new synthesis.

The main Marian treatment is to be found in Book Six. Throughout this book Ribot is concerned with the Order's title, "Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel"; he also allows that "Carmelites" is a legitimate title.[88] A fundamental idea which he developed was a spiritual, somewhat arbitrary interpretation of the little cloud seen by Elijah (see 1 Kings 18:44). The key to its Marian symbolism is that the cloud of pure rain, that is Mary, arose from the bitter, salty sea, which is the image of sinful humanity. The prophet received by divine illumination four mysteries about the future redemption of the human race which he communicated to his followers:

- the birth of the future redeemer from a virgin-mother who from her origin would be free from any stain of sin;
- the time when this would be accomplished;
- the deliberate decision of the future mother to keep herself always virgin, consecrated to the service of the Lord;
- the fecundity of her virginity, foreshadowed by the rain, which would relieve the condition of humankind.[89]

In imitation of Elijah who was the first Old Testament virgin, Mary would vow virginity and be the first woman to do so.[90] The successors of Elijah also took such a vow. This established a similitude and a deep empathy between them and Mary so that they called her their sister and themselves Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[91] The notion of sister does not, however, eliminate the word "mother", which is delicately insinuated: *Before he (the Word) was incarnated there was only a fraternity of paternity, because from the same Father of whom the Son was eternally generated, was also created the human race...before he was incarnated there was not a fraternity of maternity, since the Son was not yet born of his mother.*[[92]

The implication is that after the Incarnation, there was a new basis of fraternity in the motherhood of Mary.

The by now traditional title of "Patron" is allied also with virginity. The Carmelites took care to serve the Virgin with special devotion: *They were eager specially to choose this virgin as a patron for themselves, because they knew that she alone was singularly like them in the first-fruits of spontaneous virginity. For just as spontaneous virginity for God was first begun by the ancient followers of this religion and introduced to men, so the same virginity was afterwards first introduced and begun among women by the Mother of God.*[93]

Thus we see in Ribot a synthesis through virginity of the traditional notions of Mary and the Order – Mother, Patron and Sister. And all of these ultimately stem from the author's contemplation of the spiritual meaning of the little cloud. However, it is not so much that Ribot is adding something new to the Order's Marian consciousness; he reads into the little cloud what was the Order's attitude to Mary, but gave more clearly than previous writers its basis as virginity. Indeed, he uses a false etymology for the word "Carmel" to indicate "knowledge of circumcision" which he then interprets as virginity for God, sought first by Elijah and his followers, and then by Mary.[94]

3.4 Elijan-Marian Synthesis: Arnold Bostius

At the end of the fifteenth century we have a mature synthesis of the Order's traditions by the humanist Arnold Bostius (d. 1499).[95] His first work on Mary was the *Breviloquium*,[96] which was expanded in an unpublished large tract *Speculum historiale*. [97] His best known work was *De Patronatu et patrocinio B. Virg. Mariae in dicatum sibi Carmeli Ordinem* from 1479.[98] In this text written in response to a question as to whether Mary had specially favoured the Order, Bostius draws on most of the preceding tradition, on accommodated meanings of scripture, and scriptural symbols and persons understood in a Marian sense.

Bostius is interesting in the history of mariology for being a representative of positions commonly held towards the end of the fifteenth century. Thus we have clear teaching on Mary as Mother of God, as Mediatrix, as immaculately conceived, as all holy, as virgin, as assumed into heaven, as Queen, as Spiritual Mother, as Mother of Mercy. These are all truths that the Carmelite Order shares with the whole Church.[99] Though E.R. Carroll is not prepared to assert that Bostius was concerned with a unifying principle of mariology, he does concede that, though the divine motherhood is not a theme of major concern in *De patronatu*, it has some centrality in his thought.[100] N. Geagea concurs.[101] Our interest in Bostius must be more restricted: it is to see in what way he presents Carmelite mariology in his time, that is, the interrelationship of Mary and the Order.

There is, however, one general Mariological theme in Bostius that should be mentioned because of its prominence in the late twentieth century, viz. the beauty of Mary.[102] It is already found in Baconthorpe.[103] Sometimes in Bostius the theme is explicit: "Virgin of incomparable beauty, in whom every gift of nature and grace come together, above all others a person who is gracious, lovely, rose-coloured,

serene, most beautiful".[104] Or again, "Unless one knew the true deity by faith, one would not believe that there was anyone higher than the Virgin".[105] On other occasions it emerges in different contexts, such as her plenitude of grace: "Mary the most exalted one is a mirror of the Trinity".[106] She is the most beautiful of all: "by far the most brilliant of all creatures...and the glory of Carmel";[107] "the honour of all females and the glory of all women".[108] Bostius, a Latin humanist with an extensive vocabulary and polished rhetoric heaps up expressions in praise of her beauty throughout *De patronatu*. In a later chapter we shall consider the idea of beauty in contemporary mariology.

In treating of the specifically Carmelite associations with Mary one should deal firstly with the duo of Elijah and Mary. In compact paragraphs Bostius shows that Elijah and Mary shared twelve prerogatives through the Spirit which nourished them both: brilliant light, the splendour of virginity, institutors of religious life, exemplarity at various levels, conversation with God, association with angelic spirits, supreme love and zeal for God, prophetic charism, obedience, clemency and mercy, miracles, translation to heaven.[109]

But Bostius subtly changes the orientation of the Elijah-Marian tradition. Like some of his predecessors he held that Elijah stood at the origin of religious life. His emphasis is on Elijah the contemplative. But in the case of Carmel, Elijah is father, institutor, patriarch, legislator, teacher, principal patron, founder.[110] However, Bostius assigns to Mary the priority and primacy with regard to Carmel. Elijah's choice of virginity was inspired precisely by the future Virgin Mother whom he had glimpsed in the little cloud which came towards Carmel, whom he wished to honour, and whom he taught his followers to honour also.[111]

Bostius therefore concludes that Mary through her exemplarity is a "legislator" with respect to Elijah and the prophet's institute. Hence Mary is the legislator of Elijah, and is rightly said to be legislator and founder of the whole group of Carmel.[112]

Through her exemplar causality she is mistress (*domina*) and institutor.[113] In Bostius, who in this was followed by Lezana (d. 1659), and others,[114] we find Elijah and Mary as a founding couple of the Order.[115]

3.5 Marian Synthesis - Bostius

In his Elijah-Marian synthesis Bostius pondered the relationship between the two foundational figures of the Order and arrived at a priority of Mary with regard to Carmelites; it was her example and future destiny that inspired the prophet to found the Order, so that she could be called its true founder. It remains to be seen what are the other bonds which Bostius saw between Mary and the Order. He uses some significant titles, some of which are traditional, others of which he develops: Patron, Teacher, Guide, Friend, Sister, Mother, a Carmelite.[116]

Bostius continually calls Mary Patron of Carmel: "She specially is, and is truly called Patron of Carmel and of Carmelites"; "the renowned Mother of God Mary the most admirable Patron of Carmel".[117] Mary is also Mistress and Teacher of Carmel: the Carmelites of that holy time were recognised as drawing from a living fountain, from the most perfect teacher of religious life, from the shining mirror of all modesty, virtue and nobility.[118]

He summarizes her teaching: By one word, like a thorough teacher she embraced all the commands of the Lord when she said to the servants, "Do whatever he tells you" (see Jn 2:5).[http://www.ocarm.org/books/sites/default/files/csdeng06.htm - _edn119](http://www.ocarm.org/books/sites/default/files/csdeng06.htm_-_edn119)[119]

Her teaching is not abstract, for she is the Guide of Carmel. She is joined with Elijah in having a care for the Order; she is Carmel's Protector.[120] Elijah is seen as having neither died nor entered heaven; Mary takes his place. Bostius recounts a

vision in which she says: As long as the world lasts, it shall always have a protector. I am the chariot and the charioteer of Carmel, in place of its father. I rule those orphaned of a father; I am mother instead. I store the affairs of Carmel in my heart; I, the mother, copiously nourish those born of Carmel.[121]

Bostius also states frequently that Mary is also the Friend of Carmel, thus, Blessed are the sons of Carmel who saw the most blessed Mother of God in the flesh, the ideal fountain of all joy; but also specially adorned are all those who merit that friendship of hers which is joined to Christ's.[122]

Bostius goes far beyond the feudal relationships inherent in the notion of patron by emphasizing the notion of Carmel as a family: "the sons of Carmel are especially inmates of Mary's family".[123] In that family Mary is both Mother and Sister, so that she has Carmelites as both sons and brothers. *Indeed Mary, the most worthy Queen of heaven takes singular delight in the people, in the Carmelite gathering, in her own servants by title and patronage. How could she not always hear her sons and brother Carmelites who are singularly committed to her defense and are her champions, who are chosen and specially loved to propagate her flowering vine?*[124]

The title of Mother needs no illustration from Bostius; it is everywhere; in the opinion of some, it is for Bostius the key attribute of Mary with regard to Carmel.[125] He states for instance: *The Queen of heaven, the most exalted Virgin Mary is the universal Mother of all Christians, a common haven and refuge for all men and women, but she is specially Mother and Patron of the Carmelite Brothers.*[126]

But Bostius develops more clearly than others the idea of Carmelites being sons of both Elijah and Mary, who are joined in a mystical marriage. We have already seen the basis of this idea: it was the vow of virginity that Elijah made when the future Virgin was intimated to him in the little cloud. *Carmelites are therefore sons and brothers of their father Elijah and of their mother Mary, their most worthy co-parents.*[127]

This tradition was summarized two centuries later by Daniel of the Virgin Mary in his dedication of the early Carmelite writings, the *Speculum. Elijah was Marian; Elijah burned with love of Mary; Elijah made a vow according to the example of Mary which he foresaw. Elijah is the father of Carmelites, but firstly Mary is their Mother.*[128]

Finally, for Bostius Mary can truly be said to be a Carmelite: "She showed herself to be spiritually, bodily and literally a Carmelite".[129]

In Bostius we have a synthesis and an elaboration of the previous reflection on Mary. Later writers will not add very much to his central positions. Before leaving this medieval period of maximum development there are two further themes which though present in earlier writers will be unfolded in later writers, viz. the theme of the Most Pure Virgin and the Scapular.

3.6 Most Pure Virgin

The purity of Mary emerges in various contexts in the earlier documents. It is implicit at least in the strong attachment of most of the Order's theologians to the Immaculate Conception. It also lies behind the gradual insertion of "Virgin" into the Order's title. It is already emerging in Jean de Cheminot (d. ca. 1350). We have seen above that in his *Speculum* he ascribes virginity as a common bond between Elijah and Mary. He exhorts the Carmelites to rejoice that they have the name of Mary in their title, "the flower of beauty and the title of virginity".[130]

In the *Institutes of the First Monks* we have seen the alignment of the virginity of Elijah and that of Mary. But this virginity is only one aspect of Mary's complete sinlessness and utter holiness, even though she had emerged from sinful humanity:

As an infant she was in origin clean from all stain of sin, just as that little cloud arose from the bitter sea, without however any bitterness. Even though that little cloud was originally of the same nature as the sea, it had other qualities and other properties. The sea is heavy and bitter, but that cloud was light and sweet. Thus although in all other people human nature is like the sea in its origin, because pressed down by the bitterness of sin and the weight of vice, they are forced to cry out "For my iniquities have gone over my head; they weigh like a burden too heavy for me" (Ps 38:4). The Blessed Virgin Mary arose otherwise from this sea, that is human nature; for in her origin she was not burdened with the bitterness of faults, but like the little cloud she was light through immunity from sin, and sweet by the plenitude of charisms.[131]

The teaching is clear in Bostius: "she shone a great purity, such that after God no greater could be imagined".[132] Or again, Furthermore, Carmelites, the sons of Elijah and Mary are warned and taught fervently to imitate Elijah totally brilliant within and without and Mary, whom under God nothing so pure, nothing so brilliant, can be understood.[133]

But it will be the following century before a fully developed ideal of purity and purity of heart will develop.[134]

3.7 Scapular

As we mentioned in the Introduction, the question of the Scapular poses particular difficulties for our time, even though for many of the faithful devotion to Our Lady of Mount Carmel is synonymous with the Scapular. The evidence in the whole problematic area needs to be handled with care.

There is no reference to the Scapular in the Rule or in *The Fiery Arrow* of Nicholas the Frenchman. The first reference to it is in the London Constitutions of 1281. There we find the instruction: "The Brothers are to sleep in their tunic and Scapular under pain of severe penalty".[135] The reason for this stern injunction is that at the time removal of the habit was seen as fleeing from the Order. Thus the *Institutions of the First Monks* states: *This garment, the cowl/capuche and the scapular are worn together by the monk, and show that the monk must always humbly bear on himself the yoke of obedience, and be completely obedient to his superior.*[136] And commands that "they be most diligently worn day and night without fail".[137] The Montpelier Constitutions ordained that the new white cloak was to be open in front so that the Scapular, the habit of the Order could be seen, a regulation repeated in later legislation.[138] Thus for about 150 years the Scapular had a Christological sense of obedience rather than a Marian one.

In addition there is a problem about Saint Simon Stock: his name first appears in a list of priors general only with Jean Grossi (ca. 1411) and in a Florentine necrology which may be as early as 1374.[139] In later lists of saints, or *Sanctorale*, he is given as fifth or sixth prior general. These lists of saints may be late fourteenth century, but like the necrologies have much earlier sources. Saint Simon Stock's feast was celebrated from 1435 in Bordeaux where he died and in England; it was extended to the whole Order in 1564.

The earliest account of a Scapular vision is from the Brussels *Sanctorale* which can be dated about the end of the fourteenth century, and thus a century and a half after Simon Stock; the *Sanctorale* may indeed depend on earlier documents, but they have not been found. This, the most primitive and earliest account of the vision, reads: *Saint Simon, was an Englishman, a man of great holiness and devotion, who always in his prayers asked the Virgin to favour his Order with some singular privilege. The Virgin appeared to him holding the Scapular in her hand saying, "This is for you and yours a privilege; the one who dies in it will be saved".*[140]

It is not possible by critical methods to establish the historicity of the vision; the absence of any reference in the extensive, and polemical, writing during the previous century is perhaps the only argument against authenticity, but it is a weighty one. On the other hand there is no evidence that disproves the vision, though such an argument from silence must be treated with some caution.

From a scholarly point of view it should fall on those who wish to assert the genuinity of the vision to furnish proofs. From a pastoral perspective it is perhaps best not to dwell on the details of the vision, but on the meaning of the Scapular as an expression of Mary's care and of consecration to her in line with Pius XII whose teaching we shall examine in a later chapter. The Marian title which best underpins the Scapular is Patron which we will consider along with others in the next chapter.

3.8 Lectio Divina

The writings of our medieval authors are of an age and a culture different from ours. We find expressions about Mary that would not be used today, e.g. "divine" (but which we can readily use in a secular context "The music of Mozart is divine"). But it is worth the effort to try to feel with our medieval forebears. This is best done through *lectio divina* of their texts. In this we ask ourselves

1. What does the text mean?
2. What does the text mean to me, and to the world in which I live and which I serve,
3. How do I prayerfully respond to the truth which is being presented in the text.

The following extract, taken at random from A. Bostius (1479) is a rich expression of our heritage. It is worthwhile to take the time to pray with it and thus to encounter our tradition in a living way. The text is from a long chapter which indicates how the Carmelites should honour Mary.

It remains to be seen how the Brothers are to show love, full honour and fraternal reverence to such a Sister, a most excellent Mother and Patron who is of such sublime power, gentle piety, bounteous liberality and wholesome fruitfulness. For from all peoples she chose the Carmelites to be a race that would be special to herself, and particularly took them under the shadow of her wings; as the Loved One adopted by the Brothers, she indeed prays at every moment for them, her people, whom she as it were holds to her breasts and instructs with divine milk.

I omit the special cult and devotions which day and night they do not cease to offer to the most divine, all powerful Mother which they so dearly love, most reverently venerate, most devoutly praise, magnify to the highest degree, and admiringly extol. In their hearts and mouths, they rightly proclaim a more special place for her. At least those things must be kept fixed in mind which bind the Carmelite family to the benefits of the divine Mary; they must with others display her most efficacious patronage in the midst of her people. They are to recognise as of right that they must eternally give thanks, for they do not have of themselves the ability to refer benefits to those who bestow them. And since, on the evidence of Pope Gregory, each one carries some title of his or her work, so that it can be easily seen under whose direction it is done, in addition all Churches of a Carmelite community are built in honour of the most glorious Mary and are called by her reverent name. Hence joyfully the whole of Carmel proclaims: I have chosen the abode of the Mother of Christ for a house, there may the holy Virgin come to the aid of her servants.[141]

FOOTNOTES

- [65] V. Hoppenbrouwers, "Come l'Ordine Carmelitano ha veduto e come vede la Madonna", *Carmelus* 15(1968) 209-221.
- [66] See Smet, *Carmelites* 1:10-28, esp. 10-12.
- [67] *Ibid.* 1:11.
- [68] MCH 47.
- [69] ACG 1:7.
- [70] *Laus religionis carmelitanae* 4:2 - MCH 243.
- [71] *Laus* 6:4 - MCH 253.
- [72] See E. Boaga, "Elijah alle origini e nelle prime generazioni dell'Ordine Carmelitano" in P. Chandler, ed. *A Journey with Elijah*. Carisma e spiritualità 2. (Rome: Ed. Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991) 85-103; E. Boaga, *Nello spirito e nella virtù di Elia*. Antologia di documenti e sussidi. (Rome: Carmelite Order Commission for Charism and Spirituality, 1990).
- [73] MCH 99.
- [74] The text might be translated to indicate that the hermits were her sons: "*Decebat igitur ut mater virtutum locum tantae sanctitatis et devotionis filios per suam personalem praesentiam decoraret*". - MCH 128; see Geagea, *Maria* 202-208.
- [75] *Ibid.* 128, 131.
- [76] MCH 184-253; see Valabek, *Mary* 1:25-42.
- [77] *Speculum* 1 - MCH 187.
- [78] *Laus* 1:1 - MCH 218.
- [79] *Laus* 1:2-3 - MCH 219-220.
- [80] *Laus* 1:4, 6 and 14 - MCH 221, 222, 231.
- [81] *Compendium* 2 - MCH 202; *Speculum* 3 - MCH 190; *Laus* 1:6 - MCH 222-223.
- [82] MCH 218-233.
- [83] *Laus* 1:9 - MCH 226.
- [84] *Laus* 1:11 - MCH 228.
- [85] *Speculum* 2-3 - MCH 189-190.
- [86] Smet, *Carmelites* 1:63-64; Geagea, *Maria* 129-137, 250-268; Valabek, *Mary* 1:43-59; see P. Chandler, "Ribot, Philippe", *D Spir* 13:537-539.
- [87] Geagea, *Maria* 136-137.
- [88] *Institutes* 6:5 - *SpecC* 2:60-61, nn. 238-240; 6:7-8 - *SpecC* 2:62-63, nn. 246-251.
- [89] *Institutes* 6:1 - *SpecC* 2:54-55, n. 215.
- [90] *Institutes* 6:3 - *SpecC* 2:57-58, nn. 225-229.
- [91] *Institutes* 6:5; 6:7 - *SpecC* 2:60, n. 238; cf. n. 240; 2:62, n. 246.
- [92] *Institutes* 6:4 - *SpecC* 2:59, n. 234.
- [93] *Institutes* 6:5 - *SpecC* 2:60, n. 238.
- [94] *Institutes* 6:3 - *SpecC* 2:58, n. 226-228.
- [95] E.R. Carroll, "The Marian Theology of Arnold Bostius, O.Carm. (1445-1499)", *Carmelus* 9(1962) 197-236; id. "Arnold Bostius, Fifteenth Century Flemish Exponent of Carmelite Devotion to Mary", *The Sword* 37(1977) 7-20; Geagea, *Maria* 372-438; Valabek, *Mary* 1:61-78 = *Roseti del Carmelo* (Florence) 1982/2, pp. 25-42.
- [96] Daniel a Virgine Maria, ed., *Vinea Carmeli seu historia eliani Ordinis B.V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo* (Antwerp, 1662).
- [97] Geagea, *Maria* 370-372.
- [98] *SpecC* 2:375-431, nn. 1524-1703. A Spanish translation exists by A.M. López Sendín, *Patronato y patrocinio de la Santísima Virgen María sobre la Orden del Carmen que le está consagrada* (Madrid: Centro de Espiritualidad Carmelitana, 1981). We await both a critical edition and an English translation from Paul Chandler.
- [99] See Carroll "Marian Theology" (n. 29); Geagea, *Maria* 379-397.
- [100] "Marian Theology" (n. 29) 203.

- [101] Maria 381-384.
- [102] See Geagea, Maria 376-379; S. De Fiores, "Bellezza", NDizMar 222-231; ch. 6 below,
- [103] *Laus religionis carmelitanae* 1:4 - MCH 219-220.
- [104] *De patronatu* 8 - SpecC 2:405, n. 1614.
- [105] Ibid. 1:2 - SpecC 2:378, n. 1534.
- [106] Ibid. 9 - SpecC 2:407, n. 1619.
- [107] Ibid. 4:2 - SpecC 393, n. 1585.
- [108] Ibid. 4:1 - SpecC 2:390, n. 1574.
- [109] Ibid. 11:2 - SpecC 417-420, nn. 1654-1668.
- [110] Ibid. *pater* 4:2 - SpecC 2:391, n. 1578; *institutor* 12:2 - SpecC 2:423, n. 1677; *patriarcha... legislator ... praeceptor ... patronus... fundator* 12:2 - SpecC 2:423, n. 1678.
- [111] Ibid. 1:1; 2:2 - SpecC 2:377, n. 1529; 383, n. 1549.
- [112] *Ea propter Legis-latrix Eliae, Maria: & totius Carmeli coetus legislatrix, fundatrixque primaria rite dicitur.* Ibid. 2:2 - SpecC 2:383, n. 1549.
- [113] *Domina et institutrix nostra Maria.* Ibid. 12:2 - SpecC 2:423, n. 1678; cf. "you founded our order" (*ordinem nostrum instituisti*). Ibid. 1:1 - SpecC 2:377, n. 1531.
- [114] *Maria patrona* 3 - SpecC 2:437, n. 1730.
- [115] M. Cera, "Il rapporto Elia-Maria nel Carmelo", *Maria icona* 83-92.
- [116] Geagea, Maria 405-417.
- [117] *Mater igitur et Patrona Carmeli et Carmelitarum. De patronatu* 4:2 - SpecC 2:392, n. 1548; *Inclyta Dei Genetrix Maria patrona Carmeli praeclarissima.* Ibid. 5:1 - SpecC 394, n. 1590.
- [118] Ibid. 1:1 - SpecC 377, n. 1530.
- [119] Ibid. 11:2 - SpecC 2:419, n. 1662.
- [120] *Tutrix.* Ibid. 4:1 - SpecC 393, n. 1588.
- [121] Ibid. 5:1 - SpecC 395, n. 1593.
- [122] Ibid. 1:1 - SpecC 378, n. 1533.
- [123] Ibid. 6:3 - SpecC 2:400, n. 1606.
- [124] 4:2 - SpecC 2:391, n. 1578.
- [125] Geagea, Maria 413-414.
- [126] *De patronatu* 4:2 - SpecC 2:391, n. 1578.
- [127] Ibid. 7:1 - SpecC 2:401, n. 1609.
- [128] SpecC. Dedication to Cardinal Paluzio, protector of the Order.
- [129] *De Patronatu* 4:2 - SpecC 392, n. 1584.
- [130] Ch. 4 - MCH 127.
- [131] 6:1 - SpecC 2:55, n. 215.
- [132] *De Patronatu* 13:2 - SpecC 2:428, n. 1697.
- [133] Ibid. 11:3 - SpecC 2:420, n. 1669.
- [134] V. Hoppenbrouwers, "Virgo purissima et vita spiritualis Carmeli", *Carmelus* 1(1954) 255-277; S. Possanzini, "La 'Virgo Purissima'" in *Maria icona* 73-82; E.R. Carroll, "La 'Virgo puissima' y el Carmelo" in *Congreso* 1989: 51-61.
- [135] Rub. 13 - AOC 15(1950) 218.
- [136] 7:4 - SpecC 2:67, n. 265.
- [137] Ibid. n. 264.
- [138] ACG 1:11; MCH 67.
- [139] MCH 314, 323, 324.
- [140] B.M. Xiberta, *De visione Sancti Simonis Stock.* Bibliotheca Sacri Scapularis. (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1950) 311.
- [141] *De patronatu* 13:1 - SpecC 2:416, n. 1691.