IT ISSN 0008-6673

CARMELUS

COMMENTARII AB INSTITUTO CARMELITANO EDITI

VOLUME SEPTUAGESIMUM

2023

EDIZIONI CARMELITANE

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Edizioni Carmelitane
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Finito di stampare nel mese di 2023
dalla Tipolitografia 2000 sas di De Magistris R. & C.
Via Trento, 46 – 00046 Grottaferrata (Roma)

SUMMARIUM

GIOVANNI GROSSO O.CARM., La partecipazione dei Fratelli Laici ai capitoli e il caso della riforma di Monte Santo 11

La condizione dei fratelli laici nel Carmelo è stata considerata per lungo tempo inferiore rispetto a quella dei confratelli presbiteri. I frati laici furono esclusi, sin dal 1291, dalla partecipazione ai capitoli provinciali e generali, fino al 1965, quando vennero riammessi. L'articolo ripercorre queste vicende e le illustra con l'esempio di quanto accaduto nella Provincia riformata di Monte Santo, nel XVII secolo. Ci si chiede, infine, come mai negli ultimi anni il numero dei fratelli laici nell'Ordine sia drasticamente diminuito.

Carmelite lay friars were for a long time considered inferior to the priests. The lay friars were excluded, since 1291, from participation in the provincial and general chapters, until 1965, when they were readmitted. The article traces these events and illustrates them with the example of what happened in the reformed Province of Monte Santo, in the seventeenth century. Finally, it remains the question: why in recent years has the number of lay brothers in the Order drastically decreased.

PATRICK MULLINS O.CARM., The Fraternal Companionship of St Titus Brandsma O.Carm. 33

In the light of the Synod of Bishops on the theme, For a Synodal Church: Communion, Participation and Mission, that is currently taking place, this paper explores the way in which St. Titus Brandsma, O.Carm., can be seen as a model 'travelling companion', as it were, for the many different people he encountered throughout his life. It sketches the fraternal companionship and solidarity, as well as the charismatic leadership, that characterised the way that St Titus engaged with those he encountered throughout the journey of his life, as a child on the family farm, at boarding school, during his studies in Holland and in Rome, and throughout his many and various apostolates, in schools, as a newspaper editor, as a Professor of Philosophy, and even during his imprisonment, and his time in the concentration camp at Dachau.

Alla luce del Sinodo dei Vescovi sul tema "Per una Chiesa sinodale: Comunione, Partecipazione e Missione", che si sta svolgendo in questi giorni, questo articolo esplora il modo in cui San Tito Brandsma, O.Carm., può essere visto come un modello di 'compagno di viaggio', per così dire, per le molte persone diverse che ha incontrato nel corso della sua vita. Descrive la compagnia fraterna e la solidarietà, nonché la leadership carismatica, che hanno caratterizzato il modo in cui San Tito si è impegnato con le persone che ha incontrato durante il viaggio della sua vita, da bambino nella fattoria di famiglia, in collegio, durante gli studi in Olanda e a Roma, e durante i suoi numerosi e vari apostolati, nelle scuole, come direttore di giornale, come professore di filosofia, e persino durante la sua prigionia e il periodo trascorso nel campo di concentramento di Dachau.

EDISON RL TINAMBUNAN O.CARM., A century of the Indonesian Carmelite Order: process, departure, arrival, and beginning of the mission 73

In 2023, the Carmelite Order celebrates the centenary anniversary of its presence in Indonesia. This article aims to commemorate the presence of the Carmelite Order from the Netherlands province in the mission land of Malang. Therefore, the focus of this research is to explain the process of accepting the mission which requires procedural preparations, departure and arrival at the mission land, taking over the mission from the Jesuit congregation, and ending it with collaboration. This paper is a historical article. For the contribution of writing arguments, the research was conducted in the archives of the Jesuit provincial office in Nijmegen, the origin of the mission of this congregation in Malang, the archives of the provincial office of the Carmelite Order in Boxmeer as well as the archives of the mission of the Carmelite Order in Malang, the archives of the Generalate of the Carmelite Order in Rome and the archives of the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia. These data will be synthesized in this paper which is supported by several sources related to the Malang mission.

En 2023, la Orden Carmelita celebra el centenario de su presencia en Indonesia. Este artículo pretende conmemorar la presencia de la Orden Carmelita de la provincia de los Países Bajos en la tierra de misión de Malang. Por lo tanto, el enfoque de esta investigación es explicar el proceso de aceptación de la misión que requiere preparativos de procedimiento, partida y llegada a la tierra de misión, toma de posesión de la misión de la congregación jesuita y finalización de la misma con la colaboración. Este trabajo es un artículo histórico. Para contribuir a la redacción de los argumentos, se ha investigado en los archivos de la oficina provincial de los jesuitas en Nimega, origen de la misión de esta congregación en Malang, en los archivos de la oficina provincial de la Orden Carmelita en Boxmeer así como en los archivos de la misión de la Orden Carmelita en Malang, en los archivos del Generalato de la Orden Carmelita en Roma y en los archivos del Vicariato Apostólico de Batavia. Estos datos se sintetizarán en este documento que se apoya en varias fuentes relacionadas con la misión de Malang.

RICHARD COPSEY O.CARM., Two Carmelite Astronomers at Oxford: John of Avon and Nicholas of Lynn 97

During the fourteenth century, studies in astronomy and mathematics flourished in Oxford University. There was a great interest in calculating the phases of the sun and the moon especially as these were needed in order to predict the dates when Easter and other church feast days would fall. Among the scholars working in this field were two Carmelites, John of Avon and Nicholas of Lynn. Little is known about John of Avon who flourished c1340 but he is remembered for producing a perpetual calendar in 1348 which has sadly not survived. His successor Nicholas of Lynn is better known and his fame was such that he was asked in 1386 to produce a calendar for John of Gaunt. This calendar survives in a number of copies and was edited by Sigmund Eisner in 1980. However, more information

on Nicholas has come to light in recent years, including many newly discovered manuscripts. This article brings together new details on Nicholas' life, an up-to-date list of known manuscripts of his calendar and a bibliography of recently published articles.

Durante il XIV secolo, gli studi di astronomia e matematica fiorirono nell'Università di Oxford. C'era un grande interesse nel calcolare le fasi del sole e della luna, soprattutto perché erano necessarie per prevedere le date in cui sarebbero cadute la Pasqua e altre festività della Chiesa. Tra gli studiosi che lavoravano in questo campo c'erano due carmelitani, Giovanni di Avon e Nicola di Lynn. Si sa poco di Giovanni di Avon, che fiorì intorno al 1340, ma è ricordato per aver prodotto un calendario perpetuo nel 1348, che purtroppo non è sopravvissuto. Il suo successore Nicola di Lynn è più conosciuto e la sua fama era tale che nel 1386 gli fu chiesto di produrre un calendario per Giovanni di Gaunt. Questo calendario sopravvive in alcune copie ed è stato curato da Sigmund Eisner nel 1980. Tuttavia, negli ultimi anni sono emerse ulteriori informazioni su Nicholas, tra cui molti manoscritti scoperti di recente. Questo articolo raccoglie nuovi dettagli sulla vita di Nicola, un elenco aggiornato dei manoscritti noti del suo calendario e una bibliografia di articoli pubblicati di recente.

JENS RÖHRKASTEN, Economic Foundations of the English Carmelite Province in the Middle Ages 119

At the time of the first Carmelites' arrival in Europe their order was already subject to change. The example of the English province shows that while some convents were founded in remote locations, in line with the friars' eremitical tradition, the preferred sites were in urban centres and the order was entrusted with tasks in the ministry. The result of this dual existence was the emergence of a dual economy. Rural priories remote from material support by a large number of laypeople could rely on their own sources of income. This was different in the case of convents which had to be created and supported in an urban environment. Here plots of land had to be purchased and larger churches needed to be built. This was only possible on the basis of larger external material support. Once the long phase of creation was completed, bequests by members of the laity became an important source of income.

Al momento dell'arrivo dei primi Carmelitani in Europa, il loro ordine era già soggetto a cambiamenti. L'esempio della provincia inglese mostra che mentre alcuni conventi furono fondati in luoghi remoti, in linea con la tradizione eremitica dei frati, i luoghi preferiti erano i centri urbani e all'ordine furono affidati compiti nel ministero. Il risultato di questa doppia esistenza fu l'emergere di una doppia economia. I priorati rurali, lontani dal sostegno materiale di un gran numero di laici, potevano contare sulle proprie fonti di reddito. La situazione era diversa nel caso dei conventi che dovevano essere creati e sostenuti in un ambiente urbano. Qui si dovevano acquistare appezzamenti di terreno e costruire chiese più grandi. Questo era possibile solo sulla base di un grande sostegno materiale esterno. Una volta completata la lunga fase di creazione, i lasciti dei laici divennero un'importante fonte di reddito.

PATRICK MULLINS O.CARM., The Foundation of the Moura Carmel. 145

CRISTINA CUMBO, L'ex convento Carmelitano della Traspontina: dalla demolizione degli anni Trenta all'edificazione del palazzo S.G.I.R. Spa 171

Il convento Carmelitano della Traspontina venne demolito nel 1938 durante i lavori di abbattimento della Spina di Borgo. Il lotto "H", così definito nella cartografia dell'epoca, venne destinato a un palazzo – quello attuale della S.G.I.R. Spa – il cui prospetto venne progettato da Marcello Piacentini, che ricalcò l'idea dei due chiostri precedenti.

Complessa fu la vicenda relativa alla ricostruzione di un alloggio per i Carmelitani, conclusasi soltanto negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso, con il trasferimento dei frati in un edificio collocato alle spalle della chiesa dedicata alla Vergine.

Eppure, il convento di Traspontina, almeno in un primo momento, non era destinato ad essere distrutto. Dalla documentazione d'archivio, emergono lavori di restauro e di abbellimento; non vi abitano solo i Carmelitani, ma ci sono anche vani occupati da negozi e piani riservati alla caserma dei Vigili Urbani. Si trattava di una struttura storica, in cui erano intervenuti almeno tre famosi architetti: Sallustio Peruzzi, Ottavio Mascherino e Carlo Maderno. Di tutto ciò, rimane la memoria storica, qualche foto in bianco e nero, alcuni acquerelli e sicuramente due fontane, una proveniente dall'interno del convento e posta al Gianicolo, e l'altra, collocata all'esterno, depositata all'interno del Bastione Ardeatino. Il presente studio, che si basa sull'analisi di planimetrie, carteggi, documenti manoscritti, fotografici e grafici, ricostruisce l'ultima parte di "vita" di questa dimora Carmelitana a Roma.

The Carmelite convent of the Traspontina has been demolished in 1938 during the worksite of the Spina di Borgo. Lot "H", as defined in the cartography of the time, was destined for a building - the current one of the S.G.I.R. Spa – whose prospectus was designed by Marcello Piacentini, who followed the idea of the two previous cloisters.

The story relating to the reconstruction of an accommodation for the Carmelites was complex, which ended only in the Fifties of the last century, when the friars went to live in a building located behind the church dedicated to the Virgin.

Yet, the convent of Traspontina, at least initially, was not destined to be destroyed. From the archival documentation, we know that there were restoration and embellishment works in the last times; not only the Carmelites live there, but there are also rooms occupied by shops and floors reserved for the Station of the Urban Police. It was a historic structure, in which worked three famous architects: Sallustio Peruzzi, Ottavio Mascherino and Carlo Maderno. The historical memory remains, a few black and white photos, some watercolors and certainly two fountains, one coming from inside the convent and placed on the Gianicolo, and the other, located outside, deposited inside the Ardeatino Bastion. This study, based on the analysis of plans, correspondence, handwritten, photographic and graphic documents, reconstructs the last part of the "life" of this Carmelite residence in Rome.

CLARE MCGRATH-MERKLE OCDS, How the Eucharist makes the Church: Teresa of Avila in Conversation with John Paul II and John Zizioulas 207

The question explored in this article is how the Eucharist makes the Church as considered in the spiritual theologies of three great theologians—in the communion spirituality of Pope Saint John Paul II, the ecclesial mysticism of Metropolitan John Zizioulas, and in the Eucharistic spiritual theology of St. Teresa of Avila, Doctor of the Universal Church. John Paul's is a contemplative vision, calling us to lead "completely Eucharistic" lives, to see others in the light of the Trinity as "part of me," and with Christ, to transform history until its fulfillment in the eschaton. John Zizioulas's is a vision of Eucharist as our union and communion with the life of God in Trinity at Divine Liturgy, where the Spirit brings charismata from the future, continually transforming us in Christ, and leading us to take responsibility for others and for creation. Teresa of Avila's vision is of the restoration of unity through the witness of Eucharistic contemplative communion with the suffering Christ and with each other. Her Spirit-filled witness and vision prophetically anticipated and can continue to inform the conversation surrounding the importance of sacramental union to ecclesial union. All three theologians of the Eucharist show us how to live in communio by calling us, first and foremost, to see ourselves as the Body of Christ. This article asks how we can interpret the concern for the healing of the individual, his reconciliation with the community, and the community's coresponsibility for the ongoing conversion of its members which find paradoxical expression in the punishment codes of medieval and early modern religious life. It asks if and how, in the radically different cultures of modernity, and in view of the Church's sexual abuse crisis, the tradition of fraternal correction and mutual responsibility might find useful contemporary expression.

La cuestión que se explora en este artículo es cómo la Eucaristía hace a la Iglesia tal y como se considera en las teologías espirituales de tres grandes teólogos: en la espiritualidad de comunión del Papa San Juan Pablo II, en la mística eclesial del metropolita John Zizioulas y en la teología espiritual eucarística de Santa Teresa de Ávila, Doctora de la Iglesia Universal. La de Juan Pablo II es una visión contemplativa, que nos llama a llevar una vida "completamente eucarística", a ver a los demás a la luz de la Trinidad como "parte de mí" y, con Cristo, a transformar la historia hasta su cumplimiento en el eschaton. La de John Zizioulas es una visión de la Eucaristía como nuestra unión y comunión con la vida de Dios en Trinidad en la Divina Liturgia, donde el Espíritu trae carismata del futuro, transformándonos continuamente en Cristo y llevándonos a responsabilizarnos de los demás y de la creación. La visión de Teresa de Ávila es la de la restauración de la unidad a través del testimonio de la comunión contemplativa eucarística con Cristo sufriente y entre nosotros. Su testimonio y visión llenos del Espíritu anticiparon proféticamente y pueden seguir informando la conversación en torno a la importancia de la unión sacramental para la unión eclesial. Los tres teólogos de la Eucaristía nos muestran cómo vivir en communio llamándonos, ante todo, a vernos como el Cuerpo de Cristo.

VINICIUS ALEXANDRE BEIGER DA LUZ O.CARM., Edith Stein: Aspectos sobre a questão da formação humana 235

O presente artigo trata do tema da formação da pessoa humana na interpretação da filósofa Edith Stein. Para tanto, destacam-se principalmente três pilares estruturais: o contexto histórico-filosófico vivido pela autora; a questão do Ser em seu pensamento e os aspectos da formação integral, na relação entre pessoa e comunidade. O trabalho destaca a linha da antropologia filosófica desenvolvida por Stein, perpassando também aspectos da atualidade que se apresentam na realidade da educação e da autoformação como destaques que formam o conjunto da obra, com vista a mostrar aspectos da questão da formação humana desde o pensamento da filósofa.

This article deals with the theme of the formation of the human person in the interpretation of the philosopher Edith Stein. For this, three structural pillars stand out: the historical-philosophical context experienced by the author; the question of being in his thought and aspects of integral formation, in the relationship between person and community. The work highlights the line of philosophical anthropology developed by Stein, also passing through aspects of the present day that are presented in the reality the education and auto-formation as highlights that stand out to form the whole of the work, with a view to showing aspects of the issue of human formation from the thought of the philosopher.

EDITORIALE

The universal Church addresses the synodality of the Church in two synods of bishops (2023 and 2024). Two articles provide a contribution to this discussion from the Carmelite tradition. One is about the participation of lay brothers in chapters as part of a reform and the other is about fraternal companienship of Titus Brandsma.

On the occasion of the centenary of the Indonesian Province, an article focuses on the beginnings of the mission.

Two articles focus on the history of the English province and present two Carmelite Astronomers at Oxford on the one hand and discuss the economic foundations of the province in the Middle Ages on the other.

A further historical contribution provides new insights and corrections to previous assumptions about the Foundation of the Moura Carmel.

An article reconstructs the last part of the "life" of th Carmelite Convent of Transpontina in Rome.

In the context of systematic theology an author establishes a conversation between Teresa of Avila, John Paul II. and John Zizioulas about how the Eucharist makes the Church.

This issue concludes with an article on the aspects of human formation in Edith Stein.

The history of the Order with its various questions and individual aspects forms the focus of this issue and emphasizes the importance of knowing one's own roots for the question of the further development of the Order in the 21st century.

We wish you a fruitful and enriching reading.

The editorial staff

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 11-32

LA PARTECIPAZIONE DEI FRATELLI LAICI AI CAPITOLI E IL CASO DELLA RIFORMA DI MONTE SANTO

GIOVANNI GROSSO, O.CARM.

La storia dell'Ordine carmelitano è ricca di aspetti diversi;[1] tra di essi c'è la questione della considerazione dei fratelli laici nel Carmelo, un argomento non del tutto nuovo visto che se ne erano già occupati in un paio di articoli importanti storici del passato,[2] tuttavia, vale la pena di riprendere l'argomento soprattutto riguardo al problema della voce attiva e passiva nei capitoli provinciali e generali.

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[1] Abbreviazioni e sigle utilizzate: *ACG*: *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum B.V. Mariæ de Monte Carmelo*, vol I: *ab anno 1318 usque ad annum 1593*; vol II: *ab anno 1598 usque ad annum 1902* cum notis precipue a R. P. BENEDICTO ZIMMERMANN, O.C.D., mutuatis auctoritate R.mi P. Pii M. Mayer Prioris Generalis edidit Fr. GABRIEL WESSELS Assistens Generalis Ord. Carm. Calc., Romæ, Apud Curiam Generalitiam, 1912-1934; AGOC: Roma, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine Carmelitano; *AnalOCarm.*: *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* (1909-); APGOC: Roma, Archivio della Postulazione Generale dell'Ordine Carmelitano; *Bull. Carm.*: *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, 4 voll., edd. Eliseo Monsignano ac JOSEPHO ALBERTO XIMÉNEZ, Romæ 1715-1768; *CCC*: EDISON R.L. TINAMBUNAN – EMANUELE BOAGA (cur.), con la collaborazione di SALVADOR VILLOTA HERRERO e ANTONIO RUIZ MOLINA, *Corpus Constitutionum Carmelitarum*, vol. I: 1281-1456, Roma 2011; *DIP*: *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, diretto da GUERRINO PELLICCIA e GIANCARLO ROCCA, 10 voll., Roma 1973-2007; *Diz.Carm. Dizionario Carmelitano*, diretto da EMANUELE BOAGA e LUIGI BORRIELLO, Roma 2008; *EnchVC*: *Enchiridion della Vita Consacrata. Dalle Decretali al rinnovamento postconciliare (385-2000)*, Bologna-Milano 2001; *I Carmelitani*: J. SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, 4 voll. in 5 t., Darien-Ill. 1975 [1988²]-1985: trad. ital. *I Carmelitani. Storia dell'Ordine Carmelitano*, 4 voll. in 5 t., Roma 1989-2020.

[2] La materia riguardante i fratelli laici nell'Ordine Carmelitano si può trovare già in JOACHIM SMET, *The Origin of Carmelite Laybrothers*, in *The Sword* 5 (1942), 121-147; EMANUELE BOAGA, *Il religioso fratello carmelitano*, in: *Il fratello religioso nella comunità ecclesiale oggi*, Atti del I convegno intercongregazionale, Roma 18-23 aprile 1982 su "La vocazione religiosa del Fratello negli istituti clericali", Roma 1983, 141-150.

UNA COMUNITÀ DI *FRATRES*

Quando, dopo la terza crociata (1192) dunque tra gli ultimi anni del XII e i primi del XIII secolo, sul fianco sudoccidentale del promontorio del Carmelo si stabilì il primo gruppo di pellegrini che intendevano vivere in santa penitenza da eremiti in Terra Santa, probabilmente non c'erano tra loro chierici.[3] Quasi certamente il gruppo era composto almeno prevalentemente da laici. D'altra parte, il primo documento che ce ne dà testimonianza, ossia la *Formula vitae* data tra il 1206 e il 1214 dal patriarca Alberto agli eremiti non fa distinzione di forme di vita. Il santo patriarca si rivolge agli eremiti come a "fratelli", con un termine generico applicabile a qualsiasi forma di vita cristiana.[4] Vediamone alcuni punti, tenendo già conto della revisione del testo in vista dell'approvazione concessa da Innocenzo IV, il 1° ottobre 1247, quando lo fece diventare una *Regula bullata*, riconosciuta cioè dalla Sede apostolica.

I *fratres* ai quali si rivolgevano Alberto e Innocenzo IV erano chiamati a scegliere insieme il priore «con il consenso di tutti» (Regola, 4); Innocenzo aggiunse che insieme potevano scegliere i luoghi in cui vivere adatti alla propria identità (Regola, 5); anche l'assegnazione delle celle andava fatta «col consenso degli altri fratelli o della parte più sana» (Regola, 6). L'unica distinzione che appare è tra chi sa leggere e chi non sa farlo, nel punto in cui si parla della preghiera (Regola, 11). Nella *Formula vitae* oggetto della preghiera era il Salterio recitato per intero durante la giornata; dopo la revisione fatta fare da Innocenzo IV:

> Coloro che sanno recitare le Ore canoniche con i chierici, le recitino secondo le prescrizioni dei santi Padri e la consuetudine approvata dalla Chiesa. Quelli che non le sanno recitare, dicano venticinque *Pater noster* per la preghiera della veglia notturna, eccetto le Domeniche e le Feste solenni, nei quali giorni stabiliamo che il suddetto numero venga raddoppiato, in maniera che si dicano cinquanta *Pater noster*. La medesima orazione venga detta sette volte per le Lodi del mattino. Anche per le altre Ore si dica sette volte la medesima orazione per ciascuna Ora, eccetto che per i Vespri, in cui deve essere detta quindici volte.[5]

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[3] In generale, sulla storia del Carmelo cf. *I Carmelitani*, I, 17-22; 46-47.

[4] Cf. MICHEL SAUVAGE, *Fratello*, in *DIP*, 4, 762-794; in particolare 767-769; si veda inoltre JAQUES DUBOIS, *Converso*, in *DIP*, 3, 110-120.

[5] Regola del Carmelo, n. 11, in *CCC*, I, 46.

La scelta del *Pater noster*, al di là del fatto che è la preghiera del Signore ed era già usata come preghiera propria dei monaci laici,[6] indica però per sua natura la fraternità stessa di chi la recita; è la preghiera dei figli di Dio, fratelli tra loro. In seguito, almeno dal 1369, sarebbero state aggiunte anche altrettante *Ave Maria*.[7]

Ancora, il numero sulla povertà (Regola, 12) indica la proprietà comune dei beni, mentre si prescrive la riunione comunitaria – il capitolo – da celebrarsi settimanalmente, la domenica "giorno del Signore" (Regola, 15):

> Nelle domeniche, oppure in altri giorni, riunitevi anche per trattare, se vi sarà bisogno, dell'osservanza dell'ordine e della salvezza delle anime ed in questa occasione si correggano con carità le mancanze e le colpe che eventualmente si fossero riscontrate in qualche fratello.[8]

Sembra però che, nel giro di poco tempo, il capitolo conventuale si ridusse a una forma di celebrazione penitenziale, il cosiddetto "capitolo delle colpe", in cui ogni membro della comunità si accusava delle colpe commesse (i chierici facevano anche un simile accusa per le mancanze commesse durante la liturgia corale). Sembra essersi persa, cioè la prima parte della prescrizione che riguardava la «custodia ordinis», ossia l'andamento della vita comunitaria, lo stato spirituale dei membri, l'ordinato svolgimento della vita comune. Il capitolo locale si limitò a discutere e decidere questioni pratiche, alle votazioni per le ammissioni dei novizi e degli ordinandi, ma non fu più né occasione di formazione spirituale permanente, come era stato tra i monaci, né un momento di confronto e discernimento comune sulle problematiche importanti che toccavano la vita di tutti. In questo senso si può ricordare quanto narrato nella *Chronica Guilelmi Sanvici* a proposito della decisione se fosse possibile o meno lasciare l'eremo del Carmelo per tornare in occidente.[9] Questa *Chronica* si trova soltanto nella collezione di Felip Ribot, *Libri decem de institutione primorum monachorum*, della quale appare come il libro IX.[10] Al di là delle questioni

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[6] Cf. Emanuele Boaga, *Preghiera*, V, *I Carmelitani (dalle origini al sec. XVI)*, in *DIP* 7, 651-655; † Jesus Castellano – Emanuele Boaga, *Preghiera*, in *Diz. Carm.,* 673-685.

[7] Costituzioni 1369, rubrica XV, in *CCC*, I, 369.

[8] Regola del Carmelo, n. 11, in *CCC*, I, 46.

[9] Cf. *Chronica Guilelmi de Sanvico*, in *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 3 (1914-16), 302-315; cap. III, 306-307.

[10] Philippus Ribot, *Libri decem de institutione et processu ordinis prophetici eliani, Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo, et de peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum*, in Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum, sive historia Eliani*

relative all'autenticità della *Chronica* e del suo autore, resta il fatto che il racconto di quel capitolo svoltosi nell'eremo del Carmelo per decidere sulla possibilità del ritorno in Europa, sulle modalità di discernimento basato sul confronto con la Parola di Dio e sul dialogo fraterno resta emblematico del modo in cui venisse immaginato il capitolo nei primi secoli di vita dell'Ordine.

Insomma, la *Formula vitae* è chiaramente diretta a una comunità di fratelli sostanzialmente uguali tra loro. I riconoscimenti pontifici dei decenni seguenti si rivolgono sempre agli stessi fratelli, indistintamente.[11] Le cose sarebbero mutate in seguito con la crescente clericalizzazione del gruppo.

La clericalizzazione e la legislazione relativa ai laici

Nel frattempo, infatti, il gruppo aveva iniziato a modificarsi: alcuni si erano sentiti chiamati al sacerdozio e si erano fatti ordinare presbiteri.[12] Qualcuno di loro, certamente, senza il dovuto permesso del priore del Carmelo, tanto che Gregorio IX, il quale ben conosceva il mondo dei nuovi movimenti mendicanti, concesse al detto priore la facoltà di assolvere dalla scomunica coloro che si fossero allontanati dall'eremo senza permesso per farsi ordinare.[13] Una tale concessione non sarebbe stata data se si fosse trattato di qualche caso isolato; il fenomeno dovette essere abbastanza consistente. Il processo di clericalizzazione, nato dunque all'interno stesso del gruppo e non provocato dall'esterno come per altri ordini, proseguì nei decenni seguenti, consolidandosi con il trasferimento nelle diverse località europee.

L'approvazione definitiva della Regola da parte di Innocenzo IV determinò l'indirizzo definitivo del Carmelo verso il movimento mendicante in forma di ordine clericale. L'approvazione della Regola in sé

Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo, I. 1, Antverpiae 1680, 1-71; Paul Chandler (ed.), *The Liber de Institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum in Lege Veteri exortorum et in Nova perseverancium ad Caprasium monachum by Felip Ribot, O.Carm.*, a Critical Edition with an Introduction, Submitted in partial fullfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Centre for Medieval Studies University of Toronto, Toronto 1991.

[11] Cf. Giovanni Grosso, *Formula vitae e Regola. Interventi pontifici, riconoscimenti, approvazione, mitigazioni*, in *The Carmelite Rule (1207-2007)*, Proceedings of the Lisieux Conference, 4-7 July 2005, Evaldo Xavier Gomes, Patrick McMahon, Simon Nolan, Vincenzo Mosca (eds.), Rome 2008, 411-432.

[12] Cf. Emanuele Boaga, *Clericalizzazione dell'Ordine*, in *Diz. Carm.*, 148-149.

[13] Gregorio IX, *Providi more*, 5 aprile 1229, in *Bull. Carm.*, I, 4.

non affermò questo orientamento, ma certo lo favorì; una forte influenza venne anche dall'intervento dei domenicani che rividero il testo della *Formula vitae* e che, assai probabilmente fornirono le proprie costituzioni come base di riferimento per il testo dei carmelitani: l'Ordine dei Frati Predicatori, nato clericale, offrì un modello significativo agli eremiti che stavano diventando mendicanti.[14]

Nel senso della clericalizzazione si può comprendere anche la prescrizione riguardo alla preghiera corale intesa anche come santificazione del tempo, che vale per tutti, ma resta come all'origine la distinzione tra chi sa leggere e chi non è capace, per questi ultimi rimane la norma della recita dei *Pater noster*. Inoltre, la recita corale dell'ufficio divino acquista un senso più chiaramente clericale; va compresa, infatti, in connessione con l'attività pastorale esercitata anche attraverso la recita pubblica in coro delle ore canoniche, che venivano dette inizialmente insieme ai canonici e in seguito nelle chiese proprie, non appena si ebbe il permesso di averne.[15] In questo contesto, si deve anche considerare la proibizione data da Gregorio IX agli Umiliati di predicare se non si era nello stato clericale;[16] la decretale fu accolta nel *Corpus Juris Canonici*, diventando in tal modo universale.

Soltanto a quel punto, con l'avvicinarsi dei carmelitani ai centri urbani, o entrando in essi, con l'accoglienza di candidati provenienti anche dalle università, aumentò il numero dei chierici, i quali raggiunsero presto la maggioranza nel gruppo; da quel momento si può iniziare a parlare di una distinzione tra frati chierici e frati laici. Dunque, tale distinzione dovette diventare più evidente non prima della seconda metà del secolo XIII. Tuttavia, non bisogna pensare a una diminuzione drastica del numero dei frati laici, che per lungo tempo restò consistente; si calcola che essi raggiungessero in alcune comunità più numerose una percentuale almeno tra il quindici e il trenta per cento del totale complessivo dei frati.

Nelle costituzioni del 1281 si evidenzia una prevalenza dei chierici sui laici. Questi ultimi sarebbero andati in coro per le ore di Mattutino, Vespri e Compieta,[17] ma senza indossare l'almuzia riservata ai

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[14] Cf. Carlo Cicconetti, *Le prime costituzioni*, in *Carmelus* (2020), 11-99.

[15] Tale permesso fu concesso da Alessandro IV nel 1261, con due bolle dal medesimo *incipit*: *Speciali gratia*, 8 e 25 maggio 1261, in *Bull. Carm.*, I, 20; 23.

[16] Cf. voce *Predicazione*, in *DIP*, 7, 515-572; Kevin Alban, *Predicazione*, in *Diz. Carm.*, 672-673. Sulla predicazione dei laici cf. Enzo Bianchi, Claudio Ubaldo Cortoni, Fabrizio Mandreoli, Riccardo Saccenti, *Anche i laici possono predicare*, Magnano (BI) 2017.

[17] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica VI, in *CCC*, I, 59.

chierici.[18] Ad un frate laico era affidata la cucina;[19] chi fosse stato accolto come laico nell'Ordine non avrebbe dovuto studiare, non avrebbe ricevuto la tonsura e non avrebbe dovuto avere in uso libri, a meno che non gli fosse stato permesso dal priore generale per qualche ragionevole motivo; i laici dovevano essere istruiti in qualche arte meccanica utile alla comunità.[20] Ai laici come ai novizi doveva essere spiegata la Regola in lingua volgare quattro volte l'anno, ossia in Quaresima, intorno alla festa di Maria Maddalena (22 luglio), dopo l'esaltazione della Croce e in Avvento.[21] I frati laici partecipavano al capitolo settimanale, ma non a quello quotidiano delle colpe commesse in coro, che i chierici facevano dopo l'ora Terza, eccetto nei giorni di festa in cui l'ufficiatura era doppia e del tutto doppia.[22] Non possiamo escludere che tutte queste prescrizioni fossero già presenti nelle precedenti costituzioni, che non ci sono pervenute, anche se non possiamo affermarlo con certezza.[23]

Secondo la testimonianza di Jean Trisse, fu il capitolo di Treviri, nel 1291, a togliere ai fratelli laici la voce attiva e passiva, che in tal modo vennero esclusi dalla partecipazione ai capitoli provinciali e generali;[24] i fratelli laici avrebbero continuato però a partecipare al capitolo delle colpe, celebrato dalle comunità locali, ma dicendo le proprie colpe dopo i novizi e prima di tutti gli altri frati chierici. In realtà, già nelle costituzioni del 1281 alla rubrica XLIII si leggeva: «Nullus laicus intersit capitulo provinciali vel generali», tuttavia, bisognerebbe stabilire se questa frase sia una glossa successiva al testo del 1281 (magari proprio in seguito alla decisione del capitolo di Treviri del 1291), oppure se la norma riguardi in genere i laici esterni all'Ordine.[25] Se invece la proibizione risale al 1281, dovremmo considerare falsa l'affermazione di Trisse; se così fosse, si tratterebbe di un'anticipazione di una decina d'anni, da collocare in ogni caso nel contesto degli sforzi fatti dall'Ordine per superare l'incertezza in cui era stato posto dal secondo Concilio di Lione (1274) e quindi di tutte le misure

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[18] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica XXII, in *CCC*, I, 68; cf. Claudio Catena, *Le Carmelitane. Storia e spiritualità*, Roma 1969, 41 nota 22.

[19] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica VIII, in *CCC*, I, 62.

[20] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica XXIV, in *CCC*, I, 69; 70.

[21] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica XXVII, in *CCC*, I, 72.

[22] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica XXIX, in *CCC*, I, 73.

[23] Cf. C. Cicconetti, *Le prime costituzioni*, 19-24.

[24] Cf. Jean Trisse, *Capitula generalia Ordinis Fratrum beatae Mariae de Monte Carmelo ab anno Domini 1259 usque ad annum Domini 1361*, in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, Adrianus Staring (ed.), Rome 1989, 306.

[25] Costituzioni 1281, rubrica XLIII, in *CCC*, I, 78.

prese per assimilarsi quanto più possibile ai grandi ordini mendicanti.[26]

Questa esclusione era basata soprattutto sul fatto che i frati laici erano *illitterati*, ossia non in possesso di titoli di studio ma non necessariamente analfabeti, e quindi inadatti a ricevere l'ordinazione sacerdotale. Non si deve però dimenticare che la professione restava identica per tutti; ogni frate, infatti, emetteva i voti pronunciando la formula:

> Io, fra' N., faccio professione e prometto obbedienza a Dio e alla Beata Maria e a te, fra' N., priore generale dei Frati eremiti dell'Ordine della Beata Maria del Monte Carmelo e ai tuoi successori secondo la regola e le costituzioni dei predetti frati fino alla morte.[27]

La distinzione tra i due gruppi era ormai stabilita e le costituzioni del 1294 la confermarono aggiungendo alle prescrizioni già presenti in quelle del 1281 che «i frati laici preced[essero] i chierici nelle processioni»,[28] un chiaro segno di *status* inferiore.

Inoltre, dobbiamo tener conto del fatto che, probabilmente già prima ma certamente dal XIV secolo, si consolida la prassi dell'oblazione, istituto giuridico mutuato dal mondo monastico in cui uomini e donne si consegnavano con i propri beni alle comunità. Si creò in tal modo un'altra classe di membri, quella dei fratelli – e delle sorelle – "conversi"; gli uomini vennero chiamati anche "semifratres" e avevano un abito simile a quello dei frati ma senza cappuccio e cappa bianca.[29] A seguito di questa nuova situazione, si iniziò a chiamare conversi anche i frati laici, che in realtà erano professi solenni allo stesso modo dei chierici.

Una novità importante si vede nelle costituzioni del 1324, che introducono una rubrica, la XXX «De laicis receptis vel recipiendis in fratres vel semifratres», i quali venivano incaricati dal priore di svolgere il proprio lavoro all'interno o all'esterno della comunità, secondo le necessità e in modo di evitare vagabondaggi oziosi. Inoltre, si ribadiva che ai laici era proibito di indossare l'almuzia, propria dello stato clericale. Viene ribadita la privazione della voce attiva e passiva e del

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[26] Concilio di Lione II, 1274, Costituzione 23, in *EnchVC*, 129.

[27] «Ego frater N. facio professionem et promitto obedientiam Deo et Beate Marie et tibi frater N. priori generali fratrum heremitarum Ordinis Beate Marie de Monte Carmeli tuisque successoribus secundum regulam et constitutiones predictorum fratrum usque ad mortem»: cf. Costituzioni 1281, rubrica XXVI, in *CCC*, I, 71.

[28] Costituzioni 1294, rubrica IV, in *CCC*, I, 85.

[29] Sulle oblazioni e i semifrati cf. C. Catena, *Le Carmelitane. Storia e spiritualità*, Roma 1969.

luogo nei capitoli, eccetto i capitoli delle colpe. Dovevano fare la riverenza ai chierici e ai sacerdoti, rispondendo con umiltà. Venivano poi date norme specifiche per i semifrati, i quali dovevano emettere la professione perpetua dei tre consigli evangelici, dovevano dire le ore canoniche come gli altri frati, ma indossare un abito differente «ossia, tuniche grigie che scendano fino a metà della tibia e un tabarro grigio con il cappuccio separato dello stesso panno, calzature con i lacci come gli altri frati».[30] Il priore doveva decidere quando e come farli uscire ed entrare come famuli; potevano andare da soli o con un altro frate, ogni volta che fosse sembrato giusto al priore; infine, avrebbero dovuto rispettare i chierici e i sacerdoti nei refettori e negli altri luoghi, lasciandoli sedere per primi.

Forse è utile e opportuno chiarire alcuni termini relativi agli abiti. L'almuzia era una specie di corto mantello con cappuccio, una sorta di mozzetta, indossata dai sacerdoti prevalentemente come abito corale, sostanzialmente corrisponde all'attuale cappuccio proprio dell'abito carmelitano, la cui foggia assai probabilmente deriva appunto dall'almuzia. La tunica, che per i frati chierici e laici scendeva fino ai talloni, per i semifrati era più corta; questi ultimi poi indossavano come sopravveste, invece della cappa bianca,[31] il tabarro, o tabardo, ossia un mantello più corto dello stesso colore "grigio" della tunica, fatta cioè di lana non tinta tra il grigio e il marrone.[32] C'è poi da dire che i semifrati a poco a poco scomparvero venendo assimilati ai fratelli laici; il più famoso di costoro è san Nuno de Santa Maria Alvarez Pereira, il Santo Connestabile portoghese (1360-1431).

La legislazione del 1324 sarebbe sostanzialmente rimasta invariata per secoli, fino al XIX; nel 1904, infatti, il capitolo generale iniziò a renderla meno rigida. Una novità fu introdotta dal priore generale Nicolò Audet durante la visita a Parigi, nel 1530;[33] quando istituì

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[30] Costituzioni 1324, rubrica XXX, in *CCC*, I, 162.

[31] Ricordiamo che le cappe furono cambiate da "barrate", ossia a strisce bianche e nere, in bianche dal capitolo di Montpellier nel 1287; cf. *ACG*, I, 7-14; edizione critica in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 49-70.

[32] Sul tabardo cf. C. Catena, *Le Carmelitane*, 46-47. Ci fu un periodo tra XV e XVI secolo in cui i frati e le monache usarono abiti di lana nera: Di ciò è testimonianza la polemica sorta tra il priore generale Cristoforo Martignoni e i membri della Congregazione Mantovana, i quali sostenevano il tradizionale colore *griseus* degli abiti. Cf. *ACG*, I, 390; 473; 554; II, 50; cf. ancora: Ludovico Saggi, *La Congregazione Mantovana dei Carmelitani fino alla morte del Beato Battista Spagnoli (1516)*, Roma 1954, 98-196 e C. Catena, *Le Carmelitane*, 189.191.

[33] AGOC, II, Paris 1, Collegium Maubertinum, n. 1 (copia), 8 novembre 1530: *Statuta*; edito in Leo Van Wijmen, *La Congrégation d'Albi (1499-1602)*, Rome 1971, 108 e

un «director conversorum» incaricato di seguire la formazione umana e spirituale dei frati laici. La norma rispondeva al desiderio e alla politica del generale di favorire la formazione dei membri dell'Ordine. Inoltre, egli ordinava che i frati laici servissero i confratelli conventuali in silenzio, vivendo da veri religiosi secondo la Regola e le costituzioni. Essi dovevano prendere parte alle processioni ordinatamente «et non pro libito voluntatis suae».[34] Dovevano essere uniformi nel modo di vestire, con abiti del medesimo colore e i capelli tagliati regolarmente ogni mese, in convento. Non dovevano maneggiare denaro e quelli incaricati della questua dovevano render conto ogni giorno. Dovevano osservare con attenzione le consuetudini dell'Ordine e, di domenica, partecipare all'ora di mattutino.

Il capitolo generale del 1625 approvò un nuovo testo di costituzioni, che sostanzialmente ripeteva quanto già stabilito in precedenza, però si aggiungeva per tutti i novizi, quindi anche per i laici, l'istruzione nella dottrina cristiana[35] Il capitolo del 1680 concesse di ammettere adolescenti come postulanti laici, ma che pur indossando l'abito religioso dovevano attendere tre anni prima di essere ammessi al noviziato; questi tre anni potevano essere abbreviati per giusta e urgente causa dal priore generale.[36] I frati laici non potevano in alcun modo accedere agli ordini e nel caso andavano sospesi *a divinis*,[37] tuttavia si curava la loro formazione spirituale.

La condizione dei frati laici pur senza mutare sostanzialmente venne presa in considerazione in modo differente dalle costituzioni del 1904,[38] che li riconobbero come «vere et perfecte […] religiosos»,[39]

Appendice III, 216-221. Sui fratelli laici: 221: «Quo ad fratres conversos. Ordinamus, quod sit unus ordinatus director conversorum, qui habetat omni die dominico eis praedicare et eos instruere, et de illis specialem curam habere et pro erorum culpis eos punire». Su Audet si veda ADRIANUS STARING, *Der Karmelitengeneral Nikolaus Audet und die katholische Reform von des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Rom 1959.

[34] *Ibidem*.

[35] Costituzioni 1625, pars I, cap. XIII, n. 137; cap. XIV, 141; cap. XVI, nn. 162-168, in *CCC*, II, 366; 367; 371-372

[36] Cf. Capitolo generale 1680, decretum 112, in *ACG*, II, 161-162; cf. anche *CCC*, II, decretum 24, 512. I novizi potevano essere ammessi solo a 15 anni compiuti.

[37] Cf. Capitolo generale 1680, decreta 123; 124, in *ACG*, II, 167; cf. anche *CCC*, II, decretum 25, 512.

[38] Costituzioni 1904, pars I, cap. IV "De Fratribus laicis", in *CCC*, III, 38-40.

[39] Costituzioni 1904, pars I, cap. IV, n. 52, in *CCC*, III, 38; la precisazione sembra essere un riflesso di quanto stabilito dalla Santa Sede per le suore con la *Conditae a Christo* di Leone XIII (8 dicembre 1900), in *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 33 (1900), 341-347; cf. *EnchVC*, 766-792.

e poi da quelle del 1930, che tuttavia li chiamano "professi conversi".[40]

L'aria iniziava a mutare: il capitolo generale del 1953 affermò di nuovo che tutti i membri dell'Ordine erano "fratres", però nella prassi questa dichiarazione non ebbe seguito, visto che si proseguì a distinguere tra padri, ossia i sacerdoti, e frati; si istituì il postulandato anche per i laici e si concesse ai fratelli, invece della recita tradizionale dei *Pater noster*, l'uso del Piccolo Ufficio della Beata Vergine Maria; quest'ultima prescrizione fu molto ben accolta: evidentemente le condizioni iniziavano a mutare profondamente e l'alfabetizzazione cresceva.

Il vero cambiamento avvenne nel capitolo generale del 1965. Stava terminando il Concilio Vaticano II (1962-1965) e il mondo stava vivendo un rapido mutamento a livello sociale, economico e culturale. Si stabilì che la formazione umana e spirituale fosse uguale per tutti i membri senza distinzioni e più completa; si previdero forme di preghiera comunitaria e anche i fratelli laici furono ammessi a pregare con la Liturgia delle ore;[41] infine venne concessa loro di nuovo la voce attiva e passiva. Così si esprimeva il capitolo nelle proposizioni 191 e 193:

> [I religiosi] che hanno cinque anni di professione solenne godono del diritto di voce attiva a e passiva, salvo quanto affermato dalla proposizione n. 193[42]
>
> Dell'esercizio della voce attiva e passiva dei non sacerdoti stabilisca il Capitolo provinciale così che gli stessi almeno gradualmente acquisiscano il pieno esercizio del diritto di voce attiva e passiva; della voce passiva tuttavia soltanto per gli uffici dei quali sono canonicamente capaci.[43]

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[40] Costituzioni 1930, Pars I, cap. V "De professis conversis", in *CCC*, III, 107-108.

[41] Una commissione capitolare, composta dai padri Raffaele Casanova, relatore, Timothy Donohue, Raphael Groijer e Gabriel Kübrich, fu incaricata di trattare il tema dei fratelli laici: cf. *Relatio de Rebus gestis et dictis in Propositionum disceptatione Capituli generalis Ordinis Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo celebrati Romae anno Domini 1965 diebus 22 Junii - 14 Julii*, Supplementum alterum fasc. 6-8 annum LVII Commentarii *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* Religiosis Ordinis Stricte Reservatum, Romae 1965, 134-140.

[42] «Iure vocis activae et passivae, salvo n. 193, gaudent et sunt legitimi vocales, qui quinquennium a professione sollemni habent (543)»: *Ibidem*, 79.

[43] «De exercitio juris vocis activae et passivae non sacerdotum statuat Capitulum provinciale ita ut ipsi saltem gradatim acquirant plemum exercitium juris vocis activae et passivae; vocis passivae autem solummodo ad officia quorum sunt canonice capaces»: *Ibidem*, 80.

Il capitolo straordinario del 1968 riconobbe ai frati laici l'accesso al governo[44] secondo quanto indicato dal decreto conciliare *Perfectae caritatis*, n. 15;[45] inoltre vennero ammessi a ricevere il diaconato.[46] L'accesso a ruoli di governo fu però limitato a quei ruoli che non avessero bisogno della giurisdizione d'ordine, come riaffermato dal decreto *Clericalia instituta* del 1969[47] e, in seguito dal nuovo diritto canonico del 1983. Di fatto, le costituzioni rinnovate a norma del Concilio Vaticano II, emanate dal capitolo generale del 1971, sono rivolte a tutti i religiosi, indistintamente[48] e lo stesso vale per le costituzioni del 1995 riviste nel 2019.

Un caso particolare

Per capire meglio la situazione dei frati laici nell'Ordine si può considerare quanto accaduto nella Provincia riformata di Monte Santo, figlia della riforma sorta nel solco del movimento della più stretta osservanza in Sicilia nell'ambito della Provincia di Sant'Alberto.[49] La riforma prese il nome di "Primo Istituto", in riferimento alla Regola "primitiva" di Innocenzo IV, dunque senza le mitigazioni di Eugenio IV oppure di "Monte Santo", in evidente riferimento al Carmelo. I primi passi di questo movimento riformatore risalivano al 1619 e furono approvati, nel 1621, dal priore generale Sebastiano Fantoni (1612-1623). Nel 1645, il gruppo dei conventi riformati venne eretto come

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[44] «Tutti i frati professi solenni godono della voce attiva e passiva nella propria provincia o commissariato generale, se non consti altro dalla natura della cosa, d queste costituzioni, o dagli statuti provinciali o del commissariato generale» (De Regimine, n. 1): in *Acta Capituli Generalis specialis ac extraordinarii*, Romae 1968, in *AnalOcarm*, vol. 27 (1968), 77.

[45] Cf. Concilio Vaticano II, Decreto sul rinnovamento della Vita Religiosa *Perfectae caritatis* (28 ottobre 1965), n. 15: «Allo scopo poi di rendere più intimo il vincolo di fraternità fra i religiosi, coloro che sono chiamati conversi, coadiutori o con altro nome, siano strettamente associati alla vita e alle opere della comunità»; cf *Enchiridion Vaticanum*, Bologna 1985[13], I/751.

[46] Cf. *Acta Capituli Generalis specialis ac extraordinarii*, Romae 1968, in *AnalOcarm*, vol. 27 (1968), 37.

[47] Congregazione per i Religiosi e gli Istituti Secolari, decreto *Clericalia instituta*, 27 novembre 1969, in *EnchVC*, n. 4523-4530.

[48] Cf. Costituzioni 1971, nn. 17-19, in *CCC*, III, 200.

[49] Cf. AGOC, II Mons Sanctus 1: *Origine della nostra riforma. Fundatione del Conuento di Monte Santo di Roma & erettione della nostra riformata Prouincia* (1709); *I Carmelitani*, III, 339-353.

provincia autonoma.[50] Nel 1686, data la diffusione in diversi conventi nell'isola e sul continente questi vennero divisi tra Sicilia e quelli degli Stati Pontifici;[51] nel 1709, la divisione venne formalizzata nella separazione di due provincie di Monte Santo di Sicilia e degli Stati Ecclesiastici. Quest'ultima venne soppressa nel 1783, mentre quella siciliana durò fino al periodo dell'unità d'Italia, tra il 1855 e il 1873.

Il livello di vita spirituale e apostolica dei membri della riforma di Monte Santo fu piuttosto buono, tanto che si contano diversi religiosi morti in concetto di santità, o comunque degni di nota, dei quali resta memoria nelle carte della postulazione generale.[52] Anche il livello culturale non fu da meno: benché come tutte le riforme della più stretta osservanza, anche i carmelitani di Monte Santo rifiutassero i privilegi connessi con i gradi accademici, tuttavia non disdegnavano gli studi. Restano ancora come monumento musicale i Vespri solenni della Beata Vergine del Carmelo composti da Georg Friedrich Händel (1685-1759).[53] Il collegio missionario eretto alle spalle della chiesa di Santa Maria in Monte Santo, nella romana Piazza del Popolo, fu centro di studi per i frati della riforma destinati alle missioni in Asia centrale; in realtà per diversi motivi quelle missioni non poterono essere iniziate e si ripiegò per alcune presenze nella più vicina Dalmazia.

Ci resta ancora un interessante documento che testimonia quali fossero gli orientamenti di vita dei Carmelitani di Monte Santo; si tratta dei *Decreti per l'istituzione, la conservazione e l'incremento dell'osservanza regolare nei conventi carmelitani di Acireale e Santa Maria dell'Indirizzo in Catania e negli altri conventi da edificarsi in futuro*, il cui testo è conservato nell'Archivio Generale dell'Ordine.[54] Al centro di

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[50] AGOC, Mons Sanctus Siciliae Commune 2, Institutio Provinciae compendiosa relatio, pubblicata in *AnalOCarm* 4 (1917-1922), 344.355.

[51] AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: lista di case intitolata *Provincia di Monte Santo del Primo Istituto*, senza data.

[52] Roma, Archivio della Postulazione Generale dell'Ordine Carmelitano (APGOC): IV 42, ff. 224r-242v: Serafino della Vena, *Relatione de religiosi che fiorirono in bontà e santità di vita nella provincia di Monte Santo*; APGOC, IV 40, ff. 34r-35r: *Ex nocrologia sive ex registro fratrum defunctorum carmelitarum reformatorum provinci Montis Sanctis Primi Instituti* (1724). AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: *Nota religiosorum carmelitarum reformat provinci Montis Sancti* (1680). Sulla questione cf. *I Carmelitani*, III, 351-352.

[53] Cf. Georg Friedrich Handel, *Sacred Handel. Music for the Carmelite Vespers Rome (1700)*, Giordano Antonelli, Musica Antiqua Latina, Coro da Camera Italiano (interpreti), Rome 2020 (CD Deutsche Harmonia Mundi 0194397111729).

[54] AGOC, II Mons Sanctus, conventus Cataniae: *Decreta pro instituenda, conservanda augendaque regulari observantia in conuentu Jacis* [Acireale] *et Sanct Mari de Indirizzo Catan ceterisque alij in posterum constituendis Ordinis Carmelitarum* (1621).

tutta la vita c'erano la solitudine e la preghiera continua, secondo le indicazioni della Regola. La preghiera vocale e mentale occupava diverse ore della giornata; erano infatti previste oltre alla messa conventuale e alle ore canoniche almeno due ore di meditazione giornaliere e l'esame di coscienza per quindici minuti. La cella del frate era la sua "prigione" spirituale, in cui cercare e incontrare il Signore, ma questo non escludeva il servizio pastorale per mezzo della predicazione, la confessione, l'insegnamento, oltre al lavoro manuale e alla questua fatta anche dai sacerdoti e non solo dai fratelli conversi. Due volte alla settimana si tenevano conferenze spirituali e la discussione di casi di coscienza, si trattava di una modalità di formazione permanente diretta soprattutto ai sacerdoti. Anche i frati non chierici avevano due incontri settimanali di formazione; uno la domenica su argomenti spirituali, mentre il martedì l'incontro riguardava questioni pratiche e materiali. Una particolare attenzione veniva data alla formazione: i candidati venivano accuratamente esaminati e i giovani frati indirizzati al ministero presbiterale dovevano studiare filosofia e poi frequentare tre anni di teologia prima di essere ordinati. Tutti i frati non ancora cinquantenni ogni sette anni dovevano trascorrere un anno in un convento specifico con un priore *ad hoc* per un corso di aggiornamento. Comunque, non tenendo conto dell'ordinazione e dei privilegi connessi ai titoli accademici, i religiosi si chiamavano tra loro fra', ossia fratello, ma i sacerdoti accettavano l'appellativo di padre da parte degli estranei. La vita e l'alimentazione erano frugali, gli abiti erano di tessuto ruvido, si osservavano la povertà e la piena comunione di beni, in vista della perfetta vita comune. Inizialmente, i frati di Monte Santo osservavano la Regola senza le mitigazioni di Eugenio IV, ma dal 1645 ricevettero anch'essi le nuove costituzioni per i riformati e in tal modo si adeguarono alla corrente della più stretta osservanza.

Una caratteristica della riforma fu sempre l'alto numero di fratelli laici, che godettero per lungo tempo di una condizione migliore rispetto a quella dei confratelli conventuali. In particolare, contrariamente alla consuetudine stabilita già dalla fine del XIII secolo, i fratelli laici avevano l'uso di partecipare al capitolo delle colpe insieme ai frati sacerdoti senza dover uscire quando i frati chierici confessavano le proprie mancanze.[55] Questo uso venne confermato come pri-

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[55] Sulla controversia si veda AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia riguardo alla presenza dei fratelli nel capitolo (1679-1683): memoriale *Circa annum 1625* (1681).

vilegio dal priore generale Mario Venturini (1654-1660), il 5 agosto 1659. Alcuni anni dopo, però, la disposizione incontrò l'opposizione dei frati sacerdoti e delle autorità dell'Ordine per cui si giunse dopo un contenzioso durato alcuni anni alla revoca del privilegio.

La controversia iniziò in seguito alla visita alla provincia compiuta dal commissario generale Serafino di Gesù e Maria († 1688), il 28 marzo 1679; questi ordinò che si osservassero le costituzioni come avveniva in tutto l'Ordine.[56] I fratelli laici romani si opposero al provvedimento con una lettera indirizzata «Al Commissario Generale dei Carmelitani» da parte di dieci frati del convento di Monte Santo in Roma, poi ripresa nel *Summarium*, contenuto nello stesso fascicolo. Ecco cosa scrivevano i fratelli:

> Molto Reu. Padre,
>
> Li Fratelli conversi di Santa Maria di Monte Santo di Roma espongono a V.P. Molto Reu. Come ancorché la Constitutione della Religione ordini, che la sera d'ogni Venerdì primo li Fratelli Laici, e poi li Chierici, e in ultimo i Sacerdoti si faccino la colpa, con tutto ciò da 45 anni in qua in circa, sempre si è costumato farla unitamente, tanto li Laici, quanto li Chierici tutti assieme. Al tempo poi del P. Generale Venturini essendosi risentiti di questo li Chierici, il mede[si]mo P. Generale ordinò, che si seguitasse conforme si faceua tutti assieme. Il qual decreto si è osseruato sino al presente. Per tanto li Fratelli Conuersi Oratori humilissimi supplicano la P.V. Molto Reu. a degnarsi d'ordinare, che non s'innoui cosa alcuna pro bono pacis, non ostante il Reu, P. Serafino Visitatore habbia ordinato, che si osserui la Costitutione per ordine di V.P. molto Reu. Che il tutto etc. Quam Deus etc.
>
> Io Fra Francesco da Borgonia
> Io Fra Modesto de Napoli
> Io Fra Francesco di Ascoli
> Io fra Lorenzo di Roma
> Io frat'Alberto d'Ascoli
> Fra Amadio per non poter scriuere †
> Io frat'Alberto di Aquauiua
> Fra Pacifico da Gubio per non poter scriuere †
> Fra Stefano di Porchia per non poter scriuere †
> Frat'Angelo di Santo Vito per non poter scriuere †.
>
> *[In calce all'originale della lettera si legge:]*

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[56] AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: Sacra Congregatione Episcoporum, & Regularium. Eminentiss, & Reuerendiss. D. Card. De Nortfolcia, *Carmelitarum Prouinci Montis Sancti. Pro Procuratore Generali Oridnis Carmelitarum contra Fratres Laicos eiusdem Provinciæ Summarium*, Romae, Typis Reu. Cam. Apost., 1683 [da ora: *Summarium*], n. 6: riferimento al decreto del p. Commissario.

Pater Seraphinus exhibeat rationes, ob quas putat, suum Decretum debere obseruari. Rom , die 18 Aprilis 1679.

Fr. Ferdinandus Tartaglia, Procurator et Commissarius Generalis Carmelitarum[57]

In una supplica redatta tre anni più tardi gli stessi frati affermavano che tale uso si protraeva da almeno una cinquantina d'anni.[58]

Da parte loro, i chierici della medesima riforma rivolsero alle autorità un *supplex libellus* in cui chiedevano di intervenire riguardo a questo uso, che definivano «abuso» delle costituzioni. Presentavano i fatti a partire dal decreto concesso dal p. Venturini, ma lamentando che «in questo li chierici non furono intesi»,[59] mentre in tutte le province riformate e non riformate si osserva l'uso, ormai antico, di partecipare al capitolo delle colpe accusandosi dopo i novizi ma prima dei chierici e uscendo dopo essersi accusati. Oltretutto, la riforma ha accettato le nuove costituzioni del 1645 pubblicate ad Anversa nel 1656, quindi i laici non avrebbero motivo di continuare quell'uso. Anzi: «la Prouincia loro non solamente è riformata, ma anche del Primo Instituto, doue si deue professar con maggior rigore et humiltà l'osseruatione di detta loro Constitutione».[60] Portano poi a proprio favore la questione di un altro punto, che riguardava i frati, laici e chierici, che non avessero compiuto cinque anni di professione e che, per una richiesta del provinciale accolta dal vicario generale Emilio Giacomelli (1676-1680), nell'uscire ed entrare in convento, in coro e in refettorio avrebbero dovuto chiedere la benedizione dei superiori genuflettendosi e baciando la terra. I fratelli laici ricorsero contro questo decreto, sostenendo che era contrario alle costituzioni. Allora, concludevano i chierici: quando devono osservarsi le costituzioni? Solo quando fa comodo?

Il 18 aprile 1679, come si è visto sopra, il procuratore generale Ferdinando Tartaglia[61] chiedeva al p. Serafino di Gesù e Maria di esi-

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[57] AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: ad annum 1679: originale del *supplex libellus* dei frati laici del 18 aprile 1679; *Summarium*, num. 7, *Libellus supplex Laicorum ad Commissarium Generalem aduersus dictum decretum*.

[58] AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: *Supplex libellus*, 20 aprile 1682.

[59] AGOC, II Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: *Supplex libellus* dei chierici di Monte Santo, senza data ma del medesimo 1679; *Summarium*, num. 7, *Libellus supplex Clericorum contra Laicos*.

[60] *Ibidem*.

[61] Cf. *I Carmelitani*, III, 54-56. Tartaglia nacque a Medicina (Bologna), nel 1626, fu procuratore generale dal 1676 e priore generale dal 1680 al 1682, quando morì.

bire le proprie ragioni a favore dell'osservanza delle costituzioni e del proprio decreto.

Il capitolo provinciale, svoltosi dal 7 al 9 maggio dello stesso anno e presieduto dal vicario generale Emilio Giacomelli, confermò la proibizione, conformemente all'articolo 3 del 2° capitolo della 3ª parte delle costituzioni: «nel capitolo conventuale, dicano le proprie colpe i frati laici prima di tutti insieme ai chierici e poi escano. Similmente [facciano] i chierici, anche quelli ordinati, usciti i quali, [proseguono] i sacerdoti che stanno studiando filosofia e teologia prima degli altri padri, e ugualmente escano subito».[62]

P. Serafino di Gesù e Maria rispondeva, il 26 maggio 1679, ribadendo l'uso antico stabilito dalle costituzioni e osservato da tutti, anche dai Carmelitani Scalzi delle due congregazioni di Spagna e d'Italia nonché dai Mantovani.[63] Contesta la consuetudine «de qua non constat», che non risulta essere stata tale, e riprende la questione del baciare la terra già addotta dai chierici; è in gioco l'umiltà: se non si vuole osservare una prescrizione, perché se ne sostiene un'altra palesemente contraria alle costituzioni? Inoltre, afferma di non aver visto né di aver mai sentito parlare del decreto del p. Venturini.[64]

I frati laici, tuttavia, riuscirono a ottenere un breve di Innocenzo XI con cui questo privilegio di Venturini veniva confermato;[65] il breve, datato 9 agosto 1679, fu evidentemente oggetto di contestazione da parte dei superiori dell'Ordine e dei chierici della stessa provincia riformata di Monte Santo.

Nel 1680, si svolse il capitolo generale che approvò gli statuti della provincia riformata eccetto il capitolo 10, riguardante appunto

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[62] «In Capitulo conuentuali fratres laici ante omnes, & seorsim a clericis, dicant suas culpas, & postea discedant. Et similiter clerici, etiam in sacris constituti, quibus egressis, sacerdotes actualiter philosophiae ac theologiae studentes, ante alios patres, qui similiter statim discedant»: cf. AGOC, II, Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: copia della supplica senza data, che inizia con le parolet: «Cum sub finem anni 1676».

[63] Cf. AGOC, II, Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: Lettera del procuratore generale dei Carmelitani Scalzi della Congregazione d'Italia, p. Bernardo Maria di Gesù (in alto a sinistra è indicata a matita da mano recente la data 1681, ma la lettera non è datata) di tale lettera si fa menzione anche nel *Summarium*; Lettera del Procuratore generale degli Scalzi della Congregazione di Spagna, p. Giuseppe di san Tommaso, del 17 marzo 1683. Nel *Summarium*, num. 3, si riporta anche il n. 33 delle costituzioni dei Carmelitani di Mantova del 1540, riguardo il Capitolo conventuale.

[64] Cf. AGOC, II, Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: *Summarium*, num. 8: *Responsio p. Seraphini Visitatoris*.

[65] Innocenzo XI, breve 9 agosto 1679; copia in AGOC, II, Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: ad annum 1679.

la partecipazione dei frati laici al capitolo delle colpe. Al procuratore generale, Angelo Monsignani, fu chiesto di chiedere il ritiro del breve perché ottenuto *obrettitie et subrettitie*.[66]

Il 29 marzo 1681, un frate della comunità romana di Monte Santo, fra' Emidio di Ascoli († 16 febbraio 1688), dava a sua volta la sua versione dei fatti, confermando in sostanza l'uso dei fratelli di partecipare per intero ai capitoli delle colpe.[67]

Fu chiesto anche un parere dei maestri dello Studium di Traspontina, i padri Vincenzo Giusto, provinciale titolare di Dacia e Tommaso Cantoni, provinciale titolare di Irlanda e reggente dello *Studium* di Traspontina; il loro parere è datato 24 luglio 1683.[68] Ecco il tenore della loro dichiarazione:

> Noi sottoscritti Maestri di Sacra Teologia facciamo fede che abbiamo attentamente letto un certo [testo] stampato in Roma nell'anno 1650 per i tipi di Francesco Moneta, dal titolo *Appendice alle Costituzioni Riformate per i Frati Carmelitani del Primo Istituto della Provincia di Monte Santo elaborate nel Cpitolo Provinciale dell'anno del Giubileo 1650*, le quali furono approvate e confermate dal Reverendissimo Priore generale Giovanni Antonio Filippini, il 19 novembre 1650, e in esse non è contenuto nulla che riguardi il Capitolo conventuale che si celebra di solito

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[66] Capitolo generale 1680, in *ACG*, II, 150; «orrettìzio (o obrettìzio) agg. [dal lat. tardo *obrepticius*, der. di *obrep re* "penetrare furtivamente"], raro. – Nel diritto canonico, detto di un atto scritto in cui si esponga il falso e si taccia fraudolentemente qualche circostanza necessaria, e anche del rescritto ottenuto con tale atto» (orrettìzio in Vocabolario - Treccani consultato 10 febbraio 2023); «surrettìzio1 agg. [dal lat. *surrepticius*, der. di *surrip re* "togliere via di nascosto", comp. di *sub-* e *rap re* "rapire"]. – Nel linguaggio giur., spec. nel diritto canonico, di atto in cui si tace intenzionalmente un fatto» (surrettìzio[1] in Vocabolario - Treccani consultato il 10 febbraio 2023).

[67] Su fra' Emidio di Ascoli, benemerito per l'abbellimento della chiesa romana, cf. J. Smet, *I Carmelitani*, III, 350-351.

[68] «Nos infrascripti Sacræ Theologiæ Magistri fidem facimus quod attente legerimus quoddam impressum Romæ anno 1650 typis Francisci Monetæ, cui est titulum Appendix ad Constitutiones Reformatas pro Fratribus Carmelitis Primi Instituti Provinciæ Montis Sancti confectæ in Comitiis Provincialibus anno Iubilæi 1650, quæ a R.mo Patre Ioanne Antonio Philippino Generali appobatæ et confirmatæ fuerunt 19a Novembris 1650, et nihil in eis continenatur quod spectet ad Capitulum Conventuale hebdomatim, ex infrascriptis Regulaæ, celebrari solitum, nec in eis præscribantur modus et ordo servandi in dicto Capitulo pro culpis dicendis, minus quod Fratres Laici seu Conversi suas culpas debeant, aut possint dicere simul cum Clericis, seu esse præsentes, dum Clerici de suis culpis se accusant. In quorum fidem subscripsimus.

Romæ in Conventu nostro Sanctæ Mariæ Transpontinæ die 24a Iulii 1683

Ego fr. Vincentius Iustus Provincialis Daci [confirmo]

Ego frater Thomas Cantoni Provincialis Hib. et Regens in Transpontin confirmo»: cf. AGOC, II, Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: *Dichiarazione del 24 luglio 1683*.

> settimanalmente, secondo le disposizioni della Regola, né in esse si prescrive il modo e l'ordine da osservare in detto Capitolo per dichiarare le colpe e nemmeno che i frati laici o conversi debbano o possano dire le loro colpe insieme ai chierici, o [debbano o possano] essere presenti mentre i chierici si accusano delle proprie colpe. In fede di ciò abbiamo sottoscritto.
> Roma nel nostro convento di Santa Maria in Traspontina, il 24 di luglio 1683
> Io fr. Vincenzo Giusto Provinciale di Dacia [confermo]
> Io fra' Tommaso Cantoni Provinciale di Irlanda e Reggente in Traspontina confermo.

Tutta la questione finì davanti alla Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, a quel tempo presieduta dal cardinale Gaspare Carpegna (1625-1714) e di cui era segretario Bandino Panciatichi (1629-1718); il referente della causa fu il cardinale Philip Thomas Howard di Norfolk (1629-1694). Il 10 dicembre 1683, la Congregazione rispose positivamente alla richiesta del procuratore generale ed emise una dichiarazione con cui proibiva la partecipazione dei fratelli laici ai capitoli delle colpe, asserendo che si dovessero osservare le costituzioni dell'Ordine come in tutte le province.[69]

Finì così, in nome dell'osservanza di una legislazione stabilita in seguito all'approvazione della Regola, un tentativo di tornare al dettato originario della stessa Regola. L'episodio è significativo, per comprendere il modo con cui pensavano i frati di allora; è assai curioso che i chierici per contestare l'uso dei laici si riferissero al "Primo Istituto", ossia alla Regola stessa così com'era in origine, dimenticando che l'esclusione dei laici dai capitoli locali (non parliamo di quelli provinciali e generali) andava attribuito alle costituzioni e non alla stessa Regola.

Alcune considerazioni generali e conclusive

Riprendendo il discorso in modo sintetico, possiamo rilevare che nonostante la sempre riaffermata identità religiosa dei frati laici, per molto tempo (praticamente più di sei secoli e mezzo) essi furono considerati come appartenenti ad una classe inferiore rispetto ai sacerdoti. Questo fu un portato della clericalizzazione dell'Ordine e della

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[69] Cf. AGOC, II, Mons Sanctus Siciliae, commune 2: Controversia…: Copia con sigillo del procuratore generale della sentenza del 10 dicembre 1683.

necessità di apparire un ordine clericale: ricordiamo che la decisione del capitolo di Treviri del 1291 avvenne nel periodo in cui il Carmelo stava cercando di uscire dalle secche in cui l'aveva collocato il secondo Concilio di Lione (1274).[70] La conferma definitiva della propria collocazione nella Chiesa sarebbe venuta il 5 maggio 1298 con la *Tenorem cuiusdam constitutionis* di Bonifacio VIII.[71] Dunque, i provvedimenti presi in quel periodo furono tutti intesi a dimostrare la sostanziale assimilazione ai maggiori ordini mendicanti, francescani e domenicani. Diversi pontefici erano già intervenuti per garantire alcuni privilegi e da parte sua l'Ordine aveva deciso il cambio delle cappe e, appunto, l'esclusione dei fratelli laici dai capitoli. È evidente il tentativo di mostrarsi clericali non meno dei Frati predicatori o dei Minori.

Quanto alle incombenze dei frati laici si deve dire che erano prevalentemente materiali e meccaniche, anche se non sarebbero mancati esempi di frati dedicati all'amministrazione di alcuni beni, per esempio delle grance e delle proprietà dei conventi, come pure della questua di beni e denari per la comunità. Non c'è dubbio che in tali attività, di solito assai prossime alla gente, la presenza premurosa e caritatevole dei fratelli laici fu di grande esempio e talvolta di grande forza evangelizzatrice nei confronti di quella parte del popolo di Dio non sempre facilmente raggiungibile dalla predicazione ufficiale e dalla vita sacramentale offerta dai chierici. Nel XVII secolo, prevalse l'uso, di per sé già iniziato in precedenza, di distinguere anche dal punto di vista dei titoli i frati, cosicché ci si rivolgeva ai sacerdoti con il titolo di "padre", mentre gli altri erano "frati", quasi che i professi chierici non fossero più frati anche loro.[72]

I capitoli costituivano il momento qualificante della vita delle comunità, delle province e dell'intero ordine. Come in ogni altro ordine mendicante, anche il Carmelo aveva nel capitolo generale e in quelli provinciali e locali la propria autorità suprema; dunque, i priori, ad ogni livello, non erano che i garanti della continuità tra un capitolo e l'altro e della fedeltà alle decisioni prese dai capitolari riuniti. Tuttavia, i fratelli laici non avevano voce né luogo in quelle assise decisionali. L'unica motivazione per tale esclusione consisteva nel fatto che i fratelli laici erano illetterati, dunque incapaci di leggere e scri-

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[70] Concilio di Lione II, 1274, Costituzione 23, in *EnchVC*, 129.

[71] Cf. Bonifacio VIII, bolla *Tenorem cuiusdam constitutionis*, 5 maggio 1298, in *Bull, Carm.*, I, 48-49.

[72] Si veda la determinazione dei titoli spettanti alle diverse categorie di frati stabilita dal Capitolo generale 1680, decreto 50, in *ACG*, II, 143.

vere e, quindi, si presumeva che fossero anche incapaci di decidere in modo libero su questioni di interesse comune.

Bisogna ricordare, però, che a livello locale il capitolo aveva perso la caratteristica di momento di formazione, confronto e discernimento, mentre aveva mantenuto l'aspetto della correzione delle colpe. Il "capitolo delle colpe" settimanale era sì aperto anche ai fratelli laici, i quali, però, dovevano confessare le proprie colpe per primi e lasciare il capitolo quando i sacerdoti continuavano la propria confessione. Soltanto il capitolo generale del 1965 riconobbe la funzione di formazione e condivisione dei capitoli locali e a quel punto la presenza dei frati laici venne riconosciuta di nuovo.

Un'ultima considerazione riguarda la situazione attuale. Negli ultimi decenni la figura dei frati laici si è come rarefatta: nel mondo occidentale sono diventati pochissimi e spesso si tratta di persone di grande qualità, ma abbastanza isolate ed eccezionali. Non sembra esserci una proposta attraente per giovani, o meno giovani, che desiderino vivere la vita religiosa carmelitana in quanto tale e non per la possibilità che offre di accedere all'ordine sacro e al ministero.

Nei paesi di nuova impiantazione del Carmelo, forse anche a causa delle urgenze pastorali e missionarie delle giovani chiese, per i carmelitani è diventato quasi scontato diventare presbiteri come se questa sia l'unica possibilità significativa di realizzazione della vocazione carmelitana.

Forse è giunto il momento di ripensare la questione nel suo insieme. È interessante considerare che i carmelitani, pur nati prevalentemente se non esclusivamente come laici, abbiano ben presto declassato i propri frati laici togliendo loro la voce attiva e passiva e abbiano solo recentemente riconosciuto il loro diritto a partecipare ai capitoli e quindi ad essere protagonisti del discernimento, della progettazione e della decisione sulla vita comune, abbiano allo stesso tempo perduto la capacità di proporre la forma di vita laicale.

In parte, ritengo che tale mancanza derivi anche da una malintesa idea di "famiglia carmelitana". Sembra che per qualcuno questa bella e giusta dimensione comunitaria – direi ecclesiale e sinodale – dell'articolazione delle diverse componenti di coloro che si richiamano in modi diversi al carisma e alla spiritualità del Carmelo equivalga a pensare a una riproduzione analogica delle forme di vita cristiana, laici, ministri e consacrati, in termini di laici carmelitani (terziari, membri della confraternita dello scapolare, aggregati di vario tipo), i frati intesi però soprattutto come presbiteri, e le suore (monache e suore di vita attiva). Non mancano infatti proposte più o meno concrete di vita comune e di collaborazione più stretta tra i vari gruppi

della famiglia. Cosa certamente ottima e spesso necessaria, tuttavia, resta l'errore di fondo: considerare i frati solo come ministri ordinati e non come una comunità mista di chierici e laici.

La questione cruciale è, dunque, quale proposta di vita laicale possiamo offrire a chi si accosta alle nostre comunità e desidera condividere la nostra vita? Sappiamo proporre solo il ministero presbiterale o diaconale, oppure anche una forma di vita e di servizio all'interno della comunità stessa e fuori di essa? Non può essere il tipo di servizio a determinare la scelta dei frati laici, ma al contrario la loro scelta di vivere la vita carmelitana in quanto tale a orientare poi verso un servizio invece che verso un altro, anche in base alle capacità e ai doni personali.

Domande aperte, che però a partire dalla storia possono trovare risposte adeguate all'oggi e certamente più interessanti di quelle attualmente mancanti.

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 33-72

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MOURA CARMEL

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The date of the foundation of the Moura Carmel, often described as the earliest foundation of the Carmelites in Portugal, is given, traditionally, as the early years of the 1250s. In this paper, the evidence concerning the likely date of Moura's foundation is examined, beginning with an outline of the process, beginning in 1598 and ending early in the eighteenth century, by which various writers developed three different hypotheses concerning the foundation of Moura, the earliest date being given as the early 1250s, and the two later dates being the 1290s and the early 1330s. In the second section of the paper, the difficulties that were identified concerning each of these three hypotheses, and the emergence of a date in the early 1250s as the most widely accepted date, despite the difficulties that were also associated with that date, are sketched. In section three and four, the period beginning with the capture of Moura by the Hospitaller Order, in 1232, and their tenure of the local lordship of Moura up to the implementation of their agreement, with King Alfonso X of Castile, to exchange of that lordship for the more complete lordship of another property in the north of Portugal, in 1283, is presented. The fourth section outlines how the crown of Castile, which was the overlord of Moura, effectively handed over its role as overlord to the crown of Portugal in 1295, which was formally ratified by a treaty in 1297, focusing on what happened to the public church in Moura after the Hospitallers abandoned it, and 1317 (clarified and confirmed in 1320), when Moura's new overlord, King Denis of Portugal, granted his 'entire right of patronage' of that church, and the obligation to provide the clergy who would serve in that church, to the Order or Avis. The fifth section describes the significant developments concerning the patronage of that church, and the local lordship of Moura, in general, during the period 1317 and 1487. Section six outlines the developments that took place concerning the Moura Carmel during the period when Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was the twenty-second Master of Avis, from 1387 to 1433.

1. The Hypotheses Concerning the 1250s, 1290s and 1330s.

Writing in 1598, Diego de Coria Maldonado, O.Carm., described the disinherited *Infante*, or Prince, of Castile, Alfonso de la Cerda, who had claimed the throne of Castile, unsuccessfully, in 1288, and his wife, Mafalda, as having retained possession of Moura, in Portugal, and of Requena (Valêcia) and Gibraleón (Huelva) in Castile. Noting that King Louis IX of France had given one of his houses to the Carmelites that he brought from Mount Carmel to France, Martínez de Coria Maldonado stated that Alfonso de la Cerda and his wife, Mafalda, brought French Carmelites with them when they came from France to Castile, where one of his inherited properties, 'Requena, was located, the other two properties being Moura, in Portugal, and Gibraleón, in Andalusia'. In the context of outlining the Nuno's life, De Coria Maldonado stated that the Moura Carmel 'had been founded' by Alfonso de la Cerda, no date being indicated, but he also noted that, when these princes visited those regions, they had brought the Carmelites with them, with the result that their foundations in Moura, and Huelva, were the first Carmelite foundations in the southern part of the Iberian peninsula.[1] In 1621, Luis da Presentação, O.Carm., repeated what De Coria Maldonado had said when he noted that, 'according to what some say,' the Moura Carmel had been founded by Alfonso de la Cerda, who also founded Gibraleón, and who died in the habit of a Third Order Carmelite.[2] Six years later, in 1627, Manuel Román, O.Carm., also repeated a similar claim when he described Alfonso and his wife, Mafalda, as Third Order Carmelites who imitated King Louis of France when they brought French Carmelites to occupy the monasteries they had built in Requena, Gibraleón and Moura, noting that Alfonso had been buried in the monastery of Gibraleón.[3]

In 1656, Juan Bautista de Lezana, O.Carm., noted, under the year 1251, that 'some learned ones affirm' that the first foundations of the Moura Carmel were laid 'about this time', by the Hospitallers, who had brought some Carmelites, 'Spaniards, perhaps,' to Moura from Palestine, citing Manoel Severim de Faria, who died in 1655, as his source. De Lezana noted that it was an accepted tradition among the

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[1] See M. de Coria Maldonado O.Carm., *Dilucidario*, 472, 98.

[2] See da Presentação, *Vida E Morte Do Padre Fr. Esteuão Da Purificação Religioso Da Ordem De N. Senhora Do Carmo Da Prouincia De Portugal*, 12-13.

[3] See M. Román O.Carm., *Elucidaciones Varias De La Antiguedad, Dignidad Y Escritores De La Sagrada Orden Del Carmen, Colegidas De Autores Graves*, Madrid: Juan Gonçalez 1627, 145, 207.

Carmelites of Spain that the Moura Carmel had been built by the De la Cerda Princes in 1290, but that this was 'not certain'.[4] Seven years later, in 1662, Daniel de la Vierge Marie, O.Carm., seems to have tried to link the Hospitaller foundation in 1251 with the later foundation by the De la Cerda Princes when he described the Moura Carmel as 'having been begun' in 1251 and as being 'transferred to another place', which was 'constructed, or notably endowed' by Alfonso de la Cerda, in 1290.[5] Four years later, in 1666, having noted that the Carmelites had come from Palestine to France, England, and Italy, before they had come to Spain, and that they did not come to Portugal until the reign of King John I (1385-1433), Jorge Cardoso described the Moura Carmel as having been 'founded' by Alfonso de la Cerda, whom he described as 'the Lord of that town', which then belonged to the Crown of Castile, suggesting that, as a consequence, the Moura Carmel should not be judged as being a Portuguese foundation.[6] Twelve years afterwards, in 1678, José de Santa Teresa, O.C.D., included the first foundations of the Carmelites in Spain and 'that of Moura' among those that had been founded when St. Simon Stock was General of the Carmelites.[7] In 1680, De la Vierge Marie included a Life of St. Simon Stock, drawn up by himself [de la Vierge Marie], apparently, in his *Speculum Carmelitanum*, in which Stock was described as having been Vicar General before becoming Prior General, and as dying in 1265, the year of the foundation of Moura Carmel being given as 1251.[8]

1n 1717, rejecting the claim that the De la Cerda princes had founded the Moura Carmel in 1290, and highlighting the link with the Hospitallers and the origin of the Carmelites in Palestine, Augostinho de Santa Maria, O.A.D., gave 1251 as the year of foundation.[9] Manuel de Sá, O.Carm., writing in 1727, recognised that, if Alfonso de la Cerda had been the founder of the Moura Carmel, it could not have been in

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[4] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales Sacri*, 4:328-29 n. 4 & 452 n. 8.

[5] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 259 n. 510.

[6] See Cordoso, *Agiológio Lusitano Dos Santos E Varões Ilustres Em Virtude Do Reino De Portugal E Suas Conquistas*, 3:214 d.

[7] See de Santa Teresa O.C.D., *Flores Del Carmelo: Vidas De Los Santos De Nuestra Señora Del Carmen* ... 217 n. 23.

[8] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Speculum Carmelitanum*, 2:418-19 nn. 1489-92. Recent scholarship indicates, however, that very little evidence concerning the dates, or activities, of Saint Simon Stock is extant, see L. Saggi O.Carm., ed. *Santi Del Carmelo. Biografie Da Vari Dizionari*, Rome 1972, 320-23.

[9] See Agostinho de Santa Maria O.A.D., *Santuario Mariano, E Historia Das Imagens Milagrosos De N. Senhora, E Das Milagrosament Apparecedia* ... 10 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram 1707-23, 6:247.

the final decade of the thirteenth century, but in 1330-31, and, accepting the positions of José de Santa Teresa (1668) and De la Vierge Marie (1680), he rejected the claim that Alfonso de la Cerda had been the founder. Following Manoel Severim de Faria, he described the Spanish Carmelites who came from Palestine with the Hospitaller Knights of St. John as the founders of the Moura Carmel, the site being provided by the same Knights, and the date of the foundation being between 1252 and 1254.[10]

The authors we have just presented show that, between 1598 and 1727, three diverging positions had developed, one claiming a foundation thanks to the Hospitallers, the Carmelites coming directly from Palestine, soon after 1250 (De Lezana, De la Vierge Marie, De Sá, De Santa Teresa, De la Vierge Marie and De Santa Maria), another claiming a second foundation by Alfonso de la Cerda about 1290 (De Lezana, De la Vierge Marie and Cardoso), and another suggesting that the first foundation was made by Alfonso de la Cerda during the fourteenth century (De Coria Maldonado, Da Presentação and Román). Given the dates, the third claim is obviously incompatible with the first two and the only reason for excluding Cardoso from the third category is that he implicitly presumes a date prior to the treaty of Alcañices (1297), when Castile formally recognised Moura as belonging to Portugal, for the foundation. While De Lezana and De la Vierge Marie combine the first and second traditions, both recognising the Carmelites as having come directly from Palestine, as did De Sá, this is denied by Cardoso, Alfonso de la Cerda during the fourteenth century (De Coria Maldonado, Da Presentação and Román. Cardoso implies that the Carmelites came to Moura from Spain, De Coria Maldonado and Román describe them as coming from France, and Da Presentação does not indicate where they might have originated.

2. The Difficulties Concerning the Three Dates (1250s, 1290s and 1330s).

Taking the three proposed dates in reverse order, beginning with the problems concerning the 1330s, it was in 1745 that the Porguguese Carmelite, José Pereira de Sant'Anna, alligned himself with those, like De Lezana and De la Vierge Marie, who regarded the 1250s as the date

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[10] See de Sá O.Carm., *Memórias Históricas Da Ordem De Nossa Senhora Do Carmo Da Província De Portugal* ... 21-23, 30.

of Moura' foundation, the Lisbon Carmelites having come from Moura when Nuno Álvares Pereira invited them to do so early in the fifteenth century. Pereira de Sant'Anna rejected the claim, made by De Coria Maldonado and Román, that Alfonso de la Cerda had been the Lord of Moura, and could not, therefore, had established a new Carmelite Church and monastery at that time. Presenting an outline of Alfonso's life, he argued that Alfonso could not have held dominion in Moura in 1331, because Moura had belonged to the Crown of Portugal after the treaty of Alcañices (1297), and he concluded that Alfonso could not founded the Carmel in the 1330s.[11] Since Alfonso also lacked the lordship from 1297 onwards, and, given the need to have lordship in order to establish a church or monastery, as we shall demonstrate later in this paper, this criticism concerning the proposed establishment of the Moura Carmel either in the late 1290s or in the 1330s retains its force as a strong argument and it helps to explain why the claim concerning the establishment of the Moura Carmel in the 1250s has become widely accepted.

Concerning the proposal that the Moura Carmel was established the period leading up the 1297, as Cardoso had explicitly proposed, Manuel García Calahorra's denied De Lezana's claim that the foundation by Alfonso took place in 1290 in 1766, arguing that, like Requena and Gibraleón, the Moura Carmel had been founded by Alfonso de la Cerda in 1332.[12] In 1775, approximately, Wyndham Beawes gave 1251 as the year in which the Moura Carmel was founded.[13] In 1895, Augosto de Pinho Leal described the Moura Carmel as having been founded by the Carmelites during the 1240s, noting that the De la Cerda princes had ordered some works done on the building in 1290.[14] The outline of the history of the Carmelite Order in Portugal that was published by Manuel Maria Wermers, O.Carm., in 1963, gave 1251 as the year the Moura Carmel was founded.[15] In

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[11] See Pereira de Sant'Anna O.Carm., *Chronica Dos Carmelitas De Antiga, E Regular Observancia Nestes Reynos De Portugal, Algarves, E Seu Dominios* ... 1:132 n. 315 & 135-36 nn. 320-22.

[12] See M. García Calahorra O.Carm., *Breve Compendio Del Origen Y Antiguedad De La Sagrada Religion Del Carmen* ..., Madrid: en la imprenta de Manuel Martin 1766, 132-33.

[13] See W. Beawes, *A Civil, Commercial, Political, and Literary History of Spain, and Portugal*, 2 in 1 vols. (London: R. Faulder, 1793), 2:142.

[14] See A. Soares d'Azevedo Barbosa de Pinho Leal, *Moura*, in *Portugal Antigo E Moderno; Diccionario ... De Todas as Cidades ...* ed. A. Soares d'Azevedo Barbosa de Pinho Leal, Lisbon: Livraria Editora de Mattos Moreira & Companhis 1873-90, 568.

[15] See Wermers O.Carm., *A Ordem Carmelita E O Carmo Em Portugal*, 127-29.

1996, Pablo María Garrido, O.Carm., suggested that 1332, as proposed by Manuel García Calahorra, was more likely as the year that Moura was founded than 1251 or 1290.[16] Generally speaking, writers had tended to favour either the 1250s or the 1330s as the likely date and the 1290s seems to be generally regarded as the least likely date.

Concerning the proposal that the Moura Carmel was established in the 1250s, In 1763, citing Pereira de Sant'Anna and De Sá, Joaõ Bautista de Castro accepted 1250 as the year, in 1763, but, like Jorge Cardoso, he did not regard Moura as the first of the Portuguese Carmels because, in 1250, Portugal belonged to the Crown of Castile, making it a Castilian Carmel at the time of its foundation.[17] Since no mention of the foundation of Moura is found in Mariano Ventimiglia's 1773 account of the life and significant deeds St. Simon Stock, described as having been Prior General of the Carmelites 1245 to 1265, the claim that it was founded in the 1250s seems unlikely.[18] Rather than the technicality proposed by De Castro, and given the lack of historical evidence relating to Simon Stock, a more significant challenged to the claim concerning the 1250s was identified by Balbino Velasco Bayón, O.Carm., argued that the claim that Moura had been founded in the middle of the thirteenth century was inherently improbable, given the sequence in which the Carmelites reached the various countries of Europe after leaving the Holy Land in the 1230s. They first established themselves in Cyprus, Sicily, and England, in that order, and these countries had been chosen because it was from those countries that some of the first Carmelites had come to the Holy Land, and it was to those same countries that they returned. This did not happen in the Iberian peninsula, however, because, at that time, those who lived there were fighting their own crusade against the Moors, who then occupied a significant portion of the peninsula, and they were only minimally involved in the Holy Land crusade.[19] Rejecting the claims concerning the Hospitallers bringing

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[16] See P.M. Garrido O.Carm., *El Solar Carmelitano De San Juan De La Cruz*, 2 vols., Madrid 1996, 2:30.

[17] See J.B. de Castro, *Mappa De Portugal Antigo, E Moderno* ... 3 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno 1762-[1763], 2:72-73. Cordoso, *Agiológio Lusitano Dos Santos E Varões Ilustres Em Virtude Do Reino De Portugal E Suas Conquistas*, 3:214 d.

[18] See M. Ventimiglia O.Carm., *Historia Chronologica Priorum Generalium Latinorum Ordinis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae De Monte Carmelo* ..., Naples: Ex typographia Simoniana 1773, 29-38.

[19] See V. Bayón, *Alvarez Pereira, Nuño (Fray Nuño De Santa María) O.Carm.*, 33.

the Carmelites to Moura during the second half of the thirteenth century, Velasco Bayón regarded a foundation in the first third of the fourteenth century, made by Carmelites from the existing houses of the Spanish Province, more probable.[20]

We have seen that presuming that the Carmelites who left the Holy Land in the middle of the thirteenth centuries are unlikely to have come to the Iberian peninsula, since they had probably not originated there, making the claim concerning the 1250s difficult to sustain. The claim concerning the 1290s has generally been recognised as having a lower likelihood than the other two dates, and the claim concerning the period 1297 to 1339, as already noted, seems unlikely since Alfonso de la Cerda does not seem to have held the required lordship of Moura during that period. It would seem that a more thorough examination of the extant documents concerning the earliest years of the Moura Carmel needs to be undertaken, recognising that there seems to be no solid evidence that would definitively establish that foundation in the period covering the three proposed dates, the 1250s, the 1290s and the 1330s. The obvious place to begin would seem to be the extant information concerning the recovery of the town of Moura from the Moors in the early 1230s.

3. The Hospitallers' Local Lordship of Moura from 1232 to 1283.

Having been disputed between the Christians and the Moors since the middle of the twelfth century, it was only during the summer of 1232[21] that the castles of Moura and Serpa were captured by the Hospitallers, who were fighting alongside King Sancho II of Portugal against the Moors. As a reward, King Sancho gave the Hospitallers the custody of those two castles, as well as certain lands that needed to be fortified at Belver/Benavila, on the north bank of the Tagus, and at Crato, a little further south.[22] The castle of Moura seems to have been recognised by King Sancho II as under the local lordship of the Hospitallers, who were an international Order, but the claim that the

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[20] See ibid., 33-34.

[21] See S. Macias, V. Gaspar, and J.G. Valente, *Castelo De Moura: Escavações Arqueológicas (1989-2013)*, Moura 2016, 53.

[22] See A. Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1994, 204; L. Dailliez, *Essai Historique Sur L'order Souverain De Saint-Jean De Jérusalem, De Rhodes Et De Malte Au Portugal (Xii-Xv Siècles), Arquivos do Centro cultural Portugus* 1(1969), 33.

same applied to Serpa seems to have been mistaken[23] because, although the custody of both castles, Moura and Serpa, was given to the Hospitallers,[24] that same year, 1232, King Sancho II of Portugal gave the lordship of Serpa to his illegitimate half-brother, Prince Fernando of Portugal, then aged fourteen, who held that lordship until 1246.[25]

In a letter to Bishop Martinho of Évora during October 1235, Prince Fernando recognised that his castle of Serpa, and its boundaries, were part of the diocese of Évora and he authorised the payment of tithes to the diocese.[26] Following his violence against certain clerics, Prince Fernando, Lord of Serpa travelled to Rome in 1237 to beg Pope Gregory IX for pardon[27] and, in the early 1240s, he married Sancha Fernandes de Lara and had a son, Sancho Fernandes Junior. Following the death of Prince Fernando in January, 1246, his widow, Sancha Fernandez, donated the castle of Serpa to the Hospitallers.[28] This donation had already been made by 20 October, 1248, when the Hospitaller Prior of Crato, Portugal, João Garcia, who describes himself as the Prior of the Hospital in Portugal and of the Brothers of the same Order in the Kingdom of Portugal, made an arrangement with Bishop Martinho of Évora, together with the Chapter of Evora, according to which, 'respecting our [the Order's] privileges (*salvis nostris privilegiis*),' Bishop Martinho would become the Bishop and Pastor of the houses of the Order in Crato, Moura and Serpa, and his diocese would be paid a fifth of all the tithes and mortuary fees, except for armour and horses, from the Hospitaler churches in Crato, Moura and Serpa.[29] Implicitly, this agreement

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[23] See Forey, *Military Orders and Crusades*, 204.

[24] See Dailliez, *Essai Historique Sur L'order Souverain De Saint-Jean De Jérusalem, De Rhodes Et De Malte Au Portugal (Xii-Xv Siècles)*, 33.

[25] See A.X. Rodrigues Cordeiro, *Serões De Historia: Factos Da Historia Portugueza* ... 2 vols., Obras De A. X. Rodrigues Cordeiro, Lisbon: Livraria de Antonio Maria Pereira 1889-1890, 1:69-70.

[26] See A. de Sousa Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando De Portugal, Senhor De Serpa (1218-1256): História Da Vida E Da Morte De Um Cavaleiro Andante*, *Lusitania Sacra, 2ª série* 10(1998), 101.

[27] See *J. Mattoso, A Nobreza Medieval Portuguese No Contexto Peninsular*, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: História* (1991), 1032.

[28] See de Sousa Pereira, *O Infante D. Fernando De Portugal, Senhor De Serpa (1218-1256): História Da Vida E Da Morte De Um Cavaleiro Andante*, 115-21.

[29] See J.A. de Figueiredo Ribeiro, *Nova Historia Da Militar Ordem De Malta E Dos Senhores Grão-Priores Della, Em Portugal* ... 3 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira 1800, 2:2-4; J. Delaville le Roulx ed., *Cartulaire De L'ordre De St. Jean De Jérusalem*, 4 vols., Paris: E. Leroux 1894-1904, 2:676-78 n. 2488.

suggests that the Hospitallers recognised Crato, Moura and Serpa al belonging, not only to the diocese of Évora, but to the Kingdom of Portugal.

King Sancho II of Portugal had been effectively deposed by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, the government being entrusted to his younger brother, Alfonso, who called himself the Defender of the Kingdom, and, following Sancho's death, in January, 1248, Afonso succeeded Sancho as King Afonso III of Portugal.[30] In November, 1252, Afonso III of Portugal and the newly-crowned Alfonso X of Castile agreed the treaty of Badajoz, by which the Guardiana river became the recognised boundary between Portugal and Castile.[31] Having divorced his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, earlier that year, King Afonso III of Portugal and King Alfonso X of Castile agreed in May, 1253, that the Portuguese towns of Moura and Serpa would be given to Castile as part of the marriage contract between Afonso III of Portugal and Princess Beatriz of Castile, the daughter of Alfonso X.[32] Since the independent lordship of the castles of Moura and Serpa by the Hospitallers had previously been recognised by the Portuguese crown, and since the Hospitallers retained the custody of those two castles afterwards, those agreements seem to have been intended, in effect, to transfer those castle-towns from the overlordship of the crown of Portugal to the overlordship of the crown of Castile, without affecting the local lordship of both castle-towns by the Hospitallers. The castles of Moura and Serpa remained in the hands of the Hospitallers, who, presumably, accepted the agreements that made the King of Castile their new overlord, and they continued their struggle to regain the territory to the east of Moura from the Moors. In 1253, approximately, the Hospitallers captured

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[30] See F.A. Dutra, *Afonso III, King of Portugal,* in *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. E.M. Gerli, New York & London 2003, 35.

[31] See M. González Jiménez, *La Minoría De Fernando Iv De Castilla (1295-1301),* in *Iv Jornadas Luso-Espanholas De História Medieval. As Relações De Fronteira No Século De Alcañicas*, ed. Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais Porto 1998-2000, 6-11.

[32] See M.J. Barroca, *Os Castelos Das Ordens Militares Em Portugal (Secs. XII a XIV)*, in *Mil Anos De Fortificações Na Península Ibérica E No Magrem (500-1500). Actas Dp So,[Osio Internacional Sobre Castelos, Câmara Municipal De Palmela*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, Palmela 2002, 539; A.H. de Carvalho e Eraújo, *História De Portugal Desde O Começo Da Monarchia Até Ao Fim Do Reinado De Affonso Iii. Volume 3*, 2nd ed., Lisbon: Em casa da viuva Bertrand e Filhos 1858, 401. Apparently as an oversight, Monteiro gave this date as March 1283, rather than March 1253, see J. Gouveia Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 5th ed., Lisbon 2017, 248.

Aroche, about 47 km east-southeast of Moura.[33] Afonso Pires Farinha, the future Prior of the Hospital in Portugal, is described in an inscription in the Church of the True Cross of Portel, as coming to Moura and Serpa when Badajoz, Moura and Serpa were the only Christian towns west of the Guardiana river, and living there for twenty years, during which time he was responsible for capturing Aroche, which he gave to King Afonso III of Portugal.[34] Because it was King Afonso III of Portugal, rather than King Alfonso X of Castile, who granted a royal charter to Aroche, south east of Moura, in 1255, Macia suggests that the Guardiana river boundary, established by the 1252 treaty, was never recognised, in practice, by Portugal.[35] It may be, however, that the boundary was recognised in relation to overlordship, but that, as a recent conquest by the Hospitallers, the town of Aroche continued to support King Afonso III of Portugal in extending the southern border of Portugal at the expense of the Moors. King Alfonso X of Castile, similarly, does not seem to have regarded the boundaries established by the 1252 treaty as undermining the local lordship of the castles of Moura and Serpa exercised by the Hospitallers because, in February 1259, he recognised that 'the towns of Moura and Serpa' belonged to the Hospitallers.[36] In 1267, a new treaty between Portugal and Castile, the treaty of Badajoz (1267), confirmed the Guardiana river as the boundary between the two countries[37] and it seems likely that, again, this should be understood as referring to the overlordship of the border regions, rather than as some kind of challenge to the local lordship of the Hospitallers in Moura and Serpa.

During the 1270s and 1280s, the local lordship of the Hospitallers in Moura and Serpa came to an end, thanks to the efforts of King

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[33] See E. McMurdo, *The History of Portugal, from the Commencement of the Monarchy to the Reign of Alfonso Iii*, 2 vols., London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington Limited 1888-89, 1:439; de Figueiredo Ribeiro, *Nova Historia Da Militar Ordem De Malta E Dos Senhores Grão-Priores Della, Em Portugal ...,* 2:68.

[34] See Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, 3:181-82 n. 3305.

[35] See Macias, Gaspar, and Valente, *Castelo De Moura: Escavações Arqueológicas (1989-2013)*, 53.

[36] See M. González Jiménez, *Huelva, Tierra De Frontera*, in *Huelva En La Edad Media: Reflexiones, Aportaciones Y Nuevas Perspectivas Veinte Años Después*, ed. J.L. Carriazo Rubio and J.M. Miura Andrade, Arias Montano, Huelva 1998, 22; D. Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Annales Eclesiasticos, Y Seculares De La Muy Noble, Y Muy Leal Civdad De Seuilla, Metropoli De La Andaluzia: Que Contiene Sus Mas Principales Memorias ...*, Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, por Iuan García Infançon 1677, 87.

[37] See D. Martins, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, *MEMSA Journal* 4(2022), 50.

Alfonso X of Castile, who sought to replace their lordship with that of the crown of Castile. The first move took place on 10 August, 1271, King Alfonso X of Castile agreed to give the castle and town of [São Tomé de] Covelas de Duero, with its boundaries, belongings and rights, the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega, with its rights and belongings, each of these properties being worth more than 500 maravedís of the 'old and good coinage,' as well as the porterage in Quiroga, the rights and incomes of the valley of the Guareña, Fresno el Viejo, Paradinas de San Juan, Eljas, and two tracts of land, one in the castle of Moura and one in the castle of Serpa, both suitable for 'building houses and oratories' as well as other properties in both castle-towns, to the Hospitallers, in exchange for 'the castles of Serpa, Moura and Mourão'.[38]

The explicit mention of the Hospitallers receiving other properties in the vicinity of the castles of Moura and Serpa implies that the Hospitallers did not intend to leave the castles in question, and that the castles of Moura and Serpa would remain in their custody following the proposed arrangement. The Hospitallers mentioned in the document were 'Br. Gonçalvo Pirez de Pereira, the Great Commander[39] of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem' in the Kingdoms of Spain from 1260-1271,[40] the great grandfather of Nuno Álvarez Pereira (St. Nuno of St. Mary), and four other Brothers of that Order, Pedro de D'Aycam, Lope Gonçalvez, Alberto de Vintimilia and Arias Muniz, and the agreement was subject to the approval of the [Grand] Master of the Hospitallers and of the Hospitaller Brothers, which probably explains why the exchange was not put into effect until the 1280s.[41] On 10 October, 1280, in Saint Jean d'Acre, Palestine, Nicholas Lorgne, who had replaced Hugues de Revel as the Grand Master of the Hospital in 1277, gave power to Fernán Perez Moseio, the Grand Prior of Castile and León from 1280 to 1284,[42] to Gonçalvo Pirez de Pereira, the Commander of the Order of the

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[38] See Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, 3:256-57 n. 3428.

[39] In a letter dated 16 June, 1270, Gonçalvo Pires de Pereira is also described as the Great Commander of the Hospitallers in the whole of Spain, see ibid., 3:229-30 n. 3397.

[40] See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers En Terre Sainte Et À Chypre (1100-1310)*, Paris 1904, 421.

[41] See G. Jiménez, *Huelva, Tierra De Frontera*, 25; C. de Ayala Martínez, *Alfonso X Y La Orden De San Juan De Jerusalén*, in *Estudios De Historia Medieval. Homenaje a Luis Suárez*, ed. V.A. Alvarez Palenzuela, Valladolid 1991, 35-40.

[42] See Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers En Terre Sainte Et À Chypre (1100-1310)*, 424.

Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Limia, Turon, Tavira and Faia, and to Alfonso Perez Farina, the Commander of Leça do Balio and of Rio Meão, to arrange an exchange concerning the castles of Moura and Serpa with King Alfonso X of Spain.[43] The involvement of the Grand Master and of those who were Commanders In Portuguese and Castile, and the continued involvement of the former Grand Commander of the Kingdoms of Spain, Gonçalvo Pirez de Pereira, suggests that there was widespread approval among the Hospitallers concerning the proposed exchange.

Whether the approval by the Hospitaller Brothers, as such, was obtained before, or after, that of the Grand Master, is not clear, but, five months later, on 10 March, 1281, proceeding with his obligations deriving from the agreement reached a decade earlier, King Alfonso X of Castile arranged an exchange with the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, by which, in exchange 'for their castles of Moura and of Serpa, and for [the castle of] Mourão, which they would give to the King', the Hospitallers would be given the right of 'complete lordship (*sennorio conplido*)' and 'patronage' over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega, at Castrelo de Minho, with all its rights and belongings, including all the 'ecclesial goods (*eglesiarios*)' that belong to it, together with its boundaries, honours, inheritances, properties, including its books and items associated with the liturgy, and incomes, the whole being equivalent to an income of more than 400 maravedís of the 'old and good coinage.' The implication of the exchange is that the Hospitaller's would give their rights of lordship and patronage over the castles of Moura, Serpa and Mourão to King Alfonso X, which, since he already had the right of overlordship, would give him the right of 'complete lordship' and patronage over those castles-towns, and that, in return, he would give the Hospitallers the right of 'complete lordship' and patronage over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega. No individual Hospitallers are mentioned in this donation.[44]

On the following day, 11 March, 1281, having noted the letters and the power of making this exchange that had been given to Lord Fernán Perez Moseio, Lord Gonçalvo Pirez, and Lord Alfonso Perez Farina, and noting, also, his agreement with Prince Sancho, his elder son and heir, King Alfonso X of Castile confirmed the handing over to him of the lordship of 'the castles that are called Moura, Serpa and Mourão' which had been theirs, in exchange for '[São Tomé de]

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[43] See *Cartulaire*, 3:397-98 n. 3731.
[44] See ibid., 3:406-07 n. 3742.

Covelas de Duero and the church of Santa María de Castiel[lo] de Vega, with all its rights and belongings,' to which the King added the portage and all the other rights that he had, and should have, in Quiroga, but withholding the right of minting coinage and the right to a place at the table, which he kept for himself. The Hospitallers would also be given the royalties of *martiniega*[45] and *acémilas*[46] on the Hospitaller properties in the valley of the Guareña, in Fresno el Viejo and in Paradinas de San Juan, in Eljas, and half of the *martiniega* paid to the king by the vassals of the Order in the bailiwicks of Puente de Orbigo, Cerecinos de Campos, Santa Maria de la Huerta, and two tracts of land, one in the castle of Moura and one in the castle of Serpa, both suitable for 'building houses and oratories' as well as other properties in both castle-towns. and 'likewise,' he gave them a tract of land in Moura and another in Serpa, in which they could 'build houses and churches', and, likewise, he gave them, in Moura, ten of pieces of inherited land' and as much again in Serpa, 'and likewise … a vineyard and a garden and two water mills in Moura, of which they are still in possession'. Mentioning the agreement made with the Bishop of Évora on 20 October 1448, the King also promised to protect the Hospitaller Brothers so that 'they would not receive damages from the Bishop of Évora[47] on account of that exchange that they had made with the King 'because of the churches of Moura and of Serpa and of their boundaries'. In formally making the exchange, the Hospitallers note that it should be carried out 'in such a manner that' what the King was giving to them 'in Moura and in Serpa' would 'remain safe according to what was named further up', except for the other things 'if there should be a right which the Bishop of Évora has concerning them, according to what is written in the (1248) agreement.'[48]

During the period between the agreement in March 1281 and its eventual confirmation by Prince Sancho of Castile, which is mentioned in the agreement, the same Prince Sancho assembled a coalition of

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[45] *Martiniega* refers to a tribute or contribution that was paid to the King of Castile on the feast day of St. Martin of Tours, 11 November, each year. See the following website, accessed on 6 May 2023: https://dle.rae.es/martiniega

[46] Acémilas, from the original Arabic for 'beast of burden' (*azzámila*), usually referred to 'mules,' and, by extension, the word was used for the tribute or contribution that was paid to the King of Castile for mules, see C. Gutiérrez del Arroyo de Vázquez de Parga ed., *Privilegios Reales De La Orden De Santiago En La Edad Media: Catálogo De La Serie Existente En El Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid 1959, 295.

[47] Bishop Martinho of Évora had died in 1266 and, at that time, Durando Pais was the Bishop of Évora.

[48] See Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, 3:407-09 n. 3743.

nobles in 1282 to prevent his nephew, Prince Alfonso de la Cerda, from becoming King and, at the same time, to support him (Sancho) in the civil war against his father, King Alfonso X. To gain the support of the Hospitallers for his cause, Prince Sancho gave Fernão Perez, the Prior of the Portuguese Hospitallers, the churches of Moura, Serpa, and Mourão and 'all other places belonging to these castles' as a gift that would become effective on the death of Sancho's mother, Queen Consort Violant.[49] The Prince's campaign was successful and, on 22 February, 1283, Prince Sancho of Castile confirmed the exchange that the Hospitallers had made with his father, King Alfonso X, 'concerning Moura, concerning Serpa, and concerning Mourão'.[50] Among other things, the exchange agreed during March 1281, and its confirmation during February 1283, suggests that the Hospitallers had been in continuous possession of the lordship of the castles mentioned throughout the period between their capture, from the Moors, during the 1250s, until that February 1283 confirmation.[51]

Commenting on the exchange of goods between King Alfonso X and the Hospitallers in 1994, Banquero Goñi suggested that the Hospitallers were motivated by their 'interest in obtaining control over rents held by the king on its properties', adding that 'they were even prepared to renounce the lordship of some places in exchange for royal revenues, or at least a share in them.' Suggesting that, in effect, the Hospitallers 'clearly preferred a qualitative growth of their power over their possessions rather than a simple extension of territory', he highlighted the concession by King Alfonso X of 'the royal rights of *martiniega* and *acémilas* on the Hospitaller properties of the valley of the Guareña, Fresno del Viejo and Paradinas de San Juan', the grant

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[49] See P. Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance*, Oxford 2011, 188.

[50] See I. García Tato, *Las Encomiendas Gallegas De La Orden Militar De San Juan De Jerusalén: Estudio Y Edición Documental. Vol. 1: Época Medieval*, Santiago de Compostala 2004, 189 n. 89. On the additional places for which *martiniega* royalties were being paid, see C. Banquero Goñi, *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M.C. Barber, Aldershot 1994, 31-32.

[51] See *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries,* 31; Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 248; F. García Fitz, *Política Internacional, Conflictos Jurisdiccionales Y Construcciones Militares a Finales Del Signo Xiii En La Sierra De Aroche: Los Castillos De Cumbres Y Santa Olalla*, in *Huelva En La Edad Media: Reflexiones, Aportaciones Y Nuevas Perspectivas Veinte Años Después*, ed. J.L. Carriazo Rubio and J.M. Miura Andrade, Arias Montano, Huelva 1998, 258.

of 'half of the *martiniega* paid to the king by the vassals of the Order' in the bailiwicks of Puente de Obrigo, Cerecinos de Campos, Santa María de la Huerta y de Vidalanes.[52] While the income from the royalties listed was, without doubt, an incentive, the need to seek approval from the Grand Master, and from the Hospitaller Brothers collectively, indicate that the exchange was not primarily motivated by such economic incentives. The explicit mention of 'complete lordship' over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega and of the privileges of the Hospitallers, the mention of Royal protection from receiving 'damages from the Bishop of Évora' concerning the three Hospitaller churches, and the explicit mention of being given 'a tract of land in Moura and another in Serpa,' both tracts being suitable for 'building houses and oratories', suggests that the Hospitallers were not happy with their 1248 agreement to pay a fifth of the income from their churches to the bishops of Évora, and were seeking a means that would re-establish normative exemption, as Religious, from financial imposition by local Bishops.[53] It would seem that the main reason for giving up their local lordship in Moura and Serpa to King Alfonso X, was that, from then on, it would be the King, rather than the Hospitallers, who would be both the overlord, and the local lord and patron of what, up to then, have been their churches, and who would, presumably, be responsible for paying a fifth of their income to the Bishop of Évora. The Hospitallers would retain their position as resident custodians of those castle-towns but, no longer having a public church, and constructing an oratory and residence for their own use on each of the tracts of land that the King was providing in Moura and Serpa. Since those oratories were the private oratories of Religious Knights, rather than public churches, the Hospitallers would be exempt from any payments for those oratories to the bishops of Évora. They would also benefit financially from the much better terms, 'complete lordship' over the church of Santa María de Castiello de Vega, which they received from Alfonso X, compared to the limited local lordship of Moura which they had held up to that point.

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[52] See BANQUERO GOÑI, *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, 30.

[53] On the papal recognition of the exemption of the Hospitallers from new exactions by local bishops or nobles in thirteenth-century documents, see DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire*, 3:22-24 n. 3015 & 109 n. 157 & 124 n. 188 & 151-153 nn. 245, 248 & 168-169 n. 287.

4. The Crowns of Castile and Portugal as Overlords of Moura: 1283 to 1317.

Continuing in their capacity of custodians of Moura and its castle, while withdrawing from their service of the public church attached to their monastery, the Hospitallers probably constructed an oratory for their own private use within the castle's immediate boundaries. King Alfonso X of Castile had acquired the local lordship of Moura and, not long after Prince Sancho's confirmation of the exchange between his father and the Hospitallers, one of the documents that constituted King Alfonso's last will and testament, written during March 1283,[54] gave Moura, Serpa, and Mourão, to his illegitimate daughter, Beatriz of Castile, who had been Marchioness of Montferrato since 1271, and who died, four years later, in 1286.[55] This donation to Beatriz seems to have been ineffective. however.[56]

During the 1290s, King Denis of Portugal argued that recognising the Guardiana river as the boundary between with Castile had deprived Portugal of some of its rightful possessions, including the towns of Moura, Serpa, and Mourão and a conference to resolve the issue was held in 1291, where it was agreed that, within eight years, Fernando, the six-year-old heir to King Sancho IV of Castile, would marry Constance, the one-year-old daughter of King Denis, the towns of Moura and Serpa being the future bride's dowry.[57] Although this agreement implied that, until that marriage, Moura and Serpa would continue to belong to Castile, the Hospitallers were still in possession of those two castles, and continued to claim their rights of local lordship over them, in April, 1293, when an agreement was reached between the Hospitallers and the Templars concerning the boundaries

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[54] See F.J. Hernández, *Los Hombres Del Rey Y La Transición De Alfonso X El Sabio a Sancho Iv (1276-1286)*, Obras De Referencia, Salamanca 2021, 401.

[55] See J.F. Correia da Serra ed., *Collecção De Livros Ineditos De Historia Portugueza* ... 5 vols., Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1790-1824, 5:89-90; Banquero Goñi, *The Hospitallers and Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: The Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries*, 31.

[56] See M.Á. Ladero Quesada, *Sobre La Evolución De Las Fronteras Medievales Hispánicas, Siglos XI a XIV*, in *Identidad Y Representación De La Frontera En La España Medieval, Ssiglos XI-XIV: Seminario Celebrado En La Casa De Velázquez Y La Universidad Autónoma De Madrid, 14-15 De Diciembre De 1998*, ed. P. Josserand, P. Buresi and C. de Ayala Martínez, Collection De La Casa De Velázquez, Madrid 2001, 38.

[57] See Martins, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, 50.

between Serpa, Moura, Olivença and Monsaraz.[58] Sancho IV of Castile died that year, 1295, and, because his son and heir, Fernando, then ten years old, was the result of a union that had not been legitimised by the Pope, various others tried to claim the crown of Castile. King Denis exploited the situation by supporting one of the other contenders, which forced Fernando's guardians to proceed with the marriage of King Fernando IV of Castile and Constance of Portugal during October 1295, the towns, and castles,[59] of Moura and Serpa being handed over to Portugal as part of the dowry.[60] This was, in effect, the end of both the local lordship, and overlordship, of the crown of Castile in Moura, and the beginning of a new era when the crown of Portugal held both the local lordship, and overlordship, of Moura. To mark this change, King Denis of Portugal granted new royal charters to Moura and Serpa, recognising them as Portuguese strongholds, and mandating the construction of new, and well-fortified, castles in both places.[61] A royal charter was granted to the Moors living in Moura in 1296,[62] and these three charters were renewed in 1315, building work on the Moura castle being already underway at that time, making use of the ancient fortifications of the Moors. Apparently as part of an attempt to negotiate better conditions for Portugal, King Denis also allied himself with France, Sicily and Aragon against Castile that year, invading Castile in September, 1296. This strategy proved successful and King Denis was able to negotiate a new treaty with Castile, the treaty of Alcañices, in 1297, its conditions including the marriage of Afonso, the heir of King Denis, to Beatriz, Fernando's younger sister, and the formal reversal of the annexation of Moura and Serpa by

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[58] See García Fitz, *Política Internacional, Conflictos Jurisdiccionales Y Construcciones Militares a Finales Del Signo Xiii En La Sierra De Aroche: Los Castillos De Cumbres Y Santa Olalla*, 260; de Figueiredo Ribeiro, *Nova Historia Da Militar Ordem De Malta E Dos Senhores Grão-Priores Della, Em Portugal ...*, 2:66.

[59] See the letter of Prince Afonso Denis of Portugal, requiring the handing over of both castles, and homage paid to King Denis, within five weeks of the date of the document (4 October, 1295), see M. González Jiménez, *Conquista Y Repoblación De La "Banda Gallega"*, in *La Banda Gallega: Conquista Y Fortificación De Un Espacio De Frontera: (Signos XIII-XVIII)*, ed. J.A. Pérez Macías and J.L. Carriazo Rubio, Collectanea, Huelva 2005, 74 n. 18.

[60] See Martins, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective,* 50-51.

[61] See F.J. Denis, *Portugal Pittoresco Ou Descripção Historica D'este Reino*, 4 vols., Lisbon: L. C. da Cunha, 1847, 4:178; McMurdo, *The History of Portugal, from the Commencement of the Monarchy to the Reign of Alfonso III*, 2:114-15.

[62] See Santiago Macias, *Moura Na Baixa Idade Média: Elementos Para Um Estudo Histórico E Arqueológico*, *Arqueologia Medieval* 2(1993), 150-51.

Castile. Whether the right of the local lordship of Moura and Serpa was included in the marriage agreement is debated by historians, but most agree that the right of lordship of those two towns, either the overlordship, the local lordship, or both, passed to Portugal as a result of the treaty of Alcañices, in 1297.[63] Somewhat unusually, the treaty does not use any term equivalent to 'border', and there are no references to rivers or mountains that might clarify where the boundary lay, some suggesting that this ambiguity was deliberate and 'allowed the King of Portugal to extend his domain.'[64]

As decreed, the castles of Moura and Serpa were rebuilt during the early decades of the fourteenth century. The vagueness of the language used in the treaty of Alcañices required a series of later clarifications, and, in 1304, the bishop of Silves, representing King Denis of Portugal, and the mayor of Seville, representing the eighteen-year-old, King Fernando IV of Castile and León, failed to agree on the boundary between Moura (Portugal) and Aronches (Castile). A further attempt by the same parties to agree on the boundary in 1311 was also unsuccessful, some kind of exchange of territories needing to be agreed before progress could be made. When King Denis of Portugal and King Fernando of Castile and León met in January 1312, King Fernando IV claimed that some Castilian castles had been usurped by King Denis and he also used the opportunity to make clear to King Denis that he was not happy with the way the boundary of their countries as established in the treaty of Alcañices, one of the reasons being that King Fernando had been a minor when the agreement was made.[65] It was agreed that King James II of Aragon would act as arbitrator in the dispute. The relevant documents were submitted during the first half of 1312 and witnesses were being heard when King Fernando IV of Castile died, at the age of 26, in September 1312. Documents suggest that the judgement by King James of Aragon would have supported the Portuguese claim on Moura and Serpa but the sentence was never,

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[63] See T. HERZOG, *3. Fighting a Hydra: 1290-1955*, in *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas. Section 3. Fighting a Hydra: 1290-1955*, ed. T. HERZOG, Harvard 2015, 149 n. 1 & 335.

[64] See MARTINS, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, 52-53. J.L.M. MARTÍN, *La Tierra De Las "Contiendas" Notas Sobre La Evolución De La Raya Meridional En La Edad Media*, *Norba: Revista de História* (1996), 278-81.

[65] See MARTINS, *Unsettles Borders: The Treaty of Ancaices (1297), Its Contestation Process in 1312, and Its Consequences. A New Perspective*, 53-52.

in fact, delivered.[66] A further attempt to resolve the dispute concerning the boundary between Portugal and Castile in the region of Moura and Serpa was made in 1315 but it was also unsuccessful.[67]

The church in Moura, which had been built, and served, by the Hospitallers, seems to have been abandoned by them following the exchange that had been agreed with King Alfonso X of Castile and brought into effect in 1283. It may be that the ongoing, and unresolved, territorial disputes in that region played a part in discouraging other Religious Orders, or the local diocesan clergy, from taking responsibility for that church, and the others that had belonged to the Hospitallers, until King Denis of Portugal intervened directly. An extant letter of King Denis, dated 30 August, 1316, approved the arrangements of Bishop Geraldo Domingues of Évora concerning the tithes and other rights that the Portuguese crown held in the churches of the castles of Serpa, Moura and Mourão, which Lord Denis had previously been donating to the said diocese, and which were outlined in the attached letter from that Bishop. The Bishop's letter names the cantor and canon from Évora who had been appointed by the King to act on behalf of the bishop of Évora in relation to those tithes and other rights and, noting that 'the churches of the said castles of Serpa and of Moura' were then 'vacant,' it proposed that it should be the Bishop who appointed a suitable cleric to replace them. The letter also mentions that the churches in question 'might go to ruin totally' because the temporal returns from them were 'insignificant and meagre.'[68] The vacant, and almost-ruined, condition of the public church in Moura, which had been built and served by the Hospitallers before they abandoned it in 1283, as testified in the Bishop's letter of 1316, indicates that, as yet, no Carmelite foundation has been made in Moura at that time and it clearly rules out both the 1250s and the 1290s as the decades in which the Moura Carmel was established.

Explicitly recognising himself as 'the true patron' of those churches on account of his lordship of those castle-towns, King Denis does not seem to have accepted the proposal of the Bishop and, instead, he gave the patronage of the churches in the castle-towns of Serpa, Moura and Mourão to the Order of Avis on 10 October, 1317. The Knights of the Order of Saint Benedict of Avis were originally

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[66] See ibid., 60-63.

[67] See Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession*.

[68] See R. Marreiros ed., *Chancellaria De D. Dinis Livro III*, 2 vols., Coimbra 2019, 2:181-85 n. 520.

known as the Friars of the Militia of Évora, after their foundation, in 1167, in Évora, Portugal, which had been recaptured from the Moors the previous year, 1166. In 1187, while maintaining their autonomy as a Portuguese foundation, the Friars of the Militia of Évora were affiliated to the Knights of Calatrava, in Castile, who also lived according to a form of the Benedictine Rule. By 1211, they had become the lords of the nearby Portuguese town of Aviz and, from 1223, when they established themselves in that town, they became known as the Knights of Avis. The members included both Religious knights and Religious chaplains, the latter living a Religious Life that did not involve any military activity, as such.[69] The 1317 document explicitly states that, as was customary, clerics from the Order of Avis (the Religious chaplains just mentioned, presumably) were to be placed in those churches from that point onwards. Apparently as an error, since it contradicts the actual content, the initial heading on the document refers to the 'donation' of the houses and churches to the Order of Avis:[70]

> … we give, and grant, to the said Order of Avis, the entire right of patronage that we have, and by right ought to have, concerning our churches of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, concerning which churches we are the true patron by reason of the lordship of the castles and towns of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, which are ours and of our lordship.

A similar letter, issued on 3 May, 1320, corrects the misleading heading of the first letter so that it was the income from the patronage, rather than the churches and houses themselves, that were donated, and including some sections that seem to have been omitted, inadvertently, from the earlier letter, as well as making explicit mention of Vasco Afonso as the Master of Avis, and including, also, the King's signature:[71]

> we give, and grant, to him and to the said Order of Avis, for him and for the reasons that have been said, the entire right of patronage that we have, and by right ought to have, concerning our churches of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, of which churches we are the true patron by

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[69] See M. Cocheril, *Avis*, in *Dizionario Degli Istituti Di Perfezione*, ed. G. Pelliccia and G. Rocca, Rome 1973.

[70] See Marreiros, *Chancellaria De D. Dinis Livro III*, 2:367-68 n. 645.

[71] See ibid., 2:380-81 n. 661.

reason of the lordship of the castles and towns of Serpa and of Moura and of Mourão, which are ours and of our lordship.

The two versions, 1317 and 1320, of the letter of King Denis of Portugal make it clear that the King recognised his rights, both as overlord and as the local lord of Moura and its church, as a result of which he was also the patron of that church. They also clearly indicate, however, that the right of patronage of that church was irrevocably given to the Order of Avis from that point onwards.

5. The Order of Avis as Patron of the Church in Moura: 1317-87.

In 1319, when the eleventh Master of Avis, Gil Martins, was named as the first Master of the Order of Christ, newly-founded by King Denis to replace the suppressed Templars, Vasco Afonso, who had been mentioned in the letter of King Denis dated 3 May, 1320, was elected as the twelfth[72] Master of Avis.[73] On 20 June, 1320, on behalf of the Order of Avis, Vasco Afonso made a permanent donation of a third of the incomes from the churches of Moura, Serpa and Nodular Mourão for the rebuilding and maintenance of the fortresses in Moura and Serpa, which he regarded as important for the defence of the castle of Noudar.[74] The double objective of the Order of Avis in that frontier area is described by Espadero Ramos as militarisation and increasing the population, on which guaranteeing the safeguarding of the King's territory and the generation of income for the Order of Avis, who were responsible for that safeguarding, depended.[75] It was probably due to his success in both these areas that,

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[72] See Anonymous O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, Lisbon: Yorge Royz, 1631, 9v.

[73] See M.C. Almeida e Cunha, *A Eleção Do Mestre De Avis Nos Séculos XIII-XV, História: Revista Da Faculdade De Letras Da Universidade Do Porto* 13(1996), 107-08, 10-11.

[74] See Santiago Macias, *As Muralhas Medievais De Moura*, in *Arquivo De Beja. Actas Do 1º Encontro De Arqueologia Da Região De Beja, Beja, 17 18 19 Janeiro 1986*, ed. Câmara Municipal de Beja, Beza 1986; *Moura Na Baixa Idade Média: Elementos Para Um Estudo Histórico E Arqueológico*, 150-51; L.A. de Fonseca ed., *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, Militarium Ordinum Analecta: Fontes Para O Estudo Das Ordens Religioso-Militares, Porto 2013, 217-19 n. 72.

[75] See J.A. Espadeiro Ramos, *La Importancia De La Fronteira Militar En Los Signos XVII Y XVIII. El Caso De La Región De Noudar Y Barrancos Em Portugal*, in *La Frontera En El Mundo Hispánico*, ed. P. Sanz Camañes and D. Rex Galindo, Quito-Ecuador 2014, 153.

on 16 January, 1322, King Denis gave the castle and town of Noudar, and the incomes from the churches of Serpa, Moura and Mourão, to Vasco Afonso, the Master of the Order of Avis in such a manner that, independently of whether or not he remained Master of the Order, they would remain in his possession for as long as he lived, their possession then reverting to the Order of Avis.[76] On 10 June, 1330, Archbishop Gonçalo Gonçalvez Pereira of Braga, Nuno's grandfather, who was the visitator delegate of Pope John XXII, confirmed Gil Peres as the thirteenth[77] Master of Avis, replacing Vasco Afonso, at the General Chapter held in Avis on that date. The document includes a papal bull, *Ad reformationem locorum eclesiasticorum*, addressed to the same Archbishop, and dated 17 October, 1329, in which the Pope indicates that prejudice should not be generated because of a visitation by the Grand Masters, or by the Brothers, of the Knights of Calatrava.[78]

Macias refers to a 1331 document, which noted that there were abandoned houses both inside, and outside, the castle of Moura, recommending that, if this situation was to continue, those houses should be handed over to those who had been given abandoned land in order that it be cultivated, which would help to maintain the population of Moura at a time when doing so was among the responsibilities of the Order of Avis, as we have seen. This solution seems to have been partially successful, at least in regard to the castle itself, some of those who became residents in the castle on that basis are identified in a document of 1438. Macias notes that no abandoned houses are mentioned in the 1438 document,[79] and it seems probable that the abandoned houses outside the castle of Moura, which were mentioned in the 1331 document, were the buildings of the monastery attached to what had been the public church of the Hospitallers. It seems probable, therefore, that neither the clerics of the Order of Avis, who had taken responsibility for the administration of the Hospitallers church, nor any of the other Knights of Avis, had, as such, lived in that monastery, because of its abandoned state, presumably.

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[76] See M. Gomes Martins, *A Arte Da Guerra Em Portugal: 1245 a 1367*, Coimbra 2014, 184 n. 490; de Fonseca, *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, 220-23 n. 73.

[77] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 10r.

[78] See Almeida e Cunha, *A Eleção Do Mestre De Avis Nos Séculos XIII-XV*, 111-13 n. 2.

[79] See Macias, *Moura Na Baixa Idade Média: Elementos Para Um Estudo Histórico E Arqueológico*, 135. See also, bundle 6, doc. 52 (1438), of Convento do Carmo de Moura, in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

Alfonso de la Cerda returned to Castile, from France, in 1332, kissing the hand of King Alfonso XI when he met him in Bajajoz, and attending his formal coronation the following year. In keeping with the earlier agreement under which he withdrew his claim to the throne of Castile, King Alfonso XI gave De la Cerda lands and incomes that were appropriate to his dignity as a Prince of Castile. Pereira de Sant'Anna regards it as unlikely that Moura would have been included in the lands or incomes that Alfonso de la Cerda received on that occasion, since the lands in question should have been those assigned to him in 1304, which had not included Moura.[80] Alfonso made his last will and testament in 1334 and he died the following year, 1335. Contrary to some of the claims that were made later, Alfonso de la Cerda was buried, not in the Carmelite church of Gibraléon, but, as his daughter, Inés de la Cerda, later testified, beside his father, Prince Fernando de la Cerda, in the Monastery of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, in Burgos, where his tomb is still extant. His wife, Mahalda, lived until 1348, at least, and she seems to have been buried in the Carmelite church of Gibraléon.[81] Since the church that would become that of the Carmelites, as we shall see, was then under the patronage of the Order of Avis, who provided the clerics who served there, and the monastery was then abandoned, it is difficult to see how the De la Cerda princes might have been able to establish the Carmelites in Moura in the period 1332 to 1335.

De Lezana includes the Carmelite monastery of Moura as part of the province of Spain in 1354[82] but there does not seem to be any extant evidence to support this claim, and there seems to be some doubt about the accuracy of what de Lezana asserts concerning the houses that were part of the province of Spain at that time.[83] De Lezana's claim is also contradicted by later evidence concerning the houses that belonged to the Carmelite province of Spain, as we shall

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[80] See J. Pereira de Sant'Anna O.Carm., *Chronica Dos Carmelitas De Antiga, E Regular Observancia Nestes Reynos De Portugal, Algarves, E Seu Dominios ...* 2 vols., Lisbon: Na Officina dos Herdeiros de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1745-51, 1:134-35 nn. 318-19.

[81] See F. Fernández de Béthencourt, *Historia Genealógica Y Heráldica De La Monarquía Española: Casa Real, Grandes De España*, 10 vols., Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico Jaime Ratés, 1897-1920, 5:38-41.

[82] See J.B. de Lezana O.Carm. and L. Ciamberlano, *Annales Sacri, Prophetici, Et Eliani Ordinis Beatae Virginis Mariæ De Monte Carmeli*, 4 vols., Rome: Typis Mascardi, 1645-56, 4:607 n. 4.

[83] See B. Velasco Bayón O.Carm., *Historia Del Carmelo Español*, 4 vols., Textos Et Studia Historica Carmelitana, Rome 1990-2008, 1:99-100.

see in the next section. In 1361, King Peter I of Portugal gave the cavalry soldiers living in Serpa and Moura the privilege of carrying arms throughout the Kingdom of Portugal, a privilege normally enjoyed by nobles who had a statute naming them as squires or knights. This provision suggests that the danger from frontier disputes was still significant at that time, and it also explains, perhaps, why clergy other than those of the Order of Avis, who were responsible for the church in Moura might have been reluctant to move there.[84]

Martihno de Avelar was the twentieth[85] Master of Avis from 1357 until his death in 1364.[86] Rather than having an election to elect a new Master of Avis, King Peter I of Portugal postulated his illegitimate son, John, who was then seven years of age, as the Master of Avis and, when he reached the age of nine, in 1366, John of Avis, as he became known, made profession in the Order of Avis and was appointed as the twenty-first Master of the Order in 1366. Following the death of King Peter I on 18 January, 1367, his eldest-surviving son succeeded him as Ferdinand I of Portugal, who strengthened the fortifications of Moura by adding a second enclosing wall at some point between 1367 and 1383.[87] On 27 February, 1367, King Ferdinand gave the custody of the castle of Moura, which had been held by the Hospitallers up to then, to Alvaro Gonçalvez. Although the document in question, which concerns the custody of the castle of Leiria, primarily, does not say so explicitly, it seems clear that this Alvaro Gonçalvez was the Alvaro Gonçalvez of the Order of Avis, who was then commander of Noudar, and who may have been acting on behalf of the new Master, John of Avis, who was then 10 years old.[88] It was probably thanks to being given the custody of the castle of Moura in 1367 that the Order of Avis reorganised its internal structures by establishing the jurisdiction of Moura, which, among others, included the castles of Serpa, Maurão and Noudar, these castles being subject to the commander in the castle of Moura.[89] John of Avis, who was the younger, and illegitimate,

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[84] See Gomes Martins, *A Arte Da Guerra Em Portugal: 1245 a 1367*, 128.

[85] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 10v.

[86] See de Fonseca, *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, 330 n. 104.

[87] See the outline of the history of the fortifications of Moura at the following website, accessed on 27 March, 2023: http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_Pages User/SIPA.aspx?id=993

[88] See de Fonseca, *A Comenda De Noudar: Corpus Documental (1248-1554)*, 331 n. 105.

[89] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 123v.

brother of King Ferdinand, held this position as Master of Avis until 1389, four years after he was formally recognised as the successor of his brother, King Ferdinand, and proclaimed as King of John I of Portugal in 1385. Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was elected to succeed King John as the twenty-second, and last,[90] Master of Avis in 1387, a Governor or Administrator, rather than a Master, being appointed in the period beginning with the death of Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira in 1433.

6. Nuno Afonso de Sequeira and the Moura Carmel.

Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, the son of Rodrigo Annes de Sequeira[91] by his second wife, Maria Afonso,[92] had grown up in São Vicente da Beira,[93] which was under the lordship of the Masters of Avis. Having joined the Order of Avis, and become commander of Alter Pedrosa,[94] he was the tutor of the illegitimate Prince John of Portugal, who was the Master of Avis and the future King John I, in the arts of chivalry.[95] Later, having served as a member of the King John's council, Fernão Rodriguez was elected as the Master of Avis, when King John had relinquished that role in 1389.[96]

Pope Boniface IX's bull, *Magne devotionis* (1391), had granted to the Order of Avis the power to annex the churches and patronages that they had been given by King John I of Portugal. The bull had probably been sought by Fernão Rodriguez, who was then the Master of Avis, and the annexation probably had the approval of King John, who had been the previous Master of Avis. In June, 1394, Fernão Rodriguez had that papal bull formally published by means of a letter that was

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[90] See ibid., 10v.

[91] Da Silva Castelo-Branco notes, and rejects, the unsubstantiated claims claiming that Pedro Brava de Sequeira and Maior Gonçalves de Sequeira were the parents of Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, and the claim that Fernão's father was Rodrigo Anes Redondo de Sequeira, see M. da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, *Estudos de Castelo-Branco* 48-49, no. April-July (1974), 55-56, 72.

[92] See the well-documented evidence concerning the parents of Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira in ibid., 58-61..

[93] São Vicente da Beira is about 23 km north-northwest of Castelo Branco, and about 140 km north-northeast of Avis.

[94] Alter Pedroso is about 110 km south of São Vicente da Beira

[95] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 63-64.

[96] See ibid., 55, 66; Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 223.

presented to Bishop João III Anes do Amaral of Evora.[97] In the light of this privilege, Fernão Rodriguez was entitled, on behalf of the Order of Avis, to annex the church in Moura, together with its attached monastery, presumably, both of which had been built by the Hospitallers in the thirteenth century, and which the Order of Avis had been administering since 1317. In September that same year, 1394, the same Master of Avis, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, authorised Martinho Esteves Godinho, his squire, to take possession of those churches and patronages.[98] The annexation of those church properties was authorised by Bishop João III Anes do Amaral of Evora the following November.[99] As a result of this annexation, the local lordship of the Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura was no longer held by the crown of Portugal, as it had been up to then, but by the Order of Avis. This change made it possible for that church and monastery to be sold or given to another Order without any further intervention on the part of the crown of Portugal.

Shortly before the annexation took place, Fernão's illegitimate son, Nuno Afonso, born of an unmarried women who is not identified in the extant documentation, had been legitimised by King John on 29 October, 1394.[100] On the day before that legitimisation, 28 October, 1394, King John I had also donated all the movable and fixed goods of Pero Rodrigues da Fonseca, the mayor of Olivença, which had been confiscated on account of his disloyal behaviour and his going to Castile, to 'Nuno Fernandes, the son of the Master of Avis'.[101] Given the apparent link between the donation to Nuno Afonso of the goods of Pero Rodrigues da Fonseca, which were, presumably, in Olivença, about 85 km north-northeast of Moura, and the legitimisation of Nuno Afonso, it seems unlikely that Nuno Afonso was still a baby at the time of his legitimisation, when he would have been in no position to administer those goods, and it is more likely that he was then in the

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[97] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4640797

[98] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4640802

[99] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4640806

[100] See J.J. Alves Dias, P. Pinto and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, 4 in 11 vols., Lisbon 2004-06, 3/1:174, n. 265; da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval,* 70.

[101] See Alves Dias, Pinto and de Oliveira Marques, *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, 3/1:138, n. 226.

early stages of his career, in his early twenties, perhaps.[102] Nuno Afonso's legitimisation allowed him to receive the confiscated goods of Pero Rodrigues da Fonseca, which would enable him to marry a noble wife, should he choose to do so, and it would also enable Nuno Afonso to legally inherit whatever goods his own father might leave to him in due course.[103] Fourteen years later, in May, 1408, Bishop Peter of Badajoz issued a letter publishing the bull of Pope Gregory XII, *Eximie devotionis* (1408), which conceded to the same Master of Avis the right to give the goods of the Order of Avis to his relations, squires and servants.[104] On 4 December, 1408, King John I's letter, *A quantos* (1408), entrusted Nuno Afonso, then in his late thirties, perhaps, with the estates he had inherited from his father within the boundaries of Moura.[105] In the light of Pope Boniface IX's bull, *Magne devotionis* (1391), and the implementation of the annexation of the Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura in November, 1394, and in the light of the publication of Pope Gregory XII's bull, *Eximie devotionis* (1408), during May that same year, the estates in Moura that Nuno Afonso inherited from his father probably included a significant portion of the properties, houses and other goods that the Order of Avis held in Moura, including the Hospitaller church and monastery. Thanks to the King's letter, Nuno Afonso owned the properties given to him by his father in his own right, independently of the Order of Avis, and, from that point on, he was free to use, sell of otherwise dispose of those properties in whatever way he wished.

Although there is no explicit information concerning the date on which the ownership of the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura was transferred to the Carmelites, it must have taken place at some point between 1408 and 1428, since the Carmelites are

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[102] Before Afonso, the illegitimate son of King John I, who was born on 10 August, 1377, married the Constable's daughter, Beatriz, he had been endowed with the goods confiscated from Count Gonçalo Teles de Meneses of Neiva, and legitimised by his father, King John I, on 20 October, 1401, at the age of 24. See J.P. de Oliveira Martins, *A Vida De Nun' Álvares*, 9th ed., Lisbon 1984, 279 n. 796; A. Caetano de Sousa ed., *Provas Da História Genealógica Da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 7 vols., Lisbon: na Officina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, impressor da Academia Real, 1739-48, 6:n. 1; Monteiro, *Nuno Álvares Pereira: Guerreiro, Senhor Feudal, Santo: Os Três Rostros Do Condestável*, 188-89.

[103] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 70-71.

[104] See the following website, accessed on 13 May, 2023: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/viewer?id=4641523

[105] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 70. For the original, see King John I., *A Quantos*. 1408. Collection, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. João, book 3, 81v-82r,

described as being already in possession of that church and monastery in Nuno Afonso's last will and testimony, which is preserved in book eight of the extant documents concerning the Convent of Our Lady of the Carmel of Moura in the National Archive of *Torre do Tombo*, in Lisbon, which is the earliest-extant document that explicitly mentions the Moura Carmelites. It is dated 10 May, 1428,[106] when he was, probably, in his late 50s. The Testimony describes the mortuary chapel he was endowing, and in which he intended to be buried, as being in the 'monastery of Saint Mary of Carmel (*moesteyro de Santa Maria do Caramo*)' in 'the town of Moura (*villa de Moura*)',[107] and he also adds the following:[108]

> And that there be a headstone placed over my burial place and let my signs of Sequeira be placed on it and, in engraved letters, let them write on it 'here lies Nuno Fernandez de Sequeira, the son of the Master of Avis, lord Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, the grandson of lord Pero Bravo de/from Sequeira.' And my signs are five blue scallop-shells placed in the manner of angles [one in each corner and one in the middle] on a shield, and the field [background] of the shield being of gold.[109]

The reference in this text to 'the grandson of lord Pero Bravo de Sequeira' raises some questions. If the 'grandson' is question is Nuno Fernandez de Sequeira, which seems to most obvious reading, then Pero Bravo might be Nuno Fernandes' paternal grandfather, the father of Fernão Rodriguez, but, as we have already noted, this was not the case, the father of Fernão Rodriguez being Rodrigo Annes de Sequeira, as the detailed evidence presented by Manuel da Silva Castelo-Branco makes clear.[110] The only other possibility would seem to be that Pero

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[106] See N.A. Fernandez de Sequeira, *Testamento De Nuno Fernandez De Sequeira, Filho Do Mestre De Avis 1428*. Collection, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Convento do Carmo de Moura, 90r-93v,

[107] See ibid., 90r, 92v, 93r.

[108] See ibid., 90v.

[109] *E que faça poer ssobre mjnha sepultura h a quampaa [campa] e serom em ella postos meus sjnaes de sequeira e djguam as leteras em ella emtalhadas "aqui jaz nuno Fernandez de Sequeira filho do mestre d avjs dom fernam Roiz neto de dom pero bravo de sequeira". E os meos sjnaaes som em huum escudo çinco ujeiras [vieiras] azulles postas em modo de qujnas [quinas] E o quanpo [campo] de escudo d oura"* ... See also M. de Lurdes Rosa, *O Morgadio Em Portugal, Sécyulos Xiv-Xv: Modelos E Práticas De Comportamento Linhagístico*, Histórias De Portugal, Lisbon 1995, 114; *A Religião No Século: Vivências E Devoções Dos Leigos*, in *História Religiosa De Portugal*, ed. C. Moreira Azevedo, Lisbon 2000, 483. These colours are inverted in modern versions of the Sequeira crest, the five shells being gold and the background being blue.

[110] See da Silva Castelo-Branco, *Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 55-56, 61.

Bravo was the maternal grandfather of Nuno Fernandes, the father of his unidentified mother, who was not married to Nuno Fernandez' father, Fernão Rodriguez. Sequeira, Portugal, is about 38 km north-northeast of Oporto and about 200 km north-northwest of Castelo Branco, where his father, Fernão Rodriguez, was born in 1338.[111] On first sight, the epitaph specified by Nuno Fernandes gives the impression that both his father and grandfather had belonged to the Sequeira family, and Pero Bravo may, indeed, have also been from that family. Since 'de Sequeira' can also mean 'from the town of Sequeira,' however, it is also possible that Pero Bravo's place of origin was being used to give a very different impression, concealing the illegitimacy of Nuno Fernandes from those reading his epitaph who were not familiar with the name of his paternal grandfather.

There seems to be no extant documentation related to the negotiations between Nuno Afonso de Sequeira and the Carmelites concerning their move to Moura. A number of extant documents show that, between 1403 and 1408, Nuno Álvarez Pereira, now Saint Nuno of Saint Mary, O.Carm., made a series of donations to the monastery of Saint Mary that he had built in Lisbon. One of those documents, *Saibaõ todos* II (1404) indicates that some Carmelites had already come to the Lisbon Carmel in 1404, four years before Nuno Afonso de Sequeira received the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura as part of his inheritance. Since it was not the Moura Carmel, but the Lisbon Carmel, that was the first established in Portugal, it cannot be the case the Carmelites who came to the Lisbon Carmel in 1404 had come from the Moura Carmel, as had frequently been asserted. It seems more probable, rather, that the Carmelites who first came to the Moura Carmel had come from the already-established Lisbon Carmel. Since the Testimony of Nuno Afonso Fernandez de Sequeira, dated 10 May, 1428, is the oldest record in the extant documents from the Moura Carmel, however, it seems likely that the Carmelite foundation in Moura had taken place only shortly before that date in May, 1428. The essential question for the Carmelites would have been the provision of an income that would sustain them and it may even be the case that the drawing up of the Testament on 10 May, 1428, coincided with that foundation, since the donation of the church and monastery, together with the very significant incomes that were pledged for the upkeep of the Moura Carmel in that Testament, would

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[111] See ibid., 62, 70.

have been sufficient to enable such a foundation. Just over a week later, on 19 May, 1428, the Testament of Andres Vasques Escudeiro included similar pledges that would have provided further income for the new foundation. According to that document of 19 May, 1428, there were only four Carmelites resident in Moura at that time.[112]

We do not know the details about the circumstances that led Nuno Afonso de Sequeira to bring the Carmelites from Lisbon to take over the abandoned Hospitaller monastery there, but it seems probable that Nuno Afonso may have been influenced to some extent by his father, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira, when he decided to invite some of the Carmelites from the Lisbon Carmel to make a second Portuguese foundation in Moura. We have already noted that Fernão Rodriguez had served as a member of the King John's council and the anonymous chronicle of the life of Nuno Álvarez Pereira suggests that Fernão Rodriguez not only knew Nuno Álvarez, who was also on the King's council, but that he was respected by both the King and by Nuno Álvarez. Chapter 63 of the anonymous chronicle names Fernão Rodriguez, who had become Master of Avis in 1387, as one of the three members of the council that the King had sent to persuade Nuno Álvarez, then Constable of Portugal, to return to the council after the Constable had left the council and had spoken about leaving Portugal as a result of a significant disagreement with the King, sometime during 1393 or 1394, the delicacy of the situation implying sometime that Fernão Rodriguez was highly regarded by both. Fernão Rodriguez seems to have made an impression on the Constable and, having persuaded King John to provide an inheritance for his illegitimate son, Nuno Afonso, and to legitimise him, in October 1394, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was sought out by the Constable after the Master of Santiago of Castile, Lorenzo I Suárez de Figueroa, had invaded Portugal towards the end of 1397. Chapter 66 of the anonymous chronicle also describes the Constable, Nuno Álvarez Pereira, as inviting the Master of Avis, Fernão Rodriguez, to join him

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[112] See A. VASQUES, *Testamento De Andre Vasquez 1428*, Collection, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Convento do Carmo de Moura, 107r-112v, Sant'Anna described the testimony concerning Andres Vasques and his wife, Domingas Affonso, as having been drawn up by John Annes in 1382 of the era of Caesar, 1344 of the era of Christ. In view of the 1428 documents, however, this seems to have been an error or, perhaps, an attempt to claim that the Moura Carmel had already been in existence in 1344 of the era of Christ, see PEREIRA DE SANT'ANNA O.CARM., *Chronica Dos Carmelitas De Antiga, E Regular Observancia Nestes Reynos De Portugal, Algarves, E Seu Dominios* ... 158 n. 377.

in serving the King by pursuing and the Master of Santiago, invading Castile in order to do who, and with a view to engaging him in battle and defeating him. We are told that the Master of Avis was 'very pleased' to accept the invitation, taking responsibility for the rear-guard of the army while the Constable was with the vanguard, when they invaded Spain and attacked Cáceres in December, 1397.[113]. After a successful campaign, they returned to Portugal together before parting to go their separate ways in Portalegre, sometime in January 1398.

In 1401, Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was responsible for the construction of the church of Our Lady of the Snows, the main church in Borba, which belonged to the Order of Avis,[114] and the inscription giving that information included the motto of the Sequeira family, 'Avis, Avis. Sequeira, Sequeira!' The Testimony of Nuno Afonso in 1428 indicated that this motto was also to be included in Nuno Afonso's headstone in the Moura Carmel, showing that father and son shared the same motto and had a similar devotion to the endowment of churches associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary, something that was also a significant aspect of the later life of Nuno Álvarez Pereira, who had founded the Lisbon Carmel in 1404, approximately. Since Fernão Rodriguez was still alive when his son, Nuno Afonso, wrote his Testament in 1428, and since that Testament makes no mention of any offspring of Nuno Afonso, it seems likely that Nuno Afonso may have been influenced by his father, either directly, or by long association, in his decision to invite the Lisbon Carmelites to take over the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura and to provide an income for them by means of that 1428 Testament. When Fernão Rodriguez died in 1433, he was buried, alongside the other dead Masters of Avis, in the chapel of the Order of Aviz, in Aviz.[115] It was, presumably, by means of the death, and burial, of Nuno Afonso de Sequeira, in 1436, when he would probably have been in his mid-sixties, that Nuno Afonso formally instituted his family's mortuary chapel in the Moura

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[113] See chapters 64 and 66 of the anonymous chronicle. See also DA SILVA CASTELO-BRANCO, *Uma Genealogia Medieval,* 66-67; FERNÃO LOPES and GOMES EANES DE ZURARA, *Chronica Del Rey D. Ioam I De Boa Memoria, E Dos Reys De Portugal O Decimo, Primeira Parte, Em Que Se Contem a Defensam Do Reyno Até Ser Eleito Rey & Segunda Parte, Em Que Se Continuam as Guerras Com Castella, Desde O Principio De Seu Reinado Ate as Pazes*, Lisbon: A. Alvarez, 1644, 2:353 ch. 162.

[114] See *DA SILVA CASTELO-BRANCO, Uma Genealogia Medieval*, 65.

[115] See the following website, accessed on 29 April, 2023: http://castelobrancocidade.blogspot.com/2008/04/figuras-ilustres-de-castelo-branco.html

Carmel. The Masses that were to be offered included those for his father, Fernão Rodriguez, who, in this sense, was remembered, along with his son and the other dead members of his family, in the mortuary chapel in the Moura Carmel.[116] In effect, it was his 1428 Testimony, and the inheritance he had received from his father in 1408, that provided both the church and monastery, on the one hand, and the first stable income, that made the Moura foundation viable, and Nuno Afonso should probably be regarded as the founded of that Carmel.

Within the Order of Avis, the jurisdiction of Moura, which, among others, included the castles of Serpa, Maurão and Noudar, these castles being subject to the commander in the castle of Moura, which seems to have been established in the late 1360s, was still in place 264 years later, in 1631.[117] The 1631 edition of the Rule of the Order of Avis lists, for each diocese, the places that were, as such, directly subject to the Master of the Order of Avis, and places that were not. Under the diocese of Évora, the church of 'Mora,' the oratory of the Order of Avis within the castle of Moura, presumably, was directly subject to the Master but the churches of Serpa, Moura and Mourão, the three churches that had originally been those of the Hospitallers, presumably, were not.[118] In relation to Moura, the 1631 Rule notes that, in addition to the Prior and Beneficiary assigned to the church of 'Mora,' in the castle, and the chaplain assigned to say a daily Mass in the 'church of our Lady of the Castle,'[119] the same church, within the castle, being referred to in both these designations, presumably, the Order of Avis also appointed Priors in two other churches in the town of Moura, the sixteenth-century Manualine church of St. John the Baptist, which, by then, was recognised as having displaced the church built by the Hospitallers as Moura's 'mother church' or parish church,[120] and the church of St. Augustine, which had also been built in the meantime.[121]

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[116] See Albano da Silveira & Baena Pinto, *Resenha Das Famílias Titulares E Grandes De Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisbon 1883, 1991, 2:179.

[117] See O.S.B., *Regra Da Cavallaria E Ordem Militar De S. Bento De Avis*, 123v.

[118] See ibid., 17v.

[119] See ibid., 18v, 19a.

[120] See ibid., 18v, 124r.

[121] See ibid., 18v, 132r.

7. Epilogue and Conclusion.

Renovations were carried out on the fortifications of Moura by Francisco de Arruda in 1510,[122] and a two-page drawing of Moura by Duarte de Armas, made that same year (1510),[123] shows the castle and its fortifications, including the only tower that now remains standing, on the high ground in the middle of the drawing, with the houses of the town on the hill below the castle and outside the walls, on the right, and, also outside the walls and on a lower level than the castle, on the left, the Carmelite church and monastery, which had been built by the Hospitallers.[124] After further additions to the fortifications during the seventeenth century, between 1655 and 1660,[125] the walled town of Moura had four gates, the northern gate being known as the gate of the Carmelite Church (*Carmo*).[126]

In this paper, we have outlined the three seventeenth-century hypotheses proposing the 1250s, the 1290s and the 1340s as the periods in which the Moura Carmel was founded, noting that significant difficulties have been raised concerning all three. Focusing, instead, on the apparent continuity between the church and monastery established in Moura by the Hospitallers after the captured Moura from the Moors in 1232, and the establishment of the Carmelites in that church and monastery as testified in an extant 1428 document, the complex developments that took place between those two dates have been sketched. We have seen that, as the result of an exchange which was concluded in 1283, the Hospitallers giving up their local

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[122] See F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo, *44. Arruda (Francisco De)*, in *Diccionario Historico E Documental Dos Architectos, Engenheiros E Constructores Portuguezes Ou a Serviço De Portugal*, ed. F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo, Lisbon 1899, 55-56.

[123] See J. de Almeida ed., *Reprodução Anotada Do Livro Das Fortalezas De Duarte Darmas*, Lisbon 1943, 51.

[124] See the following website, accessed on 29 March 2023: https://avenidadasaluquia34.blogspot.com/2015/04/quando-duarte-darmas-passou-por-moura_14.html

[125] See Santiago Macias, *Escavações Arqueológicas No Castelo De Moura*, in *Arqueología En El Entorno Del Bajo Guardiana*, ed. J.M. Campos, J.A. Pérez and F. Gómez, Huelva 1994, 677. See, also, the outline of the history of the fortifications of Moura at the following website, accessed on 27 March, 2023: http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=993

[126] The other three were the gate called new gate of the Fogo, the gate of St. Francis, and the gate of Santa Justa, see Wyndham Beawes, *A Civil, Commercial, Political, and Literary History of Spain, and Portugal*, 2 in 1 vols., London: R. Faulder, 1793, 2:142.

lordship of Moura to the King Alfonso X of Castile, who gave it to the crown of Portugal in 1295 as part of a marriage contract that was confirmed the agreements that were formalised in 1296 and 1297. In response to a report by the local Bishop that the church and monastery were abandoned and in danger of collapse, in 1316, King Denis of Portugal gave the local patronage of the church of Moura to the Order of Avis in 1317, requiring them to provide the clergy who would serve that church. After the Master of Avis was recognised as King John I of Portugal, he held the title of Master of Avis until 1389, when Fernão Rodriguez de Sequeira was elected as the new Master. Apparently as part of a strategy that had the approval of King John, Fernão Rodriguez received papal approval for the annexation of the churches and patronages that the Order of Avis had been given by King John I in Pope Boniface IX's bull, *Magne devotionis* (1391), which was implemented in November 1394, shortly after King John legitimised Nuno Afonso, the illegitimate son of Fernão Rodriguez, which enabled Nuno Afonso to inherit goods and properties from his father. In 1408, the bull of Pope Gregory XII, *Eximie devotionis* (1408), gave the Master of Avis the right to give the goods of the Order of Avis to his relations, squires and servants and, towards the end of that same year, King John I's letter, *A quantos* (1408), entrusted Nuno Afonso, then in his late thirties, perhaps, with the estates he had inherited from his father within the boundaries of Moura, which, in view of earlier developments, probably included the ownership of the former Hospitaller church and monastery in Moura. In 1428, the Testimony of Nuno Afonso left considerable properties to the Carmelites of Moura, where the mortuary chapel of Nuno Afonso was to be constructed, and it seems that the mortuary was built after the death of Nuno Afonso in 1436. The 1428 testimony is the oldest extant document relating to the Carmelites of Moura and it seems likely that it was in that year, 1428, that the Moura Carmel was established.

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Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 73-96

A CENTURY OF THE INDONESIAN CARMELITE ORDER: PROCESS, DEPARTURE, ARRIVAL, AND BEGINNING OF THE MISSION

EDISON RL TINAMBUNAN

INTRODUCTION

The presence of the Indonesian Catholic Church has a unique history, in which the stages occurred distinctively. It was only after the Dutch colonial stage that the history of the Catholic Church continued and developed until now. The Church's first presence in Indonesia began in the fifth century, although it was only located in a small part of Indonesia, Barus, North Sumatra. Due to the situation in that period, Christianity only grew in that area. The missionaries at that time were traders of spices (black pepper), camphor, and agarwood. They came from southern India (Goa) and Persia (Middle East). These Christian merchants made mission as an implication of their faith, because trading was not the main goal.[1] Nevertheless, their faith was successfully made Barus become a Christian "village" at that time. Although its continuation was hampered by the glory of the Sriwijaya kingdom which had Buddhist characteristics, they finally disappeared at the time of the presence of Islamic merchants from the Middle East in the IX century.[2]

After a halt for several centuries, the Church returned to Indonesia in the early sixteenth century when the Portuguese arrived in Malacca, Malaysia in 1511 and then continued their journey to

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[1] W.L. NINGSIH, *Kerajaan Sriwijaya: Letak, Raja-Raja, Masa Kejayaan, Dan Peninggalan*, *Kompas*, May 30, 2021, https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/05/30/-204231679/kerajaan-sriwijaya-letak-raja-raja-masa-kejayaan-dan-peninggalan?page=all.

[2] E.R.L. TINAMBUNAN, *Kristiani Purba Indonesia (Pancur – Barus)*, *Prosiding Seri Filsafat Teologi* 25, no. 24 (2015): 3–25, http://eprosiding.stftws.ac.id/index.php/-serifilsafat/article/view/100. See also E.R.L. TINAMBUNAN, *Gereja Belanda: Dari Pemberi Misionaris Menjadi Tanah Misi Indonesia*, *Seri Filsafat Teologi* 32, no. 31 (December 12, 2022): 44–56, https://doi.org/10.35312/serifilsafat.v32i31.174.

Maluku, Indonesia. Missionaries from Portugal who were in Maluku were then visited by a brilliant missionary, Francis Xavier on his way to China. Mission area in Indonesia shows a very rapid development. Since this period, Dominicans and Franciscans handled missionaries in Indonesia, even though they were oriented in eastern Indonesia.[3] A century later, in 1603, with the presence of the *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC), which was founded in 1602, the Church in Indonesia was stopped growing. This organization looked as if it was a state like Netherlands because it has rights like the Netherlands, such as having an army (so that it can declare war or peace with other countries), seizing and controlling foreign areas outside the Netherlands, and monopolizing the area to gain wealth and collect taxes. The formation of the VOC aimed to counter the Portuguese and British trade which dominated the spices market at that time. The VOC practically controlled Indonesia, including Ambon, which had become Catholic.[4] In its political system, the VOC prohibited the Catholic Church from developing in Indonesia, which was colonial blood, implementing regulations in the Netherlands, where the government suppressed Catholicism and gave complete freedom to Protestants.

The collapse of the VOC in 1798 was due to corrupt officials,[5] changing the situation of the Church in the Netherlands and also in Indonesia. Especially after the Dutch government system became a kingdom since 1815, under King Willem I (1815-1840), Church began to own the freedom, but within the Catholic Church, the situation was still difficult due to a shortage of priests and reforms had begun. After the bankruptcy of the VOC, Indonesia as a colony was taken over by the Dutch empire. The first outcome of the renewal of the Catholic Church in Netherlands was the arrival of the first Dutch missionaries to Indonesia.[6] The Texel ship departed from the Netherlands on July

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[3] A. Verelladevanka, *Sejarah Masuk Dan Berkembangnya Katolik Di Indonesia*, *Kompas*, November 30, 2021, https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/11/30/-120000679/sejarah-masuk-dan-berkembangnya-katolik-di-indonesia?page=all#:~:text=KOMPAS.com – Agama Katolik masuk,dengan tujuan mencari rempah-rempah.

[4] Y. Bakker, *Umat Katolik Perintis Di Indonesia 1*, in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia* (Ende-Flores: Waligereja Indonesia - Arnoldus, 1974), 27-44.

[5] P. Setyaningrum, *Sejarah VOC Di Indonesia: Kedatangan, Masa Kejayaan, Hingga Keruntuhannya*, *Kompas*, January 10, 2022, https://regional.kompas.com/read/2022/01/10/205234978/sejarah-voc-di-indonesia-kedatangan-masa-kejayaan-hingga-keruntuhannya?page=all#page2.

[6] Now Batavia is called Jakarta. A.J.J. M. van den Eerenbeemt, *De Missie-Actie in Nederland (± 1600-1940)* (Nijmegen: N.V. Centrale Drukkerij, 1945), 33, 37-38, http://hdl.handle.net/2066/107599.

22, 1807, arrived in Batavia on April 4, 1808, and the two passengers on the ship were Jacobus Nelissen and Lambertus Prinsen, the diocese missionaries from the Netherlands who started a mission to return to Indonesia after being stopped due to the VOC's prohibition. Before the two missionaries left for Indonesia, on May 8, 1807, Pope Pius VII had appointed James Nelissen as Prefecture of the Dutch East Indies which based in Batavia.[7] Therefore, Batavia (Indonesia) was under the Apostolic Prefecture when the two missionaries came to Indonesia.

The Netherlands Church made the best use of this opportunity, so that after the arrival of the two previous priests, another diocese missionary followed. The result was the Indonesian bishop, Jakobus Groof, became an Apostolic Vicariate in 1842.[8] In 1859, the Jesuit Congregation from the Netherlands started an Indonesian mission in Jakarta. With the presence of the Jesuits, Diocese Priests returned to the Netherlands, because in their country, Diocese Priests were urgently needed. Hence, the mission in Indonesia was only handled by the Jesuit congregation. Thus, this vast country was served only by this one congregation with the addition of missionaries from the Netherlands, without the help of other congregations or the Diocese Priest.[9] At the end of the 19th century, the mission area expansion plan was made, which still continued until the beginning of the 20th century.[10] The plan was only implemented with the presence of missionaries from the Netherlands to Indonesia. The Indonesian mission's territory was divided depending on the order in which the missionaries arrived. East Indonesia was handed over to Missionarii Sacritissimi Cordis (MSC) in 1902, along with the establishment of the West Irian Prefecture. Then the Jesuits departed from the area a year later, focusing on other mission sites in Indonesia. The Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (OFMCap) then arrived in Indonesia and took a mission in Kalimantan in 1905 with the establishment of the Apostolic Prefecture, and then followed by the Prefecture of Sumatra in 1911 which was also handled by OFMCap. Jesuits were no longer on mission in these two places. Two years later, in 1913, East Nusa Tenggara became an Apostolic Prefecture and Societas Verbi Divini (SVD) had responsibility for it. With the presence of these

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[7] G. VRIENS, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia 2* (Ende-Flores: Waligereja Indonesia - Arnoldus, 1972), 24-25.

[8] G.VRIENS, 34.

[9] E A.J.J. M. VAN DEN EERENBEEMT, *De Missie-Actie in Nederland (± 1600-1940).*, vii.

[10] G. VRIENS, 6-16.

missionaries, the Jesuits left East Nusa Tenggara and only focused on Java Sulawesi. Then Sulawesi also became an Apostolic Prefecture in 1919 and the MSC was the implementer of its mission. Thus, the Jesuit mission is only in Java.[11]

This is the condition of the Catholic Church in Indonesia until the early 20th century. The Jesuits, who had previously served the entire country, subsequently concentrated solely on Java Island. In the following discussion, the focus will be on Java Island, where the Carmelite Order later established a mission in Malang City precisely. The main problem of this research is: How did the Netherlands Carmelite Order get a mission in Malang? Why did the Carmel Order agree to accept the mission in Malang? What preparation did the Netherlands Carmelite Order take to acquire the mission in Malang? What was the strategy adopted by the Carmelite Order in dealing with the mission in Malang Indonesia? This research is a history with an emphasis on the chronological dimension with important historical information based on archives from an institution related to the mission in Malang Indonesia as the main source to show the originality of this research.

Mission Land of Java Island

After the presence of three congregations in Indonesia (MSC, OFMCap, and SVD) which all came from the Netherlands, and received their respective mission areas in Indonesia, the Jesuits practically only had a mission in Java (including the Madura Island). After Indonesia was split into mission zones, Java Island was assigned under the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia, while other areas were assigned under the Apostolic Prefecture. During this period Java was divided into three Netherlands colonial administrative areas, namely West Java, Central Java, and East Java (including the Madura Island).

Surabaya which is an important city in East Java has become a mission area of the Jesuits since 1859 when they started missions in Indonesia. Surabaya at that period was the largest city in East Java. From this city, the Jesuits expanded the territory of the mission area in East Java. The first place to go was Pasuruan, as one of the important colonial residents for port transportation reasons. In this city, a church was built in 1895 which was served from Surabaya

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[11] G. Vriens, 73-77.

under the name of the Saint Anthony patron. In 1896, the Jesuits began to serve Malang officially by building a church in the 1896. The Jesuit's arrival (July 2, 1896), including his departure (August 1, 1923) is still written in an inscription that can be observed today at the Hati Kudus Jesus church in Malang. After the arrival of the Jesuits in Malang, Pasuruan City which was previously served from Surabaya, was handled from Malang for territorial reasons to make it more effective and efficient. The first Pastor in Malang was G.D.A Jonckbloet SJ. Because the development of the congregation was growing rapidly, the church had to be enlarged, therefore, a second church was built on top of the same church building in 1905 and was completed in 1906. The two towers on the left and right of the church were built higher in 1930. The shape of this church building has been maintained until now, and has even become one of the monuments of Malang City.[12] In 1916, a church was then established in Lawang, about twenty kilometers north of Malang city so that the Malang territory already had three churches (Pasuruan, Malang, and Lawang) to serve Catholics who mostly were Dutch citizens who worked in plantations and government sector.



Indonesian map

In the early period of the Catholic church in Malang, there was only one school service which was managed by Ursuline nuns who had started it since 1900.[13] In 1923, this school had about 500 people and

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[12] C. VERBEEK, *Perjalanan Ordo Karmel Indonesia (1922-1980)*, in *Perjalanan Ordo Karmel Indonesia, Pasang Surut Selama Sembilan Puluh Tahun 1923-1913*, ed. E.R.L. TINAMBUNAN (Malang: Karmelindo, 2013), 79-80.

[13] C. VERBEEK, 74.

the majority of them were non-native Indonesians (only Dutch children).[14] The colonial situation in Malang as well as Indonesia during that period made non-natives a priority to attend school. Later, the mission started in 1923, the situation began to change by giving education priority to local residents together with Dutch citizens by establishing schools in various places. The form of church in Malang, as well as in Indonesia during this period, was a colonial church with three characteristics. First, the majority of Catholics are from colonial countries which was the Netherlands. Statistics showed that in 1923, the number of Dutch Catholics in Malang was 2,800 and the local population was only 125.[15] Second, the missionaries who were working in Malang as well as in Indonesia received financial support from the Netherlands government. Missionaries who came from the Netherlands to Indonesia, including Malang, were funded by the Netherlands government, both for transportation and living expenses in Malang. The third was as a consequence of the previous two, namely the ecclesiastical ministry was oriented towards the colonists, in this case, the Dutch.



Java island map

Based on these statistics, the presence of the Catholic Church became the majority of service activity for Dutch Catholics. Indeed, some local residents had become Catholics, but they were still in a minority condition, and most of the local residents were of Chinese descent. In this form of Catholic demography, the orientation of the Church was more towards serving colonialism in the form of spiritual and social life. The same thing could be observed in schools.[16] The

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[14] D. BLOMESATH, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Di Wilayah Keuskupan Malang*, in *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia* , vol. 3b (Ende - Flores: Arnoldus, 1974), 1001.

[15] D.BLOMESATH, 1016.

[16] C. VERBEEK, *Perjalanan Ordo Karmel Indonesia (1922-1980)*, 72-73.

application of education system was divided into two forms. The first was a school for Dutch children and those who were working in the colonial government. They use Dutch as the main language in school, hence, it could be said that only the upper class could attend school in this place. Meanwhile, the other form of school was using the local language, where practically the quality of education was also different from the first form. As a result, the number of children attending school decreased. This is a form of inequality in social life in this period. The ability to speak Dutch was shown as a social status and benchmark for higher education and this was still occurring until the end of the 20th century.

With the development of the Indonesian church, the Vatican through Propaganda Fide believed that Java Island needed a division of mission areas for the effectiveness and efficiency of service delivery. This proposal was submitted in 1920 by Cardinal Marianus van Rossum as the person in charge of the Propaganda Fide institution in connection with the mission of the Catholic Church which was informed by Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, Vicarius of Batavia Indonesia to the Jesuit Provincial of Nijmegen.[17] This intention needed to be discussed with the leader who was responsible for the mission in Java which was entirely handled by the Jesuits.[18] To realize this, on September 5, 1921 Propaganda Fide wanted to divide the island of Java into four mission areas.[19] Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen had little difficulty in dividing it because the Dutch colony divided Java into three parts of the governmental area, namely West Java, Central Java, and East Java. This colony government division system needed to be considered in connection with administration related to civil affairs. The division should have been made based on colonial rule, which only consisted of three parts. Nevertheless, Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen tried to fulfill Marianus van Rossum's request to divide it into four mission areas.[20] The principle used for the division of mission areas is urgent and level of social and geographical reason. In this context, East Java is included in this principal category, because

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[17] E.S. Luypen, *Letter from Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis No. 1730,* in *Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven*, *Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Batavia: Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, 1920).

[18] M. van Rossum, *Letter from Propaganda Fide, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Vatican: Propaganda Fide, 1921).

[19] Ibid.

[20] E.S. Luypen, *Letter from Mgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Batavia: Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, 1921).

Madura Island is separated from Java Island which requires time in service and special handling. One of the basic reasons is that the majority of the ethnic group in the eastern part of East Java on the north coast comes from Madura Island, therefore they have similarities with Madura Island socially.[21] Meanwhile, other ethnic groups that were categorized as minorities are Javanese, Tenggerese, Osing, and a small part of the Chinese.

So that Propaganda Fide had an overview of the condition of Java Island together with Madura Island, Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen sent important information that was needed regarding the mission, hence, the leader of the Church objectively divided it according to the criteria that were previously mentioned. Java and Madura Island have an area of 128,297 km2.[22] The mission's situation was as follow. Java was under one Vicariate with the following territorial details. West Java was the residence of the Vicariate in Batavia with 18 priests. Meanwhile, Central Java had 32 priests and East Java only had 8 priests. Thus, such a large area was served by only one bishop and 58 priests, while several Jesuit priests had to return to the Netherlands for various reasons.[23] If the division of the mission areas of the Java Island was realized, it would be handed over to congregations that were willing to serve. The situation that in East Java is more concerning, because it has only eight priests to serve an area of 47,963 km2.[24] Therefore, East Java required more serious services. As a result, it was divided into two. Finally, Propaganda Fide came to the decision to divide it into four mission areas, namely: West Java, Central Java, the western part of East Java, and the eastern part of East Java.[25]

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[21] P. Setyaningrum, *Mengenal 6 Suku Di Jawa Timur, Dari Suku Jawa Hingga Suku Tengger*, *Kompas*, August 21, 2022, https://surabaya.kompas.com/read/2022/08/21/-201519378/mengenal-6-suku-di-jawa-timur-dari-suku-jawa-hingga-suku-tengger?page=all.

[22] P. Setyaningrum, *Kondisi Geografis Pulau Jawa Berdasarkan Peta: Letak, Luas, Dan Keadaan Alam*, *Kompas / Regional*, August 4, 2022, https://regional.kompas.com/-read/2022/08/04/145122878/kondisi-geografis-pulau-jawa-berdasarkan-peta-letak-luas-dan-keadaan-alam?page=all.

[23] E.S. Luypen, *Letter Form Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, No. 1831, Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Batavia: Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, 1922).

[24] *Luas Wilayah Menurut Kabupaten/Kota Di Provinsi Jawa Timur, 2017*, Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Jawa Timur, 2019, https://jatim.bps.go.id/statictable/2019/10/11/-1823/luas-wilayah-menurut-kabupaten-kota-di-provinsi-jawa-timur-2017.html.

[25] R. Eiranen et al., *Narrative and Experience: Interdisciplinary Methodologies between History and Narratology*, *Scandinavian Journal of History* 47, no. 1 (2022), https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2021.2019107.

One month after the division of Java Island information letter, Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen sent a letter to Propaganda Fide that three congregations, namely OSC (Ordo Sanctae Crucis), CM (Congregatio Missionis) and OCarm (Ordo Fratrum Beatissime Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo) or the Carmelite Order were willing to go on a mission to the Java Island. After the correspondence between Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, Vicarius Batavia with Propaganda Fide, the division of mission areas was as follow: West Java was handled by one congregation, Central Java was also handled by one congregation and East Java was further divided into two, namely Western East Java and Eastern of East Java respectively managed by two congregations.[26] Then, the more detailed information was written in the letter Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen numbered 1968 on December 12, 1922 which stated that the division of the Javanese mission along with the responsible congregation was as follows. Jesuits will handle the mission in Central Java, and West Java will be handed over to the OSC. Meanwhile, in East Java, the Surabaya residents, Rembang (currently included in Central Java province), and Kediri were handed over to CM. This area is located in the western part of East Java.[27] Meanwhile, the eastern part of East Java with residents of Pasuruan, Besuki and Madura was entrusted to the Carmelite Order, which would occupy the church dan rectory in Malang. Missionaries who were coming to Indonesia from the Netherlands were expected to bring a diploma certificate for the mission. It was because the colonial rule required a diploma certificate in order to accept the allowance for living cost and services.[28] Meanwhile, for the preparations for departure and the things needed for the mission, the three congregation leaders communicated in the Netherlands. It was because the three of them came from the adjacent area (Nijmegen, Oss, and Panningen). From this collaboration, the Jesuits in Indonesia knew that CM missionaries and the Carmelite Order would arrive in Indonesia after post-1923.

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[26] E.S. LUYPEN, *Letter from Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Batavia: Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, 1922).

[27] M. VAN ROSSUM, *Letter from Kardinal Mrianus van Rossum, in Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis* (Vatican: Propaganda Fide, 1922). E.S. LUYPEN, *Letter from Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, No. 1968, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Batavia: Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, 1923). H. DRIESSEN, *Letter from Hubertus Driessen, in Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis* (Roma: Curia Generalizza , 1922). E.S. LUYPEN, *Letter from Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, in Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis* (Batavia: Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis, 1923).

[28] P. JOS HOEBERECHTS, *Letter from P. Jos Hoeberechts, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Djokjakarta, 1923).

The cooperation shown in managing missions gave a new nuance which was missions were no longer handled by a particular congregation. However, this mission was managed cooperatively by showing the apostolic character of the Church, which was reemphasized in the Apostolic Letter Maximum Illud (1919) and became the guiding principle of the mission in that period.[29] This dimension will appear later after the Second Vatican Council, where geographical and regional boundaries were no longer a guideline for the distribution and responsibilities of certain congregations, but work together where the Church needs services that were encouraged by the charisms of each congregation.

Dutch Carmelite Order was in charge of the East Java Mission

The Propaganda Fide decree was written in a letter on 12 December 1922 which addressed to Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen, Batavia as a local church leader for the Java mission and a copy to the Carmelite Order, entrusted the resident mission areas of Pasuruan, Besuki, and Madura to the Carmelite Order.[30] For this reason, the Carmelite Order of the Dutch province corrected itself with more detailed preparations. Titus Brandsma as the person in charge and the leader of the mission received a new assignment to prepare a mission to Indonesia in coordination with the Provincial. For this responsibility, Titus Brandsma had more intense consultations with Hubertus Driessen (procurator of the Carmelite Order) in Rome, for structural reasons of the Church which required them to cooperate with Mrianus van Rossum as the person in charge of the universal Church mission. Titus Brandsma predicted that Propaganda Fide decided to hand over the East Java mission area to the Carmelite Order. He only said *confidentes Deus* (trusting in God) for that mission's division.[31] Based on the information Titus Brandsma had

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[29] Pope Franciscus, *Epistola Apostolica: Maximum Illud*, Vatican, 2017, no. 30, https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2017/10/22/171022b.html.

[30] M. van Rossum, *Letter from Kardinal Mrianus van Rossum, in Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis*. H. Driessen, *Letter from Hubertus Driessen, in Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis*. Luypen, *Letter from Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, No. 1968, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven*.

[31] *T. Brandsma, Letter from Titus Brandsma to Hubertus Driessen, 17 December 1922, in Nederlandse Karmelarchieven* (Oss: Nederlandse Karmelarchieven, December 17, 1922).

obtained, he realized that this mission area was difficult compared to the western part of East Java.

The most obvious activity actually took place in the Netherlands, where missionaries CM and the Carmelite Order together with Jesuits were executing the missions in East Java. From the research archives which were conducted at the Province of the Carmelite Order and Jesuits revealed a collaborative mission of the Church (Redemptoris Illud 12-13). Communication between the Dutch Carmelites and the CM was exquisite. It was proven by the fact that both missionaries departed from the port of Genova (Italy) to Batavia (Indonesia), and in the future until now, they continue to collaborate, especially in the education of priest candidates. Massive missionary movements in Indonesia, especially Java, have occurred since Propaganda Fide divided the mission areas in Java and also opened the door for missionaries in other places who came from the Netherlands. It should be noted that the mission of the Church in Indonesia generally comes from various Dutch congregations. The reason is that the Netherlands during this period had its heyday of the Church, where there was a surplus of vocations to become priests, as well as monks and nuns, and even diocesan priests looking for missions as a form of service.[32] Another reason for choosing Indonesia was that since the beginning of the 20th century, many Dutch Catholic had lived in this colonial area, so they need missionaries for spiritual services, meanwhile, there were no local priests who served at that time. And the basic reason was the convenience of traveling because Indonesia was still under the Dutch colony.

In order to realize the mission in the eastern part of East Java, Titus Brandsma requested further information about the mission from the Jesuit Provincial who was handling the mission in this place. He received a leak of information about the mission accidentally from a Jesuit who was present on the night of the mission which was being held in Maastricht. Titus Brandsma was still waiting for the discussion with the Dutch Provincial Council to get more precise and formal information.[33] Discussions on the mission to Java at the Concilium of the Dutch Carmelite Order went smoothly with a number of things

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[32] E.R.L. Tinambunan, *Gereja Belanda: Dari Pemberi Misionaris Menjadi Tanah Misi Indonesia*.

[33] T. Brandsma, *Letter Form Titus Brandsma to Hubertus Driessen, 22 October 1921*, in *Nederlandse Karmelarchieven* (Oss: Nederlandse Karmelarchieven, October 22, 1921).

that needed attention. With regard to missionaries, the Concilium had not yet decided how many people and who will be sent, but with the situation of the vocation currently owned by the Carmelite Order in the Netherlands province, it shouldn't be a problem, even though several places of service will experience changes. What became more important consideration was financial issue. Money is indeed easier to find than people who want to be priests, however, a mission's needs require a lot of money.[34]

Titus Brandsma had a fundamental reason why the residencies of Pasuruan, Besuki, and Madura are classified as mission areas that are difficult. In Madura Island, there was not a single chapel which made the Carmelite missionaries practically start from scratch. In addition, the population in Madura was also dominated by Moslems. East Java has a population of about five million, and two-thirds of them are from Madura. In the Pasuruan and Besuki residencies, there was only one church in Malang and two chapels in Lawang and Pasuruan. These three residencies with an area of around 23,899 km2 (Central Bureau of Statistics for East Java Province 2019) were only served by three Jesuit priests. With this geographical and social situation, the criteria for missionaries can be classified, such as having an adventure, hard work, interest in learning the local language, the ability to determine the form of service according to the social conditions they face, and appropriate policies because the population has a high sensibility regarding religiosity. Another issue that needed to be addressed was related to finance in the mission area, even though travel and living expenses were likely to be covered by the Dutch colonial government.

After the declaration of the willingness of the Dutch Carmelite Order to accept missions in East Java, the residencies of Madura, Pasuruan, and Besuki which were based in Malang, the next step was to determine the people who would be sent. The method that was used was the registration of people who were willing to become missionaries. It turned out that the number of people who were interested was inconceivable until the Provincial Carmel Order of the Netherlands was worried about the emptiness of functionaries in the province. People who were interested include those who taught both in schools and theology, such as Dr. Eugenius Driessen, for example, who has expertise in the field of Scripture. Even Titus Brandsma himself also stated that he was willing to become a missionary,

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[34] T. Brandsma, *Letter from Titus Brandsma to Hubertus Driessen, 22 June 1922*, in *Nederlandse Karmelarchieven* (Oss: Nederlandse Karmelarchieven, June 22, 1922*)*.

although he eventually realized that his presence was not needed as a pioneer, however, his presence would be more valuable later when he opened priest education in Indonesia. Especially recently (in 1922), the Dutch Carmelite Order opened a major seminary in Merkelbeek and he was also becoming a teacher. In 1923, the Catholic university in Nijmegen was built and Titus Brandsma was one of the pioneers and lecturer.[35] Therefore, he realized that his willingness to become a missionary would not be granted by the Council, but even so, he left it to God's providence. Actually, the main obstacle that Titus Brandsma realized was related to his health. He often experienced digestive problems. An important person from the province who also wanted to become a missionary was the Provincial himself, Cyprianus Verbeek. In daily conversation, the central nominee to become a missionary in Java is Clemens van der Pas, a prior at the Carmel Aalsmeer monastery, and several other names.[36] In short, there were about ten people nominating themselves to become missionaries in Indonesia.

Make Malang-Indonesia as a Carmel Family

The mission to East Java (the eastern part of the domicile of Malang, Indonesia) by the Dutch Carmelite Order was not the first mission conducted by this province, because previously it had conducted a mission to San Paolo, Brazil in 1903. The principles selected for choosing missionaries for the Malang mission were totally left to the choice of Provincial Concilium of the Dutch Carmelite Order, with the assumption that if not all candidates to become missionaries departed as pioneers, they could join later. Titus Brandsma, who acted as the person in charge of the mission, thought that the Dutch Carmelite Order would definitely be able to handle this mission. For example, by asking one (out of 3 or 4 people) of the Carmelites who worked in schools could be appointed as a missionary, because activities in such workplaces were easily handled compared to a mission place that requires a lot of missionary service. Titus Brandsma considered that this enthusiasm should be also informed to Cardinal Marianus van Rossum as the person in charge of the Catholic Church mission. In fact, he did not need to inform the names of those

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[35] Now its name is Radboud University.

[36] T. Brandsma, *Letter from Titus Brandsma to Hubertus Driessen, 7 January 1923*, in *Nederlandse Karmelarchieven* (Oss: Nederlandse Karmelarchieven, January 7, 1923).

who have an interest unless it is certain later. The Procurator of the Carmelite Order in Rome, Hubertus Driessen chose Clemens van der Pas as the superior of the mission in Malang, which Titus Brandsma considered the right choice and made it easier for the Concilium to decide whether or not to approve it. However, the main principle was all these plans were left completely in providence.

In order to arrive at the departure of the missionaries, the cooperation of the institutions of the Carmelite Order of the Netherlands Province with the Curia of the Carmelite Order in Rome, Propaganda Fide in Rome, Vicarius Batavia, and Provincial Jesuits in Nijmegen as well as Jesuits in Java as executors of the actual mission is urgently needed.[37] Cardinal Marianus van Rossum fully handed over the cooperation to the Carmelite Order through General Elias Magennis, and then he handed it over to the Provincial Carmelite Order of the Netherlands, Cyprianus Verbeek to be followed up. It is clear that the Carmelite Order through its general thank Propaganda Fide for entrusting this mission and that decision is a joy for the Church.[38] For more serious preparations, the Province of the Dutch Carmelite Order requested information on the situation of the mission land in Malang from the bishop of Batavia. Cyprianus Verbeek also sent the names of prospective missionaries who would depart. They were Clemens van der Pas, Elias Wouters, Paschalis Breukel and Linus Henckens.[39] Then the answer from Msgr. Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen was received by Verbeek one month later,[40] which was exactly the same as what was said by Titus Brandsma which was alluded to earlier which was likely to be obtained from various information from Jesuit priests because P.G.M. Schmedding has provided information on the division of the Java mission area plan[41] and also from W. Hellings SJ, on mission celebration at Oss, in September/October 1922.

The person who was responsible for the Jesuit mission in Java Jos Hoeberechts received information from Vicarius Batavia, Msgr.

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[37] A. Jacobs, *Monasticon Carmelitarum Neerlandicum: Historisch Repertorium van de Klooster van de Orde Der Broeders En Zuster van O.L. Vrouw van de Berg Karel (13de Eeuw - 1940)*, vol. 1 (Heerlen: LVD-U, 2011), 640.

[38] H. Driessen, *Letter from Hubertus Driessen, in Vicariatus Apostolicus Bataviensis*.

[39] C. Verbeek, *Perjalanan Ordo Karmel Indonesia (1922-1980)*, 71."

[40] C. Verbeek, 76. Luypen, *Letter from Apostolisch Vicariaat van Batavia, No. 1968, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven*.

[41] P.G.M. Schmedding, *Letter from P.G.M. Schmedding to Jesuit Provincial, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Djokjakarta: Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven, 1922).

Edmundus Sybrandus Luypen that the Carmelite Order had given the names of prospective missionaries. Therefore, Jos Hoeberechts asked the Jesuit Provincial in Nijmegen to give him the power to hand over the mission area to the Carmelite Order when the missionaries would arrive in Malang, Indonesia.[42] Even the Province of the Dutch Carmelite Order had informed the arrival plan, although the date was uncertain because it was only said after Easter or Pentecost 1923.[43] This mission cooperation and communication continued until the departure of the missionaries.

The day of the missionary's departure finally arrived. The missionaries were different from the names previously informed to Vicarius Batavia, Msgr. Edmund Sybrandus Luypen. Those who pioneered the mission were Clemens van der Pas, Paschalis Breukel, and Linus Henckens. Meanwhile Elias Wouters joined in the following year. Clemens van der Pas who was previously prior at the Karemel Aalmsmeer monastery served as mission superior in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. Before leaving for the mission land, the three missionaries threw a farewell party with the Netherlands province of Oss which received a delegation from Provincials Cyprianus Verbeek and Titus Brandsma who were responsible for the mission.[44] After that, the three missionaries made a pilgrimage to Therese in Lisieux (patron of mission) and then to Lourdes, and continued to Rome to conduct an audience to Pope Pius XI on June 1, 2023. After that, they left Rome to the port of Genova and left Italy on June 6, 1923. Together with them, four CM missionaries also departed to occupy the resident mission areas of Surabaya, Rembang, and Kediri by taking the Johan de Witt ship.

After about three weeks of sailing, the missionaries finally arrived at Tanjung Priok, Batavia on 30 June 1923.[45] After meeting the Apostolic Vicarius and receiving welcome and instructions, they immediately departed for the mission land that was awaiting their arrival. On their arrival in Malang, they met three Jesuit priests who were serving this mission area led by P. Sondaal as a priest. On July 4, 1923, the Carmelite missionaries throw a farewell party with the

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[42] P. Jos Hoeberechts, *Letter from P. Jos Hoeberechts, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven*, 1923.

[43] P. Jos Hoeberechts, *Letter from P. Jos Hoeberechts, in Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven* (Djokjakarta, 1923).

[44] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EvjqYrY2Q-o&t=58s

[45] H.J.M. Koch, *Corte Schets Der Javamissie* (Nijmegen: Nederlandse Jezuïetenarchieven, 1925).



Pioneer of the Carmelite mission in Malang, Indonesia
Photo taken from the archives of the Dutch Carmelite Province

Jesuit priests.[46] After accompanying for about three weeks with various instructions and directions, the Jesuits officially handed over the mission of Malang, East Java, to the Carmelite Order on August 1, 1923. This event was written at the Hati Kudus Jesus Church in Malang with the words "*Ter Herinnering de komst en het vertrek der Paters Jesuiten 2 July 1896, 1 August 1923*" (Memories of the arrival and departure of Jesuits 2 July 1896, 1 August 1923). The inscriptions of the Carmelite Order are not listed. As long as the Carmelite Order was serving in Malang, they would not add any inscriptions. But one day the Carmelite Order were no longer served this church, they perhaps added an inscription containing the arrival of 1-8-1923 and the date of departure. In fact, the Carmelite Order had not left Malang where it had served for a hundred years (1923-2023).

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[46] G. VRIENS, *Honderd Jaar Jezuietenmissie in Indonesie*, vol. 2 ([Nijmegen]: Canisius, 1959), 1006.



Inscription of arrival and departure of Jesuits 2 July 1896, 1 August 1923 in Malang (Photo by Edison Tinambunan)

Mission strategy of the Carmelite Order

After the Carmelite Order took over the mission in Malang, East Java (the eastern part of Indonesia) the principle that the missionaries adhered to was as ordered by the Dutch Province Carmel which was civilization. The Dutch colonial government did not really like the principle. However, the Carmelite Order preached the Church and this strategy was emphasized in Maximum Illud (30) which became one of the guidelines for carrying out the mission at that time. Apart from that, social and hospital needs were also crucial in the mission areas, including in Malang (cf. Maximum Illud 36). The Carmelite Order would be unable to meet the mission's planting requirements on its own. As a result, collaboration, as demonstrated during mission planning in the Netherlands, must be continued in Malang. Collaboration with the Jesuits was no longer possible because this congregation had focused on Central Java. The solution to this problem was to invite congregations that were working in the social, educational, health, and pastoral fields to work together on collaborative missions in Malang. Besides parish services, the Carmelite Order in Malang also handled school according to its charisma.

Schools had indeed been established in Malang since the presence of the Ursuline Congregation in 1900 and already had around five hundred students of Dutch descendants in Malang. This school was unique; thus, it had created a school for the local community since

the arrival of the Carmelite Order.[47] The need for schools was very urgent, therefore the Carmelite Order through its provincial in the Netherlands, Cyprianus Verbeek invited *Congregatie van de Zusters van Onze Lieve Vrouw* (The Holy Virgin Mary) from Amersfoort, Netherlands to manage schools in Malang. After dialogue between the heads of the two institutions in the Netherlands, the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin Mary finally accepted the mission in Malang, Indonesia and started a school in Probolinggo in 1926,[48]

> "The Seven Sisters of the Holy Virgin Mary" left for the East Indies in August 1926 without a subsidy agreement. Nevertheless, they were developed well. The Seventh Sisters were no longer able to handle everything and the demands were overwhelming. "Their lives are guaranteed."[49]

From Probolinggo, the Congregation of the Holy Virgin Mary had expanded its activities to include not only the Malang diocese but also other dioceses across Indonesia. Even the Congregation of the Holy Virgin Mary had moved Generalate from Amersfoort Netherlands to Jakarta, Indonesia in 2019.[50]

The Carmelite Order of Malang is truly aware of the urgency of education for the community, therefore, the second congregation that was invited to collaborate in Malang was *Onze Lieve Vrouw van het Heilig Hart* (Lady of the Sacred Heart) from Utrecht, Netherlands. This congregation also served the Church through education. According to the communications of the leaders of both parties, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart appeared to be uninterested in traveling on a mission to Malang, Indonesia, with many issues, particularly in the financial sector.[51] However, after the Provincial of the Dutch Carmelite Order Cyprianus Verbeek succeeded in convincing Maria Stanislaus as the leader of the congregation at that time, he decided to go on a mission

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[47] C. Verbeek, *Perjalanan Ordo Karmel Indonesia (1922-1980)*, 72-73."

[48] C. Verbeek, *Letter from Cyprianus Verbeek to Congregatie van de Zusters van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Amersfoort," Nederlandse Karmelarchieven*, March 25, 1926.

[49] C. Verbeek, *Letter from Cyprianus Verbeek to Congregatie van de Zusters van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Amersfoort," Nederlandse Karmelarchieven*, April 1, 1926.

[50] E.R.L. Tinambunan, *Gereja Belanda: Dari Pemberi Misionaris Menjadi Tanah Misi Indonesia*, 50-51.

[51] C. Verbeek, *Letter from Cyprianus Verbeek to Maria Stanislaus Onze Lieve Vrouw van Het Heilig Hart," Nederlandse Karmelarchieven*, November 28, 1923. C. Verbeek, *Letter from Cyprianus Verbeek to Maria Stanislaus Onze Lieve Vrouw van Het Heilig Hart, Nederlandse Karmelarchieven*, April 24, 1927.

to Malang, Indonesia in 1928.[52] Our Lady of the Sacred Heart began school in Malang, expanded services in several dioceses across Indonesia, and even started a mission to Africa from Malang. In 2004, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart moved the General from Utrecht, Netherlands, to Malang Indonesia.[53]

Three other congregations collaborated with the Carmelite Order in Malang along with the two congregations that already mentioned, namely *the Congregation des Soeurs des Ecoles Chretiennes et de la Misericorde* (Misericordia)*, Congregatie van de Zusters van het Arme Kind Jezus* (Sang Timur) and *Missiezusters van het Kostbaar Bloed* (Precious Blood). The Misericordia Congregation was active in the health sector and started its mission in Malang in 1929 by establishing a clinic (later it became an essential hospital in Malang) and at various stations. It has continued to this day which has helped the community's health needs a lot. Meanwhile, Sang Timur, which was involved in pastoral and educational work, established a mission in Malang in 1934 in Pasuruan and has expanded services in several dioceses throughout Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Precious Blood Congregation began its work in Indonesia in 1937 in a tough area of Sumenep, Madura Island, and it is currently serving in other locations as well.[54]

Besides collaboration with ecclesiastical institutions, to support the continuity of the mission, it also required cooperation with the local government, colonialism. Because the Carmelite Order and the Church had different goals and methods from colonialism, the form of cooperation was not in the form of colonialism method and ideology, the partnership is aimed to ensure the safety of all people, and it is implemented via civilization and social services in collaboration with the congregation invited by the Carmelite Order. Meanwhile, colonialism was oriented to the secular dimension. Thus, both have their own characteristics. The form of the Church's cooperation with colonialism was in the living cost of the priests, and those who became teachers in the form of salary.[55] The reason

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[52] C. Verbeek, *Letter from Cyprianus Verbeek to Maria Stanislaus Onze Lieve Vrouw van Het Heilig Hart*," *Nederlandse Karmelarchieven*, June 9, 1927.

[53] C. Verbeek, *Perjalanan Ordo Karmel Indonesia (1922-1980)*, 93.

[54] C. Verbeek, 93-4.

[55] K. Steenbrink / J.S. Aritonang, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2008), 163, https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=cUoGJSs9-yOUC&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&ots=vGtWiBm415&sig=2fZb20SghtA4Bo1oBZ8-q67vayc&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false.

for this cooperation in the financial sector was because the government was responsible for serving the Dutch in Indonesia. Apart from that, it was necessary for priests and also in the field of education, including spiritual services, to receive salary, because Dutch citizens were also included in this service. This cooperation in the financial sector was very helpful for the mission in Malang, Indonesia. With this explanation, it can be said that the Church in Indonesia is not controlled by colonialism and did not control colonialism. Hence, the Church is not synonymous with colonialism or the Netherlands.

Conclusion

The Indonesian Carmelite Order celebrates one hundred years of its existence in Indonesia. To realize the mission to Malang, East Java, Indonesia requires a lot of thought, energy, struggle, and materials. When three missionaries departed to Indonesia, Titus Brandsma advised them to make Indonesia a Carmelite family and to educate the nation's children. This technique became the initial method and strategy for the Carmelite Order's mission in Malang, Indonesia, and its implementation requires collaboration as a component of Church service. The Carmelite Order and several congregations in the mission were successful in developing methods and generating significant outcomes for the Church and the country. In this anniversary celebration, the Carmelite Order is rightly proud of the service methods that were implemented when the mission of the Carmelite Order began and produced abundant outcomes. However, this present Carmelites need to discover their service methods that will produce more outcomes in the future. The grace of holy spirit has been perfectly internalized to avoid slipping or even falling, and brotherhood is the foundation for a collaboration with the Church institute.

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Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 97-118

TWO CARMELITE ASTRONOMERS AT OXFORD: JOHN OF AVON AND NICHOLAS OF LYNN

RICHARD COPSEY O.CARM.

The second half of the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth marked a high point for the Carmelites in England, particularly in Oxford. John Kynyngham and Peter Stokes were prominent among those opposing John Wyclif and his ideas, and Richard Maidstone, a noted poet and writer, is remembered for his translation of the Penitential Psalms into English verse and a laudatory poem in Latin welcoming Richard II's reconciliation with the City of London. A number of Carmelites, notably William Badby and William Reynham, played influential roles as chaplains to John of Gaunt whilst others rose higher and served as chaplains to the reigning monarch, such as Robert Mascall to Henry IV, Stephen Patryngton to Henry V and Thomas Netter to both Henry V and Henry VI. Other, more pastorally motivated Carmelites were ordained as bishops, mostly for small dioceses in Ireland and Wales. Stephen Patryngton was nearly the first Carmelite to occupy one of the major English dioceses but sadly he died before he could be consecrated as bishop of Chichester. Thomas Peverel, though, served as bishop of Worcester from 1407 until his death in 1419.

Individual Carmelites made their mark in other, more secular disciplines. Thomas Hothby was at Oxford in the 1450's and became a widely respected musician although he served most of his life in the cathedral in Lucca in Italy. His fame led to Henry IV asking for his return to England to serve in the royal chapel. Hothby started on his return journey and was in France when his health failed and he died before reaching his native country. In this article, though, the focus will be on two talented Carmelite astronomers who showed considerable skill in preparing calendars which not only predicted the dates for Easter and the other movable church feasts but also gave the times for sunrise and sunset, the phases and eclipses of the sun and the moon as well as other matters related to them.

JOHN OF AVON (ALSO KNOWN AS JOHN OF NORTHAMPTON):

There is very little biographical information available on John of Avon. The earliest reference to him was found by the Carmelite historian, John Bale, probably when he visited the house of the English mathematician, Robert Recorde, c1550. Recorde told him that:

> "John of Northampton, lector in sacred theology, of the Order of Carmelites, composed an impressive *Annulum philosophicum* (Philosophical Ring), the first craftsman in his discipline, which laid out the celebrations of the church's liturgy, like a perpetual Calendar (as it was called)." [1]

Sadly John of Avon's *Annulum philosophicum* has not survived and the only description of it is found in an anonymous commentary on the work written in 1394 which survives in three copies. This commentary claims that John of Avon devised his *Annulum philosophicum* in 1348.

From these meagre details, it is possible to construct some of the outlines of John of Avon's life. Evidently, he came from Northampton where he must have been born around 1300. He joined the Carmelite community in the town and would have completed his novitiate and studies for the priesthood there. Fortunately, his intellectual ability was quickly recognised and, he was sent to pursue the advanced course in theology at the Carmelite house in Oxford. This two year course led to a Licentiate in Sacred Theology, an internal Carmelite award, which qualified the holder to teach theology to Carmelites studying for ordination and gave the title of *lector*. Evidently John of Avon did not register for the university courses in theology but pursued his interest in astronomy and mathematics which was popular in Oxford at that time. Merton College, in particular, was noted for its work in astronomy and became a centre for this subject. It is possible that John of Avon studied under the noted teacher Walter of Elvedene who, some years later, was to have a second Carmelite student, Nicholas of Lynn.

By the 1340's, John of Avon seems to have gained a reputation for his ability in astronomy and mathematics and it was then that he conceived his idea for a perpetual Calendar which would have enable

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[1] BALE, *Index*, 234; see also intro by BRETT & CARLEY, xxxi.

users to calculate the mobile liturgical feasts in the Church's calendar such as Ash Wednesday, Easter, Pentecost, etc. According to the anonymous commentary on this perpetual Calendar, John of Avon completed his task in 1348. Unfortunately, 1348 was also the year during which the Black Death ravaged England. The plague reached this country carried by ships which docked in the southwest of England in June and spread rapidly during the rest of that year and most of 1349. With a mortality of around 50%, the Black Death caused great distress and upheaval. The plague reached Oxford in November 1348 and lasted in the town until June 1349.[2] Later, in 1363, Simon Islip, the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote that Oxford had experienced a "loss in all the branches of learning, owing to epidemics and that few remained to practice the study of letters".[3]

In the midst of the virulence of the Black Death, many of the students and fellows would have fled from Oxford to escape infection. John of Avon seems to have been among them as he is found back in Northampton in 1349. Even there, though, the plague found him as he died and was buried in the Carmelite church the same year. Although a man of considerable talent, John of Avon composed little written work:

1. *Annulus philosophicus*, Li. 1.

This work is only known through a later anonymous commentary: *Canones in anulum philosophicum: "Quamvis celi terreque conditor et siderum rector..."* This commentary survives in three manuscript copies:

(i) London, B.L. Ms. Royal 12 E xviii, fos. 1-14. (Treatise dated 1394).
(ii) Oxford, Ms Bodley 68 (S.C. 2142) fos. 1-13 (14th/15th cent.)
(iii) Oxford, Ms. Digby 98, pt. 1, fos. 41-49. (15th cent. imperfect copy)

Robert Recorde suggested that this commentary was written by the Carmelite Richard of Maidstone but this is unlikely.[4]

Bale adds two further titles but without giving any evidence for them:[5]

2. *De rebus Mathematicis*.
3. *Conciones aliquot*.

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[2] For studies on the Black Death, see BENEDICTOW, *The Black Death 1346-1353*: ORMROD, *The Black Death in England 1348-1500*: BROWN, "Surviving through History".

[3] WOOD, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, 276.

[4] BALE, *Index*, 355.

[5] BALE, *Catalogus*, i, 429.

NICHOLAS OF LYNN:

As was the case for John of Avon, very little is known about the life of Nicholas of Lynn. It can be supposed that he was born in Bishop's Lynn (now known as King's Lynn) and joined the Carmelite community there. His signature occurs in the list of the members of the community who signed a corrody agreement on 29 September 1377.[6] A corrody agreement was a contract between an individual or couple who wished to retire and spend the rest of their lives living within the priory, where they could attend the religious ceremonies and receive their food from the community kitchen. The agreement which Nicholas of Lynn signed was for Hugh of Elyngham and his wife Cecily. It is one of three documents in the Lynn cartulary signed by all the members of the community and is the only one which Nicholas of Lynn himself signed. The earlier document is dated 16 December 1368 and the later one on 16 December 1378. As Nicholas' name does not appear among the names of the community in either of these two other documents, it may be assumed that he was not present on these occasions.

It is possible to make some further deductions from Nicholas of Lynn's presence in the community on 29 September 1377. The Lynn community was a large one as this house served as a study centre, offering courses for friars from other houses studying for the priesthood. The neighbouring communities in the Norwich distinction (region), Burnham Norton and Blakeney, were very small and so they sent their young friars to Lynn where the community numbered around 30-40 friars and there were qualified teachers. Secondly, only the priests and the clerical students would sign the corrody agreements - the lay brothers were excluded - and the clerics would sign in order of seniority or precedence, with the prior at the head, followed by the academics (doctors and bachelors of theology), the subprior and then the remainder listed in order of seniority measured by their length of time in the Order. (There are a few anomalies in the three lists but, in general, these principles hold). In the list signed by Nicholas of Lynn, there are 40 signatures and Nicholas's comes sixth in the list. The list starts with the prior, John of Honynge, followed by a doctor of theology, Peter Wysebech, and then two bachelors of theology, William Coxford and Edmund Barsham. After them, come the other members of the community, headed by William Spalding and

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[6] LITTLE, *Corrodies of the Carmelite Priory*, 20.

then, Nicholas of Lynn, who was clearly a very senior member of the community. Unfortunately, this list does not indicate which of the friars were *lectors* but the list of the community who signed a similar document in the following year, 1378, does mark those who were *lectors*. In this list, William Spalding is marked as a *lector* so it is very likely that both he and Nicholas of Lynn were *lectors* when they signed in 1377. The absence of Nicholas of Lynn from the 1367 and 1378 lists indicates that he was not a regular member of the community but probably paying a visit from Oxford.

So, itcan be assumed that Nicholas of Lynn had completed his studies for the priesthood some time before 1367 and then was sent to Oxford to take the advanced two year course in theology leading to the Licenciate in Sacred Theology and the award of the title of *lector*. Alternatively Nicholas could have taken the advanced theology course in Norwich the senior house in his distinction before going on to Oxford. Either way, one can conclude that he would have been in Oxford for a number of years before he paid a visit back to Lynn in 1377 for some undisclosed purpose.[7]

At Oxford, Nicholas clearly excelled in his studies in mathematics and astronomy. He would have made friends with other scholars who were studying astronomy and mathematics in the university. One of the most notable students at this period was the Franciscan John Somer (c.1340-c.1409) who had been asked by his provincial to prepare a new astronomical calendar for Joan of Kent, the mother of Richard II, a task which he completed in 1380.[8]

As Nicholas developed his skills, he came under pressure to prepare a similar calendar for John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster. *Magister* Walter of Elveden (d.-1360) had produced a *Kalendarium* in 1327 for John of Gaunt but this only covered the years 1330-1386, so a continuation was needed. Nicholas' name could have been suggested to John of Gaunt by his tutors in Oxford but John of Gaunt already had close links with the Carmelite Order. His chaplains were mostly Carmelites. William Badby, a great preacher, was the Duke's chaplain in the early 1370's and he had been succeeded by Walter of Disse in 1375. In 1386, Disse was appointed a papal nuncio and was actively

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[7] Some writers have identified Nicholas of Lynn with a Carmelite at Cambridge who was ordained acolyte on 17 May 1410, subdeacon on 20 Sept 1410 and deacon on 6 June 1411. [*Reg. Fordham, Ely*, fos. 248v, 249, 249v]. But this must be another friar with the same name as the dates are too late.

[8] For John Somer and the other astronomers at Oxford, see O'Boyle, *Astrology and Medicine...*, 1-22.

raising funds for John of Gaunt's proposed expedition to Spain. Other Carmelites were involved in supporting John of Gaunt by preaching and writing against John Wyclif.

Nicholas of Lynn must have taken up the task of compiling an extension of the *Kalendarium* for the Duke in the early 1380's and he completed this work in 1386. Although Nicholas' *Kalendarium* was a continuation of the *Kalendarium* by Walter of Elveden, it did (like that of his contemporary, the Franciscan John Somer) mark a major step forward in its comprehensiveness, its astronomical information and its inclusion of medical passages. Fortunately, the Latin text of Nicholas' *Kalendarium* has been edited by Sigmund Eisner in 1980 accompanied by an English translation.[9]

Nicholas' prologue to his *Kalendarium* is interesting and gives us further useful information on him:

> "As Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and men, is by his own testimony "the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, from whom, according to the first sermon of the blessed Augustine on John "all created beings take their origin and their beginning and to whom, as their end, all things ought to be directed and restored", who is, who was and who is to come." *Revelation*, I. 8. So it is that, to the praise and grandeur both of Him and his blessed mother Mary, the most pure Virgin, the special patroness of our Order, as well as at the request and the kindness of the most illustrious prince, Lord John, King of Castile and Leon and Duke of Lancaster, that I, Brother Nicholas of Lynn, of the Order of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, of Mount Carmel, unworthy and least among the *lectors* in sacred theology, compose the present calendar in the year of our same Lord Jesus Christ 1386, for the four Metonic cycles immediately following. And this calendar will begin with the ending of the calendar of the Reverend *Magister* Walter of Elveden, namely in the year of Christ 1387, on the first day of the month of January, this being the first year of the Golden Cycle. And it will last for 76 years, namely until the year of our Lord 1463."[10]

The prologue goes on to explain the principles behind the calendar and what will be included. The following excerpt gives a glimpse of the scope of the calendar:

> "This calendar, moreover, is made for the latitude and longitude of the city of Oxford, in which, according to the practice of astrologers, the natural day is computed from noon of the preceding day until noon of

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[9] *The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn,* ed. S. EISNER, London1980.

[10] *The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn*, 59 (translation has been edited slightly)

following day. And it shows the way to find the degree of the sun and its minute for any day of the year; the lengths of the artificial and vulgar days and the twilights of morning and evening; also the lengths of the times from midnight until the beginning of dawn; and from the beginning of the dark of night until midnight; and from midnight until sunrise;, and from sunset until midnight. Furthermore it tells the lengths of the times from noon until sunset, and from sunrise until noon, and from noon until the end of evening twilight, and from the beginning of dawn until noon. Next it shows by means of the altitude of the sun and the shadow of a man, or even that of any thing set up perpendicularly, what may be the hour of the clock and the minute at any time of the artificial day. It also shows how to determine the ascendants and the beginnings of the twelve houses for any hour of the day. It also sets out clearly the conjunctions of the sun and the moon and the oppositions; the eclipses, their beginnings, durations, endings, diagrams or lengths of time of occultation. ..."[11]

The *Kalendarium* is divided into four parts:

I. The prologue.
II. Month-by-month calendar for the year.[12]
III. A series of astronomical tables and charts:
    (i) Table of solar eclipse (4 sections);
    (ii) Figures of the solar eclipse;
    (iii) Table of the lunar eclipse;
    (iv) Figures of the lunar eclipse;
    (v) Ascendant and beginnings of the celestial houses;
    (vi) The reign of each planet;
    (vii) Table of movable feasts;
    (viii) The motion of the sun and the dignities of the planets;
    (ix) Which sign the moon is in each day.
IV. A set of twelve canons or rules: the first ten explain the compilation and the use of the preceding tables; canons eleven and twelve are concerned with medicine:
    "11. On the times for bleeding or bloodletting".
    "12. On the correct time to use laxatives and other purges".

In preparing his edition, Eisner found a total of 15 manuscripts containing all or part of Nicholas' *Kalendarium*. However, other copies

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[11] *The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn*, 58, 60.

[12] Interestingly, Nicholas does not include any Carmelite feast days in his calendar.

soon came to light and the number has steadily grown over the years. Currently the number has risen to 30 and these are listed in the Appendix.

Nicholas of Lynn's *Kalendarium* proved very popular and was widely read. Its length and complexity of the tables, though, meant that copying the whole work was a laborious and complicated task. So, many of the surviving manuscripts contain only parts of the work which would be the most interesting or useful for the intended readership. The last two canons, with their medical advice on the appropriate times for bloodletting and administering medicines, proved particularly popular and are often found apart from the remainder of the calendar.

One interested reader of Nicholas of Lynn's *Kalendarium* was the famous English writer, Geoffrey Chaucer, author of the *Canterbury Tales*, who had a particular interest in astronomy. A reference to Nicholas' *Kalendarium* occurs in Chaucer's Prologue to his *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, written in 1391:

> "The .3. partie shal contienen diverse tables of longitudes & latitudes of sterres fixe for the Astrolabie, & tables of declinacions of the [sonne], & tables of longitudes of Citeez and of townes; and tables & as wel for the governaunce of a clokke as for to fynde the altitude Meridian; & many [a]-nother notable conclusioun aftur the kalendres of the reuerent clerk[e]s, frere I. Somer & frere N. Lenne."[13]

The third part to Chaucer's treatise does not exist so either Chaucer did not manage to complete it or the text has not survived. However, Chaucer does refer to the calculations in Nicholas' *Kalendarium* elsewhere. There are two references in his *Canterbury Tales* where Chaucer uses Nicholas' shadow scale in the introduction to the "Man of Law's Tale" and in the "Nun's Priest's Tale".[14]

The noted historian, John Leland (d. 1552), had high praise for Nicholas, describing him:

> "To my knowledge he was more successful in the studies to which he set his mind than anyone else of his order in our land of Britain has ever been. He devoted the principal part of his studies to mathematics , which encompasses four disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, music and astrology.

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[13] CHAUCER, *A Treatise on The Astrolabe*, 3.

[14] For a discussion of Chaucer's use of Nicholas' *Kalendarium* and especially his shadow scale, see: EISNER, *Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn*, 29-34.

> I could use many words to commend Nicholas' learning to the reader, but he does not need me to praise him..."[15]

The Carmelite historian, John Bale, similarly, had high praise for Nicholas".

> "... a man of exception learning in the secular sciences of philosophy, cosmography and astronomy; the most famous of all those of his time."[16]

However, neither Leland nor Bale had any information about his later life and Bale could only write that he was buried in his home town of Lynn.

In an early notebook, Bale records seeing some other tracts which Nicholas wrote and adds their *incipit* which is a good indicator that he had actually seen the works:

> *Canones vel calculaciones tabularum*, incipiunt: "Volentibus pronosticare futuros effectus planetarum."
>
> Iter *De natura zodiaci*, incipit: "Ad honorem Dei et ad habendam cognicione iudiciorum astronomie etc."
>
> Item *De planetis et earum domibus*, incipit: "Invenit quidam |vir| ex sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum quos reges"[17]

Interestingly, there are two copies of an unattributed work which bears the same *incipit* as the *De natura zodiaci* above: these are-

> a. *De astronomia: "Ad honorem Dei et ad habendum cogniciones judiciorum astronomie."*
> Ms.: Oxford, Corpus Christi, Ms. 132, fos. 89-(96).
> b. *Introductio quaedam ad cognitionem artis astrologicae: "Ad honorem Dei et ad habendum cognicionem judiciorum astro[logi]e, oportet primo narrare naturam zodiaci qui dicitur circulus."*
> Ms.: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Digby 57, fos. 171-(176).
> Whether this work was by Nicholas of Lynn is still an open question.

"Nicholas the Explorer"

There is one other aspect of Nicholas Lynn's life which need to be corrected. It is claimed that Nicholas went on several voyages to

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[15] *John Leland,* 581.
[16] London, B.L. Ms. Harley 3838, fo. 72.
[17] Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Bodley 73, fo. 200v.

Iceland and beyond, exploring the lands there and mapping them with an astrolabe. This story first appears with the geographer Gerard Mercator (d.1594) who wrote:

> "...James Knox of Bolduc or the Busse[18], who relates (only what he had earlier heard from another), that a certain Minorite Friar, an Englishman of Oxford and a mathematician, had described the lands surrounding the pole and measured them with an astrolabe more or less in the form that follows, as we have gathered it from James."[19]

This account was soon expanded by John Dee (d.1608) who attributed the voyage to Nicholas of Lynn.[20] His text was printed by Richard Hakluyt in 1589:

> *"A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician, maister John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas de Linna.*
>
> Anno 1360 (that is to wit, in the 34th yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in company with others to the most Northern islands of the world, and there leaving his company together, he travelled alone and purposely described all the Northern islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he delivered to the king of England. The name of which booke is *Inventio Fortunata* (aliter fortunae) qui liber incipit a gradu 54 usque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that, did five times passe from England thither, and home againe.
>
> It is to be noted, that from the haven of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Franciscan frier took his name) to Island, it is not above a fortnyghts sayling with an ordinary winde, and hath beene of many yeeres a very common and usuall trade: which further appeareth by the privileges granted to the Fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary service, in respect of their trade to Island [Iceland]."[21]

However, in 1923 R. Gunther described this identification of the Franciscan friar and the Carmelite, Nicholas of Lynn, as a confusion. There was no evidence to link the two and the manuscript *Inventio*

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[18] The Dutch explorer Jacobus Cnoyen of 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc, France).

[19] MERCATOR, *Atlas*, 162-163.

[20] J. DEE, *Famous and Rich Discoveries*, London, B.L., Cotton Ms. Vitellius, C VI. For the exchanges between Gerardus Mercator, John Dee and Richard Hakluyt over this episode, see EISNER, *Nicholas Lynn*, *O.D.N.B.*

[21] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 249.

Fortunata, presented to Edward III, has never been found.[22] M. Seymour claims to own a fragmentary copy of the *Inventio Fortunata*, describing "what is now Long Island"; however, he has never produced his copy. Nor is there any evidence suggesting that Nicholas of Lynn was the author.[23]

The claim that Nicholas was an explorer still continues to be made: see the articles by De Costa and Varshavsky listed in the Bibliography below. In fact, there are two modern plaques in the centre of King's Lynn which celebrate their famous "explorer", Nicholas of Lynn and one claims that he died in 1369 - 17 years before he compiled his *Kalendarium*! [see Illustration 2].

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[22] Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford,* II, 62-63.
[23] See Wikipedia entry for the *Inventio Fortunata*.

APPENDIX:

Manuscripts with all or parts of Nicholas of Lynn's Kalendarium.

1. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Ms. 4862/69, fos. 1-41. 1407 or later. Lacking prologue.
2. Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Gg.5.37, fos. 160v-161v. 15th cent. Eleventh canon and part of twelfth.
3. Cambridge, Trinity, R 15.21. Dated 1408. From the Austin Friars, York. Boyle that some parts of this calendar are derived from Nicholas of Lynn's *Kalendarium*..
4. Dublin, Trinity College Ms 402 (D.2.28), fos. 1v-36v. 1386-1399. Fairly complete text with some interesting differences, probably from Kent.
5. London, B.L., Ms. Addit. 15209, ff. 59. 15th cent. Prologue edited, missing some tables and canons, many additions.
6. London, B.L., Ms. Addit. 46143, ff. 17v-22. Tables of eclipses for three cycles (1406-1462) with figs. & notes of (a) the sun ff. 17v-18, 21v-22 and (b) the moon ff. 18v-21. These are attributed to Nicholas of Lynn by Lynn Thorndike as they are the same as the tables in Sloane Ms. 1110. [Thorndike, "Eclipses in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", 55].
7. London, B.L., Ms. Arundel 207, fos. 1-34. 15th cent. Prologue edited, missing some tables and canons.
8. London, B.L., Ms. Arundel 347, ff. 46. Before 1400. No serious omissions.
9. London, B.L., Ms. Harley 321, fo. 15, astronomical table, possibly by Nicholas of Lynn.
10. London, B.L., Ms. Harley 1811, fos. 3-36v. Early 15th cent. The Canons, fos. 34-36v, have been abbreviated. This manuscript has been digitised by the B.L.
11. London, B.L., Ms. Harley 3812, Folding almanac: possibly by Nicholas of Lynn (see Boyle below)
12. London, B.L., Ms. Sloane 636, 15th cent. fo. 2v. Single page containing the Tables for the 3rd & 4th cycles (1436-1462) of the Solar and Luna Eclipses, (Eisner, 142-143, 152-153).
13. London, B.L., Ms. Sloane 1110, ff. 40. 14th cent. Missing one folio and some details.
14. London, B.L., Ms. Sloane 1124, fos. 70v-73. 15th cent. Eleventh canon and part of twelfth.

15. London, B.L., RP 2422. William Reade, Manuscript anthology of astronomy, etc. Microfilm copy of exported manuscript. Includes excerpts from Nicholas of Lynn.
16. London, Lambeth Palace Ms. 873. Text of Zodiac Man.
17. London, Society of Antiquaries, Ms. 8, fos. 3-19v. 1407 or later. Lacking months from July onwards and all the figures, tables and canons.
18. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Latinus Monacensis 10661, fos. 71-72. Dated 1470. Both canons.
19. Norfolk and Norwich Millenium Library, "Astronomica", Ca28, fos. 47-49v. 15th cent.
20. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Ashmole 5, ff. 42. 14th cent? Prologue edited, lacking sixth table and parts of some canons. One image on Bodleian website.
21. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Ashmole 370, fos. 1-29. 15th cent., 2nd quarter. Lacking prologue, first two Metonic cycles, and many tables and figures. Two images available on Bodleian website.
22. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Ashmole 391, fos. 4v-5. c1387-1398. Eleventh canon. 2 images available on Bodleian website.
23. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Ashmole 789, fo. 365, Diagram of man with veins.
24. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Digby 41, Pt 3, fos. 57-90v. 14th cent. Lacking prologue, months of Jan-March, various figures and tables.
25. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Laud Misc. 662, ff. 42. Late 14th cent. Complete except for some tables and a missing folio. Rated by Eisner as best surviving copy. 10 images available on Bodleian website.
26. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Rawlinson C.895, ff. 32. 15th cent. Prologue edited, lacking twelfth canon.
27. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Ms. Rawlinson D.1218, ff. 1-34. end of 14th cent. or beginning 15th.
28. U.S.A., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XII 7 (83.MO.136), fos. 35v-51. Late 14th cent.
29. U.S.A., Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Ms. 522, fos. 159-202. Dated by Kuczynski to 1386-1400 – see article below – a collection of texts compiled by the Dominicans in Thetford in early 15th cent.; there are some small omissions from the early monthly calendars. The folios of this manuscript appear to have been renumbered as the University Library Catalogue now gives fos. 169-212.
30. [Location unknown] A copy from the library of the Earls of Macclesfield was sold at auction by Sotheby's on 22nd June 2004 (L04242) to an anonymous buyer.

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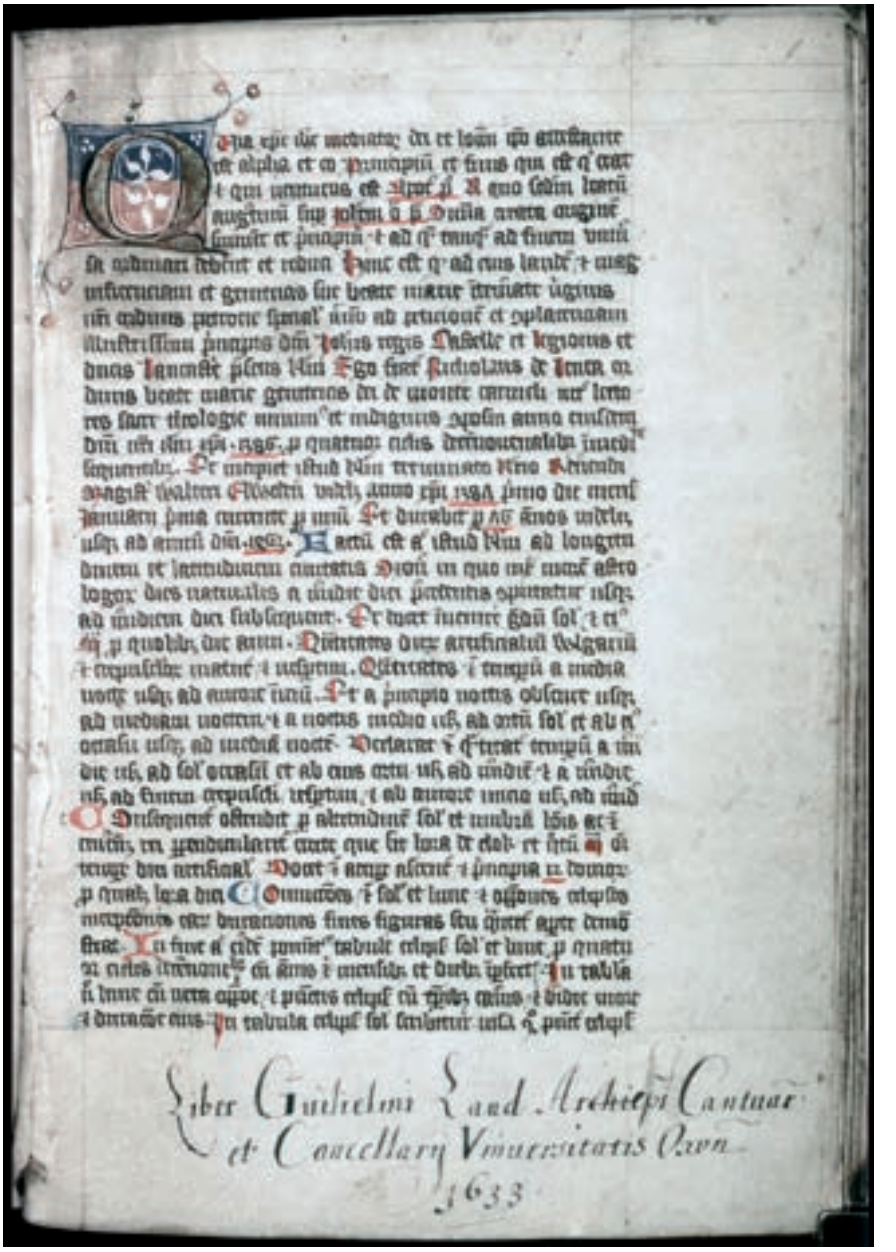


Illustration 1: Oxford, Bodl. Libr. Lauds Misc. 662 fo. 1: Introduction to Nicholas of Lynn's *Kalendarium* (late 14th cent,). [Images 1-4 by kind permission of Bodleian Library, Oxford]

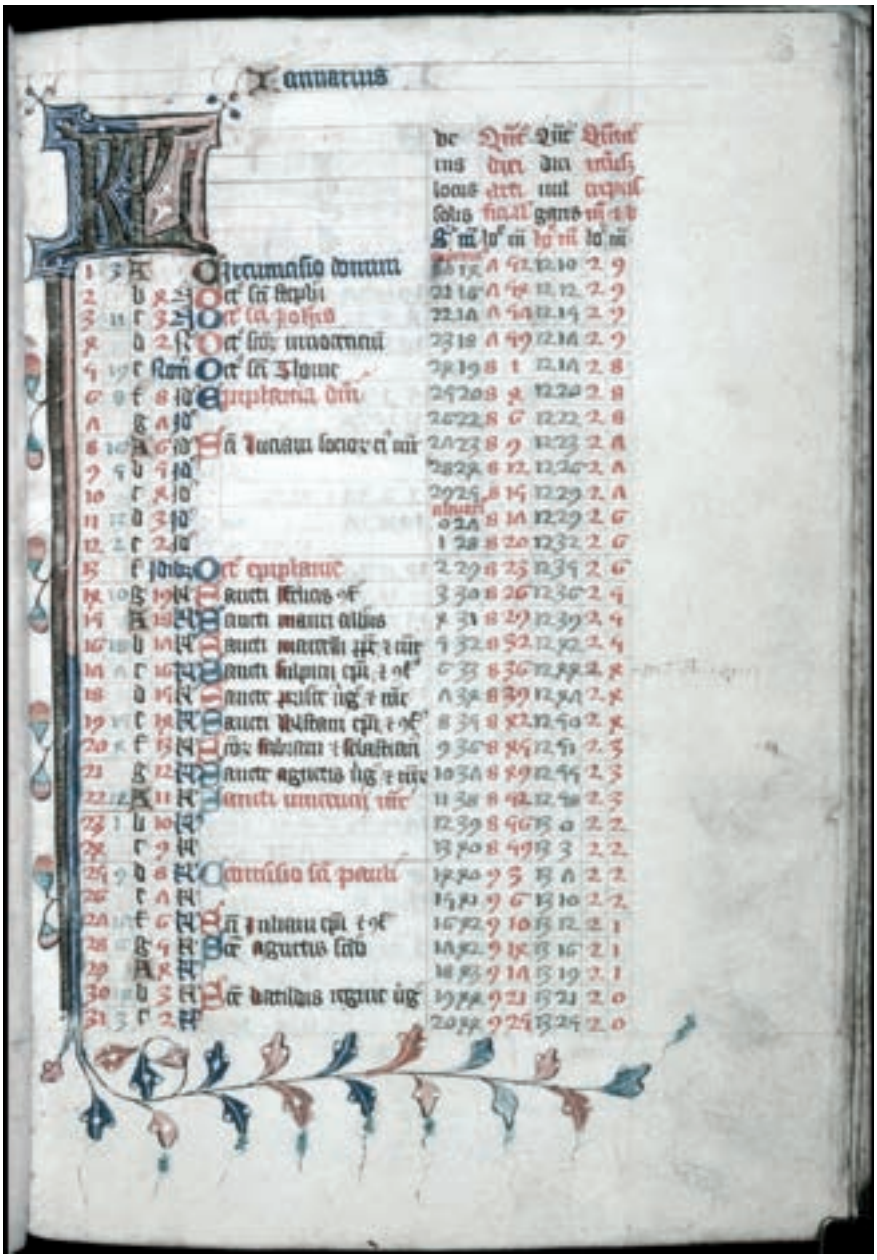


Illustration 2: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Lauds Misc. 662 fo. 1v:
First of 4 pages with various columns for January



Illustration 3: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Lauds Misc. 662 fo. 35v: "Table for finding, for any hour of the day or night, which planet reigns".

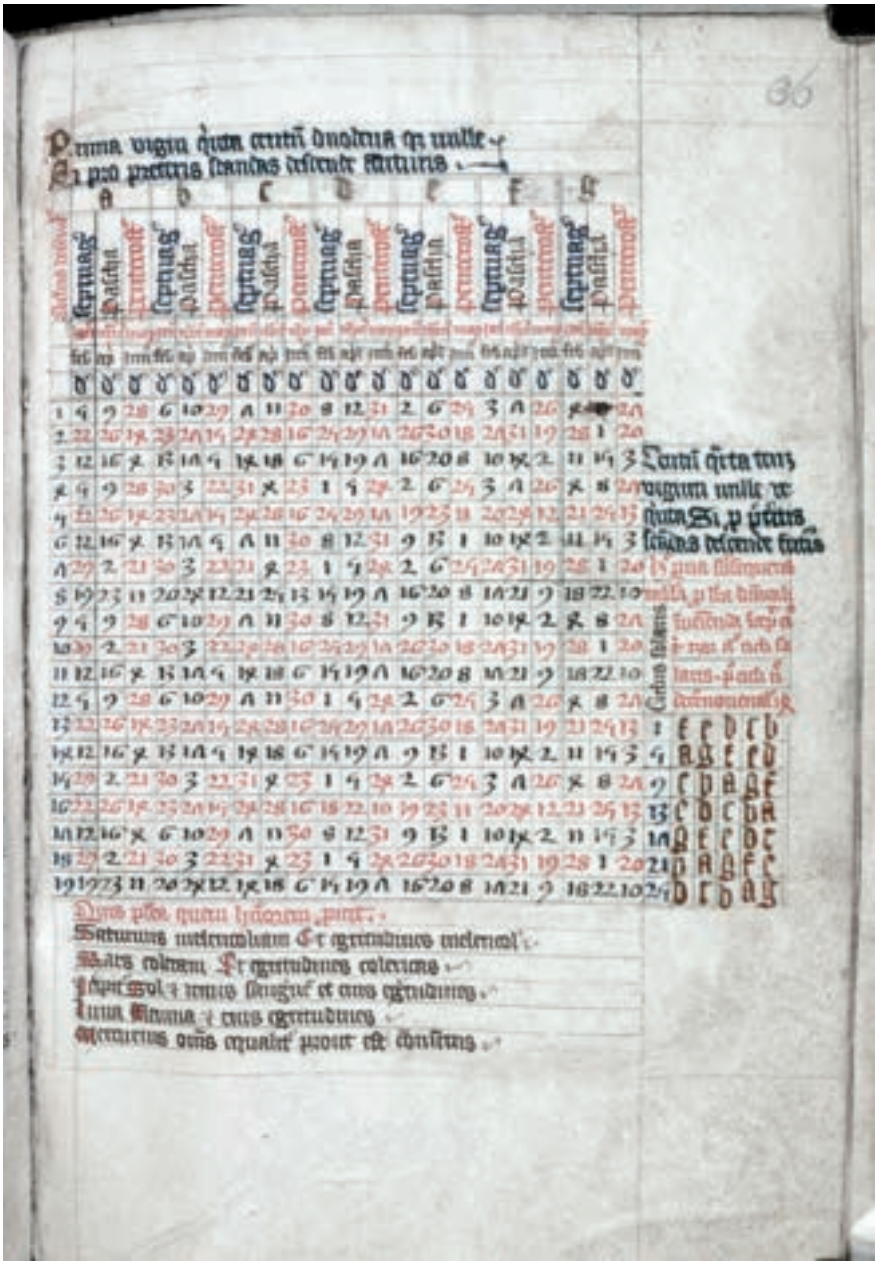


Illustration 4: Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Lauds Misc. 662 fo. 36: Table for determining the movable feasts: Septuagesima Sunday, Easter and Pentecost.



(a)



(b)

Two plaques in the centre of King's Lynn commemorating Nicholas “the Explorer”.
(a) Photo by Leo Reynolds (Flickr) and
(b) Photo by Lois Elsden (https://loiselsden.com/2014/11/10/nicholas-of-lynn/)

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 119-144

ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CARMELITE PROVINCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

JENS RÖHRKASTEN

It seems self-evident that as a mendicant order the Carmelites were only able to develop a minimal economy. They had to adhere to the most strict principles of poverty and were neither to have individual nor any collective property. The order's economic foundations were restricted to cover only the barest necessities. However, in their early history the hermits on Mount Carmel, who according to Albert of Vercelli's "Formula vitae" could be found there "iuxta fontem", were not bound by the limitations which characterise the mendicant orders.[1] Despite their individual poverty they were permitted to accept new places where they had their individual cells, a clause without any reference to the legal status of land or buildings.[2] It seems that the property was owned by all, although the control rested with the prior who was the only one who could authorise an exchange of cells between brethren.[3] In a similar way, the necessities of life were allocated by the superior. The ownership of donkeys and mules was also permitted if this was regarded as necessary.[4] Albert's rule envisaged two sources of income, begging and work.[5] The latter, however, was not primarily regarded as an activity of economic value but rather as a religious exercise which was to occupy the brothers, thus protecting them from sin.[6] These norms prescribed a life of austerity but they did not entirely exclude communal property. They

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* This article is dedicated to RICHARD COPSEY O.CARM.

[1] Regula Sancti Alberti, c. 1.

[2] Ibid., cc. 4. 4a, 5.

[3] Ibid., cc. 6, 10.

[4] Ibid., c. 10a.

[5] Ibid., cc. 14, 16.

[6] Ibid., c. 16: "ut semper vos diabolus inveniat occupatos, ne ex otiositate vestra aliquem intrandi aditum ad animas vestras valeat invenire"

were confirmed by Honorius III in the bull "Ut vivendi", issued to the Hermits on Mount Carmel on 30 January 1226.[7]

When the first Carmelites came to Europe in the early 1240s, these norms had already been significantly modified. Only three years after "Ut vivendi", on 6 April 1229, Gregory IX prohibited the possession of houses as well as real estate and rents and warned the hermits not to accept such property in the future. The only concession made was the ownership of donkeys "asinos masculos". Poverty was also a key element in Innocent IV's confirmation of the order, issued in 1245, after the Hermits of Mount Carmel had reached Sicily and England.[8] The hermits were described as being without property "nullas possessiones, neque proprium substentari valeant possidentes", obtaining their livelyhood through charity.[9] This was more a programmatic statement than a representation of facts at the time.

The first Carmelite convents in England, at Aylesford, Burnham Norton, Hulne and Lossenham were still granted to communities of hermits, however, the order was to undergo a significant change within a few years of their establishment, abandoning the secluded eremitical life of contemplation in favour of the ministry in urban centres and adopting the characteristics of the mendicant orders. This process was already under way in 1245, when Innocent IV acknowledged their institutional povery and offered an indulgence of ten days for those who were prepared to provide material support.[10] The next stage was an adaptation of the rule which was decided at a general chapter held at Aylesford in 1247. These modifications, introduced by cardinal Hugh of St Cher and another Dominican, William of Reading, were confirmed by the pope already in October of the same year. They allowed the brethren to accept not only secluded sites suitable for hermits but also plots of land which did not meet this precondition.[11] This was a significant change, even though there was no direct reference to urban locations where the Dominican and most Franciscan convents could be found. Another important change

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[7] Bullarium Carmelitanum, ed. E. MONSIGNANO, 2 vols., Rome 1715, I, 1.

[8] Ibid., I, 4-6. K.J. EGAN, *The Establishment and Early Development of the Carmelite Order in England,* PhD thesis, Cambridge 1965, 9-11.

[9] Ibid., I, 7.

[10] Bullarium Carmelitanum, I, 7.

[11] Ibid., I, 8-10, where Innocent IV's confirmation is dated 1248. Monumenta historica Carmelitana, ed. B. ZIMMERMAN, Lérins 1905, 12-18. M.-H. LAURENT, *La lettre 'Quae honorem conditoris' (1 Octobre 1247). Note de diplomatique pontificale*, in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 2 (1948), 5-16.

concerned the economic setting of the priories. Even though the rule's clause on the hermits' obligation to work was maintained and despite the fact that the priories were expected to have gardens and orchards – their products exempt from tithes and other dues – it was expected that the religious would have to depart from their convents on regular begging tours.[12] As far as the normative preconditions for the transformation into a mendicant order were concerned, the process was continued in 1254 with the bull "Devotionis augmentum" which gave permission to the prior general to nominate suitable preachers who, with the respective bishop's license, were to address the faithful and to hear their confessions.[13] In 1256 pope Alexander IV, who in the same year completed another mendicant project with the great union of the Austin Friars, issued an exhortation to the faithful to receive the Carmelites and to provide them with "opportunis locis" if that should be required.[14] At the time when this call for support of the order's expansion into Europe was made, the creation of an English Carmelite province was well under way.

The beginnings of the English province can be dated to 1242, when Richard of Cornwall had returned from his crusade. Two of the barons who had accompanied him, William de Vescy, who founded Hulne in Northumberland, and Richard de Grey of Codnor, who founded the convent at Aylesford in Kent, brought the first hermits to England.[15] The founder fo the third house, at Lossenham, also in Kent, is not known, however, the attribution of the fourth foundation, at Burnham in Norfolk, to a member of the Calthorpe family is plausible because they were prominent local landowners and later generations of the family appeared as patrons of the friars.[16]

This was the start of a long foundation phase which was to extend deep into the fourteenth century, when the last convents were founded at Ludlow, Doncaster and Northallerton. During this period the

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[12] Bullarium Carmelitanum, I, 10: "vos oportet frequentius mendicare itinerantes". Exemption from tithes and the protection of property were granted in 1251, 'Religionis vestrae' and 1254, 'Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia', ibid, I, 11-13: "Nos paupertati vestrae paterno compatientes affectu, authoritate praesentium districtius inhibemus, ne quis de hortis, et virgultis vestris, decimas a vobis exigere, vel extorquere praesumat." Both were repeated by Alexander IV in 1261, ibid., I, 21.

[13] Ibid., I, 13.

[14] Ibid., I, 16.

[15] K. Egan, *Medieval Carmelite Houses: England and Wales*, in: *Carmel in Britain. Essays on the Medieval Carmelite Province*, Volume 1: People and Places, ed. Fitzgerald-Lombard, Rome 1992, 1-85, at 4, 38-39.

[16] Ibid., 19, 51.

province's economy differed from that of later phases because significant resources had to be set aside for the acquisition of land and for the construction of churches and other buildings. The economic format in the later history of the province was different because building costs were largely limited to the maintenance of priories and a few reconstruction projects in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At this time the economy of the province as affected by further changes because an intellectual and social elite was beginning to emerge in the community whose members could draw on private resources. Apart from this division of the English Carmelite economy along chronological lines there was another structural difference, a variation between rural and urban convents, a specific Carmelite feature among the mendicants in England. The English Carmelites had two separate economies. The economy of the early houses, located in woodland, on the coast, remote from urban centres, was very different from that of the priories founded in the towns following the transformation of the Carmelites into a mendicant order. Valuable information on the old-style economic system is given in the foundation charters of Hulne because the foundation was more than a mere transfer of land.[17] The hermits were given extensive rights in parts of William de Vescy's estates and these constituted the convent's economic basis. These privileges, confirmed by the founder's heir John de Vescy, included free access to the priory on different paths, the right to cut timber for the construction of their buildings as well as quarrying rights which came in conjunction with the right to transport the stone.[18] Apart from these measures for the construction and development of the house, care was also taken to ensure the availability of material for the repair and maintenance of the buildings[19], to guarantee the provision of wood and coal for heating and for the burning of lime[20], to enable the religious to have a cart and also to provide themselves with all tools and other

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[17] C.H. Hartshorne, *Feudal and Military Antiquities of Northumberland and the Scottish Borders*, London 1858, Appendix IV, lxix-cix, at lxix-lxxv.

[18] Ibid. lxx: "quod capiant in eadem foresta maeremium (…) ad edificia sua construenda"; "liberum lapifodium ad petras frangendas extrahendas et domui suae vehendas".

[19] Ibid. lxxi: "Habeant etiam annuatim in longitudine de Lokensenburne infra defensum nostrum duodecim carratas spartarum ad cooperturam domorum suarum." "Habeant etiam annuatim ter in parco nostro cirpos ad juncturam domorum suarum (…)".

[20] Ibid.: "ligna vetera in domibus suis comburenda et ad calcem exterius coquendam, et ad carbones comburendos in ecclesia sua"

items of daily use.[21] For the supply of food there was a garden and the brothers were given fishing rights, the right to collect honey from wild bees as well as a mill free of any milling dues with a guaranteed access to water.[22] The founder also granted them a regular share of a rabbit warren and the right for the privileged purchase of an annual last of herrings and other fish.[23] In addition they obtained pasturing rights for their animals, six oxen, two horses, two donkeys, significant detail which indicates that the formal legal restriction to certain types of animals was not enforced.[24] In augmentation of these grants John de Vescy added an income of twelve - later of twenty marks - annually charged on the revenues from his mills in Alnwick.[25] This income was not defined as Carmelite property but given "sub titulo piae et perpetuae elemosinae".[26] These were the elements of a sophisticated economy which met the preconditions for the survival of a small religious community. In the towns the income structure of the priories was different. Urban priories had no direct access to woodland for timber and fuel, to wild bees and fisheries or to pasture. Even though they may have had gardens, their economy depended mainly on offerings, donations and alms, bequests as well as payments for masses and burials. Other sources of income were only developed in the later middle ages.

Although a number of Carmelite priories continued to be founded in small settlements into the middle of the fourteenth century, at

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[21] Ibid.: "semel per duos annos extra clausa maeremium ad unam carram cum hiis quae ad carram pertinent"; "ad omnia utensilia construenda in domibus suis necessaria".

[22] Ibid., lxx: "Habeant etiam iidem fratres liberam piscariam ad pisces capiendos in aqua de Alne tam infra parcum quam extra"; the right to collect honey also extended to the bees' wax: "fratres habeant apes silvestres cum fructibus suis, melle scilicet et cera in Walshow et in Holne tam in parco quam in foresta inventas"; "unum molendinum super aream suam constructum in quo bladum suum sine multura libere faciant molere et cursum aquae in magnam aquam de Alne ad illud molendinum defluentem per illam fossam quam dicti fratres ad hoc in forest foderunt, una cum stagno ad cursum aquaticum recipiendum."

[23] Ibid.: "Habeant etiam praedicti fratres annuatim in connigera nostra de Houghton unam trussam de beneth ad Pasche et aliam trussam ad Assumptionem Beatae Mariae." "dicti fratres ad sui sustentationem in burgo meo de Alnmouth annuatim libere possint emere unam lastam allecis".

[24] Ibid.: "Et habeant in praedictis foresta et parco libere pascua animalibus sibi deputatis necessaria, videlicet sex bobus et duobus equis et duobus asinis."

[25] Ibid., lxxiv-lxxvi. It is not clear whether the grant of twenty marks was an increment of the lower income or whether it was intended to raise the annual income to 32 marks per annum.

[26] Ibid., lxxvi.

Maldon (1292), Blakeney (1296), Sheen (1315), Shoreham (1316), Hitchin (1317) and Northallerton (1356), the majority of the order's English convents were located in significant urban centres. Due to urban expansion the parameters for the development of convent precincts were different in these towns and these conditions shaped the foundation phase of the province. The second half of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, when more than twenty convents – about half of the total – were founded in major English towns and cities, were a period of economic expansion, a time of population increase when the demand for urban real estate was high and prices were driven by high demand.[27] Furthermore, in the larger towns, Boston, Bristol, Cambridge, Chester, Coventry, Gloucester, Ipswich, Lynn, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Stamford, Winchester and York the White Friars' convents were developed at a time when the Dominicans and Franciscans had already arrived and were themselves in the process of establishing large precincts while the Austin Friars were also in the process of establishing their province and of developing their convents. The disappearance of the smaller mendicant orders, the Friars of the Sack and the Friars de Areno, whose estates were on occasion left to other mendicants, will not have made a significant change to this situation, although the Carmelites were to benefit from this in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the new town wall was built through their priory and they were allowed to move to the site formerly occupied by the Friars of the Sack. [28] This was not the only relocation of a Carmelite convent. At Cambridge, where the White Friars moved twice, at Kingston-upon-Hull, where a site outside the town was chosen after a convent had already been established inside, and at Oxford, additional costs were caused by the more to new site. Significant royal support was only provided by Edward II at Oxford, Hitchin and Sheen, the latter foundation being merged with the Oxford priory.[29] Edward II seems to have felt a close affinity to the Carmelites and royal support for the province increased in his reign. In addition there were baronial

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[27] G. Astill, *General Survey 600-1300*, in: *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Volume I: 600-1540, ed. D.M. Palliser, Cambridge 2000, 27-49, at 46.

[28] *Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. Papal Letters Vol. II. A.D. 1305-1342, ed. W.H. Bliss, London 1895, 20.

[29] *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1301-1307*, London 1898, 533; J. Röhrkasten, *King Edward II of England and the Carmelites*, in: *Historiography and Identity. Responses to Medieval Carmelite Culture*, eds. J. Röhrkasten and C. Zermatten, *Vita Regularis. Abhandlungen*, 68, Vienna 2017, 39-62.

founders of the early hermitages whose families continued their patronage for generations, as well as members of the gentry and the urban elite, the only social groups able to provide land and buildings for the Carmelites. On some occasions members of the clergy, among them a bishop of London, also provided material support.

In most locations the immediate creation of priories with complete precincts, equipped with all necessary convent buildings at the time of the first foundation was not possible. Suitable plots of land had to be acquired as they became available, often over long periods of time. For decades the convent supriors had to monitor the local property market and negotiate with neighbouring landowners in order to acquire the sometimes quite minute parcels of land which were needed to complete the foundation. In Lynn, where the Carmelite priory began with a "curia" the friars were aware of the legal details related to all properties around their church. Their fifteenth-century cartulary contains copies of the deeds which provided them even with information on landholders who passed on their property on condition that it would not be given to a religious house.[30] Such information was essential in order to manage future expansion, e.g. when an adjacent lane was enclosed in 1261 or further public space was added in 1285.[31] In the middle of the fourteenth century this precinct was enlarged further.[32] An additional piece of land was desired by the friars in Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1262, the convent was provided with a spring and a conduit after 1278 and two further acquisitions were made until 1336.[33] In Northampton, where an attempt by the friars to enclose part of the town wall in 1278 met with resistance, the friars were given permission to extend the wall around their "messuage" in 1298.[34] The spatial consolidation of the convent in Bristol began in 1289 and was only completed in 1358.[35] The process of precinct consolidation can be observed in Maldon in 1293 where it lasted until 1314, in Burnham it even extended until 1353.[36] Additional land had been granted to the

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[30] The National Archives, London 135/2/50 fol. 3r-10v; fol. 7r: "dare, vendere, legare vel assignare coluerit, excepta domo religionis, totam terram meam; fol. 8r: "excepta domo religionis."

[31] The National Archives, London C143/2/11; C143/8/21.

[32] The National Archives, London C143/274/18; C143/294/11.

[33] The National Archives, London C143/2/15; C143/4/24; C143/17/10; C143/237/15.

[34] The National Archives, London C143/4/21; C143/29/2.

[35] The National Archives, London C143/12/3; C143/300/13; C143/327/3.

[36] The National Archives, London C143/19/5; C143/107/1 (Maldon); C143/26/12; C143/295/13; C143/312/2 (Burnham Norton).

Carmelites in Plymouth by Prince Edmund before 1296 and there were still plans for a donation of property to the convent in 1329.[37] The friars in Ipswich planned to enclose a lane adjacent to their priory in 1297 and projects for further additions were made throughout the fourteenth century until 1376.[38] In the Boston and Gloucester convents this process can be traced from 1305, it lasted until 1349 in case of the former priory and until 1342 in the case of Gloucester, while one of the order's oldest houses in England, the London convent, is certain to have increased its precinct in 1310, a development which carried on intermittently until 1442.[39]

In the majority of property acquisitions the friars obtained open ground or enclosed adjacent lanes, only requiring them to extend their perimeter wall. However, in some instances not only land but also buildings were acquired. In early-fourteenth-century Nottingham this included a chapel dedicated to St James but this was exceptional.[40] It was far more common to include urban buildings, structures designed for secular use as shops or accommodation which were not suitable for a convent and which consequently had to be removed or altered before the site could be integrated into the priory. These were economic burdens which affected a large number of Carmelite priories between the late thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries. The donation of a messuage was planned in Bristol in 1289, in the following year there was even an intention to transfer seven messuages to the White Friars in Chester.[41] In Cambridge, two undoubtedly costly relocations of the priory were made in the thirteenth century, the friars obtaining four messuages between 1291 and 1293.[42] Additional town houses with outbuildings were acquired on several occasions in the reign of Edward III, when – it is plausible to assume – more construction work needed to be done.[43] The problem of converting new real estate into

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[37] The National Archives, London C143/25/1; C143/207/19.

[38] The National Archives, London C143/26/8; C143/107/14; C143/207/17; C143/223/10; C143/295/15; C143/300/20; C143/389/20.

[39] The National Archives, London C143/52/1; C143/66/14; C143/292/16; C143/294/21 (Boston). C143/54/18; C143/259/20; C143/264/11; C143/264/17 (Gloucester). C143/83/16; C143/296/8; C143/296/22; C143/299/8; C143/442/13; C143/449/5.

[40] The National Archives, London C143/116/3: "quandam capellam que vocatur capella sancti Jacobi una cum quadam area eidem capelle adiacente et quandam parvam venellam que ducit ad capellam predictam manso fratrum predictorum in villa predicta contiguas."

[41] The National Archives, London C143/12/3; C143/13/7: "septem mesuagia (…) in suburbio ville."

[42] The National Archives, London C143/15/33; C143/19/11; C143/20/15.

[43] The National Archives, London C143/207/33; C143/299/5; C143/300/11.

an element of a religious priory was not restricted to a few convents, as examples from Plymouth, Boston and Shoreham suggest.[44] The friars of Marlborough, Gloucester, Lynn, Burnham Norton, Hitchin, Scarborough, Shoreham and Norwich were confronted with similar tasks.[45] The York convent received two messuages in 1333, the Carmelites of Bristol acquired even four in 1358.[46] The priories of Ipswich and London made such acquisitions on three, respectively four occasions between 1310 and 1442.[47] In the case of the London priory it is quite possible that shops and other buildings were not converted but used as a source of income.

The acquisition of plots of land, fountains, lanes and urban buildings by Carmelites in some cases carried a further financial burden which also needs to be taken into account as a cost factor. Almost all of them were burdened with the obligation of services and regular payments which could take the form of taxes due to the Crown from the borough, services to lords or obligations in the community like guard duty, liability to tallages and amercements collectively imposed on a town or participation in assizes and juries. In addition to these secular payments there could be liabilities for tithes, as at Chester in 1290 where seven messuages in the suburbs due to be transferred to the Carmelites were said to owe annual tithes of 5 shillings to the church of St John or at Nottingham where the friars owed one mark Sterling as tithes to the rector of St Nicholas or as at Lynn where the White Friars paid 9 marks to Westacre priory in 1283 for the property they held in the parish of All Saints.[48] At York the Carmelites were to pay 14 pence as services for a plot of land from 1314 onwards, after they had moved to a new site from the suburbs. Here the rector of the parish of St Saviour demanded compensation for his loss of revenue.[49] Regular service payments and taxes were also

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[44] The National Archives, London C143/25/1; C143/52/1; C143/186/11. An extension of the precinct by the acquisition of three messuages was planned in Boston in 1350, C143/294/21.

[45] The National Archives, London C143/202/27; C143/264/11; C143/294/11; C143/295/13; C143/303/12; C143/326/11; C143/345/1; C143/396/6.

[46] The National Archives, London C143/217/12; C143/327/3.

[47] The National Archives, London C143/223/10; C143/295/15; C143/300/20; C143/83/16; C143/296/22; C143/442/13; C143/449/5.

[48] The National Archives, London C143/13/7, a further 2 pennies were owed in services. C143/207/12. E135/2/50 fol. 10r-v.

[49] The National Archives, London C143/105/9. H. Richardson, *The Mendicant Friars of Medieval York, Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, for 1965, 40-73, at 54, 56.

due from plots of land or buildings making up many other Carmelite priories.[50] The donor or vendor may have taken on such obligations and it was also possible to grant the licence for the transfer of the property to the friars to the condition that the donor should accept responsibility for the annual payment.[51] However, in most cases it is not known who was liable to pay the services and taxes after the transfer of the property and there is no doubt that Carmelite convents had to accept the responsibility for such charges, as is shown by attempts to acquit them of such obligations. In the early 1290s the Cambridge Carmelites owed at least 19 shillings 10 pence in taxes of different kind for properties which formed part of their priory precinct. For the friars it was important to reduce this obligation and in 1292 they found a patron who was prepared to assign a rent income in exchange for a large part of their liabilites.[52] The gradual development of the precinct areas led to an accumulation of the payments due from the priory, as at Nottingham, Ipswich or Norwich.[53] Further land acquisitions during and after the Black Death led to further financial liabilities. Apart from the regular services due from the acquired property there were also transactions costs, consisting of fines and charges levied by the chancery. Such costs could be considerable, one mark Sterling in the case of the Carmelites

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[50] Maldon: 4½ pence, The National Archives, London C143/19/5 (1298); Boston: 5 shillings, C143/52/1 (1305); Gloucester: 9 pence, C143/54/18 (1305); Maldon: ¼ penny, C143/107/1 (1314); Blakeney: 4 pence, C143/114/2 (1315); Marlborough: 4½ pence, C143/118/6 (1316); Aylesford: 19 pence, C143/132/8 (1318); Oxford: 3 shillings, C143/159/2 (1323); Shoreham: 6 shillings, C143/186/11 (1325); Scarborough: 6 shillings, C143/196/1 (1327); Plymouth: 1 penny, C143/207/19 (1329); Newcastle-on-Tyne: 6 pence, C143/237/15 (1336); Stamford: 3 pence, C143/238/10 (1336); Gloucester: 4 shillings, C143/264/17 (1343); Yarmouth: ½ penny, C143/279/13 (1345).

[51] This was a condition made for the transfer of property to the Cambridge Carmelites by Richard Gravesend, bishop of London (1280-1303), The National Archives, London C143/20/15.

[52] The National Archives, London C143/17/28: "Dominus Rex concedat Johanni Porthors quod ipse marcatam illam redditus cum pertinentiis quam idem Johannes de domino Archidiaconi Elyensis in Cantebreg' annuatim percipit dare possit et assignare dilectis filiis in Christo Priori et Canonicis de Bernwelle pro una marcata redditus quam iidem Prior et Canonici de Priore et fratribus ordinis beate Marie de Monte Carmeli Cant' pro situ domus sue in vico de Milnestrete percipiunt."; other charges are mentioned in C143/15/33 and C143/19/11.

[53] Nottingham: "dicta capella fuit de advocatione prioris et conventus de Lenton' qui percipiebant inde quinque solidos annuatim", The National Archives, London C143/116/3 (1316); payments mentioned in 1329, C143/207/12; Ipswich: 4 pennies, C143/107/14; C143/207/17; C143/223/10. Norwich: 9 shillings 4 pence, C143/218/15; C143/274/21.

of Boston when they acquired three messuages in 1349, 20 shillings for the friars of Appleby, even two marks Sterling in London. Such payments could be pardoned by the king "intuitu caritatis" and a land transfer in 1314 was granted in return for two hundred masses to be celebrated for the monarch but other examples show that the sums could represent a significant cost factor.[54]

Carmelite priors also had to meet the routine costs for food, fuel, the friars' clothing and education. English Carmelite libraries appear to have been well equipped.[55] Appended to the "Registrum Cartarum" of Hulne Priory are inventories of the conventual library. The first, to be dated after 1323, contained a list of thirty-five manuscripts, among them eight volumes of sermon collections and homelies, three volumes of sentences on the Bible, four volumes with "quaestiones" on the Sentences, including two with texts by Thomas Aquinas as well as a further four miscellaneous treatises. The library also included a legal section with nine volumes mostly on Canon Law and a history section with four books of saints' lives, including the "Legenda Aurea" as well as works on science and philosopy.[56] A second catalogue, lists sixty manuscripts in the library and another twenty "Libri Ecclesiae", mostly liturgical works.[57] Among them was a Bible valued at 3½ marks Sterling and other volumes bound in white, green, black and red leather, some kept in bags but most with steel clasps. Hulne was a venerable and old Carmelite priory but in the fourteenth century it was not a centre of learning comparable to the convents at Oxford, Cambridge and London, where one can safely assume the existence of even more extensive and expensive library collections.

While books were valuable assets which could be pawned or sold in times of crisis, the provision of food and clothing was a much more regular expense. Even in the absence of accounts it may be possible to estimate these fundamental elements in the running costs of the

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[54] The National Archives, London C1434/294/21: "Fiat per finem unius marce." C143/48/12. C143/105/9 has the dorsal remark: "Fiat pro .CC. missis quia pro Rege et antecessorum." On this occasion the York Carmelites granted a property to the church of St Peter, York, in return for setting up a chantry. C143/296/22.

[55] Indispensable for the study of the friars writings: R. Copsey, *The Carmelites in England 1242-1540*: *Surviving Writings*, in *Carmelus* 43 (1996) 175-224; 44 (1997) 188-202.

[56] In the context of Carmelite interest in legal literature it should be noted that Philip de Baston, who had joined the order in Nottingham and entered Edward II's household, was entrusted with the transport of a collection of treatises on mostly Roman and Canon law to Windsor Castle in 1313, J. Röhrkasten, *King Edward II of England and the Carmelites*, 52. C.H. Hartshorne, *Feudal and Military Antiquities*, cii-cv.

[57] Ibid., cv-cviii.

Carmelite priories. Royal donations were sometimes designed to provide food for a specific number of friars, allocating a specific amount of money "pro putura". In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century it was common to set the daily allowance of a friar to 4 pence and this allows a simple calculation of the friars present in some priories at certain times. Although this rate was explicitly stated only in 1315, the practice clearly went back further.[58] When king Edward I passed through Kingston-upon-Hull on 19 April 1303 on his way to the North of England, he gave 18 shillings to the Carmelites "pro putura xviii fratrum suorum per iii dies in transitu Regis per ibidem", leaving a sum of 4 pence per friar per day.[59] Similar accounts of royal alms, at Newcastle-on-Tyne and Lincoln in 1303, at Appleby in 1307 and at Nottingham in 1323, indicate that the rate of 4 pence was a standard sum, although there are also some examples when a different form of distribution had been intended.[60] An example is a payment of 6 pence per friar in 1317 made in 1317, however, this was an exception to the general pattern.[61] Nevertheless, a further note of caution has to be added. Even if the number of friars in a given priory can be established at one point in time one has to allow for fluctuations because small groups were arriving at or leaving the convent, either returning from their quests and preaching tours or setting out for the ministry in the district of their convent.

Between 1299 and 1342 between twenty and fifty-four friars lived in the priory of Newcastle-on-Tyne.[62] These numbers could fluctuate even within one year. Figures available for 1335 show that royal alms were made available for between twenty and thirty Carmelites.[63] Figures for London could be as low as thirty, in 1278[64] and 1303[65],

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[58] The National Archives, London E101/376/7 fol. 5r.

[59] BL MS Add. 35292 fol. 61v. E.W. Safford, *Itinerary Edward I*, 2 vols., London 1974-76, II, 224.

[60] Alms of 8 shillings 8 pence were paid to 26 Carmelites in Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1303, BL MS Add. 35292 fol. 58r. The same amount was destined for the same number of friars in Lincoln in the same year, ibid., fol. 62r. However, in 1304, 36 Carmelites in Lincoln were allocated 36 shillings, ibid., fol. 64r. Alms for eleven Carmelites at Appleby, amounting to 3 shillings 8 pence were accounted for in The National Archives, London E101/373/15 fol. 19v. Alms for 28 friars were granted at Nottingham in 1323, E101/37/19 fol. 1v.

[61] Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 120 fol. 10r.

[62] BL MS Add. 7966A fol. 25v (1301: 54); The National Archives, London E101/374/7 fol. 9v (1310: 20).

[63] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII fol. 201v, 202v, 203r.

[64] The National Archives, London C47/4/1 fol. 44v.

[65] The National Archives, London E101/363/18 fol. 2r.

forty-nine in 1315[66] or as high as eighty in 1334.[67] Fluctuations in the Lincoln priory may have been equally significant with between fifty-six and twenty friars in 1300.[68] On this basis it is possible to make an estimate of the numerical strength of the English Carmelite province at the turn from the thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries. For the years between 1299 and 1310 payments appear to have been made for 456 Carmelites in thirteen out of twenty-nine priories then in existence.[69] If figures from years outside this period are added, thirty friars in Oxford in 1260[70] forty friars in Cambridge in 1285[71] and twenty-two in Gloucester in 1324[72], the figure rises to almost 550. Taking into account the size of convents which are not documented in this way, like Blakeney or Sandwich, which are likely to have been rather small while others like Bristol, Chester, Ipswich or Norwich were certainly much more substantial, it is possible to estimate that the province may well have had up to a thousand friars at this time. The regular provision of food and clothing for this number of men must have been a formidable task, even though it is well known that the standards of living among the English mendicants were modest. It is true that some of their churches were impressive, notably in those in the larger towns, however, many sites were threatened by flooding, food was often of poor quality and fragments of footwear recovered showed signs of repair.[73]

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[66] The National Archives, London E403/176 m 4.

[67] BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII fol. 201r. There may also have been great fluctuation in the Winchester priory with 72 friars in 1302, The National Archives, London E101/361/13 m 1, and even 84 in 1306, E101/369/12 fol. 31v. However, in the same year the figure of 26 seems much more plausible, E101/369/11 fol. 32r.

[68] Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 119 fol. 19r. 19v. For York: H. RICHARDSON, *The Mendicant Friars of Medieval York*, 57.

[69] The National Archives, London E101/373/15 fol. 19v; E101/361/13 m 1; E101/369/11 fol. 28v; E101/369/12 fol. 31v; E101/374/7 fol. 9v; E101/376/7 fol. 4r; BL MS Cotton Nero C VIII fol. 51r, 52r; MS Add 7966A fol. 25v, 27v; MS Add 35291 fol. 2r; MS Add 35292 fol. 58r, 61v; Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 119, fol. 16v, 19r, 20v.

[70] Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Vol. 5, 1260-1267, London 1961, 12.

[71] The National Archives, London C47/4/2 fol. 26r.

[72] The National Archives, London E101.379/19 fol. 1v. H. BRAUN, *The Carmelite Friary of Aylesford*, in *Archaeologia Cantiana* 63 (1950) 50-6, at 51 gives the figure of twenty friars for Aylesford in 1326 but has no reference.

[73] G. LAMBRICK and H. WOODS, *Excavations on the Second Site of the Dominican Priory, Oxford*, in *Oxoniensia* 41 (1976) 168-231, at 173, 213; B. HARBOTTLE, *Excavations at the Carmelite Friary, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1965 and 1967*, in *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser 46 (1968) 163-223, at 205-210: fragments of assorted pots and other vessels; J.E. MELLOR and T. PEARCE, *A Leicester Friary: The Augustinian Friary in Leicester Excavated 1973-78*, Leicester 1982, 22; finds of pottery fragments in the second site of Oxford

In addition to these regular expenses and to building costs which continued into the fourteenth century the order's general chapter made regular financial demands from at least 1318 onwards. This taxation was levied annually from the provinces in order to cover the prior general's expenses, the costs of the Carmelite representatives at the Avignon Curia and to pay for the Paris convent and its school. Between 1318 and 1324 the English province was expected to contribute 120 grossos of Tours, between 7.1% and 8.0% of the total of the tax levied from the provinces. In this period new convents were created in Marlborough and Scarborough and it is plausible to assume that work in other recent foundations at Sheen (1315), Shoreham (1316) and Hitchin (1317) was still going on. The same is probably true for Plymouth and the new sites at Kingston and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The general chapter of 1324 raised the English contribution to 200 grossos, although the share of the Anglia province dropped to 6.9%.[74] In 1327 the share of the English Carmelites' annual tax was raised to 250 grossos. In this period it constituted between 8.7% and 9.6% of the total.[75] A further increase of the tax burden was agreed in 1336, when the rate of the Anglia province was listed as 285 grossos, an amount which still represented a share of 9.6%.[76] The province's contribution remained stable until 1345, when the tax assessment was made in florins, probably because of the pressures on French coinages brought by the Hundred Years War. Despite the stability of the tax burden, by 1339 an English debt of thirty grossos had accumulated and this trebled in the following three years.[77] It is possible that the refoundation of the Coventry priory in 1342 and the extensions at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, Stamford and Gloucester played a role but in this absence of accounts and without clear information about the internal financial arrangements in the province this can only be speculation.[78] Between 1345 and 1375 the annual taxes agreed by the Carmelite General Chapter fluctuated between 315 and 331 florins and

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Blackfriars point mostly to local ware; decorated vessels may have been donations by testators. However, in contrast to findings at the London Franciscan friary, it is thought that the Grey Friars in Norwich enjoyed good living standards in the later middle ages, A. EMERY, *Norwich Greyfriars. Preconquest Town and Medieval Friary* (East Anglian Archaeology Report, 120), Dereham 2007, 84.

[74] Acta Capitulorum Generalium Fratrum B.V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, 2 vols., ed. G. WESSELS, Rome 1912-34, I, 17-18, 20-22, 25.

[75] Ibid., 27, 30.

[76] Ibid., 33.

[77] Ibid., 34, 36.

[78] The National Archives, London C143/238/10; C143/259/14; C143/259/17; C143/259/20; C143/264/11; C143/264/17.

the English contributions were stable at 30 florins, representing between 9.0% and 9.5% of the annual total.[79]

Despite their initial attempts to steer a neutral course, the Great Schism also affected the Carmelites. The General Chapter held at Bruges in 1379 was still attended by all provinces. On this occasion the tax burden of the English province was reduced to 25 florins, 6.9% of the total taxation but this was reversed in next meeting, held at Verona in 1381. By this time the Schism had begun to affect the Carmelites and it is not surprising to find that the share demanded from the English brethren increased because the Order's expenses were higher than the tax payments received from the provinces.[80] The tax was on this occasion defined in "ducati" and the English contribution was set at thirty, representing 13.0% of the total.[81] From 1385 onwards the annual tax set by the Urbanist General Chapter stood again at 30 florins but there were problems. Even though the order maintained the fiction that all provinces were represented, financial contributions were only received from those areas loyal to the Roman papacy. The audit held in 1385 showed that the English friars had paid the required sum of 120 florins.[82] However, at the 1387 meeting in Brescia there was no English participation and no contribution from England was mentioned. This may have been the reason for the reduction in the centre's income. In order to improve the precarious financial situation 1 florin was to be levied from each of the order's priories.[83]

Since the income of the Carmelite provinces loyal to the Roman papacy was about halved while the English contribution remained the same at 30 florins, its share rose to 17.6% in 1393.[84] In addition the General Chapter decided to collect old debts and they represented a far more serious challenge for the English Carmelite province, amounting to 70 florins, the share representing a third of the "debitis antiquis". A further 140 florins had been received from the 35 English Carmelite convents over the previous four years.[85] Before the Great

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[79] Acta Capitulorum, I, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 60, 64, 68, 72.

[80] Ibid., 76, 97 (1379). J. Smet, *The Carmelites*, 5 vols., Darien (Ill.) 1988, I, 38-9.

[81] Acta Capitulorum, I, 88. The currency was not further defined so it is not clear whether payment was expected in "ducati" of Venice, of Naples, Savoy or even Hungary, P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, London 1986, 64, 65, 133, 285.

[82] Acta Capitulorum, I, 93-4, 96.

[83] Ibid., 103-4. The order's two obediences only merged again after the Council of Pisa, at a General Chapter in Bologna held in 1411, J. Smet, *Carmelites*, I, 41.

[84] Acta Capitulorum, I, 111.

[85] Ibid., 112. The payment of the ordinary tax over six years, amounting to 180 florins, was confirmed, ibid., 115.

Schism the French province had been the largest contributor of this tax but in its absence this role fell to the English White Friars. By 1396 they had paid another 160 florins and received the demands for an additional tax of 70 florins. Three years later 90 florins had been paid and the assessment of the English province was raised to 43 florins.[86] The general deterioration of the economic climate following a short-term increase of the friars' income after the initial plague mortality must have affected individual priories.

In the course of the fifteenth century the order's internal taxation developed into a more complex system with separate funds earmarked for routine expenses, for the payment of debts and for the representation at the Curia. While the ordinary taxation remained fairly stable between 1411 and the last Carmelite General Chapter attended by English friars in 1524, the "taxa extraordinaria" could fluctuate significantly:

Taxation of the English Carmelite Province in the 1411-1524

Year	ordinary taxation p.a.	extraordinary taxation p.a.	Acta Capitulorum ed. Wessels I
1411	33 florins		p. 138
1416	33 ducats	94 ducats	p. 149-150
1420	33 ducats 12 grossos		p. 158
1425	33 ducats		p. 167
1430	30 ducats	4 ducats	p. 174
1434	30 ducats	2 ½ ducats	p. 182
1440	30 ducats	80 ducats + 15 ducats	p. 190-191
1444	40 ducats	21 ducats	p. 199
1447	30 ducats	14 + 54 + 2 + 12	p. 214-216
1451	28 ducats	15 ducats	p. 222
1456	28 ducats	12 ducats	p. 231
1462	28 ducats	10 ducats	p. 238
1469	39 ducats	60 scuta auri	p. 245
1478	38 ducats	178 ducats	p. 264
1482	38 ducats		p. 281
1488	38 ducats	128 ½ ducats	p. 288, 292
1492	38 ducats		p. 297
1498	38 ducats		p. 305
1503	38 ducats		p. 316
1510	38 ducats		p. 329
1513	38 ducats		p. 342
1517	38 ducats		p. 355
1524	76 ducats		p. 370

[86] Ibid., 125-6; another additional tax of 67½ florins was added: "ordinaverunt ut communis et antiqua taxatio Provinciarum augeatur propter expensas occurrentes, etiam quia Provinciae Schismaticae nihil contribuunt Ordini, ita ut usque ad proximum Capitulum Generale celebrandum quaelibet Provincia annuatim solvat ut infra continetur." Ibid., 128.

For a mendicant order this represented a considerable financial burden. Apparently the income of the English province was stable because these charges were met regularly almost without exception. Unfortunately there are no records to indicate the volume of the province's income or to assess the revenue of individual priories, however, it is possible to distinguish between different types. The first kind of income took the form of donations and there is relatively good information about gifts in cash or kind by English kings from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century. Royal alms were given for specific purposes, to contribute to the costs of provincial chapters, in which case they were paid to the priory which served as venue. In the early phase of the province the royal contribution to the chapter meetings stood at 2 Marks Sterling[87] but already in 1267 and 1268 sums of £2 10 shillings and £3 were paid.[88] From c. 1289 the sum rose to 10 Marks[89], the Mortimer government raised it to £10 in 1327.[90] Royal alms to individual convents were another important source of income. However, these were not regular payments and the distribution was erratic, depending entirely on the royal itinerary. In 1278 recorded payments of this kind to the Carmelites amounted to £7 13 shillings10½ pence.[91] In 1285 they amounted to £23 2 shillings, going to five convents.[92] The available sums vary according to document survival and they also depend on the travel pattern of the royal household. The sums for 1290 (£15 6 shillings 5 pence)[93], 1297 (£12 7 shillings 6 pence)[94] and 1300 (£18 3 shillings 8 pence)[95] vary but they remained at a very modest level.

Material support was granted for construction work, often taking the form of grants of oaks which were to be used as timber. In 1270 a total of 33 oaks were given to the priories at London, Northampton, Gloucester and Winchester.[96] In the following year similar grants for a total of 29 oaks were made[97] and in 1272 the royal contribution amounted to forty oaks.[98] An exceptional gift was a marble altar for the London White Friars.[99] Another form of support consisted of the

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[87] Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Vol. 3, 1245-51, London 1937, 163; Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Vol. 5, 1260-1267, 27; Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Vol. 6, 1267-72, London 1964, 284, no. 2018.

[88] Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Vol. 5, 1260-1267, 253; Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Vol. 6, 1267-72, 10, no. 85.

[89] Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285-1289, 2 Vols, London 1977-86, no. 2575; Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 119 fol. 21r. BL MS Add. 35291 fol. 28r. The National Archives, London E403/132 m 4 E403/146 m 3.

[90] The National Archives, London E403/232 m 13. E403/237 m 5.

granting of fuel, however, in comparison to the Dominicans and Franciscans in England, the Carmelites rarely benefited from this type of largesse.[100] Unlike the two older orders the White Friars did not receive regular royal stipends, the exception being payments by Edward II to the White Friars at Windsor and later at Sheen and Oxford.[101] Royal donations were augmented by gifts from aristocratic families, e.g. Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who gave 13 oaks to the London Carmelites in 1299, however, there is not much information on such contributions by the nobility or the urban elite.[102]

Bequests and payments for spiritual services were a more stable element of the Carmelite economy. They were part of the income derived from the friars' ministry which included revenue from masses, payments for the burial of members of the laity as well as alms given during quests. Such sources of income had to defended against claims by the secular clergy which in England usually led to compositions made between the parish clergy and the mendicants. There was also competition from other mendicants and even from other convents of the same order. The Carmelites at Lynn had to make an agreement about the boundaries of their begging district with their confrères at Cambridge.[103] Some information on this income can be gathered from surviving wills. However, in the absence of a comprehensive search of surviving English medieval wills, a number of observations from

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[91] Different sums were paid to the priories in Bristol, Winchester, London, Gloucester, Chester and London, The National Archives, London C47/4/1 fol. 17r, 18r, 20r, 24v, 33r, v; 39r, 44v, 50r.

[92] The alms were paid to Lynn, Cambridge, Norwich, London and Winchester, The National Archives, London C47/4/2 fol. 25v, 26r, v, 27v, 29r, v, 30r.

[93] London, Oxford, Winchester, Stamford and Nottingham, The National Archives, London C47/4/4 fol. 48r, 40r, 41v, 4v, 43v, 46r.

[94] Sandwich, Cambridge, Ipswich, Plymouth, London, BL MS Add. 7965 fol. 6v, 7r, 8r, 9r, 38r; The National Archives, London C47/4/6 fol. 1r.

[95] Stamford, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sandwich, London, Northampton, Lynn, Boston, Lincoln, Hulne, York, Appleby, Nottingham, Northampton, Society of Antiquaries, London, MS 119 fol. 16v, 17v, 18v, 19r, v, 20r, v, 21r, 27r; BL MS Add. 7966A fol. 23v, 25v.

[96] Close Rolls 1268-72, London 1938, 206, 231, 232, 310.

[97] Ibid., 334, 340, 361.

[98] Ibid., 455, 481, 482, 498, 503.

[99] The National Archives, London C62/49 m 4.

[100] Close Rolls 1256-59 London 1932, 257; Close Rolls 1259-61, London 1934, 404; Close Rolls 1261-64, London 1936, 318, 345; Close Rolls 1268-72, 12, 39; Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-79, London 1900, 290, 316.

[101] J. RÖHRKASTEN, *King Edward II of England and the Carmelites*, 53-5.

[102] Calendar of Close Rolls 1296-1302, London 1906, 249.

[103] E135/2/50 fol. 13r.

surveys restricted to certain areas and periods must be sufficient to give some indication of Carmelite income from this source. Bequests recorded in Register Heydon of the Norwich Consistory Court suggests that the Carmelites in East Anglia – if the sums were actually paid out, or as one testator put it "si ad tantum extendant bona mea"[104] – received £8 2shillings 6 pence in 1371, an extra 6 shillings 8 pence going to the Order's General Chapter "cum litteris de confraternitate".[105] The total for the years 1371 to 1375 amounts to £23 19 shilllings 8 pence plus a measure of barley.[106] Wills from Carlisle enrolled in the twenty-nine-year period between 1356 and 1385 show that the Carmelites at Appleby were bequeathed a total of £21 5 shillings 2 pence in cash, a mazer and a pot as well as four dry measures of different sorts of grain, a very modest revenue over the period.[107] The income of the Carmelites at Hitchin from wills by Bedfordshire testators between 1495 and 1529 can be estimated to have amounted to £5 14 shillings 10 pence, 1 quarter of malt and a larger quantity of barley.[108] Data obtained from the Register of the Commissary Court of London suggests that in the early sixteenth century, the Carmelite income in the kingdom's capital amounted to £157 in the decade 1500-1509, £117 in the years 1510-1519, dropping to £90 in the period 1520-1529.[109] Although these totals from London wills for the decades do not reflect an equal distribution over the years within each decade, they indicate a gradual shift in bequests away from the Carmelites.

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[104] Norfolk Record Office, Register of Wills Heydon, fol. 94r-95r.

[105] Ibid., fol. 3r-5r.

[106] Ibid., fol. 8v-9r; 14v-15v; 20r, 21r, 22v, 24v, 25v, 27r-v, 28r-v, 29v-29r, 33r, v, 37r, 40r, 42r-43r, 43v, 50r, 52r, 54v, 94r-95r, 96v-97v; 98v-99r, 107r, 107v-108r.

[107] Testamenta Karleolensia. The Series of Wills from the Prae-Reformation Register of the Bishops of Carlisle 1353-1383, ed. R.S. Ferguson, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, extra series 9, Carlisle 1893, nos. 11, 17, 19, 20, 26, 40, 53, 60, 76, 79, 82, 87, 88, 92, 98, 101, 105, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 126, 131, 132, 143, 145, 148, 151, 155.

[108] *Bedfordshire Wills*, ed. P.L. Bell, *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 45, Bedford 1966, nos. 49, 53, 76, 99, 118, 126, 141, 145, 164, 171, 184; *English Wills*, 1498-1526, ed. A.F. Cirket, The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 37, Streatley 1957, 43, 60-1, 66-7; Befordshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1383-1548, ed. M. McGregor, The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 58, Bedford 1979, nos 35, 39, 62, 74, 78, 89; Bedfordshire Wills 1484-1533, ed. P.L. Bell, *The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 76, Bedford 1997, nos. 42, 47, 59, 146, 250.

[109] J. Röhrkasten, *L'économie des couvents mendiants de Londres à la fin du Moyen Âge, d'après l'étude des documents d'archives et des testaments*, in: *Économie et religion. L'expérience des ordres mendiants* (XIII^{e} – XV^{e} siècle), eds. N. Bériou and J. Chiffoleau, *Collection d'Histoire et d'Archéologie médiévales*, 21, Lyon 2009, 211-45, at 236.

It is safe to assume that the number of friars in each priory decreased during the long plague period. However, even under such circumstances the income from bequests will not have been sufficient and there must have been other sources of income. Just as at least a number of English Carmelite priories had their own water supplies[110], the precincts could be large, enabling the friars to make economic use of them. Five acres were to the added to the priory at Maldon in 1293, an enlargement by ½ acre was planned in Burnham Norton in 1297, an additional 1½ acres were granted in Blakeney with further enlargements of ½ acre in 1329, 4 acres in 1331 and 4 acres in 1336; projected transfers of land in Oxford amounted to 6½ acres.[111] The new foundation of the Coventry priory in 1341 was to start with an area of 10 acres and in the following year Thomas de Berkley wanted to add three acres to the White Friars of Gloucester.[112] and, as mentioned above, a good number of them included gardens or orchards.[113] The grant of a garden with additional land for an extension to the friars in Marlborough was planned in 1315, an already existing garden was to be acquired in Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1331.[114] Since the friars at Hulne were given pasture for four cows in 1295, a grant of a "pratum" to the priory at Aylesford in Edward II's reign suggests that at least a modest form of animal husbandry was also practised here.[115] Whenever possible a diversified system of supply was set up. The diversified economy of Hulne priory allowed the friars a high degree of independence.[116] Economically Hulne was untypical because most of the Carmelite houses were located in towns. The Carmelites at Winchester had no cattle or pasture, no right to collect honey and – at least in August 1444 – they imported one hogshead of cheese from Southampton.[117]

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[110] The National Archives, London C143/4/24, Newcastle-on-Tyne, "quandam fontem … qui vocatur Crossewell"; C143/58/24, Sandwich, "una cum quodam fonte in eadem placea existente"; E. DEIGHTON, *The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich*, in *Archaeologia Cantiana* 114 (1995) 317-27, at 320. Gloucester, C143/259/20. H. BRAUN, *The Carmelite Friary of Aylesford*, 55.

[111] The National Archives, London C143/19/5, C143/26/12, C143/114/2, C143/159/2, C143/207/25, C143/215/8, C143/238/22.

[112] The National Archives, London C143/259/14, C143/264/17.

[113] E. DEIGHTON, *The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich*, 321.

[114] The National Archives, London C143/118/6, C143/237/15.

[115] C.H. HARTSHORNE, *Feudal and Military Antiquities*, cxiii. The National Archives, London C143/132/8.

[116] C. H. HARTSHORNE, *Feudal and Military Antiquities*, lxx-lxxi.

[117] *The Brokerage Book of 1443-4*, 2 vols., ed. O. COLEMAN, Southampton Records Series, 4, 6, Southampton 1960-61, II, 272.

There were other sources of revenue for the Carmelite economy. Services in the friars' churches, burials and quests will have provided a steady income, depending on the acceptance of their ministry and the wealth of the local population as well as the presence of other mendicant houses whose friars could offer similar services, e.g. the celebration of large numbers of masses in a defined space of time, often to be performed as soon as possible after a burial. Papal or episcopal indulgences might add attraction to visit a Carmelite church on certain feast days.[118] Wealthy patrons sometimes made significant contributions to the priories' economy, paying for the construction and furnishing of buildings, special emphasis being given to churches. Such donations were entered into the convents' records, books which contained information on receipts and expenses.[119] In England such a volume survives for the Lynn priory, which lists donors who contributed to the construction of the cloister or to the building of the new church.[120]

There were other regular sources of income. The available space in the urban priories could be used in different ways, especially after plague mortality had reduced the number of friars, leaving buildings or parts of buildings unoccupied. In the later middle ages the London White Friars had tenants in their precinct who paid annual rent charges on their leases.[121] By the second half of the fourteenth century the Carmelites at Lynn sold corrodies, making contracts with wealthy citizens in which they guaranteed lodging, free access, the possibility to attend the convent's daily masses and and a defined weekly allowance of bread and ale.[122] In York and certainly also in London

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[118] Aylesford, 1353: *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*. Vol. III. A.D. 1342-1362, ed. W.H. Bliss, London 1897, 573. Maldon, 1391: *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters*. Vol. IV. A.D. 1362-1404, eds. W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow, London 1902, 399. A direct connection with the donation of alms for the gatehouse chapel in Burnham Norton is made in 1392, ibid., 433. Sandwich: E. Deighton, *The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich,* 324. Lynn: The National Archives, London E135/2/50 fol. 2r.

[119] Acta Capitulorum, I, 96: "talia recepta, exposita, vel distributa, scribantur in Libro conventus ad hoc deputato."

[120] The National Archives, London E135/2/50 fol. 1r; J.C. Cox, *The Carmelites of King's Lynn*, in *Memorials of Old Norfolk*, ed. H.J. Dukinfield Astley, London 1908, 132-44, 135.

[121] A.W. Clapham, The Topography of the Carmelite Priory of London, in *Journal of the British Archaeologcial Association* n.s. 16 (1910) 15-32, 20; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539,* in *Vita regularis*, 21, Münster 2004, 243-5.

[122] The National Archives, London E135/2/50 fol. 18r-v.

there was occasional use of priory buildings by the city or the royal administration.[123] However, in the absence of investigations into the situation in the other major towns it is not possible to say whether the situation in London and Lynn was unusual.[124] There were other types of fixed annual incomes for the Carmelites. In addition to the resources made available to the Carmelite community of Hulne, to their rights and privileges, they were granted an annual income of 12 marks sterling coming from de de Vescy mills at Alnwick, already in the thirteenth century.[125] Before the end of the century another grant of annual receipts of 20 marks from the same mills was made to the friars, a transfer of such significance that a royal confirmation was obtained.[126] On both occasions the friars were to be given priority over all other claimants in case the revenue was not forthcoming as expected. In the fourteenth century the Carmelites at Hulne acquired other pensions, 6 shillings 8 pence from land in 1334 and an annual revenue of 20 shillings "ad inveniendum et sustentandum ornamenta ecclesiae".[127] This was supplemented by regular grants of wheat, barley and oats on two occasions.[128] In 1364 Henry Percy extended the friars' rights of pasture to include eight cows and one bull, adding a regular grant of hay and the right to collect all kinds of herbs on his woodlands. The charter was accompanied by a large donation of cash needed to pay for a new roof of the church.[129] In April 1340 John Bardolf was given royal permission to grant a rent of wheat and barley to the Carmelites of Lynn.[130] Annual revenues in cash and kind as well

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[123] B. Dobson, *Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York,* in *Archaeological Papers from York Presented to M.W. Barley, V. Addyman and V.E. Black*, York 1984, 109-22, at 115. A.W Clapham, *The Topography of the Carmelite Priory of London*, 15; J. Röhrkasten, *Secular Uses of the Mendicant Priories of Medieval London,* in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Europe*, eds. P. Trio and M. de Smet, Medievalia Lovaniensia I, 38, Leuven 2006, 135-51, at 146.

[124] The Norwich Carmelites were noted for the anchorites who settled in their priory, N. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 66, Toronto 1984, 59.

[125] C.H. Hartshorne, *Feudal and Military Antiquities*, lxxiv.

[126] Ibid. lxxv-lxxvi.

[127] Ibid., lxxxiii, lxxxiv-lxxxv (confirmation xciii-xciv).

[128] Ibid., lxxxiv, lxxxix.

[129] Ibid., cxiv-xcv: "Hanc cartam procuravit frater Robertus de Populton tunc prior, et centum quinque libras tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios ad cooperturam ecclesiae."

[130] The National Archives, London E135/2/50 fol. 15r; A.G. Little, *A Royal Inquiry into Property Held by the Mendicant Friars in England in 1349 and 1350*, in: *Historical Essay in Honour of James Tait*, eds. J.G. Edward, V.H. Galbraith and E.F. Jacob, Manchester 1933, 179-88, at 188.

as rents from tenants formed an important element of the economy in some English priories, however, a royal inquiry into mendicant property, initiated in the autumn of 1349, found no complaints about the practices employed by the friars in England.

The Carmelite economy was not static but it changed as the province evolved. There was not merely a distinction between the foundation phase with high investment in property acquisition and building, a subsequent period when priory precincts were enlarged and new construction projects were begun but it is also possible to detect a change in the internal structure of the communities which had an impact on the province's economy. The first signs of this change appear in the early fourteenth century, when some friars were admitted into the royal household. The Carmelite Philip de Baston, who had joined the order in Nottingham and studied in the priory at Lincoln where he was ordained priest in 1296, was a member of the royal household in 1312 or in 1313. This may have been the first instance of a member of the order who took on external responsibilities, in his case in the royal chapel, which were likely to generate a private income.[131]

From the early fourteenth century onwards an intellectual and social elite of friars began to emerge who do not seem to have fully shared the communal life and whose material resources were very different from that of those confrères who continued to live in the priories. Private property existed in the London priory by 1366 when friar John Elm, who had been victim of a theft, received compensation.[132] Already in 1347 John de Reppes, prior of the London White Friars and Edward III's ambassador to Avignon, had received expenses of more than £19 which he must have advanced personally and later recovered at the Exchequer.[133] Another Carmelite ambassador, Richard Northales, appears in the reign of Richard II when he was sent together with Sir Nicholas Dagworth to Rome and to Prague "pro certis secretis negociis Regis" in the mid-1380s, at a time when the war with Scotland was about to be resumed. A royal gift of 20 marks was the reward, a small fortune paid to him in

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[131] R. Copsey, *'Baston, Philip (d. after 1327)'*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1657, accessed 25 June 2014].

[132] The National Archives, London E403/427 m 23.

[133] The National Archives, London E403/340 m 15: "de expensis suis nuper missi in nuncium regis versus Curiam Romanam". *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers 1342-1362*, ed. W.H. Bliss, 8.

person.[134] Other important examples are the prominent Carmelites in the early fifteenth century, Robert Mascal, confessor of Henry IV or Stephen Patrington, confessor to king Henry V. Like their Dominican predecessors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they and their "socii" were members of the royal household, receiving a regular payment for themselves and their staff, with a standard annual payment of £69 10 shillings 6 pence.[135]

The royal confessors were merely the pinnacle of an intellectual and spiritual elite whose members were able to become economically independent of their priories' income. Wealthy testators offered lump sums or even regular incomes to individual friars in return for obits and prayers.[136] It is not clear how such payments were handled in the priories, however, at least in those cases where the testators were related to the friars who were to benefit personally from their bequests it is likely that the funds went directly to the person rather than to the community.[137] This situation did not conform to principles laid down in early papal bulls for the Carmelites, "Ex officii" (1229) which stipulated "ne in proprietatem de caetero Eremi vestrae loca, vel possessiones, seu domos, aut redditus alios recipiatis" and it was also difficult to square with "Quae honorem" (1248) which prohibited personal property.[138] When the order's general chapter began to show concern about private property among the friars from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, this was not about the mere possession of money but about the involvement in financial transactions, the sale of perpetual incomes or fixed pensions to individual friars.[139] These and similar measures taken against "proprietarii" among the friars were not successful in the long run.[140] When Peter Terrasse visited the English province in 1504-1505, he came across at least one case in which a friar had pawned valuables

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[134] The National Archives, London E403/505 m 23.

[135] The National Archives, London E403/571 m 9; E403/574 m 14; E403/576 m 1; E403/578 m 11; E403/619 m 7. In 1401 Robert Mascall received more than £136 because he was owed arrears.

[136] A bequest of 10 marks for the London Carmelite John Lovey "ad celebrandum et exorandum pro anima mea et animabus Johannis patris mei et Juliane matris mee (…)", Greater London Record Office, GL MS 9171/1 fol. 275r-276r; the annual sum of £1-6-8 for four years, Greater London Record Office, GL MS 9171/5 fol. 230r-231r.

[137] Greater London Record Office, GL MS 9171/4 fol. 227v; Greater London Record Office, GL MS 9171/9 fol 132r-133v.

[138] Bullarium Carmelitanum, 4, 9.

[139] Acta Capitulorum, I, 53-54.

[140] Ibid., 70.

from his convent.[141] Individual friars began to obtain the dignity of papal chaplain, eighteen alone in the 1390s[142] and by the fifteenth century some mendicants, among them Carmelites, were assessed for clerical taxes in the parish churches in which they served.[143]

These were signs of gradual changes in the "Vita communis" which had economic consequences, further diversifying the Carmelite economy. The changes were noticed by the order and perceived as a problem but it was not an English problem nor was it restricted to the Carmelites. Despite attempts to bring about reforms, something which in England only affected the Franciscans whose Observant branch was introduced into the kingdom in the reign of Edward IV, the mendicant orders changed in the later middle ages. Expectations to find sponsors for education coincided with opportunities for some friars to find a living outside the convent, as private confessors, as chantry priests or even in a more permanent role in the parishes.[144]

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[141] R. Copsey, *The Visit of the Prior General, Peter Terrasse, to England in 1504-5*, in: *Carmel in Britain. Studies on the Early History of the Carmelite Order*, ed. R. Copsey, Faversham/Rome 2004, 241-81, at 271.

[142] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers 1362-1404*, eds. W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow, 276, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 290, 291, 296, 299, 300, 301, 305, 307.

[143] M. Jurkowski, *Were Friars Paid Salaries? Evidence from Clerical Taxation Records, in: Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed. L. Clark, *The Fifteenth Century*, 13, Woodbridge 2014, 131-152, at 136, 138, 143.

[144] B. Neidiger, *Liegenschaftsbesitz und Eigentumsrechte der Basler Bettelordenskonvente. Beobachtungen zur Mendikantenarmut im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. K. Elm, Berliner historische Studien, 3, Ordensstudien, 2, 103-17, at 103; A. Rüther, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land. Die Straßburger Mendikantenkonvente und das Elsaß im Spätmittelalter*, Berliner Historische Studien, 26, Berlin 1997, 37; H.-J. Schmidt, *Die Wirtschaftsführung der Bettelorden in Deutschland (XIII.-XIV. Jahrhundert)*, in *L'economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fina alla metà del trecento. Atti del XXXI Convegno internazionale*, Assisi, 9-11 ottobre 2003, Spoleto 2004, 263-94, at 281; A. Rigon, *Mendicant Orders and the Reality of Economic Life in Italy in the Middle Ages,* in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. D. Prudlo, Brill's Companion to the Christian Tradition, 24, Leiden 2011, 241-276.

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 145-170

THE FRATERNAL COMPANIONSHIP OF ST. TITUS BRANDSMA O.CARM.

PATRICK MULLINS O.CARM.

By means of his motu proprio, *Apostolica Sollicitudo*, Pope St Paul VI officially instituted the Synod of Bishops on 15 September, 1965, and, in his opening discourse for the last session of the Second Vatican Council, the previous day, he described the Synod of Bishops as the means by which the Pope's ongoing 'consultation and collaboration' with the worldwide episcopate was to be facilitated.[1] The Synods of Bishop that had taken place since Vatican II have played an important role in ensuring that there is a public forum for ongoing consultation and collaboration among those who share in the episcopal ministry and the next Synod of Bishops, on the theme, *For a Synodal Church: Communion, Participation and Mission,* will take place in two sessions, October 2023 and October 2024. The 'Preparatory Document' that Pope Francis issued in September 2021 described the 'journeying together and reflecting together on the journey that has been made' since Vatican II as enabling the Church 'to learn though Her experience which processes can help Her to live communion, to achieve participation, to open Herself to mission.' The Pope suggests that it is 'journeying together' that 'most effectively enacts and manifests the nature of the Church as the pilgrim and missionary People of God' (n. 1). The New Testament term, *synodia* (from *syn*, meaning together, and *hodos*, meaning journey), means 'the action of journeying together'[2] (see Lk. 2:44), and articles 3 and 4 of the 2018 document of the International Theological Commission, 'Synodality in the Life and Mission of the Church,' notes its close

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[1] See *'The Synod of Bishops: An Introduction'* at the following website, visited on 6 November, 2022: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/documents/rc_synod_01011995_profile_en.html#:~:text=The%20Synod%20of%20Bishops%20is,engendered%20by%20the%20conciliar%20experience.

[2] See X. LÉON-DUFOUR, *Dictionary of the New Testament*, London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1980, 325.

association with the disciples of Jesus, - 'who presents Himself as "the way, the truth and the life" (Jn 14:16)', [his disciples] having been 'originally called "followers of the Way"' (see Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14,22), and with the Greek word, *synodos*, being used, not only for local ecclesial communities, but also for

> the ecclesial assemblies convoked on various levels (diocesan, provincial, regional, patriarchal or universal) to discern, by the light of the Word of God and listening to the Holy Spirit, the doctrinal, liturgical, canonical and pastoral questions that arise as time goes by.

Pope Francis describes the Synod of Bishops as implying that the Pope will not only consult with the representatives of the worldwide episcopate during the proposed Synod, and that the episcopate will collaborate with the Pope during that time, but also that both the Pope and the Bishops will journey together, and reflect together on the journey they have made together since Vatican II, as they prepare for, and celebrate, the upcoming Synod.

Recognising that institutes of Consecrated Life were 'repositories of a great heritage and of a rich tradition of synodality,' when he met members of the General Chapter of the Sisters of St. Dorothy of Frassinetti on 18 March, 2022, Pope Francis pointed out that 'walking together, with Christ and in the Spirit, constitutes the essence of Christian religious life', while also imprinting 'a style of communion and participation' that is 'marked by mission.'[3] In a similar way, perhaps, our Rule might be described as the primary repository of our Carmelite tradition, and the inspiration for the particular 'style of communion and participation' that marks both our mission, and our way of 'walking together, with Christ and in the Spirit'. From that perspective, this paper explores the fraternal companionship that characterised the various engagements and apostolates of St. Titus Brandsma, O.Carm., throughout his life's journey, and the inter-dependent manner in which he engaged with those he encountered.

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[3] See the following website, accessed on 27 February, 2023: https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/it/speeches/2022/march/documents/20220318-suore-santa-dorotea.html

[4] See A. Vanden Heuvel, *Titus Brandsma: A Modern Martyr for the Truth*, The Friends of Titus Brandsma, Ontario 1996, 2.

The Collaborative Spirit of Brandsma's Family-Life and Franciscan Schooling (1881-98).

Anno's grandfather, Hendrik Brandsma, had been involved in the establishment of a social credit union and a cooperative dairy,[4] and Anno's father, Titus Hendrikszoon Brandsma, took an active role in local affairs. He was a member of the municipal council of Bolsward and involved in the struggle for the recognition of Catholic schools. One of six children (two boys and four girls), five of whom professed the Consecrated Life, Anno Sjoerd Brandsma, who was born in 1881, grew up in the midst of 'the very serious farm depression in the 1880s.'[5] The farm was run as a collaborative family enterprise, with the children helping to churn butter and to make cheese but, thanks to his frail health, Titus was not allowed to participate in some of the chores that needed to be done. Using his fertile imagination, however, he was able to persuade his siblings, even those older than he was, to participate wholeheartedly in turning the chores to be done into interesting games or projects.[6]

The cooperation Titus experienced in his family's dairy farm was focused on the farm chores, his health preventing him taking part in some of those chores, and the cooperation he experienced from his friends and family during his secondary schooling were connected with discerning his vocation in life, his frail health again playing a significant role. At the age of 11, Anno went to the Franciscan Boarding School in Megen, with a view to joining the Franciscans. Although he completed the six-year program in Megen, Titus was told that he did not have the strength for life as a missionary overseas. Realising that joining the Franciscans was no longer an option, Titus discussed his vocation with his two closest friends at the school. Together, Titus and his two friends decided to read everything they could find about the various orders and religious congregations and all three prayed for guidance in the chapel at Megen.[7] Anno's mother, Tjitske, regarded Teresa of Avila as her patron Saint,[8] and when Anno

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[5] R. M. Valabek O.Carm., *The Beatification of Father Titus Brandsma, Carmelite (1881-1942), Martyr in Dachau*, Institutum Carmelitanum, Rome 1986, 26.

[6] See M. Arribas O.Carm., *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite,* Carmelite Media, Illinois 2021, 11.

[7] See ibid., 14.

[8] See A. Staring O.Carm., *Fr. Titus Brandsma and St. Teresa of Avila,* in *Essays on Titus Brandsma: Carmelite, Educator, Journalist, Martyr*, ed. R.M. Valabek O.Carm., *Essays on Titus Brandsma,* Carmel in the World Paperbacks, Rome 1985, 206.

learned that her first cousin, Casimirus de Boer, was a Carmelite Friar, and was soon to be ordained to the Priesthood, he arranged to meet him. When Casimirus explained the origins, prayer-life, and Marian spirituality, of the Carmelites, it had an immediate impact on Anno, who later described the discovery of that spirituality as having brought him 'to the happy decision to embrace this life.'[9]

Collaboration With His Fellow-Students, Fraternal Correction and Solidarity (1898-1909).

Entering the Carmelite Novitiate in Boxmeer in September, 1898, and, when he made his first profession, a year later, he was given Titus as his Religious name. Titus began his studies in Philosophy in September, 1900, and, three years later, in 1903, he began his studies in theology. With the permission of his superiors, a study and discussion club named after the Carmelite humanist, Baptist Spagnoli of Mantua, was formed by the theology students, and Titus was part of a group who founded an in-house magazine for the Carmelites called *Van Neerlands Carmel* (The Dutch Carmel), with Baptist of Mantua's name on the front, which Titus edited. In 1905, when the magazine had been running for two years, Titus proposed that the professors in the student house, and other Carmelite friars from the Dutch province, could also contribute articles. Eventually, it became the in-house magazine of the entire Dutch province, with Titus as its secretary. Titus encouraged his fellow students to submit the best articles to Dutch magazines and newspapers and he acted as their literary agent in selling their work. A series of articles by Brandsma (under the pen-name, Isebrand) and his fellow students appeared in *De Katholieke Gids* (The Catholic Guide), a prominent monthly magazine, included articles on Baptist of Mantua, Geert Groote, the great Dutch medieval mystic, and the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis. Although Titus, as a first-year student of theology, had a significant role in beginning this project, Titus was able to win the collaboration of his fellow-students, and of some of the older members of the Province, forging close links, not only with his collaborators, but also with the editors of other Dutch magazines and newspapers.[10]

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[9] See Arribas, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 17.
[10] See ibid., 27.

Bringing the spirit of collaboration that marked his family-life, and his experience of peer- and family-solidarity when his health prevented him becoming a missionary Franciscan, Titus found scope for his collaborative skills in running the *Van Neerlands Carmel* during his philosophical and theological studies and, although it was not his health that would result in the setback that lay ahead of him, he would, as before, experience significant support from his Carmelite peers in the challenges he would have to face as his theological studies came to a conclusion. Titus was ordained a priest in St. John's Cathedral at s'Hertogenbosch, on 17 June, 1905, at the age of 24, taking a ten-day holiday at home before beginning his final year of theology at Oss that September. During his final examinations, when Dr. Eugene Driessen, O.Carm., asked him to defend a certain thesis about the essence of angels, Titus asked permission to defend the opposite position, but his request was denied. Afterwards, Dr. Eugene advised against sending Titus to continue his studies Rome because of Titus' 'penchant for dangerous propositions,' and, because his superiors suspected 'an air of precocious presumption', Titus was sent as sacristan to the Provincialate in Boxmeer instead. When Fr. Hubert Driessen, O.Carm., the brother of Dr. Eugene, who had become Procurator General in 1903, returned to the Netherlands from Rome to visit a sick relative during October 1906, he was surprised that Titus was not being sent to Rome for studies, and, having met the Provincial, who agreed that Titus would go to Rome, Fr. Hubert met Titus, telling him to go and see the Provincial. When he did so, he said:

> Father Provincial, do you have any idea how independent in his opinions is this Friar standing here before you? Some of my confreres believe, and with reason, [that] my way of thinking in theological matters is dangerous.[11]

The Provincial responded: 'All the more reason for you to go to Rome.' Titus returned to Rome with Fr. Hubert at the end of October 1906 to begin his postgraduate studies in Philosophy. Looking back on what happened years later, Titus commented: 'This was one of the many lessons I needed.'[12] The incident demonstrates Titus' willingness to listen to his confreres, and to take their critical comments seriously, as well as his willingness to recognise that the problem identified by Dr. Eugene was a positive contribution to his growth and development.

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[11] See ibid., 30.

[12] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 25.

While he was studying full-time for his doctorate in Philosophy, Titus was also studying sociology and he continued to write articles for *Van Neerlands Carmel*, and to make regular contributed to three other Dutch magazines. His Sicilian confrere, Alberto Grammatico, warned him that his zeal was excessive but it had little effect and Titus lost weight and was often in poor health. Despite this, however, he completed his Licentiate in Philosophy in 1908. While preparing for his comprehensive exams in November that same year, he had a haemorrhage and spent three months in bed. When he heard that he had failed his comprehensive exam on 17 May, 1909, he said, 'I did all I could.' Soon afterwards he learned that he had been appointed to teach Philosophy at Oss and he returned to the Netherlands to take up that position. Fr. Hubert Driessen, who had returned to the Netherland from Rome the previous year, persuaded him to make a second attempt at getting his doctorate, organising a demanding program of study program during that summer, including a complete review of scholastic philosophy. His health and energy returned, and when he returned to Rome in September, he successfully completed his doctorate in Philosophy, at the age of 28. Titus later recognised that, during that summer, he learned from Fr. Hubert how to distinguish 'the main objective' from less important matters, but also how to 'continue in spite of misunderstandings and lack of appreciation.'[13].

Thanks to both the challenge put to him by Eugene Driessen in 1906, and the solidarity and support, in addition to significant 'correction' concerning his approach to his studies, that he received from Eugene's brother, Hubert, Titus learned some important lessons, and he came to appreciate the challenge put to him by Eugene, and he humbly confessed what he had learned when he met the Provincial. Thanks to Hubert, who acted swiftly to undo the 'punishment' that had been inflicted, which he had immediately recognised as precisely contrary to what was needed, Titus was able to proceed with the studies in Rome, where, unfortunately, the good advice of his confrere, Alberto Grammatico, was ignored, and the effects of excessive zeal on his weak health eventually led to a collapse and failure in his comprehensive exam. Returning to his own Province, the encouragement and support of Hubert Driessen, who helped him to distinguish the essential from the less important, and to plan a suitable campaign of study, enabled him to return to Rome the following

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[13] See ibid., 31.

September to complete his doctoral studies in Philosophy.[14] All these different experiences of engagement, and collaboration, with those who were the companions that Providence provided for him in his Carmelite life laid the foundations for the more highly-developed collaborative skills that would be the hallmark of his future life and ministry.

The Apostolates and Collaborative Engagements of Dr. Titus (1909-1942).

When he returned from Rome in June 1909, after completing his Doctorate, Titus had many conversations with his mentor and friend, Hubert Driessen, and they were both keen to work in order 'to give back to the Order its glorious traditions',[15] with a single house of studies for both Philosophy and Theology students, and a strong emphasis on missionary work in Brazil. Their common concern for the good of the Province, and their friendship, allowed a significant level of frankness in their exchanges, and, when necessary, Titus was just as capable of giving constructive criticism, as he was capable of receiving it. Hubert was appointed chairman of the meetings of the Provincial Chapter to be held during August and, when he wrote to Titus, enclosing a draft of his opening address to the members of the chapter, and asking for advice, Titus pointed out that the speech was 'too strong and too personal' and that it was a mistake to present the situation of the Province as a choice 'between life and death'. Instead, he should 'say that they should consider well what will lead the province to growth or to destruction' and try to ensure that the one chosen as Provincial 'will be a servant of God who is not going to bury the one talent given to him (see Mt. 25:18) but will try to double it … Then come to a short, calm and impersonal ending to your speech.' Titus concluded by saying, 'Respect the opinions of others as far as possible. Place your opinion next to theirs if you have a different one without attacking that of the others.'[16] Thanks, perhaps, to the advice he had received from Titus, Hubert was elected as Provincial at that chapter and the new Provincial Council approved the future establishment of a central house of higher studies where philosophy

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[14] See Arribas, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 31-33.
[15] See Vanden Heuvel, *Titus Brandsma*, 31.
[16] See ibid., 32-33.

and theology would be taught. Titus had been appointed as Professor of Philosophy and Church History, and Regent of Studies, at Oss on his return from Rome and, in order to ensure sufficient teaching staff for the proposed house of studies, Titus submitted the names of ten professed students, who should be sent to study in Rome so that the whole faculty of the seminary could be renewed within a few years. In order that the Priests teaching at the seminary would be on an equal footing as those teaching in other institutes, he proposed that they should all have academic degrees that were civilly recognised. As Provincial, Hubert supported these new developments.[17]

Soon after his return to Oss, Titus had written to one of his friends outlining his ideas for a new magazine: 'A devotional periodical would be quite possible as things stand. A popular and instructive magazine could also be achieved. If I could only get started.'[18] It was the first of these ventures that proved successful, the founding of a journal of Carmelite spirituality that would enable the Carmelite Order to become known again throughout Holland. In 1911, he organised the first meeting that would eventually lead to the establishment of *Carmelrozen* (Roses of Carmel), a journal of Carmelite spirituality, urging those present to support him in ensuring that it would be well-printed and attractive in layout. He divided up the work between the staff and the sixteen scholastics and others who were willing to help in various ways, and he became himself a member of the editorial staff. Encouraging his students at Oss to write articles for the magazine, he was so successful in promoting its circulation that within a year he had over 11,000 subscriptions. Hubert was re-elected as Provincial in 1912, and, having reached the required age of 30, Titus was appointed to the Provincial Council and, for the remainder of his life, Titus was either a member of the Provincial Council or vice-Provincial. As Professor of Philosophy, he also prepared a draft of a new, three-year program of studies designed to provide a suitable background for Priestly ministry in the contemporary world, and this was eventually implemented.[19]

Following the 1912 chapter, Hubert moved the provincial office to Oss and, now as members of the same community, Titus and Hubert took a short walk together almost daily and had numerous conversations. As a first-year Philosophy student in 1901, Titus has

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[17] See Arribas, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 35-36.
[18] See Vanden Heuvel, *Titus Brandsma*, 37.
[19] See ibid., 35-36.

published his first book, an *Anthology of Selections from the Works of Theresa of Avila*, was a translation from French into Dutch of chapters from some of the Spanish mystic's works[20] and, as a means towards restoring the 'glorious traditions' of the academic traditions of the Order, they planned, among other things, to translate the works of St Teresa of Avila into Dutch. Their collaboration on the Teresa project continued after Hubert's second term as Provincial, after Lambertus Smeets was elected to replace him in 1915, and Lambert was elected to a second term as Provincial in 1918. Titus outlined the significance of the Teresa project in these words:

> During those same years we began our fine grand edition of Teresa's writings, which has become the source of much blessing, and has given again to the name of Carmel in Holland a good reputation as an Order of prayer and mysticism. Very often we discussed how the Saint of Avila would have understood her elliptic sentences, what she wanted to say by her words which were sometimes obscure because of their brevity. The *Works* of St. Teresa did more than keep us at work; they deepened our spirit, they put us in a more interior and devout mood, they revived our love for the primitive spirit of the Order.[21]

The nine-volume critical edition of the works of St. Teresa by Fr Silverio de Santa Teresa O.C.D. was published in Spanish between 1915 and 1924[22] and, after the first volumes, during February 1917, Titus was in communication with Paul Brand, the publisher of the proposed series of Dutch translations, working out the details of the proposed series of publications. As general editor, Brandsma was responsible for seeking out the best editions of the works of St Teresa that would be used as the basis for the translations and he also corrected the manuscripts and added explanatory notes to each of the volumes. The first four volumes of the seven-volume work were published between 1918 and 1926, and they were well-received. The first volume was Titus' own translation of the Life, St Teresa's autobiography, was published in 1918[23] and the second volume, the *Book of Foundations*, translated by Athanasius van Rijswijck, in

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[20] See T. Brandsma O.Carm., *Bloemlezing Uit De Werken Der H. Teresia*, Den Haag 1901.

[21] See Staring O.Carm., *Teresa 1985,* 206-07.

[22] See Silverio de S. Teresa O.C.D., ed. *Obras De Santa Teresa De Jesus*, 9 vols., Burgos 1915-24.

[23] See T. Brandsma O.Carm. ed., *Het Boek Van Haar Leven*, 4 vols., vol. 1, H. Teresia. Werken Der H. Teresia Uit Het Spaansch Vertaald, Bussum 1918.

1919.[24] The fourth volume, the first section of Teresa's *Letters*, translated by Hubert Driessen, was published in 1924[25] and the third volume, *The Way of Perfection*, translated by Titus, and *The Interior Castle*, translated by Athanasius van Rijswijck, and with an introduction by Titus, was published in 1926.[26] In 1919, Hubert Driessen became Procurator General for the second time, and he served in that position until 1925.[27] Although Hubert completed two additional volumes on the Letters of St Teresa during this time, the demands of other activities did not permit Titus to edit and annotate these volumes, or to prepare them for publication, as he explained to Hubert in a 1937 letter:

> Nothing hurts me more than that, because I am so easily carried away by enthusiasm, all kinds of other work have left this project unfinished, even though it is beautiful, great and so important for the Order. You yourself handed over two additional completed parts of the Letters, the result of regular, imperturbably regular work each day, week after week, month after month, nay, year after year, for it has been a work of years. Naturally, there are many things in my life that I regret. There are many things that I could and should have done better, but I regret nothing more, especially on an anniversary day such as this, than that the edition of Teresa's writings, into which, for my sake as well, you put so much effort, lies unfinished. On this day I will speak about it to tell you that I regret it and cherish the hope that I will finish this edition in the near future.[28]

In the light of the correspondence between Titus and Hubert that has survived, Br. Anthony Vanden Heuvel has described Hubert as 'hasty and ill-tempered … with grand and magnificent designs' and Titus as 'a fervent and thoughtful friend filled with great charity.'[29]

In addition to his work on *Carmelrozen*, Titus continued writing articles for various learned journals, religious periodicals and newspapers, such as *Ons Noorden* and *De Gelderlander*. He discussed a plan for a national Catholic newspaper with Dr. Peter J. M. Aalberse

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[24] See A. van Rijswijck O.Carm. ed., *Het Boek Der Kloosterstichtingen, Regel En Constitutien, Wijze Van Visitatie*, 7 vols., vol. 2 1919.

[25] See H. Driessen O.Carm. ed., *Eerste Gedeelte Der Brieven*ibid., vol. 4 1924.

[26] See A. van Rijswijck O.Carm. and T. Brandsma O.Carm. eds., *De Weg Der Volmaaktheid; Het Kasteel Der Ziel*, 4 vols., vol. 3 1926.

[27] See E. Hense and J. Chalmers eds., *Letters to the Family*, Collected Works of Titus Brandsma, Edizioni Carmelitane, Rome 2021, 21 n. 9.

[28] See Staring O.Carm., *Teresa 1985*, 208.

[29] See Vanden Heuvel, *Titus Brandsma*, 35.

(1871-1948), a prominent Catholic layman who later became minister for Labour in the Dutch government but the project came to nothing. Titus wrote over a hundred articles each year for *De Stad Oss*, the local weekly newspaper in Oss, which then had a population of about 11,000. In May 1919, Fr. Hubert Driessen accompanied him on a visit to the offices of *De Stad Oss* in an attempt to address the difficulties it was facing. Typographically, and in content, it was in a deplorable state, sometimes being reduced to a single sheet printed on both sides, and often failing to appear at all. Following the meeting, Titus became editor-in-chief of the paper and, helped by a team of co-workers from both inside and outside the Carmelite house at Oss, the newspaper soon regained its former excellence, with accurate information and with eight full pages, with photographs, on Saturdays. Titus was editor of *De Stad Oss* until his new appointment in Nijmegen in 1923. During that period, he also contributed articles to *De Maasbode* and *De Tijd*, two of the best-known Catholic daily newspapers.[30]

The Roman Catholic Mission movement in Holland grew significantly from 1880, approximately, and, already gathering momentum before the First World War, there were 3,159 active Catholic Dutch missionaries by 1927.[31] In 1918, the Dutch Cardinal, Willem von Rossum, was appointed as the new President of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and, in the Summer of 1919, Titus was named as one of those who would be sent to Brazil as a missionary. Soon afterwards, however, he was told that somebody else was to go instead of him and that he was to stay in Holland to look after the studies of its Carmelite students. Although disappointed, Titus became active in supporting his Carmelite Brothers who were being sent as missionaries to Brazil, and he also supported the efforts of those hoping to re-establish suppressed Carmelite houses in Germany.[32] He set up a mission museum to promote interest in the Missions among the Carmelites in Holland and, during Mission Week each year, Titus organised a display of the material sent to him by his

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[30] See ARRIBAS, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 37.

[31] See T. KAPPELHOF, *Archives of Dutch Christian Missionary Organizations and Missionaries. How Information Contributed to Power and Infuence,* in *Colonial Legacy in South East Asia. The Dutch Archives*, ed. C. JEURGENS, T. KAPPELHOF, and M. KARABINOS, *Jaarboek Stichting Archiefpublicaties*, Stichting Archief Publicaties, 's-Gravenhage 2012; A. FULDERS, *Statistische Gegevens Per 1 Januari 1955, Het Missiewerk* 35 1955.

[32] BUSCODUCEN, *Beatificationis Seu Declarationis Martyrii Servi Dei Titi Brandsma Sacerdotis Professi Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae V. De Monte Carmelo. Summarium Super Dubio: An Sit Signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae in Casu Et Ad Effectum De Quo Agitur?*, Congregatio pro causis sanctorum, Rome 1965, xx-xxi.

fellow Carmelites in Brazil and gave lectures in various cities and towns about the Carmelite Missions abroad. On one occasion, a Mission rally was organised as part of Mission Week and it seemed like Archbishop Henricus Van de Wetering of Utrecht, who was attending another meeting and who was to preside at the rally afterwards, might be delayed, Titus entered the hall and indicated to the chairman that he would like to pass a message to the Archbishop. Aware that Titus was continually seeking financial support for the Carmelite missionaries abroad, the Archbishop was overheard when he said to Titus: 'Of course, you have come to ask for another subsidy [for the work of the Missions], haven't you?'[33] Titus seems to have been as dedicated to sharing his enthusiasm for missionary work with others as he was in raising money for the foreign missionaries of his Province and, when a national congress on foreign missions was held in Oss in 1922, Titus being responsible for its organisation and for encouraging support for the foreign missions among the people of Oss and the local area, and more than 1,500 people attended. In February 1923, the Dutch province accepted responsibility for a new mission in Indonesia, which had a population of five million. Titus commented: 'We had not expected that this would happen so soon. Only with God's special help will we be able to live up to the expectations. God helps those who have confidence in him.'[34]

After the First World War, Titus was among the first to join the Dutch branch of the Apostolate of Reunification of Eastern Churches. Thanks to a visit to the Netherlands, by the Ukrainian primate of Lemberg, Andreas Szeptycki, the level of mutual understanding between the Uniate Churches in eastern Europe and the Roman Church in western Europe increased significantly and, in 1926, Titus was elected vice-president of the 'Apostolate for Reunion,' a position he held until his death. Every year, a different area was chosen for study and, over time, the members became familiar with the Syro-Malabar Rite, the Byzantine Rite, and the Slavonic, Coptic, Armenian and Syrian Rites. Titus gave lectures on the reunion of the eastern and western Churches in different towns and cities and wrote articles for magazines and newspapers to promote this cause and he developed a close friendship with Fr. Schiphorst, who was a parish priest in Amsterdam, one of his many co-workers in the Apostolate for Reunion. The Redemptorist, Fr. Van Keulen, Fr. Johannes Huibers,

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[33] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 79.
[34] See ARRIBAS, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 39-42.

who became Bishop of Haarlem in 1935, and Fr. Martin Jansen, who became Bishop of Rotterdam in 1956, were among these co-workers. Over the years, many Eastern rite priests came to see him when they visited the Netherlands, including the Syro-Malabar bishops, 'mar' Ivanios and 'mar' Theophilos, whom Pope Pius XI named, respectively, as Archbishop of Trivandrum and suffragan bishop of Thiruvalla, in 1932. Titus, himself, was once the guest of Boghos Bédros XIII Terzian, Patriarch of the Armenian Catholics from 1910 to 1931. In 1928, a division arose between those who wanted to emphasise research, publications, and lectures, within the Netherlands, on the one hand, and those who wanted to support the work being done in eastern countries, on the other. Titus acted as mediator in this dispute and he somehow managed to convince both sides to be more open to the opinions of the others.[35]

When Titus discovered that there was a great need for second-level education in Oss, he became involved in setting up a school and, in September 1919, what would grow into a second-level school preparing students for commerce and business was launched. As well as teaching mathematics and geometry, Titus was head of the school for two years and took responsibility for most of the administration of the school and he is regarded as the founder of the Carmelite Lyceum that was formally recognised in 1922.[36] Early in 1923, Titus was among those involved in negotiations about setting up a Catholic secondary school run by the Carmelites in Oldenzaal and, a few months later, Titus was appointed as the permanent secretary of the three Carmelite second-level colleges in the Netherlands, of which there were three by the end of that year, Oss, Oldenzaal and Twentsch. Titus would hold the position of secretary until the end of his life. Only the public schools received grants from the Dutch Department of Education, and neither Catholic nor or Protestant second-level schools received any grants. In a long article, Titus protested to the public at large about the injustice of this approach and he managed, somehow, to get grants for one of the Carmelite second-level schools, the one at Twentsch. During the last two months of 1924, Titus made eight different trips to the Department of Education seeking grants for the three schools. The Association of Roman Catholic High School and Gymnasia Boards was founded that year, and, from 1925 until his death in 1942, Titus was chairman of that association. In 1926, he

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[35] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 74-75.
[36] See ibid., 41.

succeeded in obtaining a government subsidy for the school in Oss, and for the second-level school in Oldenzaal.[37]

After the German Army (*Wehrmacht*) invaded the Netherlands and defeated the Dutch army after only five days fighting, in May, 1940, education in the Netherlands was under the control of the Nazi Ministry of Education, Sciences and Cultural Protection, which attempted to change all private schools, including those managed by Religious Orders, into state schools.[38] Early in 1941, the number of teachers in Catholic schools was questioned, and lists of Jewish pupils attending Catholic schools were demanded.[39] About the middle of February 1941, Titus sent a circular to the trustees of the second-level schools pointing out the necessity for closer contact among the Catholic school authorities because of the changing circumstances.[40] On 21 February, 1941, a decree was issued stating that the salaries of all teachers living in communities of Religious would be reduced by 40%. The following day, Titus had a meeting with a series of school boards in Tilburg, and, later that day, he met representatives of other boards in Sittard and Utrecht. It was agreed that the school boards would respond only through their teachers' federation, Titus serving as the spokesperson for the federation and proceeding as he thought best but keeping in close contact with some of the executives of the federation. In preparation for a series of meetings with Church authorities the following day, Titus went to The Hague that same day, where he stayed with the secretary of the federation, Dr. Jos De Boer, who had once studied under Titus. On 23 February, Titus discussed the situation with the Archbishop, with the Vicar general, and with representatives of the Roman Catholic Central Bureau of Education.[41] Another decree was issued on 25 February, stating that 'Clergy or Religious cannot be appointed as rectors, directors and principals of institutes of learning in the wide sense of the word. Those who held such positions in May 1940, or later, will be relieved of their functions on 1 May, 1941, at the latest."[42]

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[37] See ARRIBAS, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 111-14.

[38] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 104.

[39] See L. G. GLUECKERT O.CARM., *Titus Brandsma: Friar against Fascism* Carmelite Press, Darien, Ill. 1985, 9; J. ALZIN, *A Dangerous Little Friar: Father Titus Brandsma, O.Carm., Rector of the University of Nymegen, Martyr at Dachau*, trans. EARL OF WICKLOW, Dublin 1957, 80.

[40] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 105.

[41] See ibid., 105-06.

[42] See GLUECKERT O.CARM., *Titus Brandsma*, 9; F. VALLAINC, *Un Giornalista Martire. Padre Tito Bransma,* Milan 1963, 155-56; VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 105; ARRIBAS, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 114-27.

As Primate of the Netherlands, Archbishop Van de Wetering of Utrecht, was keen to establish a Catholic University in the Netherlands and his two collaborates on the project, Johannes Hoogveld and Jos Schrijnen, both Priests and academics, began gathering a suitable group of scholars in different disciplines during 1922 and 1923. Meeting Titus at a meeting they both attended, after discussing the work that Titus had done on St. Teresa of Avila, Hoogveld recommended Titus to Schrijnen, who invited Titus to a meeting during April, 1923, and, after Titus consulted with his Provincial, Cyprian Verbeek, it was announced the following June that Titus had accepted the position of Professor of Philosophy and of the History of Mysticism at the Catholic University of the Netherlands at Nijmegen.[43] Dr. Schrijnen, Professor of General Linguistics, became the first Rector Magnificus of the new University in September 1923 and, during his year in office, he was so sharply criticised by Jacobus Van Ginneken, S.J., the Professor of Dutch Language and Literature and of Comparative Linguistics, and by the board of directors of the University, that he was in danger of becoming isolated from some of the other professors. In these circumstances, Titus facilitated a reconciliation between the Schrijnen and Van Ginneken, persuading Van Ginneken to apologise at a later meeting. Ferdinand Sassen, who became one of the Professors of Philosophy at the University in 1929, and who knew Titus well, recognised that Titus put his practical insight at the service of promoting a fraternal, collaborative spirit among the academic staff of the University:

> The readiness of Brandsma's practical insight made him extremely capable of solving difficulties, overcoming misunderstandings or oppositions. In a milieu where everyone has biased opinions since he feels that his vision has been formed independently and after much thought, it is necessary to have a mediating factor like Titus.[44]

In August 1941, the Nazi Department of Education issued a decree preventing Jewish children being admitted to secondary schools. Any Jewish children already admitted could stay on but would not be counted for the purposes of getting a government subsidy. As President of the Association of the Boards for the Administration of Roman Catholic Preparatory, Higher, and Secondary Education (the VHMO), Titus objected to this decree and, by the end of the month,

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[43] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 47.
[44] See ibid., 55.

he had succeeded in allowing any Jewish children who had been admitted to be counted for the purposes of getting a government subsidy. When this decision was not communicated officially, he wrote personally to the school boards to inform them of it. During September, Titus sent a circular to the members of the Association proposing that schools should adopt a common policy of never refusing admittance to children of Jewish origin who had become Catholic. A week later, the Ministry telephoned to tell Titus that an exception had been made for Jewish children who enrolled before May 1940 (the month in which the German army invaded Holland) but, by the end of September, the Secretary General of the Department of Education withdrew permission for any exceptions to the policy refusing Jewish children permission to be admitted to Catholic schools. In November 1941, Titus informed the principals of four diocesan colleges that, following discussions with the Department, they would not be subject to the new departmental regulations. In a letter, he commented: '*It looks good. For how long, only God knows*.' Not long afterwards, all such exemptions were withdrawn.

From 1935, Titus was the ecclesiastical advisor to the Dutch Catholic Journalists. He was also actively involved in the federation of journalists, both as a member and as a Priest, speaking to the newspaper editors about better conditions and higher salaries and organising specially-designed retreats for journalists. Soon after he was unanimously chosen as the moderator of the new federation of Dutch journalists in 1940, the Nazi 'Advisory Board for the Dutch Press' demanded that all the newspapers give an explanation every time they did not publish what was sent to them by the Dutch Nazi party, the NSB. In September 1940, Titus brought the difficulties of the Catholic press to the attention Archbishop de Jong and, in July 1941, a pastoral letter from the Dutch bishops spoke out against the restrictions that had been imposed on the Catholic radio network. It also recognised that '*Our Catholic daily press has either been suspended or has been so limited in its freedom of expression that it is hardly possible any longer to speak of a Catholic Press*.' Things came to a head in December that year, when the Catholic newspapers were forbidden to refuse Nazi party announcements on grounds of principle. Titus regarded this development as the point on which he would have to take a personal stand. On the afternoon of Wednesday 31 December, 1941, and, when Archbishop De Jong told Titus '*We will respond to them … Our answer must be 'No!*' When Titus wanted to visit all the editors to communicate this decision, the Archbishop warned him that it was a dangerous mission, but Titus replied, '*I can act more easily*

than you: I can travel, advise, and evoke a kind of fidelity that may astound everyone.' That evening, Titus wrote a circular letter to all Catholic journalists: *The hour is past when there can't be any turning back by the Catholic press. … my friends, we must give way no further; … The editors must categorically refuse those articles … .'*[45] In the period leading up to 10 January, 1942, Titus visited fourteen newspaper presidents in fifteen cities[46] and, since some of the lay editors wanted the Archbishop to formally instruct them to do what was proposed, Titus arranged this, on his return. On 19 January, Titus was arrested by the Nazi Ministry of Security.

THE APOSTOLATE OF ENCOURAGEMENT WHILE IN PRISON (JANUARY TO JULY, 1942).

Arrested on 19 January, 1942, Titus imprisoned overnight, in Arnhem, before being taken to The Hague, for questioning, and, from there, he was taken to Scheveningen (where he was imprisoned from 20 January to 12 March), moving to Amersfoort (12 March to 27 April), Scheveningen again (28 April to 16 May), Kleve (16 May to 13 June), and, finally, Dachau, where he was from 19 June until the day of his death, 26 July, 1942, as the result of a lethal injection. Here we highlight the ways in which he looked after, and encouraged, his fellow-prisoners during these months, focusing on three encounters, one during the weeks he spent in Amersfoort, one during his second period of confinement in Scheveningen, showing the way in which Titus interacted with his two Protestant cell-companions, one on his journey from Kleve to Dachau, demonstrating how he related with the Priests who were his fellow-prisoners, and one in Dachau, on his relationship with the nurse who would administer the injection that killed him.

During his initial imprisonment in Scheveningen (20 January to 12 March), Titus was in solitary confinement. During his time in

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[45] See GLUECKERT, *Titus Brandsma: Friar against Fascism*, 13-14; *Summarium Super Dubio: An Constet De Martyrio Servi Dei, Necnon De Ejus Causa Et De Signis Seu Miraculis, in Casu Et Ad Effectum De Quo Agitur?*, Congregatio pro causis sanctorum, Rome 1979, 446-448. VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma,* 119-121; ALZIN, *A Dangerous Little Friar,* 82-83; T. WINSHIP and T. HOEKSTRA, *The Limit Has Been Reached,* in *Essays on Titus Brandsma: Carmelite, Educator, Journalist, Martyr*, ed. VALABEK, 52-54.

[46] See GLUECKERT, *Titus Brandsma*, 14; B. MAIJER, *Titus Brandsma*, Bossum 1951, 385.

Amersfoort, a camp capable of holding up to 900 prisoners who were being sent to other camps (12 March to 27 April), a small group Catholic clergy and intellectuals who shared the same barracks as Titus became known as the Tilbury Circle, named after the Catholic town of Tilbury, in Brabant, when they dedicated themselves to helping Titus in his clandestine ministry as a Priest, hearing Confessions, giving Sermons, and giving talks on Scripture or spirituality. Every night before going to sleep, Titus gave each of the members of the Tilbury Circle 'a warm handshake as he traced the sign of the cross on their palms.'[47] Every Sunday, in place of Mass, Titus led a 'service' that included a form of spiritual Holy Communion. Looking at each of his listeners in turn, he said to each of them the Latin equivalent of 'The Body of our Lord, Jesus Christ, keep your soul unto life everlasting.'[48] Since any kind of religious instruction or pastoral work was forbidden under pain of death, the group were careful to avoid using the term, 'Father,' when referring to Titus, and they called him 'Uncle Titus,' instead, because 'Uncle' was a common way of expressing respect and affection among the Dutch. Although many of the fellow-prisoners were atheists, Titus talked to them about the Flemish mystics he had studied. Somehow the Tilbury Circle were able to provide Titus with a Missal, a rosary, and even a copy of *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas a Kempis. Titus visited the sick in the camp's infirmary, showing particular care for sick Catholics, and some who survived noted how Uncle Titus had cared for one in particular, Jan Hoffmann, whom he had fed, putting stones that had been heated in a stove under his blankets to keep him warm, and encouraging him not to give up the struggle to stay alive.[49]

On Tuesday, 27 April, Titus was brought from Amersfoort to The Hague to be evaluated, for the second time, by Hauptscharführer Hardegen, and, after refusing to sign a promise not to preach against or to resist the occupation forces, rather late in the evening, Titus was brought to Scheveningen prison, just outside The Hague, and put in cell n. 623 with two young men, Cornelius De Graff and Willem Oostdijck. When Titus identified himself, the two men had already heard of Professor Titus Brandsma, and they asked many questions. They gave him the only bed in the cell while they themselves slept on

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[47] See ARRIBAS, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 169; J.M. MALHAM, *By Fire into Light: Four Catholic Martyrs of the Nazi Camps*, Leuven 2002, 58.

[48] See VANDEN HEUVEL, *Titus Brandsma*, 170-71.

[49] See sanctorum, *Summarium Super Dubio, 1965*, 197.

straw mats on the floor. In the morning, they noticed that Titus looked terribly thin and weak, and when he discovered that both were Protestants, he asked them whether it would disturb them if he knelt down to say his prayers. They said it would not and they played cards, or talked quietly among themselves, so as not to disturb his prayers. During the 18 days Titus shared his cell with De Graff and Oostdijck, Titus had long conversation with both of them, but with Cornelius De Graff in particular, and, responding to their questions, he told them about the origin of the Carmelites, about the lives of St Teresa of Avila, Francis of Assisi, and Geert Groote, and about his trips to Italy, Spain and Austria.[50] The three spent an hour in prayer on each of the two Sundays that he was with them and, during that time, Titus read from the Bible before they prayed and meditated together. Cornelius noticed that Titus 'also prayed for some time after he went to bed.'[51] During his time there, Titus was brought to The Hague for questioning on more than one occasion, sometimes being away from nine in the morning until seven at night. On 6 May, Titus was brought to The Hague for the verdict that had been received from Himmler's headquarters in Berlin. That afternoon, Hardegen called him in and said: 'We have decided that you will be transferred to Dachau, where you will stay till the end of the war.' After the verdict, his cell-companions noticed that Titus was supplied with pen and ink and that he began working on a long text. Titus told them that he had been asked to write a paper saying why he would not sign the document prepared by the Nazis. In the paper, he gave the reasons why the Church was opposed to national socialism and he said that, if the Nazis gave him his freedom, he would not abuse it by keeping quiet about the principles and ideals of Catholicism. When he finished, he sent one copy to the secret police headquarters and kept one copy for himself. His two cell-companions commented that, for the remainder of his time with them (until 16 May) as he awaiting his transfer to Dachau, Titus did not show any fear about where he was going: 'I will stay alive, as long as the Lord can use me.' He seemed to prefer to listen to them than to speak but they said that, on occasion, he spoke about the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that came afterwards.

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[50] See C. Dölle O.Carm., *Encountering God in the Abyss: Titus Brandsma's Spiritual Journey*, trans. J. Vriend, The Fiery Arrow Collection 5, Leuven - Paris - Dudley 2002, 150; Vanden Heuvel, *Titus Brandsma*, 181-82.

[51] See Vanden Heuvel, *Titus Brandsma*, 181-82.

On Saturday, 13 June, 1942, Titus left Kleve, the transit station on the border between the Netherlands and Germany where he had been since 16 May, and began his six-day journey to Dachau, just outside Munich, the railway carriages having been divided up into a number of one-metre square compartments, each with a bench, a small swing-back shelf as a table, and a tiny window of frosted glass that was so high up that it was impossible to see out. There were four Priests in the compartment for the first stage of the journey to Gladbach, and six for the next stage to Frankfurt-am-Main, where they stayed in the local prison overnight, on Monday, 15 June. Two of the Priests did not travel with them the following day, but a German priest, Fr. Heinrich Rupieper, who had been imprisoned by the Nazis on a spurious charge in 1935, and who had been in the Neuengamme concentration camp since 1939, became the fifth Priest in that small compartment for the remainder of the journey. As they crossed the river Main, and travelled through Bavaria, it became very hot in the compartment and they knocked on the wall and kicked the door until a guard brought them some water to drink. That evening, 16 June, they arrived in the very large gymnasium, in Nürnberg, where they got nothing to eat until the following morning, and where they spent three days, some barrels serving as toilets for the large numbers held there. Fr. Rupieper got to know Titus quite well during that period and they were taken from there on the morning of Friday, 19 June, and taken by train to Dachau, where they arrived about five in the Evening. Fr. Rupieper later reported that, very soon after Titus arrived in the Admission Block, where they were to spend the first two weeks, Karl Kapp, the *Lagerältester* (a prisoner who served as the barracks senior), attacked Titus and beat him. Friedrich Schulz, who was in charge of training the prisoners in the Admissions Block to march and to salute, used to step on Titus' heels when he was marching so that blood ran from his open wounds and, when Titus lost his wooden sandals, Schulz forced him to keep strict tempo as they marched on gravel. Under this bullying, Titus remained calm and this seemed to infuriate Schulz all the more, with the result that he beat Titus on several occasions. When Fr. Rupieper suggested that Titus complain to the camp directors, Titus pointed out that 'everything was in God's providence' and proposed a different strategy: 'We are going to pray for him,' as he said to Rupieper. Giving evidence concerning Titus after the War, Fr. Rupieper said that he was still amazed at how Titus could put up with all that he suffered 'with such patience, without animosity or resentment' and, asked about his overall impression of Titus, he

replied: 'Father Titus made a fine, a God-inspired (*gottergebene*) impression on me.'[52]

Having arrived in Dachau on 19 June, 1942, and having endured the harsh conditions of the camp, and abuse from the guards, for over a month, it had become clear that he needed treatment for his congested lungs, which made it very difficult to breathe, and having seen the doctor on Monday, 20 July, Titus was brought to the infirmary. A nurse's aide who saw him twice a day during the final days of that week reported, long after the event, that Titus had not shown 'the slightest bit of hatred' for her, but, instead, had 'a great deal of compassion' for her, once taking her by the hand and saying, 'What an unfortunate girl you are; I will pray for you very much', and giving her his rosary, adding that, if she was not able to say the first part of the 'Hail Mary,' she could say the second part, 'Pray for us sinners.'[53] The same nurse's aide said that, while Titus was in the infirmary, there was usually 'a group of sick people around his bed' and that he 'was a support to all' and to herself 'in particular.' Following lunch on Sunday 26 July, 1942, on the instructions of the hospital doctor, the nurse's aide administered a lethal injection of carbolic acid. She later commented: 'That injection made such an impression on me, while in other cases no impression was left on me.'[54] It was ten minutes to two in the afternoon. With a rude comment, and having used his stethoscope to confirm it, the doctor announced that Titus was dead ten minutes later.[55]

Conclusion.

In this paper, the fraternal companionship and solidarity, as well as the charismatic leadership, that characterised the way that St Titus engaged with those he encountered throughout the journey of his life

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[52] See Arribas, *The Price of Truth: Titus Brandsma, Carmelite*, 211; Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum, ed. Buscoducen. *Beatificationis Seu Declarationis Martyrii Servi Dei Titi Brandsma, Sacerdotis Professi Ordinis Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis De Monte Carmelo, in Odium Fidei, Uti Fertur, Interempti: Summarium Super Dubio an Constet De Martyrio Servi Dei, Necnon De Eius Causa Et De Signis Seu Miraculis, in Casu Et Ad Effectum De Quo Agitur*, Rome 1979, 349.

[53] See R.M. Valabek O.Carm., *Challenges in Life*, in *Essays on Titus Brandsma: Carmelite, Educator, Journalist, Martyr*, ed. Valabek, *Essays on Titus Brandsma*, 49-50.

[54] See ibid., 49.

[55] See B. Hanley O.F.M., *No Strangers to Violence, No Strangers to Love*, Notre Dame 1983; J. Overduin, *Hel En Hemel Van Dachau*, Te Kampen 1947.

have been outlined. The inspirational role he played among his siblings on the family farm, the spiritual solidarity he inspired among his friends at Boarding School in Megen, his leadership in founding an in-house magazine for the Dutch Carmelites during his philosophy studies, the fraternal correction of his presumption by Eugene Driessen, at the end of his theology studies, and the fraternal solidarity of Eugene's brother, Hubert, who intervened to ensure that Titus was sent to Rome to study philosophy were briefly described. When health issues resulted in Titus failing his doctorate exams on his first attempt, he again found support from Hubert, who also helped him to prioritise his revision, so that he was successful on his second attempt.

After he returned from Rome in 1909, Titus worked closely with Hubert Driessen, whose hopes for the Dutch Province were similar to his own, and who was elected Provincial shortly after his return. In 1911, Titus organised the scholastics for whom he was responsible into a team that regularly produced, *Carmelrozen* (Roses of Carmel), a successful journal of Carmelite spirituality, which had gathered a significant number of subscribers by the end of its first year. The fraternal support, and occasional fraternal correction, that Titus received from, and gave to, Hubert continued during Hubert's second term as Provincial, 1912 to 1915, when Titus was a member of the Provincial Council, a role he would retain for the rest of his life, except for his three years as vice-Provincial. Together, Titus and Hubert planned to publish a Dutch translation of the works of St. Teresa of Avila and, when the first volumes of a critical edition in Spanish appeared in 1917, Titus became general editor of the project, four volumes being published between 1918 and 1926, two of the five texts translated by Titus, two by Athanasius van Rijswijck, and one by Hubert. As editor-in-chief of the local weekly newspaper, *De Stad Oss*, between 1919 and 1923, Titus worked closely with a team of co-workers, Carmelites and others, who improved the paper's standard of journalism, and modernised the production.

Having been listed among those being sent to Brazil as missionaries in1919, the appointment was cancelled when Titus was given responsibility for studies in the Province, not long afterwards. His solidarity with, and support for the foreign missionaries of the Dutch Province was exemplary, nevertheless, and he established a mission museum to display the artifacts and photographs that were sent to him, organising events during Mission Week each year, and constantly seeking donations for the support of the missions. The support given by the people of Oss to the national congress on foreign missions that was held there in 1922 testifies, once again, to his ability

to inspire others with the fervour of his own enthusiasm. Having become a member of the Apostolate for Reunion with Eastern Churches after the First World War, Titus was elected as its vice-president in 1926 and he held that position until his death. He gave lectures on the Eastern Church and he developed close friendships with the others involved in that movement, two of whom later became Bishops in the Netherlands. In 1927, when the movement was in danger of disintegrating into two factions, one wanting to make the movement better known in the Netherlands and the other wanting to support the work being done in eastern countries, Titus showed both wisdom and leadership when he mediated a compromise by persuading each side to become more open to the opinion of the other side. After being appointed as Professor of Philosophy and of the History of Mysticism at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, Titus played a similar role as mediator when Jos Schrijnen, the Professor of General Linguistics and the first Rector Magnificus of the University for 1923 to 1924, was sharply criticised by Jacobus Van Ginneken, S.J., the Professor of Dutch Language and Literature and of Comparative Linguistics. Frederick Sassen later suggested that it was thanks to his practical insight that Titus was able to overcome 'misunderstandings or oppositions', even among the professors at a university, 'where everyone has biased opinions since he feels that his vision has been formed independently and after much thought'.

While still editor-in-chief of *De Stad Oss*, Titus was also actively engaged in the second-level schools run by the Carmelites, being head of the school at Oss for two years, and, in 1923, he became the permanent secretary of the three Carmelite second-level colleges in the Netherlands, a position he held until the end of his life. The Association of Roman Catholic High School and Gymnasia Boards was founded in 1924 and Titus became chairperson of that association in 1925, holding that position, also, until his death in 1942. After the Netherlands came under German control in 1940, the Nazi Ministry of Education, Sciences and Cultural Protection tried to bring all the private and Religious schools under its direct control, demanding lists of the Jewish children attending Catholic schools, reducing the salaries paid to Religious teachers by 40%, and prohibiting Clergy and Religious from being rectors or principals of schools. In these difficult circumstances, the teachers' federation agreed that any response should be made in the name of the federation as a whole, and Titus agreed to speak on its behalf. When any further admissions of Jewish children to secondary schools were prohibited in August 1941, it was Titus, who was then President of the Association of the Boards for the

Administration of Roman Catholic Preparatory, Higher, and Secondary Education, that objected on its behalf, and he advocated the adoption of a common policy of never refusing admittance to children of Jewish origin who had become Catholic. He succeeded in getting some exemptions for some schools towards the end of 1941 but, eventually, all such exemptions were withdrawn.

The solidarity and leadership shown by Titus in relation to the teachers and principals of Catholic schools as they struggled to survive state-sponsored oppression was mirrored by his solidarity in leading the journalists and editors of Catholic newspapers, who were equally under threat. Having worked as a journalist and editor himself, and as the ecclesiastical advisor to the Dutch Catholic Journalists from 1935, he was chosen as the moderator of the new federation of Dutch journalists in 1940 and he led the Church's response to the attempts by the Nazi 'Advisory Board for the Dutch Press' to curtail the freedom of expression of Catholic journalists. When newspapers were forbidden to refuse Nazi party announcements on grounds of principle, towards the end of 1941, he consulted with Archbishop De Jong before drafting a circular letter to all Catholic journalists encouraging them to adopt a united front in opposing this action. As he had been warned, it was this step that led to his arrest and imprisonment and, ultimately, his death.

During his time in prison, his initial solitary confinement during his first period in Scheveningen made it impossible to engage with his fellow-prisoners there but, during his time in Amersfoort, he was the key figure in an apostolate of encouragement and clandestine Priestly ministry, supported by the 'Tilbury Circle,' who facilitated the highly-dangerous work that he was doing. During his second period in Scheveningen he had long conversations with the two Protestant young men with whom he shared a cell, making a strong impression on them because of the hour they spent praying with Scripture each Sunday and because of his daily dedication to prayer. The German Priest, Fr. Heinrich Rupieper, first met Titus when they were confined, along with three other Priests, in a small compartment on the train that brought them to Dachau, and after Titus was treated with particular cruelty by a guard after their arrival there, Fr. Rupieper proposed that a complaint should be made concerning the guard. Recognising that 'everything was in God's providence', however, Titus proposed instead that they 'pray for him' and, later, Fr. Rupieper recognised the inspiration that Titus gave to many because of the way in which he suffered 'with such patience, without animosity or resentment'. His compassion for the nurse's aide, who would

administer the injection that killed him, led to a significant transformation in her, and she later gave evidence concerning his last days, noting that there was usually 'a group of sick people around his bed' and that he 'was a support to all' and to herself 'in particular.'

The generous engagement of Titus with whoever spent time in his company, and the impact of his ministry on the lives of so many, both in the form of Priestly ministry and in the form of passing on the fruits of his academic study of what is now called spirituality, were highlighted by the testimonies that many made as part of his beatification and canonisation processes. Determined and seemingly tireless, despite his poor health, his enthusiasm for new projects, no matter how many other demands were being made on him, and his willingness to contribute to whatever needed doing, or to indicate to others what needed to be done, both invited, and secured, the willing collaboration of others in a wide range of activities, some directly linked to the mission and apostolates of his Province, but others looking beyond his Province, to other Provinces and to the wider Church at that time. The particular 'style of communion and participation' that marked his mission in life, and that characterised the manner in which Titus followed the crucified Christ, whatever the personal cost, might be described as a spirit of fraternal companionship. All his companions on life's journey were welcomed as though they were his siblings, his Carmelite Brothers, in a particular way, but also his Brother Priests, both western and eastern, and his Brother-Christians of various denominations. Equally, however, he showed fraternal companionship to those who did not share his Christian faith, even those who were his persecutors. In his writings, Titus described the Carmelite vocation as both contemplative and apostolic, making the fruit of prayer and fraternal living available to all whom we encounter, and, throughout his life, he also showed himself to be an example of that fraternal companionship, not only for his Brother Carmelites of the Dutch province, but for all those he encountered throughout his life.

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 171-206

L'EX CONVENTO CARMELITANO DELLA TRASPONTINA: DALLA DEMOLIZIONE DEGLI ANNI TRENTA ALL'EDIFICAZIONE DEL PALAZZO S.G.I.R. SPA

CRISTINA CUMBO

L'attuale palazzo della Traspontina, adiacente all'omonima chiesa dedicata alla Vergine, occupato dall'Ambasciata della Slovenia, dell'Argentina e della Federazione Russa presso la Santa Sede, nonché dalla LUMSA, sorge nella stessa area in cui era edificato il convento dei Carmelitani dell'Antica Osservanza, espropriato nel 1873 e demolito nel 1938 in occasione dello sbancamento della spina di Borgo.

Sia la chiesa della Traspontina che il convento, però, non dovevano apparire così evidenti come lo sono oggi in via della Conciliazione, bensì incastrati in una serie di palazzi che componevano quasi un continuum edilizio. Il complesso, dunque, era collocato sulla stretta via Alessandrina (poi Borgo Nuovo)[1], scomparsa in seguito all'azione del "piccone demolitore" che si abbatté sull'isolato posto di fronte ad esso e comunemente denominato "spina"[2].

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[1] La via Alexandrina o Recta era stata realizzata per volere di Alessandro VI al fine di creare un corridoio per i pellegrini in occasione del Giubileo del 1500 e venne inaugurata il 24 dicembre 1499. Il pontefice rinnovò anche il tessuto urbano lungo la via, effettuando una sostituzione delle case a schiera medievali con palazzi di più elevato prestigio, come Palazzo Della Rovere (poi dei Penitenzieri), Palazzo Armellini (poi Cesi), Palazzo Giraud (poi Torlonia), Palazzo Caprini (poi dei Convertendi), definendo anche la famosa piazza Scossacavalli nota per la fontana traslata, all'epoca della demolizione di Borgo, davanti alla Basilica di Sant'Andrea Della Valle in Corso Vittorio Emanuele II. Si vd. I. INSOLERA, *Roma. Immagini e realtà dal X al XX secolo*, Roma-Bari 1988, p. 45; C. PARISI PRESICCE, L. PETACCO (a cura di), *Trasformazioni urbane e memoria collettiva: l'area vaticana, la Spina e via della Conciliazione*, in *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 11-18.

[2] I lavori per la demolizione della Spina iniziarono con il "primo colpo di piccone" il 28 ottobre 1936. Il piano, ideato da Mussolini, venne appoggiato in seguito da Pio XI e da Bottai, poi messo in pratica dagli architetti Piacentini e Spaccarelli. Cfr. A. CEDERNA, *La distruzione dei Borghi* (da *Mussolini urbanista*), in I. INSOLERA, *Roma fasci-*

Il complesso, composto da chiesa e convento[3], iniziò la sua "vita" vera e propria al momento dell'abbattimento dell'originaria chiesa di Traspontina, nel 1564, collocata invece nei pressi di Castel Sant'Angelo[4]. Con il permesso di Pio V – che aveva concesso la costruzione della nuova chiesa proprio sulla via Alessandrina –, i Carmelitani acquistarono una casa adiacente a quello che sarà l'Oratorio della Dottrina Cristiana, mentre nel 1566 iniziavano i lavori per l'edificazione della chiesa e, si pensa, dell'annesso convento sulla destra[5]. Un convento, questo, che rimase in uso fino a un'epoca recente.

Il palazzo contemporaneo prese, infatti, il suo posto: la costruzione iniziò un anno dopo la demolizione, nel 1939 – anno di fondazione della LUMSA (all'epoca Istituto Superiore di Magistero "Maria Ss. Assunta"[6]), composto da piano terra/negozi e cinque piani, di cui l'ultimo parziale. Sia il quarto che il quinto piano presentano una tinteggiatura aranciata, in contrasto con il bugnato liscio della parte inferiore; e ancora, il quarto piano differisce dagli altri per stile prevedendo, infatti, alcuni finestroni arcuati in facciata, nonché delle finestre quadrate sulle estremità e sui lati (figg. 1-2).

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sta nelle fotografie dell'Istituto Luce, con alcuni scritti di Antonio Cederna, Roma 2001, pp. 193-199.

[3] Nell'*Inventario dei monumenti di Roma*, parte I, Roma 1908-1912, p. 300, viene così definito «Edificio (convento) – rin. 2° p. – con modificazioni posteriori annesso alla Chiesa della Traspontina. Poca importanza artistica» e inserito, in ordine dai provvedimenti di tutela, nella classe III, ovvero "Monumenti o parti di monumenti che devono essere studiati ed illustrati avanti che subiscano qualsiasi trasformazione".

[4] In una planimetria del 1300, pubblicata nello studio di M. Piacentini e A. Spaccarelli, sembrerebbe che l'antica chiesa della Traspontina si trovasse tra piazza Pia e l'Auditorium Conciliazione. Si vd. M. Piacentini, A. Spaccarelli, *Memoria sugli studi e sui lavori per l'accesso a S. Pietro*, Roma 1944, fig. I.

[5] G. B. De Lezana, *Annales Sacri Prophetici et Eliani Ordinis Beatiss. Virg. Mariae de Monte Carmeli*, IV, Roma 1656, pp. 243-244; G. Grosso, *Le committenze dei Carmelitani alla Traspontina e a San Martino ai Monti al tempo di san Camillo de Lellis*, in L. Salviucci Insolera, E. Sapori (a cura di), *San Camillo de Lellis e i suoi amici. Ordini religiosi e arte tra Rinascimento e Barocco, Atti del Convegno (Roma, 22-23 ottobre 2013) in occasione delle celebrazioni del IV centenario della morte di San Camillo (1614-2014)*, Roma 2016, pp. 179-194 (in partic. pp. 180-183); C. Tarelli, D. Occhiuzzi, *Santa Maria in Traspontina e vicolo del Campanile*, in C. Parisi Presicce, L. Petacco (a cura di), *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 222-224.

[6] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Ricostruzione lotto H in via della Conciliazione – Lettera della Ripartizione II Patrimonio del Governatorato di Roma al Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici del 15 maggio 1942.





Fig. 1-2. Palazzo della S.G.I.R. Spa., sorto al posto del convento di Traspontina (foto di Cristina Cumbo)

Le ultime fasi del convento di Traspontina

Nonostante il nuovo fabbricato ricalchi completamente il suolo occupato dal vecchio, quest'ultimo si presentava sicuramente diverso, in primis più basso e di pregio. Era stato costruito basandosi sui disegni di Sallustio Peruzzi, di Ottavio Mascherino e allargato, a partire dal 1602 e fino al 1615, da Carlo Maderno. L'ala che dava su Borgo Nuovo era terminata già nel 1587, ma anche la sua edificazione completa trovò conclusione nel 1615, cui si susseguirono altri interventi di ingrandimento nel corso del XVIII secolo (nel 1722 era stato aggiunto l'appartamento del Lettore alla Sapienza e nel 1732-1733 un altro piano su Borgo S. Angelo).

Il convento, sede della curia generalizia e dello *studium generale*, si trovava sotto la giurisdizione del priore generale[7]. Nell'agosto del 1837, la struttura venne adibita a casa di soccorso per gli appestati del rione Borgo, assumendo di fatto il ruolo di ospedale e ricovero[8].

Qualche anno più tardi, nel 1873[9], il convento venne espropriato e incamerato nella proprietà demaniale[10], tranne una parte del secondo piano in Borgo Nuovo e l'appartamento del procuratore generale[11]. Dal 1 gennaio 1902 la porzione demaniale dell'ex convento fu consegnata al Comune di Roma e, a partire dal 1903-1904, il fabbricato venne adibito in gran parte a Caserma delle Guardie Municipali[12]. Vennero rifatti, in tale occasione, i soffitti pericolanti[13], furono tinteggiate le pareti e gli infissi, controllati i discendenti nei cortili e sulle strade, furono integrati i pavimenti in cemento stratificato – presenti

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[7] J. Smet, *I Carmelitani. Storia dell'Ordine del Carmelo. Parte I*, III, Roma 1996, p. 286; Idem, J. Smet, *I Carmelitani. Storia dell'Ordine del Carmelo. Parte II*, III, Roma 1996, pp. 821-822.

[8] C. Catena, *Traspontina. Guida storica e artistica* (Nuova edizione aggiornata a cura di Emanuele Boaga), Roma 2000, p. 61; H. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630*, London 1971, p.130.

[9] Reale Decreto 13 ottobre 1873.

[10] E. Boaga, *Roma Carmelitana*, in *Commissione mista O.Carm. – O.C.D. per il Giubileo 2000, Roma Carmelitana. Un pellegrinaggio fra le memorie della Città Eterna*, Roma 2000, pp. 32-35; M. Ricci, *La chiesa di Santa Maria in Traspontina*, in C. Parisi Presicce, L. Petacco (a cura di), *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 137-139.

[11] L. Gigli, *Rione XIV Borgo*, parte prima, Roma 1990, p. 98.

[12] ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione V Lavori pubblici|Direzione|Titolario 1871-1914|Titolo 1. Acque|busta 10, fasc. 14.

[13] ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione V Lavori pubblici|Ispettorato edilizio|Anno 1911|1018/1911.

sotto i portici del pianterreno, delle gradinate e di alcune camere dei piani superiori – laddove danneggiati, il selciato del grande cortile venne divelto e ricostruito, furono rinnovati i servizi igienici e inseriti degli orinatoi al piano ammezzato sulla terrazza sotto i tre meniani, rimodernati i focolari, le fornacelle e la stufa per il riscaldamento degli ambienti[14] e il palazzo venne rifornito con l'acqua Marcia[15]. L'Impresa Unione Cooperativa Edilizia effettuò anche lavori di carattere strutturale, inserendo tramezzi di mattoni nei cameroni dei tre piani prospicienti su Borgo S. Angelo.

Tuttavia, nonostante i restauri perlopiù interni, si rilevavano gravi danni strutturali che, si può ipotizzare, fossero stati decisivi per la demolizione. Nel 1930 l'Ufficio Tecnico di Finanza aveva apposto delle biffe sui muri del convento che, però, erano state posizionate malamente e non potevano essere lette in modo corretto. Nel 1936 se ne erano rotte alcune che erano collocate sulle lesioni preesistenti, ma dato che il fabbricato avrebbe dovuto comunque essere distrutto secondo il Piano Regolatore nessuno si preoccupò di intervenire[16].

Quando l'edificio divenne un semplice ammasso di macerie (fig. 3), i danni strutturali arrivarono anche a colpire la stessa chiesa della Traspontina, in particolare sul lato perimetrale destro, dove il pavimento veniva a staccarsi dalla muratura, e nella sala adibita a teatro. Era il 1941[17].

Ma tornando alla conformazione e alle proprietà del convento, sappiamo che il pianterreno che affacciava su via di Borgo Nuovo e parte del primo piano era di privati. Si riporterà quanto documentato presso il Fondo Edifici di Culto[18] per illustrare la suddivisione dell'ex convento:

> «Il Convento Generalizio dei Padri Carmelitani Calzati di S. Maria in Traspontina è posto nel Rione Borgo[19]. L'ingresso sulla via di Borgo Nuovo al n. 144 risponde al vicolo della Traspontina a levante, Borgo S. Angelo a settentrione, vicolo del Campanile a Ponente. È composto di sotterranei, pian terreno, primo piano, secondo piano ed anche in parte terzo piano.

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[14] ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione V Lavori pubblici|Direzione|Titolario 1871-1914|Titolo 7. Appalti per opere e forniture|busta 32, fasc. 21.

[15] ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione V Lavori pubblici|Direzione|Titolario 1871-1914|Titolo 1. Acque|busta 10, fasc. 14.

[16] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104, sottofasc. Lavori sulle navate della Chiesa eseguiti nel 1934.

[17] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104, sottofasc. Riparazione ad un muro del Tempio (10 marzo 1941, XIX).



Fig. 3. La demolizione del convento (AGOC fototeca, G652)

N.B. Buona porzione del Convento è convertita in Caserma Militare; altra porzione appartiene a privati e questa è composta di tutti i pianoterreni che guardano sulla via di Borgo Nuovo, e parte del primo piano col n. […] finestre suddetta via corrispondenti al di dietro colla servitù di finestre nel Chiostro stesso del Convento».

Per quanto riguarda i "Locali ad uso de' Religiosi": «Sotterranei[20] corrispondenti sotto i due lati del quadriportico con tre vani a cominciare sotto l'ingresso del Convento, più altro sotterraneo parallelo ad uso dei suddetti e corrispondente sotto il Refettorio. Il resto appartiene a privati.

Pianterreno di n. 12 ambienti di altri vari piccoli vani con cortile[21]. Chiostro in forma di quadriportico corrispondente internamente

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[18] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[19] Sul documento è appuntato: «Tutto il fabbricato si dichiarò costruito a spese dell'Ordine e perciò appartiene allo stesso. Una porzione ne è assegnata alla Parrocchia». Si vd. FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[20] Ad uso cantina. Si vd. FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[21] Sul documento è indicata la destinazione d'uso a officine del Convento, guardaroba e sacrestia. Si vd. FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

al Convento ed una parte sotto al lato convertito in Caserma Militare.

Primo piano composto di n. 15 ambienti sporgenti con n. 7 finestre sulla via di Borgo Nuovo, e al di dietro n. 4 finestre sul Chiostro. Tre però di detti vani trovansi staccati e divisi e vi si accede per una piccola scala che fa capo alla scala grande, prendono luce dal vicolo della Traspontina[22].

Mezzanino fra il piano terreno e il primo piano corrispondente sotto la parte ad uso di Caserma composto di n. 5 vani bassi e difettosi di luce.

Secondo piano composto di n. 16 stanze a mezzogiorno, 12 a settentrione e tre abitazioni una con cinque vani a ponente dal lato della Chiesa e due una di siegue ad altro di trovansi esposto a levante.

Terzo piano composto di n. 17 stanze e due altre superiori con piccolo terrazzo».

Riguardo i locali conceduti in affitto:

> «Parte di sotterraneo corrispondente sotto al Refettorio concesso ad uso di Magazzino (Munizione). Piano terreno n. 2 vani ad uso di fabbro. Simile ad uso di carbonaro 2 vani. Pianoterreno un vano ad uso facocchio.
> Piccolo appartamento di n. 5 vani ad uso di abitazione[23]. Stanza e sotterraneo ad uso di lavandaja.
> Orti e giardini nessuno [...][24]».

Il palazzo, la cui facciata era già stata tinteggiata nel 1888[25], era stato quasi completamente rinnovato anche internamente, ma nel 1907 l'Ufficio II – Beni Patrimoniali del Comune di Roma apprendeva che «a causa della progettata apertura di una strada, che dovrebbe congiungere Prati di Castello col Ponte Vittorio Emanuele» l'ex con-

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[22] Il documento successivo, che riporta gli stessi dati e si trova nel medesimo fascicolo, indica che si trattava dell'abitazione del Generale dell'Ordine, compagno e Uffici del Generalato. Si vd. FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[23] È specificato che l'appartamento si trovava in vicolo del Campanile. Si vd. FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[24] Purtroppo il documento risulta consunto e illeggibile proprio in corrispondenza dell'indicazione dei giardini e degli orti. Si vd. FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104. Un documento successivo, ma sempre presente nel medesimo fascicolo riporta: «Nessun orto o giardino, eccetto poche piante di agrumi nel mezzo del Chiostro».

[25] ASC Titolo Postunitario|Titolo 62. Acque e Strade|busta 46, fasc. 19. L'ex convento di Traspontina, passato al Fondo per Culto – Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, era in concessione al Ministero della Guerra – Direzione Generale del Genio.

vento avrebbe dovuto essere almeno in parte demolito[26]. Il Direttore dell'Ufficio V rispondeva che «[…] la costruzione della nuova strada destinata a congiungere il Ponte Vittorio Emanuele con i Prati di Castello non implica affatto la demolizione, neppure in parte, della Caserma delle Guardie Municipali alla Traspontina […]. La necessità di demolizione si verificherà quando si stabilisse di allargare il Vicolo dell'Erba[27], ma di ciò non è il caso di preoccuparsi ora»[28].

Il sarcofago strigilato: dall'ex convento alla fontana di Lungotevere Testaccio

Nel 1924 si decideva di abbellire una parte dell'ex convento, quella destinata a Caserma, con alcuni pezzi archeologici tratti dall'Antiquarium Comunale:

> «Premesso che la VII Ripartizione ha chiesto allo scopo di adornare l'androne che dà sulla via Borgo S. Angelo della Caserma dei Vigili Urbani alla Traspontina e la base delle lapidi commemorative dei Vigili Urbani caduti in guerra, con qualche capitello o tronco, di colonna asportato dallo Antiquarium; che all'Antiquarium si sono trovati come adatti allo scopo un sarcofago e due frammenti di colonna di marmo pavonazzetto l'asportazione dei quali può essere consentita, s'intende, con le dovute cautele; il Regio Commissario delibera che sia consentito alla VII Ripartizione di trasferire dall'Antiquarium per collocarli nell'androne della Caserma dei Vigili Urbani alla Traspontina ad ornamento delle basi delle lapidi commemorative dei Vigili urbani morti in guerra, i seguenti oggetti: un sarcofago di m. 2,05 x 0,50 x 0,55, scolpito nella parte anteriore con comuni striature nel cui centro è il cartello con la scritta "Quinto Jiulio Rufino"; due frammenti di colonna di marmo pavonazzetto misuranti rispettivamente m. 1,20 e m. 1,50 di lunghezza e m. 0,32 e m. 0,37 di diametro; a condizione che essi siano mantenuti nella loro integrità che rimangano ad ogni effetto patrimonio inalienabile del Comune, del tutto distinto dall'edificio nel quale tro-

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[26] ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione V Lavori pubblici|Direzione|Titolario 1871-1914|Titolo 35. Fabbricati comunali|busta 112, fasc. 28.

[27] Vicolo dell'erba, ancora oggi esistente, corre accanto al Palazzo Giraud Torlonia. Quanto riportato, ovvero l'espansione del vicolo, fa pensare alla programmazione della demolizione che includeva anche il Palazzo Torlonia, poi risparmiato probabilmente per le sue caratteristiche di importanza e antichità.

[28] ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione V Lavori pubblici|Direzione|Titolario 1871-1914|Titolo 35. Fabbricati comunali|busta 112, fasc. 28.

veranno posto e che possano in ogni tempo essere ritirati a giudizio dell'Ufficio A.B.A.»[29].

Quel sarcofago, qualche anno più tardi, sarà nuovamente portato nei depositi e poi utilizzato, tra il 1939 e il 1940, per divenire l'attuale e ben nota fontana di Lungotevere Testaccio (figg. 4-5), conosciuta impropriamente come di Pio IX. È possibile affermarlo in quanto aspetto, misure e iscrizione corrispondono esattamente a quelle del monumento in questione, che fu un "collage" di pezzi architettonici e archeologici ideato da Antonio Muñoz[30].



[29] ASC Ripartizioni| Ripartizione X Antichità e Belle Arti|Ripartizione X (1921-1931) Appendice|Titolario 1921-1929|Titolo 26. Accettazioni e richieste doni|busta 325, fasc. 1, sottofascicolo 29.

[30] Si rimanda alla vicenda del sarcofago e delle fontane narrata nella sua interezza in: C. Cumbo, *Breve nota sulla cosiddetta fontana di Pio IX sul Lungotevere Testaccio: storia di un monumento composito*, in *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 32 (2018), pp. 77-90.



Figg. 4-5. Sarcofago della c.d. fontana di Pio IX su Lungotevere Testaccio e dettaglio dell'iscrizione (foto di Cristina Cumbo)

La Conciliazione e il Piano Regolatore

Intanto, corrono gli anni e uno dei Carmelitani, Padre Severino De Carolis (fu Pietro), che dimorava presso Traspontina è costretto, a causa delle sue varie malattie, a trasferirsi come ospite del Rettore presso il convento di San Nicola ai Cesarini[31] – anch'esso demolito alla fine degli anni Venti – in quello che diventerà Largo di Torre Argentina. Negli anni compresi tra il 1920 e il 1926 viene chiesto un sussidio, che gli sarà accordato, al Fondo di Beneficenza e Religione nella Città di Roma per provvedere alle cure speciali di cui necessitava[32].

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[31] Si rimanda al recente studio di C. Cumbo, *La demolita chiesa di S. Nicola dei Cesarini a Roma*, Roma 2023 (c.s.).

[32] ACS, Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale Fondo per il Culto, Corporazioni religiose, fasc. 108, busta 38.

Intanto nel 1929 venivano firmati i Patti Lateranensi, sancendo di fatto la "conciliazione" tra Stato e Chiesa. Fu questa una delle maggiori cause scatenanti della riconsiderazione demolitiva dei Borghi. Antonio Muñoz sosteneva che Roma non aveva dovuto fare nessun sacrificio territoriale[33], ma in realtà gli allegati ai Patti parlano chiaramente: si chiusero le strade vicino la Basilica, inglobate nello Stato Città del Vaticano completamente rinnovato e anch'esso demolito dall'azione di Pio XI, Leone Castelli e Giuseppe Momo[34]; furono poi aggiunti gli allegati II e III che includevano rispettivamente gli "Immobili con privilegio di extraterritorialità e con esenzione da espropriazioni e da tributi" e gli "Immobili esenti da espropriazioni e da tributi".

Nel 1938-1939, quindi, per effetto dell'applicazione del Piano Regolatore del 1931[35] e del progetto per via della Conciliazione[36], il convento dei Carmelitani fu inserito tra quegli edifici destinati alla demolizione definitiva secondo quanto stabilito dal D.P.R. 593 – 9/1/1939. Durante queste azioni distruttive che caratterizzarono quegli anni, si cercò comunque di salvare la parte vecchia e monumentale della città, o almeno, così si sosteneva. Scriveva, ancora, Antonio Muñoz:

> «Demoliamo le sordide casupole, i vicoli fetidi, le misere baracche, ma rispettiamo scrupolosamente e religiosamente i palazzi, le chiese, le fontane, le piazze pittoresche, le antiche strade, anche se non tracciate col regolo e col compasso. […] Così la nuova Roma salverà l'antica […]»[37].

E ancora:

> «Nella bella Roma di Mussolini certe brutture non sono più tollerabili: bisogna far sparire le luride casupole coi cortiletti, balconcini e mignani sui Lungotevere Marzio e de' Tebaldi, i vicoli fetidi e gli angiporti intorno a Via dei Cappellari, a Via della Lungaretta, a Via dei Castellari; bisogna por mano d'urgenza al quartiere del Rinascimento, non solo per ragioni

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[33] A. Muñoz, *Roma di Mussolini*, Milano 1935, p. 480.

[34] L. Castelli, *"… quel tanto di territorio…": ricordi di lavori ed opere eseguiti nel Vaticano durante il pontificato di Pio XI (1922-1939)*, Roma 1940.

[35] A. Muñoz, *Roma di Mussolini*, Milano 1935, pp. 61-118.

[36] Si tratta della variante al Piano Regolatore 1931, ovvero il Piano particolareggiato di esecuzione della zona compresa fra il viale delle Milizie-il Lungotevere-Piazza S. Pietro e via Leone IV, approvato con Regio Decreto 14 agosto 1936. Si vd. Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, Faldone 1555.1; A. Cambedda (a cura di), *La Demolizione della Spina dei Borghi*, Roma 1990, pp. 17-22.

[37] A. Muñoz, *Roma di Mussolini*, Milano 1935, pp. 434-435.

artistiche ma più per necessità igieniche e morali: Via dei Coronari è una macchia che deturpa la città. E ci sono cent'altri casi di brutture che debbono scomparire, in Trastevere, nei Borghi, al Velabro, nel quartiere dei Monti, degno erede in qualche tratto dell'antica Suburra. Lo sviluppo dell'igiene è stata una delle preoccupazioni maggiori del regime fascista in tutta Italia, e Roma si può dire all'avanguardia anche in questo campo»[38].

Dal convento al palazzo S.G.I.R. in via della Conciliazione n. 10: planimetrie, vedute e fontane

Il nuovo edificio di Traspontina, ricadente attualmente sotto amministrazione S.G.I.R. Spa[39] (Società per Gestioni di Immobili Roma) e che prese il posto dell'antico convento, come abbiamo anticipato, ospita al suo interno principalmente alcune ambasciate e l'università privata LUMSA[40], oltre ad appartamenti, uffici legali e la Fondazione Luigi Einaudi per studi di politica, economia e storia[41].

La parte in uso alla LUMSA (fig. 6), nonostante ricalchi parzialmente l'area occupata dal vecchio edificio, è internamente suddivisa diversamente e in modo funzionale alle attività dell'ateneo privato, cui si deve aggiungere un piano seminterrato, adibito ad uso ufficio e magazzino[42].

Nello stabile sussistono due ambienti scoperti, che dovrebbero riprodurre i due chiostri, ma in realtà differiscono completamente da essi.

Il primo cortile, accessibile da via della Conciliazione n. 10, occupa un'area piuttosto estesa e di forma quadrangolare. Marcello Piacentini[43], che progettò il palazzo, si ispirò sicuramente al convento precedente, e questo riflesso emerge nel collegamento tra i due cortili; il secondo di essi, però, visibile dalla parte LUMSA, si presenta attual-

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[38] A. Muñoz, *Roma di Mussolini*, Milano 1935, pp. 456-457.

[39] Si ringrazia la S.G.I.R. Spa per aver concesso il breve sopralluogo di studio nella mattina del 21/02/2023, durante la quale è stato possibile verificare la morfologia degli elementi descritti e operare un confronto con la planimetria del vecchio convento.

[40] https://www.lumsa.it/ [20.7.2023]

[41] https://www.fondazioneluigieinaudi.it/ [20.7.2023]

[42] Il sopralluogo del giorno 06.02.2023, unito alla consultazione della planimetria del vecchio convento (FEC Roma. Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, Carmelitani Calzati, fasc. 2A1/8022, V.P. 104, CH318), permette di stabilire che l'area è la medesima, ma la suddivisione interna completamente differente.

[43] P. Nicoloso, *Gli architetti di Mussolini*, Milano 1999, pp. 165-172.

mente quasi come uno spazio di risulta irregolare, in cui sono alloggiate sia le scale di emergenza, che i sistemi di riscaldamento e ventilazione esterni con grandi tubazioni in metallo.

Al posto del "corridoio" su arcate che suddivideva e univa i chiostri, Piacentini inserì invece un corpo di appartamenti su 5 piani, che al piano terra prevedeva tre accessi squadrati. Questa parte di edificio include al suo interno, inoltre, due scaloni in marmo posti lateralmente e speculari l'un l'altro, con balaustra curvilinea, il cui stile riflette quello monumentale e lineare degli anni Trenta del Novecento. Al centro del cortile maggiore è stata inserita, successivamente all'edificazione del nuovo palazzo, una fontana contemporanea.

Si dovrà aggiungere che, in realtà, l'entrata principale su via della Conciliazione riprende l'effetto prospettico già presente nel vecchio edificio: un corridoio, con pavimento bianco e nero ottenuto mediante l'impiego di selci quadrangolari simili a sanpietrini, conduce verso l'ampio e luminoso cortile che non è più contornato da arcate, ma da linee perpendicolari delle ali del palazzo; nel corridoio stesso si aprono, sulla sinistra, una stanzetta adibita a guardiola del custode, e sulla destra un ambiente di accesso a un altro scalone monumentale in marmo, che riprende invece forme più classiche, quasi ottocentesche, anche nella forma dei pilastrini all'ultimo piano dove trovano spazio ampie e luminose finestre. Quest'ultima scalinata ricalca, all'incirca, la collocazione di quella dell'ex convento.

Piacentini sembra giocare molto sull'effetto luminoso, quasi fosse un elemento costituente dell'intera struttura palaziale.

Ancora, per quanto riguarda la sezione di palazzo in uso alla LUMSA, gli ingressi sono, invece, due: uno secondario su via della Traspontina n. 21 e l'altro, il principale, su Borgo Sant'Angelo n. 13. Entrando dall'ingresso principale, sulla destra si trova la piccola portineria, dopodiché segue la cappella dedicata alla Vergine, in stile contemporaneo (fine anni Trenta del Novecento-anni Quaranta), mononave, con illuminazione artificiale e naturale tramite tre finestre, abside decorata in mosaico e la figura della Madonna Assunta centrale.

Sulla sinistra, dopo aver salito pochi gradini, un ingresso rettangolare prelude ad alcuni uffici, mentre una scalinata con rampe doppie conduce ai piani superiori. Anche il vecchio convento prevedeva una scalinata che, all'incirca, si innestava laddove dovrebbe essere quella odierna, ed era affiancata da una grande sala rettangolare coperta da una volta a crociera. Oggi tutto questo non esiste più; una delle sale maggiori è l'aula magna, il cui aspetto ricorda quello in un teatro, con piano inferiore e superiore, oltre al palco per gli ospiti di spicco.



Fig. 6. Parte del palazzo usato dalla LUMSA (foto di Cristina Cumbo)

Tornando al vecchio convento e al suo aspetto, alcune informazioni a riguardo si possono ricavare da un acquerello di Giuseppe Fammilumme[44] del 1938 (fig. 7)[45], in cui viene mostrato l'angolo sinistro della facciata: il tetto arrivava all'altezza dell'imposta della parte superiore della facciata a schermo della chiesa; inoltre il palazzo appariva completamente attaccato all'edificio ecclesiastico, prevedendo l'entrata tramite un portale, accessibile attraverso due gradini, sormontato da un finestrone a mezza luna e probabilmente da un'immagine sacra ovale, nel punto in cui oggi il negozio di souvenir costituisce un collegamento[46].

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[44] SIMART: MR-2650.

[45] Referenze fotografiche: Roma, Museo di Roma, Archivio Iconografico.

[46] Tale negozio si sviluppa in lunghezza occupando quello che nei documenti archivistici viene definito "Corridoio". La sua funzione doveva essere quella di consentire l'accesso da via della Conciliazione alla nuova rettoria su Borgo Sant'Angelo, costruita – come si vedrà più avanti nel testo – dai Carmelitani, senza seguire i programmi del Governatorato di Roma e del Fondo per il Culto a causa dei ritardi immani. Per molti anni, prima di diventare un negozio, fu l'ingresso al cinema parrocchiale.



Fig. 7. Giuseppe Fammilumme, Particolare dell'ex convento dei Carmelitani o della Traspontina, 1939, acquerello su carta (Roma, Museo di Roma; © Roma Capitale, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)

Ancora nella veduta di Fammilumme, si nota un balconcino prossimo all'angolo e una fontanella, situata all'incirca nel punto in cui oggi è collocato il portale d'ingresso del palazzo.

Tale fontanella era denominata "del Ricciotto" o "del Riccetto", conosciuta anche come "fontana Riccettina" o "del Riccio" (fig. 8)[47], si trovava presso l'allora civico 143 ed era incassata all'interno di un portale in bugnato[48]. Nell'*Inventario dei monumenti di Roma*[49] veniva così definita: «Fontanella – bar. 2° p. – in marmo con testa di putto che versa acqua in una vaschetta. Stemma di casa Braschi ed iscrizione latina ricordante che Pio VI condusse fino a questo luogo una fonte derivata da Paolo V. A. CI I CCXCIIII»; era, poi, inoltre inserita nella classe II, in ordine ai provvedimenti di tutela, ovvero "Monumenti o parti di monumenti che possono essere spostati".

La fontana era costituita da due lesene scanalate e prevedeva un catino semicircolare in marmo bigio in cui l'acqua veniva versata da una maschera di un putto dai capelli ondulati, le guance paffute e gonfie che lo rendevano simile alle raffigurazioni dei Venti. Un'iscrizione su lapide marmorea riportava:

PIVS.VI.P.M.
FONTEM.A.PAVLO.V.CONRIVATUM
IN.HVNC.LOCVM.
PERDVCENDVM.CURAVIT.
A.S. CI I CCXCIIII

La fontanella, secondo quanto contenuto nel testo, venne realizzata sotto il pontificato di Pio VI (1775-1799) in via di Borgo Nuovo, nello specifico – come da epigrafe – nel 1794, vicino alla cappella della Madonna del melone, per canalizzare l'acqua Paola che ricalcava, nel tratto dell'Aurelia Antica l'acquedotto Traiano – che assunse, infatti, la denominazione di acquedotto Traiano-Paolo – e che era stata deviata per rifornire Trastevere e il Vaticano, quest'ultimo attraverso un altro diverticolo all'altezza della località denominata la *Tedesca*[50] o *Villa San Giovanni*[51], corrispondente all'attuale bivio tra via Aurelia Antica e via

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[47] Referenze fotografiche: Roma, Museo di Roma, Archivio Iconografico.

[48] SIMART: AF-28922. Si vd. W. Pocino, s.v. *Borgo Nuovo (Via di)*, *Fontana del Riccetto*, in *Le fontane di Roma*, Roma 1996, p. 46.

[49] *Inventario dei monumenti di Roma*, parte I, Roma 1908-1912, p. 301.

[50] V. Valerio, *Le fontane di Borgo: costruzioni, demolizioni e trasferimenti da Paolo V Borghese agli anni Cinquanta del Novecento*, in C. Parisi Presicce, L. Petacco (a cura di), *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 169-179 (in partic. p. 169).

[51] G. N. Verrando, *Topografia viaria e sepolcrale del tratto suburbano delle due vie Aurelie*, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 118 (1995), pp. 5-46; C. Cumbo, *Frammenti epigrafici inediti lungo le vie Aurelie e aggiornamenti relativi al CIL VI*, in *Epigraphica*, 78 (2016), pp. 369-380.

del Casale San Pio V, dove sorge il casale di proprietà delle Suore del San Giovanni Battista. Tale diverticolo è visibile all'interno del Casale di San Pio V, occupato dalla Link Campus University, e sulla via Aurelia, poco dopo l'incrocio con via Agostino Richelmy[52].



Fig. 8. Fotografo attivo a Roma, Fontana del Ricciotto prima delle demolizioni, 1936, gelatina bromuro d'argento (Roma, Museo di Roma, Archivio Fotografico; © Roma Capitale, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)

[52] Si vedano i seguenti contributi con la rispettiva bibliografia: C. Cumbo, "*Iuxta formam aquaeductus*": *quelle proprietà private al confine con l'acquedotto Traiano-Paolo sulla via Aurelia Antica*, in *De Medio Aevo*, 10 (2), 2021, pp. 2021, pp. 519-535; C. Cumbo, *Percorrendo la via Aurelia Antica: l'acquedotto Traiano-Paolo*, su La Tutela del Patrimonio Culturale – Blog (10.03.2021): https://latpc.altervista.org/percorrendo-la-via-aurelia-antica-lacquedotto-traiano-paolo/ [20.7.2023]

La fontana del Ricciotto era, quindi, stata spostata e murata sulla facciata del convento di Traspontina[53], dopodiché, nel corso della demolizione della Spina[54], venne smontata da parte del Governatorato di Roma e portata nei depositi del Bastione Ardeatino[55], dove è stata individuata ed è rimasta.

Internamente al chiostro del convento della Traspontina, invece, vi era un'altra fontanella (figg. 9-10) di cui non conosciamo, almeno al momento, l'aspetto pre-demolizione. Dal SIMART[56] si apprende, però, che la fontana – denominata comunemente "fontanella del Gianicolo" – è murata nella recinzione della Scuola Materna ed Elementare Gaetano Grilli, nel tratto stradale compreso tra il monumento di Anita Garibaldi e il Faro. Sul retro della foto è indicato "Nuova fon-

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[53] C. Pietrangeli, *Fontane perdute, fontane spostate, fontane alterate*, in *Lunario Romano. Le acque di Roma dalle scaturigini attraversando l'Urbe al mare*, Roma 1974, p. 251.

[54] Per quanto riguarda Borgo, abbiamo altre notizie circa le due fontanelle di Paolo V, ancora oggi presenti in via della Conciliazione e rimaste sulla facciata del Palazzo dei Penitenzieri o Della Rovere. In realtà il loro spostamento, date le condizioni in cui versavano, era stato approvato in occasione della demolizione della Spina, a patto che entrambe rimanessero presso Borgo. Per una delle due fontanelle, infatti, il Comune prevedeva una traslazione presso Palazzo Borghese che non venne ritenuta corretta e quindi non autorizzata dal Ministero dell'Istruzione. Si vd. ASC Ripartizioni|Ripartizione X Antichità e Belle Arti|Ripartizione X (1907-1920)|Carteggio|Titolo 14. Sorveglianza opere d'arte|busta 43, fascicolo 43. Si veda anche V. Valerio, *Le fontane di Borgo: costruzioni, demolizioni e trasferimenti da Paolo V Borghese agli anni Cinquanta del Novecento*, in C. Parisi Presicce, L. Petacco (a cura di), *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 169-179 (in partic. pp. 172-175).

[55] Il Bastione Ardeatino, situato tra via di Porta San Sebastiano e Porta San Paolo, venne utilizzato dall'Amministrazione Comunale tra il 1939 e il 1952 per il ricovero dei pezzi architettonici e scultorei derivanti in particolare dallo sventramento del Rione Borgo e della Spina. Si calcola che, al suo interno, confluirono circa 3000 frammenti lapidei, relativi a stemmi, a portali, cornici e molto altro ancora. Cfr. A. Cambedda (a cura di), *La Demolizione della Spina dei Borghi*, Roma 1990, p. 15; L. Cardilli, E. Valeriani, *Il Bastione Ardeatino e la sua destinazione museale*, in *Controspazio*, 26 (1995), pp. 46-55; V. Valerio, *Le fontane di Borgo: costruzioni, demolizioni e trasferimenti da Paolo V Borghese agli anni Cinquanta del Novecento*, in C. Parisi Presicce, L. Petacco (a cura di), *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 169-179 (in partic. pp. 178-179); E. Federico, *Il deposito del Bastione Ardeatino*, in C. Parisi Presicce, L. Petacco (a cura di), *La Spina: dall'Agro Vaticano a via della Conciliazione, Catalogo della mostra, Roma, Musei Capitolini, 22 luglio 2016-8 gennaio 2017*, Roma 2016, pp. 272-273. Per la storia costruttiva del Bastione, si vd. M. Eichber, F. Eleuteri, *Il Bastione Ardeatino*, in *Palladio*, 24 (1999), pp. 5-22. Per il progetto di musealizzazione: L. Cardilli, E. Valeriani, *Il Bastione Ardeatino e la sua destinazione museale*, in *Controspazio* 4 (1995), pp. 46-55.

[56] SIMART AF-28924.

tanina alla passeggiata pubblica del Gianicolo presso il faro"[57]. La cannella fuoriesce dalla bocca di una maschera di satiro dall'aspetto grinzoso, di epoca compresa tra il XVI e il XVII secolo[58]; immediatamente sotto di esso, si può scorgere un blocchetto marmoreo, ormai coperto di incrostazioni.



Figg. 9-10. Fontanella del Gianicolo (foto di Cristina Cumbo)

[57] *Ibidem*; SIMART PG90.
[58] SIMART PG89.

Di questa fontanella le informazioni sono molto scarse, quasi nulle; ciò è, probabilmente, dovuto al fatto che fosse precedentemente inserita all'interno del convento e mai analizzata.

Le uniche notizie, al momento reperite, riguardano le segnalazioni e i vari solleciti inviati al Servizio Tecnologico del Governatorato di Roma dalla Ripartizione X Antichità e Belle Arti, nei mesi di maggio, luglio e agosto 1952, in cui si sottolineavano urgenti problemi di manutenzione ordinaria:

> «Segnalati, per i provvedimenti di competenza, la fontana artistica sita nella Passeggiata del Gianicolo angolo Piazza Anita Garibaldi che è priva del flusso d'acqua da oltre una settimana»;
>
> «Per gli urgenti provvedimenti di competenza segnalarsi Fontana delle Tartarughe in Piazza Mattei che ha il fognolo di scarico ostruito, fontanella artistica del piazzale Anita Garibaldi al Gianicolo che ha il fognolo di scarico ostruito, manca dello sportello al contatore e per la quale occorre una nuova fogna per la raccolta dell'acqua di scarico, nonché la fontanella artistica sita alla passeggiata del Gianicolo vicino alla scogliera che ha il fognolo di scarico ostruito e manca del becchetto di getto»;
>
> «Seguito fonogramma n. 1979 del 28-6 e n. 2035 del 5-7 pregasi provvedere urgenza disostruzione del fognolo di scarico Fontana Tartarughe in Piazza Mattei e riparazioni della fontanella artistica nel Piazzale Anita Garibaldi al Gianicolo che ha fognolo di scarico ostruito, manca dello sportello del contatore e per la quale è necessaria una nuova fogna per la raccolta acqua di scarico»;
>
> «A seguito fonogrammi in data 28 giugno e 19 luglio segnalasi necessità provvedere con ogni urgenza riparazioni fontanelle Gianicolo angolo Piazzale Anita Garibaldi»[59].

Tornando al convento, gli acquerelli di Fammilumme forniscono ancora elementi ricostruttivi. L'edificio, infatti, doveva prevedere oltre ai due chiostri comunicanti tra loro, due scalinate dopo l'ingresso che si dipartivano una a destra e una a sinistra[60]. Nello specifico, un corridoio scoperto, poggiato su arcate, correva nel mezzo dell'immenso spazio centrale, quindi, fungendo da divisorio e da collegamento al tempo stesso; il secondo chiostro, stando a una cartolina dell'epoca custodita presso l'AGOC[61] (fig. 11), sembra prevedesse almeno due lati

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[59] Ripartizioni|Ripartizione X Antichità e Belle Arti|Ripartizione X (1920-1953)|Titolario 1931|Classe 4 – Monumenti vari, palazzi, fontane|Sottocl. 3 – Fontane|busta 290, fasc. 4.

[60] SIMART: MR2737; MR 2808.

[61] AGOC fototeca, Traspontina, G654.

poggiati su arcate – quello di fondo e quello a destra – sui quali si impostavano i tre piani del convento. Il lato destro del secondo chiostro, inoltre, aveva un ulteriore rialzo costituito da un altro corridoio coperto con tetto a doppio spiovente con tre finestroni arcati.

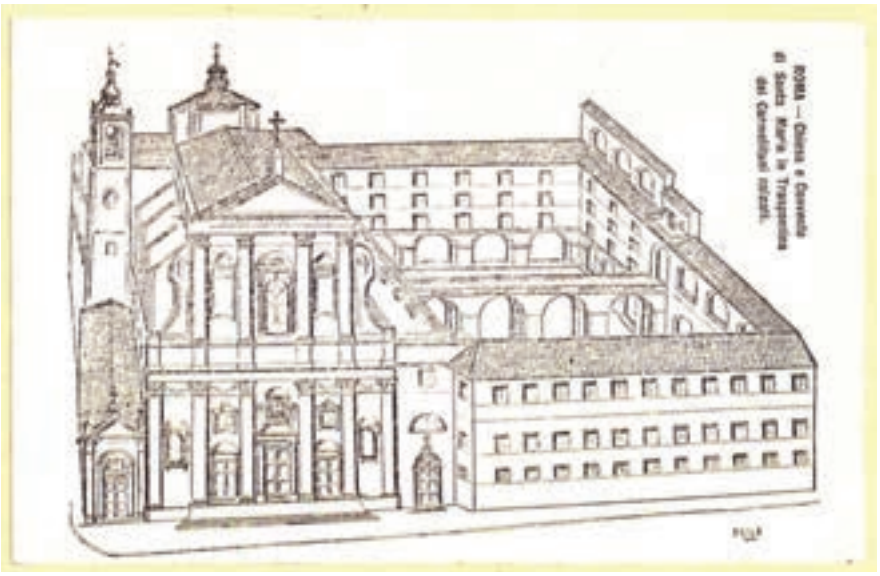


Fig. 11. Chiesa e convento di Santa Maria in Traspontina
(AGOC fototeca, Traspontina, G654)

Per quel che riguarda i chiostri, si dovrà dire che Peruzzi ne aveva previsto solo uno quadrato, di 125 palmi per lato, su cui dovevano affacciarsi le celle dei Carmelitani; il Mascherino ne aveva ideati quattro, ovvero due quadrati più grandi e due minori; alla fine, si scelse di seguire il progetto del Maderno con due chiostri, la biblioteca, la cucina, il refettorio e l'appartamento del procuratore generale dell'Ordine Carmelitano. Il convento, nella sua fase definitiva nel 1615, presentava due dormitori e 70 celle[62], un'infermeria e altri locali d'uso comune[63].

Una foto di Umberto Sciamanna (1937-1938)[64] restituisce uno sguardo più ampio sui locali commerciali che si erano installati al

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[62] L. GIGLI, *Rione XIV Borgo*, parte prima, Roma 1990, pp. 94-98.

[63] C. CATENA, *Traspontina. Guida storica e artistica* (Nuova edizione aggiornata a cura di Emanuele Boaga), Roma 2000, p. 61.

[64] SIMART: XC6064.

piano terra, dopo la parziale dismissione religiosa, come già analizzato. Sulla destra della fontana del Ricciotto (fig. 12)[65] vi era, per esempio, un negozio di calzature e, in successione, una drogheria, una macelleria, un banco per il gioco del Lotto, una trattoria-pizzeria, un negozio di lampade elettriche e, infine, i Grandi Magazzini Fallani installati all'angolo del palazzo[66] (fig. 13).



Fig. 12. Umberto Sciamanna, Il convento dei Carmelitani in Borgo Nuovo, 1937-1938, gelatina bromuro d'argento (Roma, Museo di Roma, Archivio Fotografico; © Roma Capitale, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)

Il convento, prima della presa di possesso, conteneva anche arredi liturgici e manufatti storico-artistici di cui non conosciamo nulla, oppure dei quali abbiamo notizie grazie agli inventari redatti successivamente. Non sappiamo, però, quali degli oggetti provenga o meno dal convento di Traspontina e se alcuni di essi siano stati portati altrove.

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[65] Referenze fotografiche: Roma, Museo di Roma, Archivio Iconografico.

[66] G. Odorisio, *Da piazza Scossacavalli a piazza Pia*, in A. Cambedda (a cura di), *La Demolizione della Spina dei Borghi*, Roma 1990, pp. 57-68 (in partic. p. 60).



Fig. 13. Veduta laterale del palazzo nel corso della demolizione dell'isolato vicino al convento (AGOC G648)

C'è da dire che alcuni dipinti, provenienti da Traspontina, sono conservati all'interno del Collegio S. Alberto in via Sforza Pallavicini[67]. All'interno, invece, delle attuali sale conventuali di Traspontina, secondo quanto riportato da L. Gigli[68], sarebbero conservati altri dipinti, in particolare: al pianterreno, la "Madonna del velo", affresco staccato, replica del dipinto di Antoniazzo Romano già nella di S. Michele Arcangelo in Borgo; nel refettorio, la "Predicazione di S. Pier Tommaso", il "Sacrificio di Elia", la "Natività di Gesù" (tutti bozzetti dei quadri eseguiti da Angelo Papi per il coro della Chiesa), la "Glorificazione di S. Andrea Corsini", "l'Immacolata" di C. Maratta che ha dipinto anche la copia del quadro di G. C. Procaccini raffigurante S. Michele Arcangelo e S. Carlo Borromeo, restaurata nel 1969, la "Carità del ven. Angelo Paoli", firmato e datato da Nicolò Ricciolini (1756), il "Discorso della montagna", copia della pala dell'altare dell'Oratorio.
L'inventario, senza data (ma successivo alla demolizione dell'edificio),

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[67] Si tratta, in particolare, delle seguenti tele: "Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi", "Natività", "La Vergine mostra il Bambino ai Magi" e "La Vergine Maria morente" custodite nel corridoio che conduce all'AGOC.

[68] Tali notizie sono riportate in: L. Gigli, *Rione XIV Borgo, parte prima*, Roma 1990, p. 124.

battuto a macchina, riporta che le opere vennero schedate dal Fondo per il Culto e dalla Soprintendenza alle Gallerie ed Opere d'Arte Medioevali e Moderne per il Lazio, ma anche che:

> «Ciò premesso, si deve mettere in rilievo che il numero dei quadri – di cui alcuni sono schedati dalla Soprintendenza – e di altri oggetti di qualche conto, risultanti mancanti, è piuttosto cospicuo. È bene ricordare che, quando venne demolito il Convento annesso alla Chiesa, in occasione della realizzazione della monumentale Via della Conciliazione, molti degli oggetti, di cui si rileva la mancanza, furono trasferiti altrove. Ma gli attuali Monaci non hanno saputo dare alcuna indicazione sia pure approssimativa dell'epoca in cui avvenne il trasferimento, né hanno saputo dare notizie, circa la destinazione degli oggetti trasferiti»[69].

Nei verbali della presa di possesso, invece, l'Ufficio Tecnico di Finanza[70] specificava che nel convento non esistevano libri e documenti scientifici, ma solo tremila volumi d'opere di pochissima importanza; inoltre, vi era l'Archivio dell'Ordine, composto da quattro camere corrispondenti sulla loggia che dava sul chiostro contenente oltre 2000 volumi manoscritti e stampati conservati in varie credenze, così come alcuni quadri in tela – dei quali non è specificato alcun dettaglio – si trovavano nella biblioteca.

Possiamo solo pensare che la biblioteca, con il trascorrere del tempo, si fosse impoverita. Nel XVI secolo, infatti, risulta piuttosto ricca, ma a partire dalla soppressione delle corporazioni religiose solo 3000 dei circa 10000 volumi appartenenti alla biblioteca della Traspontina vennero trasferiti al Collegio Romano, altri presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, la Biblioteca Carmelitana presso l'Institutum Carmelitanum a Roma e, in particolare i manoscritti, all'Archivio Generale dell'Ordine Carmelitano[71].

Tornando agli oggetti provenienti dal convento, nei documenti dell'Ufficio Tecnico di Finanza, in una sezione specifica denominata "Mobili in genere esclusi quelli esistenti nelle chiese e sagrestie e quelli

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[69] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[70] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[71] G. Grosso, *Tracce di storia della biblioteca dello Studium generale Carmelitanum di S. Maria in Traspontina in Roma: dall'elenco del Vat. lat. 11272 agli esemplari esistenti*, in R. M. Borraccini (a cura di), *Dalla notitia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari. Saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 11266-11326*, Macerata 2009, pp. 379-407.

da rilasciarsi ai religiosi per loro uso personale"[72], troviamo: «Quadri di poco valore evidenti nel Refettorio […]», mentre alla fine della medesima sezione è appuntato che diversi altri oggetti esistenti nel convento non vennero riportati poiché «inservibili, e di nessun valore».

La storia della chiesa, più volte e per logici motivi, si intreccia a quella del convento di Traspontina. Con riguardo alla manutenzione, per esempio, si apprende che nel 1962[73] venne richiesto al Fondo Edifici di Culto da parte dei Padri Carmelitani un contributo per il restauro delle stanze soprastanti l'Oratorio della Dottrina Cristiana, ambienti che erano già fatiscenti almeno dal 1951. In quelle stanze «[…] sono alloggiati Religiosi e "Famuli" al servizio della Chiesa Parrocchiale o conservati gli arredi sacri più preziosi». Il Fondo non poté occuparsi dei restauri poiché la chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina non era più di proprietà del Ministero dell'Interno, ma aveva ottenuto riconoscimento dello status di parrocchia con decreto del Presidente della Repubblica in data 29.07.1949; tuttavia, il Ministero si riteneva disponibile, a restauri compiuti, a concedere un modesto contributo per le spese sostenute.

Tutta la vicenda del convento si trascina, in realtà, per molti anni. Il Governatorato di Roma affida agli architetti Marcello Piancentini e Attilio Spaccarelli l'incarico della progettazione e la direzione dei lavori che avrebbero condotto alla sistemazione della zona compresa tra Piazza Pia e Piazza S. Pietro. Nel 1930 Piacentini redigeva la "Relazione-programma" sul progetto del Piano Regolatore di Roma ed emerge, effettivamente, un'idea che, in seguito, non sarà rispettata: sembra che l'architetto voglia mantenere intatti i Borghi, considerandoli "nuclei intangibili" insieme ai quartieri di Trastevere e la zona del Rinascimento[74]. L'intenzione, come già precedentemente visto con Muñoz, era quella di salvare quanto più possibile la città vecchia, considerando però che Roma era morfologicamente diversa rispetto alle grandi città europee, il cui nucleo antico risulta concentrato nell'area centrale, mentre la vita quotidiana si svolge nei quartieri moderni, composti da larghi viali e piazze estese[75].

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[72] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104.

[73] FEC, Direzione generale Fondo culto, Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Corporazioni religiose – Lavori, busta 46, sottofasc. 104 (S. Maria in Traspontina, Restauri; S. Maria in Traspontina, Lavori di restauro alle coperture ed ambienti abitabili).

[74] M. Piacentini, *Relazione-programma a S. E. il capo del Governo sul Progetto del Piano Regolatore di Roma*, Roma 1930, p. 6.

[75] *Ibidem*, p. 5-6.

Più nello specifico:

> «Nei riguardi dell'andamento Ovest-Est abbiamo provveduto a quattro grandi tracciati, a grosso modo taglianti ad angolo retto i tre sopradescritti dell'andamento Nord-Sud: […] 2) Il tracciato esistente costituito dal Corso Vittorio Emanuele (allacciato a San Pietro e ai Prati di Castello in maniera da lasciare completamente integri i Borghi) e da via Nazionale»[76].

Le intenzioni, quindi, furono parzialmente modificate e i Borghi destinati alla demolizione. Piacentini, riprendendo i progetti di architetti a lui precedenti e tracciando un excursus storico che evidenziasse la volontà passata di osservare la basilica nella sua interezza, giustificò il grande progetto della distruzione della Spina di Borgo. Occorreva, infatti, una visuale che abbracciasse l'intero complesso petrino, consentendo di ammirare anche la cupola che, con la presenza delle casupole di quell'isola architettonica della Spina, non era visibile, se non in piccola parte. Il punto migliore per far sì che la prospettiva fosse completa era quello di Piazza Pia.

A questa motivazione si aggiungeva un grosso problema, quello legato all'igiene, su cui anche Muñoz si era soffermato:

> «Il quartiere dei vecchi Borghi era senza dubbio, sotto questo aspetto, il più indegno della Città. Casaccie fitte, cortiletti stipati e affogati; abitazioni insane, luride, prive delle più elementari necessità, dense fino ad ospitare in ogni stanzaccia, e quasi in ogni bottega, anche sei o sette individui di sesso diverso. Soltanto chi ha veduto internamente quei tuguri può apprezzare il bene immenso apportato dall'opera di riordino»[77].

In un primo momento Piacentini e Spaccarelli, nell'esecuzione del progetto, collaborarono con i già citati arch. Giuseppe Momo – incaricato direttamente dalla Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale per la ricostruzione del Palazzo dei Convertendi – e ing. Leone Castelli[78].

Un anno prima della demolizione, nel 1938, il Parroco di Santa Maria in Traspontina, P. Michele Jazzetta[79], richiedeva alcune stanze

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[76] *Ibidem*, p. 9.

[77] M. Piacentini, A. Spaccarelli, *Memoria sugli studi e sui lavori per l'accesso a S. Pietro*, Roma 1944, p. 14.

[78] *Ibidem*, p. 17.

[79] FEC Roma. Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, Carmelitani Calzati, fasc. 2A1/8022, V.P. 104, CH318 - Progetto della casa parrocchiale di S. M. in Traspontina.

da concedere in uso al clero parrocchiale, oltre quelle già fornite ai Carmelitani come abitazione:

> «All'Ill.mo Sig. Direttore Generale del Fondo per il Culto Roma, il sottoscritto Parroco di S. Maria in Traspontina si onora di esporre alla SV. Ill.ma quanto segue:
> La Parrocchia di S. Maria in Traspontina, dopo il 1870, rimase sprovvista dei locali necessari e indispensabili per la cura delle anime, per cui ripetutamente furono fatte delle richieste dai diversi Parroci per ottenere una maggiore ampiezza dei locali[80]. Frutto di tali richieste fu la concessione del Fondo per il Culto di due sole stanze per collocarvi l'archivio e l'ufficio parrocchiale. Il sottoscritto ha domandato più volte che gli venissero concessi dei locali dell'adiacente Caserma dei Metropolitani per l'abitazione dei religiosi necessari al servizio della Parrocchia e per le varie opere parrocchiali. Ma non ha potuto ottenere nulla.
> Ora, avendo la locale Delegazione del Governatorato lasciati i locali sottostanti all'abitazione dei Religiosi, egli chiede che essi siano concessi in uso al Clero Parrocchiale, per la loro decorosa abitazione e per lo svolgimento dell'attività parrocchiale. I religiosi addetti al servizio della Parrocchia sono 10 sacerdoti e 5 conversi; ma di questi solo una parte può abitare l'attuale casa parrocchiale e gli altri, per mancanza di locali, devono abitare nel Collegio S. Alberto in Prati. Occorrerebbero quindi una ventina di stanze per abitazione, oltre gli accessori: cucina, refettorio, salotto, bagno, ecc. E per la Parrocchia, oltre le stanze per gli uffici, altre per le opere parrocchiali.
> Il sottoscritto, in vista delle prossime trasformazioni dell'edificio, che era convento appartenente all'Ordine Carmelitano, e data l'importanza della parrocchia, specialmente per la sua ubicazione e per la sistemazione dei Borghi, prega la S.V. Ill.ma di voler prendere la suddetta richiesta in benigna considerazione, e nel caso di demolizione e riedificazione dell'edificio, provvedere alla ricostruzione della casa parrocchiale, secondo i suaccennati bisogni. Ossequiando distintamente.
> Roma 4 agosto 1938 XVI. Dev.mo per servirla, Sac. Michele Jazzetta, Parroco di S. M. Traspontina».

I locali abitativi dei Carmelitani, così come quelli della parrocchia, alle abitazioni di alcune famiglie e alle botteghe scompaiono nel 1939-1940, con l'abbattimento dell'antico palazzo.

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[80] Tali lettere sono conservate sempre presso il Fondo Edifici di Culto: FEC Roma. Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, Carmelitani Calzati, fasc. 2A1/8022, V.P. 104, CH318 - Progetto della casa parrocchiale di S. M. in Traspontina.

L'area del convento è indicata come lotto H nelle planimetrie dell'epoca[81], destinata a nuova costruzione, ideata ancora da Piacentini e Spaccarelli, il cui prospetto[82] venne approvato nel mese di gennaio 1940. Nel promemoria[83] annesso alla documentazione conservata presso l'Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, si rileva:

> «Lotto H e ricostruzione locali per officianti la Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina. La variante proposta importa, (è sufficiente dare uno sguardo alle planimetrie preparate ed a quella odierna) una maggiore spesa per la ricostruzione dei locali per gli officianti la Chiesa. Inoltre lo spostamento del perimetro del lotto verso Borgo S. Angelo obbliga l'Amministrazione a provvedere con ogni urgenza alla demolizione dei fabbricati siti nel Borgo S. Angelo; demolizione che importa la sistemazione di circa quaranta famiglie che, invece, secondo quanto informa il Dr. Sanzi, non possono essere sistemate per assoluta mancanza di alloggi».



Fig. 14. Dettaglio del lotto H (Dipartimento Valorizzazione del Patrimonio e Politiche Abitative – Conservatoria. Ufficio Archivio – Pos. N. 1555.1 – Pianta dell'ex Convento della Traspontina)

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[81] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.1, Pianta dei lotti da ricostruire sulla via della Conciliazione. Rione XIV – rapp. 1:1000.

[82] della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.1, Prospetto sulla nuova via di Piano Regolatore in asse al Ponte Vittorio Emanuele, serie n. 8, disegno n. 1101, data 09.01.1940.

[83] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.1, Pro-memoria.

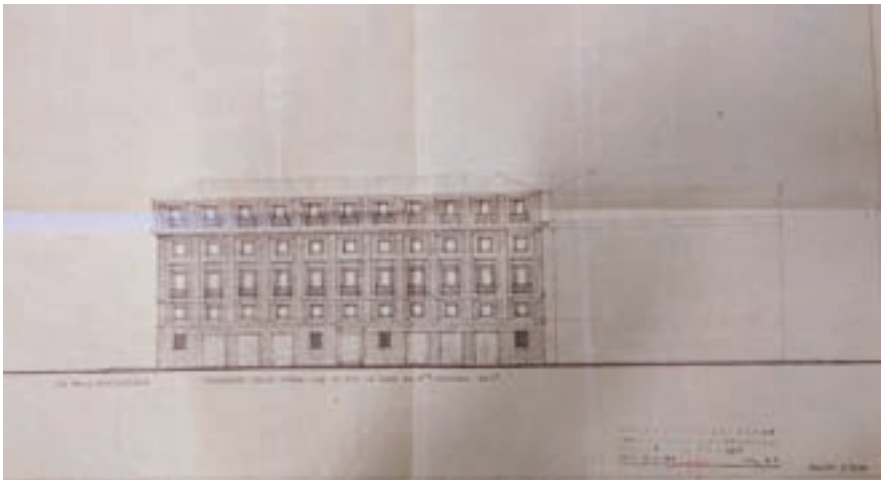


Fig. 15. Prospetto del palazzo, firmato da Marcello Piacentini
(Dipartimento Valorizzazione del Patrimonio e Politiche Abitative – Conservatoria. Ufficio Archivio – Pos. N. 1555.1 – Prospetto dell'ex Convento della Traspontina)

Il progetto, comunque, subì una variazione dovuta agli allineamenti delle facciate del nuovo fabbricato e di quello che sarebbe stato destinato ai Frati Officianti la Chiesa su Borgo S. Angelo[84].

Il lotto H (fig. 14), in seguito alla gara all'asta pubblica e a schede segrete[85], era stato assegnato alla G.I.P.S.A. (Gestioni Immobiliari Pavia Società Anonima), rappresentata legalmente da Mons. Alberto Di Iorio, Segretario delle Opere di Religione, e il cui amministratore delegato era il Sig. Massimo Francesco Spada[86]. Furono loro ad iniziare i lavori e a farli procedere. In un primo momento, però, segnalavano la presenza di fabbricati occupati da magazzini, da famiglie soprattutto in Borgo S. Angelo[87] e di un impianto fognario, dove

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[84] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Lettera di M. Piacentini e A. Spaccarelli al Direttore della II Ripartizione del Governatorato di Roma, 26 aprile 1940.

[85] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Capitolato per la vendita ad asta pubblica di un lotto di terreno in via della Conciliazione.

[86] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, fasc. "Atto 7 marzo 1941 – XIX. Rog. Segr. Gen. Vendita di area sita in via della Conciliazione alla Soc. An. Gestioni Immobiliari Pavia".

[87] Le famiglie sgomberate sarebbero state alloggiate nei quartieri di S. Basilio, Quarticciolo, Pietralata e Primavalle, ma anche in via Principe di Piemonte, in via S. Paolino alla Regola e nella Borgata Costanzo Ciano (quest'ultima dell'Istituto per le Case Popolari) dal Governatorato di Roma. Cfr. Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di

sarebbe ricaduta l'area di cantiere, pregando – nel mese di maggio 1940 – il Governatorato di Roma di provvedere. Quest'ultimo specificava che gli immobili del lotto H erano già stati espropriati con decreto prefettizio n. 593 del 9 gennaio 1939.

Dal Vaticano, intanto, giungevano lettere da parte della Segreteria di Stato di Sua Santità[88] per concedere agli abitanti e ai negozianti dei palazzi in demolizione più tempo per trovare una sistemazione, dopo che la stessa Segreteria aveva ricevuto preghiere di intercessione.

Nel luglio 1940 la G.I.P.S.A. si impegnava a demolire il fabbricato in Borgo S. Angelo, retrostante l'area venduta[89] perché area indispensabile ai piloni di sostegno e procedeva con l'edificazione – cui lavorava l'ing. Leonardo Castelli, figlio di Leone[90] – che era, tuttavia, normata dal Governatorato[91]. Il nuovo palazzo (fig. 15) – destinato, come da progetto, ad uso abitazione[92], uffici e negozi – avrebbe dovuto avere un quantitativo di "luci di bottega" pari al numero degli assi delle finestre senza superare il 75%; era stato vietato l'inserimento di persiane apribili all'esterno e avvolgibili, al cui posto erano consentire persiane

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Roma, faldone 1555.4, Lettera del Governatorato di Roma al Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici – Direzione Generale dell'urbanistica e delle Opere Igieniche dell'11 giugno 1941; lettera della Ripartizione II Patrimonio del Governatorato di Roma, 21 dicembre 1941.

[88] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.1, Lettera della Segreteria di Stato di Sua Santità indirizzata al Governatorato di Roma, 25 marzo 1938.

[89] Oltre alle 5 famiglie che vi abitavano, i magazzini dello stesso fabbricato erano occupati dai calchi provenienti dall'Oratorio dell'Annunziata che si proponeva di trasferire nei locali di via dei Cerchi. Cfr. Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Atto di sottomissione, 1 luglio 1940; Demolizioni e sgomberi in via della Conciliazione, 1 giugno 1940.

[90] Leone Castelli fu l'ingegnere che, durante il pontificato di Pio XI, venne incaricato di ricostruire tutta la Città del Vaticano, di erigere palazzi nelle zone extraterritoriali e di effettuare ulteriori interventi edilizi per conto della Santa Sede. Il riferimento specifico nel carteggio si trova in: Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, fasc. "Atto 7 marzo 1941 – XIX. Rog. Segr. Gen. Vendita di area sita in via della Conciliazione alla Soc. An. Gestioni Immobiliari Pavia", Verbale di consegna del 2 luglio 1940.

[91] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Vendita di area di via della Conciliazione – lotto H – alla Gestioni Immobiliari Pavia S.A., 14 aprile 1940.

[92] Piacentini e Spaccarelli studiarono il progetto del palazzo G.I.P.S.A. insieme all'ing. Gino Cipriani, che si occupò anche dell'Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni. Entrambi avrebbero voluto una destinazione d'uso più elevata per il nuovo palazzo, che invece venne destinato ad abitazioni secondo la decisione dell'Amministrazione Comunale di Roma. Inoltre: «Il Palazzo della Gipsa fu costruito dai committenti con materiali scelti (le facciate sono in travertino), con nobiltà di spazi, con lusso nelle attrezzature interne». Cfr. M. Piacentini, A. Spaccarelli, *Memoria sugli studi e sui lavori per l'accesso a S. Pietro*, Roma 1944, p. 17.

scorrenti a coulisse; il materiale usato per le facciate sarebbe stato composto da travertino e da una cortina di mattoni; la parte verso il "Corridoio" doveva prevedere 5 piani, per un'altezza di 21 m.; infine, per la parte prospiciente la via della Conciliazione e la via Traspontina – le cui fronti sarebbero state rispettivamente di 37 m. e di 47 m. circa – erano previsti 4 piani, ammettendo la sopraelevazione fino al filo stradale, eccezion fatta per l'angolo e il risvolto verso la chiesa della Traspontina che avrebbe dovuto essere arretrato di almeno 5 m. La Società Immobiliare era autorizzata a occupare temporaneamente e a scopo di cantiere le aree circostanti l'isolato, in modo da riconsegnarle in tempo utile per la sistemazione stradale operata dal Governatorato. Come vedremo, quest'ultimo punto non sarà completamente rispettato.

Infine, qualora fossero stati trovati oggetti di valore storico-artistico o archeologico, il Governatorato ne sarebbe stato proprietario, riservandosi la facoltà di vigilare sull'esecuzione dei lavori.

La rettoria e le stanze dei Carmelitani: controversa storia di un edificio

Per quanto riguarda i Carmelitani, sappiamo che le stanze conventuali e la rettoria[93], come del resto tutto l'edificio, erano state espropriate dal Governatorato al Fondo per il Culto. In cambio era stata data un'indennità, che il Fondo per il Culto aveva rifiutato a patto che il Governatorato si fosse impegnato a ricostruire un numero di vani aventi una superficie uguale a quelli demoliti nell'area attigua alla chiesa. L'atto d'impegno[94] riportava che:

> «1) Il Governatorato costruirà, a propria cura e spese, la nuova Rettoria della Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina a ridosso della chiesa stessa, nonché il corridoio laterale della chiesa, con accesso dalla via della Conciliazione e comunicante con la Rettoria: il tutto secondo il progetto redatto dagli Architetti Piacentini e Spaccarelli, e accettato dal Fondo per il Culto.
> 2) Il fabbricato di cui all'art. 1 verrà trasferito in proprietà del Fondo per il Culto e consegnato al medesimo entro sei mesi dalla ultimazione, con apposito atto.

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[93] Quest'ultima era situata in via Borgo Nuovo 140 e Vicolo della Traspontina 6-12.

[94] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Atto d'impegno.

3) Il Governatorato concederà in uso al Fondo per il Culto i locali ora abitati dai Frati officianti la Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, contro pagamento dell'annuo canone di L. 10, oltre il rimborso delle imposte e tasse gravanti sui locali stessi. La concessione suddetta avrà la durata di anni cinque e sarà rinnovabile, salvo revoca da parte del Governatorato, che potrà essere stabilito con semplice preavviso di mesi tre, qualora il Governatorato stesso dovesse avere la necessità di riottenere la libera disponibilità di detti locali. Resta inteso che le spese per la manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria dei locali stessi saranno a carico del Fondo per il Culto.
4) Il Fondo per il Culto rinunzia all'indennità d'esproprio offerta con il decreto prefettizio di cui in narrativa; il medesimo provvederà a sua cura allo svincolo dell'indennità stessa presso la Cassa DD. e PP., e verserà la somma di L. 167.500, pari alla suddetta indennità, al Governatorato, entro il termine di giorni 30 dalla data dell'avvenuta riscossione. Il Fondo per il Culto dà atto che, con gli accordi al presente atto d'impegno, i rapporti dipendenti dall'esproprio dei locali e dalla costruzione della nuova Rettoria s'intendono integralmente definiti.
5) Il Fondo per il Culto si impegna inoltre di corrispondere al Governatorato un contributo di L. 30.000 per i lavori di restauro del muro perimetrale alla chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, che verranno eseguiti a cura del Governatorato stesso. Detto contributo sarà versato a rate annuali di L. 10.000. di ciascuna decorrenti dalla data di stipulazione del contratto. […]».

Nel 1943, la Ripartizione V, Div. III Edilizia Governatoriale del Governatorato di Roma[95] stabiliva anche le caratteristiche che avrebbe dovuto avere il nuovo edificio della rettoria:

«La muratura sarà di tufo con ricorsi di mattoni, salvo casi particolari nei quali per ragioni statiche occorre impiegare murature a mattoni od ossature in cemento armato (pilastri, architravi di notevole luce, ecc.). I solai saranno di tipo misto in cemento armato e laterizio, atti a sopportare un sovraccarico accidentale di Kg. 200 al mq. I pavimenti a marmette 0,20x0,20 bianche o colorate. La copertura sarà a tetto su armatura di legname. I gradini della scala saranno in marmo bianco dello spessore di cm. 3,00 con sottogradi da cm. 2,00, pure in marmo bianco. Gli infissi di finestra ed i portoni saranno in castagno, mentre gli infissi interni (bussole) saranno in abete. Il fabbricato verrà rifinito internamente con intonaco civile ed esternamente con intonaco a stucco anche

[95] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Disciplinare dei lavori per la costruzione di un edificio annesso alla chiesa di Santa Maria in Traspontina (da allegarsi alla convenzione in corso di stipula tra il Governatorato e la Direzione Generale del Fondo per il Culto), 23 gennaio 1943.

per le parti decorative, come mostre, timpani, cornici, trabeazioni, fregi, ecc. Le pareti dei vari ambienti e delle scale, verranno tinteggiate a calce, mentre gli infissi e le pareti del bagno e della cucina saranno verniciate per un'altezza di metri 1,30. L'impianto di riscaldamento e idraulico saranno completi in ogni loro parte; verranno però impiegati apparecchi sanitari correnti, per quanto decorosi. Verranno inoltre predisposte le tubazioni occorrenti per il gas al bagno ed alla cucina. Lo scaldabagno e la cucina non verranno però forniti. L'impianto elettrico d'illuminazione e campanelli, sarà sotto traccia costituito per ciascun ambiente da una lampada centrale con interruttore, da una presa a uro e da una chiamata di campanello. Nessun apparecchio di illuminazione verrà fornito e collocato in opera. La costruzione infine, non verrà dotata d'impianto di ascensore e d'ogni altro impianto accessorio».

L'edificazione della nuova rettoria avrebbe dovuto essere terminata entro un anno dall'affidamento dell'incarico all'Impresa Giulio Cavalieri, basandosi su alcuni disegni di cui erano ancora autori gli architetti Piacentini e Spaccarelli. I lavori non poterono, però, iniziare subito, nonostante il progetto fosse stato approvato sin dal 1941[96]. L'area, infatti, era totalmente occupata dal materiale della G.I.P.S.A. che stava costruendo il palazzo al posto dell'ex convento[97] e, solo nell'aprile 1943, erano cominciati gli sbancamenti e lo studio delle condizioni del sottosuolo[98], aprendo un varco di accesso con la chiesa e scoprendo, peraltro, che quest'ultima era fortemente lesionata, quindi necessitava di un consolidamento delle fondazioni. In questa situa-

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[96] «Casa Parrocchiale della Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina – Parte posteriore della Chiesa. L'area di questo lotto – mq. 280 – prospiciente su Borgo S. Angelo angolo Vicolo del Campanile, è stata ceduta dall'Amministrazione Comunale di Roma alla Parrocchia di S. Maria in Traspontina, allo scopo di svilupparvi i locali necessari all'esercizio della Parrocchia stessa, in sostituzione di quelli già sul Borgo Nuovo perduti con le demolizioni. Il progetto relativo è stato approvato fin dal 1941, ma i lavori, iniziati tardi, si sono arrestati alle fondazioni. Per sistemare l'ingresso agli uffici Parrocchiali da Via della Conciliazione, si dovrà costruire, nello spazio tra la Chiesa e l'edificio vicino, un portale in travertino identico a quello esistente dall'altra parte della facciata in angolo con il Vicolo del Campanile». Si vd. M. PIACENTINI, A. SPACCARELLI, *Memoria sugli studi e sui lavori per l'accesso a S. Pietro*, Roma 1944, p. 21.

[97] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Ricostruzione della Rettoria della Chiesa di Santa Maria in Traspontina, Lettera della Ripartizione V Div. III Edilizia Governatoriale alla Ripartizione II e al Segretario Generale, 26 gennaio 1943.

[98] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Costruzione di un edificio annesso alla Chiesa di S. Maria della Traspontina, Lettera della Ripartizione V Div. III Edilizia Governatoriale al Segretario Generale, 8 aprile 1943.

zione già complicata, lo scoppio della guerra rallentò ogni progresso: mancavano materiali e mano d'opera[99].

In tutto ciò, in seguito alla scomparsa dell'edificio conventuale, i Carmelitani vivevano in camere di recupero, disposte in due file sopra le soffitte della chiesa[100]. Da quegli anni di accordi in poi, si susseguiranno le richieste dei Carmelitani, affinché si risolvesse la questione tra il Comune di Roma (ex Governatorato) e il Fondo per il Culto. Nel febbraio 1948 il Parroco della Traspontina, Padre Angelo M. Sfascia[101], inviava addirittura istanza diretta al Capo del Governo, Alcide De Gasperi, per sollecitare la risoluzione del problema che teneva i religiosi confinati in spazi non adeguati, pregando di provvedere. I Carmelitani, infatti, non possedevano la cifra prevista per il progetto approvato dal Comune, pur volendo procedere con la costruzione.

Nel maggio 1949, dopo il ricorso all'Avvocatura dello Stato, il Comune di Roma provò ad accelerare i tempi[102], ma intanto i Carmelitani stavano seriamente pensando a una ricostruzione a loro spese, senza attendere ancora i lunghi tempi per la regolarizzazione dei rapporti tra Comune e Fondo per il Culto. Ed effettivamente così fecero, come si apprende nel marzo 1950[103]:

> «In effetti tale costruzione è stata eseguita dai religiosi senza alcuna preventiva comunicazione all'Ufficio e conseguente autorizzazione occupando arbitrariamente aree di proprietà comunale. Questa Ripartizione (II Patrimonio, n.d.A.) non è stata in grado di contestare l'occupazione

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[99] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, Lettera del Governatorato di Roma al Ministero dell'Interno – Direzione Generale del Fondo per il Culto, 9 marzo 1943.

[100] Il Corpo Reale del Genio Civile, infatti, scriveva in data 13 marzo 1939 al Fondo di Beneficienza e Religione della Città di Roma per esplicare che i locali espropriati sarebbero andati incontro a demolizione per effetto del piano regolatore, ma affinché i religiosi potessero trovare una collocazione temporanea sarebbe stato opportuno che il Ministero dell'Interno – da cui dipendeva il Fondo –, interessando il Governatorato di Roma, sistemasse alcuni locali nella sacrestia non soggetti alla distruzione e occupati, all'epoca, dagli agenti di Polizia. Oltre ai religiosi, negli ambienti avrebbero dovuto essere custoditi provvisoriamente il mobilio, nonché gli arredi della chiesa e degli uffici parrocchiali. Si rimanda ai documenti contenuti in: FEC Roma. Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, Carmelitani Calzati, fasc. 2A1/8022, V.P. 104, CH318.

[101] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Istanza diretta al Capo del Governo, n. 1541 di protocollo, 28 febbraio/9 marzo 1948.

[102] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Transazione con il Fondo Culto per la Rettoria della Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, 16 maggio 1949.

[103] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Transazione con il Fondo Culto per la Rettoria della Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, Lettera della Ripart. II – Patrimonio al Segretariato Generale, 21 marzo 1950.

del terreno e della costruzione abusiva dei manufatti in quanto, da informazioni assunte, sarebbe risultato che alla cerimonia della posta della prima pietra della costruenda Rettoria sarebbe intervenuto l'On.le Sindaco, per cui sarebbe stato dato un crisma di legalità all'operato dei religiosi. Allo stato attuale risulterebbe che il fabbricato costruito oltre che a Rettoria della Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina sarebbe adibito ad alloggio di pellegrini».

Si percepisce lo stato d'animo dei Carmelitani, costretti a vivere in condizioni di disagio, che pur sapendo di agire contro legge e pur non disponendo di elevati fondi, si impegnano a ricostruire una casa[104], quella stessa di cui erano stati privati a causa dell'applicazione del Piano Regolatore e senza un motivo preciso. Se riflettiamo, infatti, il convento antico, ma comunque oggetto di manutenzione – in buone condizioni di conservazione e ottime di stabilità, come dichiararono i tecnici che fecero il sopralluogo prima dell'intervento e che lo descrissero dettagliatamente[105] –, adiacente alla chiesa e in asse con la stessa, non interferiva minimamente con il progetto di Piacentini e Spaccarelli per la demolizione della Spina di Borgo. Ne è prova il fatto che il nuovo fabbricato, sorto sulla cosiddetta area H, occuperà esattamente la stessa area del precedente, espandendosi addirittura verso Borgo Sant'Angelo, non sulla Conciliazione.

Ora che la rettoria era stata ricostruita abusivamente e con la partecipazione del Sindaco di Roma in netto contrasto con quanto i suoi uffici stavano accordando insieme al Fondo per il Culto[106], il Comune non seppe come muoversi, essendosi venuta a creare una situazione "imbarazzante". La Ripartizione II – Patrimonio propose di

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[104] In generale, si ricorda che tutto il piano previsto per via della Conciliazione, cui lavorarono gli architetti Marcello Piacentini e Attilio Spaccarelli, terminò nel 1950, in occasione dell'Anno Santo. Si vd. I. INSOLERA, *Roma moderna. Un secolo di storia urbanistica 1870-1970*, Torino 1993, p. 184.

[105] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Ripartizione V. Divisione Espropri e Contributi, Stato di consistenza della proprietà Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma (Direzione Generale del Fondo Culto) beni immobili assegnati al culto – distinta in catasto al Rione XIV (Borgo) ai nn. 447/2 sita in Borgo Nuovo n. 140, locali terreni ad uso del culto con andito in comune al n. 449/1 in Borgo Nuovo 140 – porzione di ex convento di S. M. in Traspontina con porzione di andito al n. 447/2, redatto ai sensi ed agli effetti del R.D.L. 6 luglio 1931, n. 9811, 7 febbraio 1939.

[106] FEC, Giunta Liquidatrice dell'Asse Ecclesiastico di Roma, Casa Religiosa, posiz. gen. N. 104, sottofasc. Espropriazione-Vertenza per la parte del Comune; Cessione in proprietà della Rettoria; Decreto di ric. Della pers. giuridica del 19 luglio '49 registrato dalla Corte dei Conti il 27 sett. '49 n. 29177; Santa Maria del Sorbo in Campagnano.

riesaminare la modalità della transazione con il Fondo Culto per renderla più favorevole nei confronti del Comune e, intanto, predispose un sopralluogo per redigere le planimetrie delle aree effettivamente occupate[107]. Si scoprirà che le aree su Borgo Nuovo non erano perfettamente corrispondenti[108], creando in tal modo un altro problema di carattere burocratico riguardante la cessione – quasi forzata – dei terreni.

Solo nel febbraio 1952 il Comune di Roma riusciva a stipulare un atto di transazione con l'Amministrazione del Fondo Culto[109], ponendo un punto a una questione annosa ed emblematica riguardo i ritardi burocratici che avevano creato gravi problemi, soprattutto ai religiosi.

Oggi, in Borgo Sant'Angelo, si può osservare un palazzo (fig. 16) annesso alla chiesa di Santa Maria in Traspontina, prospiciente sul Corridoio di Borgo, quello stesso che dovette essere edificato dopo le numerose richieste avanzate e mai ascoltate.



Fig. 16. Il palazzo dei Carmelitani su Borgo Nuovo (foto di Cristina Cumbo)

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[107] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Planimetrie della Rettoria della Chiesa di S. Maria in Traspontina, 20 aprile 1950.

[108] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Transazione con il Fondo Culto – Delibera Consiliare n. 43 dell'8 marzo 1951, 3 luglio 1951.

[109] Archivio della Conservatoria del Comune di Roma, faldone 1555.4, Sistemazione Rettoria Chiesa Traspontina, 28 giugno 1955.

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 207-234

HOW THE EUCHARIST MAKES THE CHURCH: TERESA OF AVILA IN CONVERSATION WITH JOHN PAUL II AND JOHN ZIZIOULAS

CLARE MCGRATH-MERKLE OCDS

INTRODUCTION

In her spiritual theology of the Eucharist, St. Teresa of Avila, Doctor of the Universal Church, anticipated and can still inform the conversation surrounding the importance of the Eucharist to ecclesial union, including in the spiritual theologies of Pope Saint John Paul II and Metropolitan John Zizioulas.

In this study, all three theologians' spiritual theologies will be explored in order to understand how the Eucharist makes the Church. This study represents an opening attempt to explore the aspects of their spiritual doctrines as they relate to communion ecclesiology. First, an overview of pertinent foundations regarding spiritual theology in relation to Eucharist and communion will be conducted. Next, John Paul's "spirituality of communion" will be studied, as influenced in part by Carmelite saints and as set forth in his apostolic letter *Novo Millennio Ineunte* and in his encyclical *Ecclesia et Eucharistia*. Following, John Zizioulas's concept of "ecclesial mysticism" will be explored, as he developed it in his books, *Communion and Otherness: Further Studies in Personhood and the Church* and *The Eucharistic Communion and the World*. Last, both contemporary theologians' ideas will be brought into conversation with Teresa's life and spiritual doctrines as she sought to aid the Church in a time of crisis not unlike our own.

BACKGROUND

Twenty years after the founding of the journal *Communio: International Catholic Review*, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger wrote on the proper study of communion: "*Communio* must first be understood

theologically. Only then can one draw implications for a sacramental notion of communion, and only after that for an ecclesiological notion."[1]

Theologians in recent decades have turned to a more expanded notion of theological inquiry in order to explore themes associated with Eucharist and communion. This *ressourcement* began at a time when the study of dogmatic or systematic theology had become "divorced from what became ascetic or mystical theology." The latter was relegated to secondary status, focusing on piety, the pursuit of perfection, or everyday practices. More recently, however, a renewed interest in spirituality has allowed for a recovery of the study of spirituality's position as an academic discipline.[2] This field has been referred to as "spiritual theology."[3]

Jordan Aumann defined spiritual theology as "that part of theology that, proceeding from the truths of divine revelation and the religious experience of individual persons, defines the nature of the supernatural life, formulates directives for its growth and development, and explains the process by which souls advance from the beginning of the spiritual life to its perfection."[4]

The integration of spiritual theology into mainstream theological research has continued to be challenged, however, by the failure of theology to "pay sufficient attention to the ground of experience that informs meaningful theological discourse."[5]

John Paul and John Zizioulas each referenced ideas found in mystical theology to build their ideas related to ecclesiology. One goal of this study is to attempt to explore the ground of experience related to communion ecclesiology as found in their work.

Spirituality, Eucharist, and Communio

The Eucharist contributes to the making of communion through the spirituality it engenders. This assertion rests on the idea that communion ecclesiology has as its foundation the Eucharist. Ratzinger pointed to the fact that communion ecclesiology is a development of Eucharistic ecclesiology, representing a new "syn-

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[1] J. RATZTINGER, *Communio: A Program*, in *Communio* 21(1992), 446.

[2] This brief overview is taken from E.A. DREYER and M.S. BURROWS EDS., *Minding the Spirit: The Study of Christian Spirituality*, Baltimore-Md. 1994, XIV.

[3] B. MCGINN, *The Letter and the Spirit: Spirituality as an Academic Discipline*, in *Minding the Spirit*, 30.

[4] J. AUMANN, *Spiritual Theology*, New York-N.Y. 2018, 22.

[5] D. BURTON-CHRISTIE, *Introduction: Beginnings*, in *Minding the Spirit*, XXIV.

thesis." He wrote: "The ecclesiology of communion at its very foundation is a Eucharistic ecclesiology…In the Eucharist, Christ, present in the bread and wine and giving Himself anew, builds the Church as His Body and through His Risen Body He unites us to the one and triune God and to each other."[6]

Ratzinger pointed to the link between spirituality and the Holy Spirit when he wrote: "…to speak of 'Christian spirituality' means to speak about the Holy Spirit. He makes himself recognizable by gaining a new center for human life. Speaking about the Holy Spirit includes looking at him in man, to whom he has given himself.[7] Ratzinger also linked the Holy Spirit, the Christian life, and communion when he wrote, "Becoming a Christian means becoming *communio* and thereby entering into the mode of being of the Holy Spirit.[8]

To speak of Christian spirituality, then, is to speak of *communio* as a new center of life in the Holy Spirit. Several theologians made important inroads in the Church's understanding of *communio* in the light of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

The roots of the retrieval of this pneumatological emphasis in the understanding of the nature of the Church as *communio* took place at the Tübingen School of Theology in Germany in the early 19th century. Johann Adam Mohler, a student there, has been credited with a Spirit-centered understanding of the Church, and an "incarnation-centered ecclesiology" important to "the recovery of the image of the Mystical Body of Christ for the Church."[9]

Henri De Lubac wrote of the Mystical Body of Christ in his work *The Splendor of the Church*, in which he set forth his idea of how the Eucharist makes the Church: "…the Eucharist…*realizes the Church*, in the strict sense of the words. The Eucharist is the sacrament 'by which the Church is now united'…And thus the *social* body of the Church,

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[6] J. Ratzinger, *The Ecclesiology of Vatican II*, Conference of Cardinal Ratzinger at the opening of the Pastoral Congress of the Diocese of Aversa, 15 September 2001, https://www.ewtn .com/catholicism/ library/ecclesiology-of-vatican-ii-2069, [26 May 2023].

[7] J. Ratzinger, *The Holy Spirit as Communio: Concerning the Relationship of Pneumatology and Spirituality in Augustine*, in *Communio* 25(1998), 324.

[8] Ibid., 327.

[9] M. Sullivan, *The Road to Vatican II: Key Changes in Theology*, Mahwah-N.J. 2007, 100-101, citing B.E. Hinze, *The Holy Spirit and the Catholic Tradition*, in *The Legacy of the Tübingen School*, eds. Donald J. Dietrich and Michael J. Himes, New York-N.Y. 1977, 78, and; Y. Congar OP, *Johann Adam Mohler, 1796-1837*, *Theologische Quartalschift* 150(1970), 50-51, at 51.

the *corpus christianorum*…really does become the *Mystical* Body of Christ."[10]

Paul McPartlan further described the unity of the Church as fellowship: "…the nature of the Church is most fully defined as communion, the fellowship of those united by what they share: one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father (Eph 4:4-5).[11]

Louis Bouyer, a theologian writing on the topic of liturgical piety in 1955, described the challenge that would come to face the Council Fathers in their attempt to restore a proper understanding of the relationship between the Eucharist and spirituality, between the piety of Catholics at Mass and their attitudes in their everyday lives:

> Perhaps the greatest, and certainly the most difficult problem for liturgical piety is the one which awaits us when we go out of the church after the liturgical celebration is finished. For, if there is any one point that our study has brought out, it is that the importance of the liturgical celebration itself implies a correlative importance in what we do, after the liturgical celebration, in daily living. The Mystery that is always present and always active in the liturgy can only show its presence and manifest its activity through the whole life of Christians…[12]

The idea of the Church as mystery became a theme in *Lumen Gentium*. Maureen Sullivan wrote about the link between mystery and communion that the Council Fathers forged in the document: "Choosing to describe the church as mystery was one of the most important theological developments…because 'it recalls the church to a renewed contemplation of the presence of God within it,' a God who is understood as triune communion."[13]

Another Vatican II document, *Gaudium et Spes*, also served to underscore the importance of communion and its relation to the notion of "personhood," a theme found in the theologies of both John Paul and John Zizioulas, as we will discuss. The Council Fathers

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[10] H. de Lubac, *The Splendor of the Church*, San Francisco-Ca. 1986, 151-152.

[11] P. McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church: Henri de Lubac and John Zizioulas in Dialogue*, Fairfax-Va. 2006, xi.

[12] L. Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety,* Notre Dame-Ind. 1955, 257. Bouyer defines the term 'mystery' as follows: "The Mystery is, then, the Cross seen also in the fullness of its wonderful fecundity, that is, as including the resurrection of Christ, His ascension into glory, and, through the Christ Who has now Himself become Pneuma, life-giving Spirit, the radiance of all the wonderful gifts which has given to man." See 88.

[13] M. Sullivan, *The Road to Vatican II*, 90, quoting M.G. Lawler and T.J. Shanahan, *Church: Spirited Communion*, Collegeville-Minn. 1995, 6.

focused this document on the relations of the Church and the world, choosing as its foundation the human person, and linking the notion of human dignity and communion when it proclaims: "The root reason for human dignity lies in man's communion with God."[14] The document refers to the humanity of Christ as a model for the dignity of man, and urges Christians to consider all of humanity as members of "one family."[15] Thus, Christians are to devote themselves to entering the world fully and to taking responsibility for the work of the world.[16]

John Paul II's Spirituality of Communion

In his encyclical letter *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, John Paul wrote of the Eucharist as an expression of the bond of communion in both its invisible dimension (the unity of the Body in Christ, through the Spirit, with the Father) and its visible dimension (in the sacraments, teachings, and hierarchical order).[17] He also addressed the eschatological nature of the Eucharist, which he saw as calling us to a greater sense of responsibility not just for Church but for the world, calling us to make our lives "completely Eucharistic" in the service of transforming the world.[18]

John Paul developed in detail his notions on communion and how our lives can become Eucharistic in his apostolic letter *Novo Millennio Ineunte*. Issued at the end of the Great Jubilee, in preparation for the sixth consistory of his pontificate, it treated of various pastoral issues as he looked forward into a new millennium.[19]

He devoted a section of this document to what he importantly called a "spirituality of communion." In it, he first highlights the Eucharist as "the sacrament of unity," and as the "source of communion."[20] He called

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[14] Paul VI., *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*: *Gaudium et Spes,* Vatican City 1965, no. 19, as cited and discussed in M. Sullivan, *The Road to Vatican II*.

[15] Ibid., no. 24.

[16] Ibid., no. 43.

[17] John Paul II., Encyclical Letter *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, Vatican City 2003, no. 35, para. 1.

[18] Ibid., no. 20, para. 1 and 3.

[19] John Paul II., Apostolic Letter, *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, 2001, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/ john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_20010106_novo-millennio-ineunte_en.html, [18 June 2023]. See R. van Allen, *Vatican Deliberations*, in *Commonweal* 128(2001), 1.

[20] Ibid., no. 36.

for the Church to become "the home and the school of communion," adding "that is the great challenge facing us in the millennium which is now beginning, if we wish to be faithful to God's plan and respond to the world's deepest yearnings."[21]

John Paul argued, however, that before plans could be made to make this school a reality, a "spirituality of communion" must first be fostered. He wrote: "A spirituality of communion indicates above all the heart's contemplation of the mystery of the indwelling Blessed Trinity within us, and in whose light we must also be able to see shining on the face of our brothers and sisters around us."[22] This statement reflects a spiritual theology that is contemplative, with an emphasis on the divinity as both immanent and Trinitarian.

Evident here is also a possible echo of the Lithuanian Jewish philosopher, Emmanuel Levinas, a known influence on John Paul's thinking. The foundation of the personalist philosophy of Levinas is the "unmediated Glory shining in the face of the other, calling forth service and sacrifice."[23] Levinas saw the face of the other as an epiphany and a revelation that calls each of us into responsibility for the one who appeals to us, to become a self that is radically oriented towards others.[24] His ethical system is based not on duty or coercion but on an internally-driven attraction to the other and to shared joy. This emphasis on the importance of "the face" and Levinas' ethical orientation toward others are key aspects of John Paul's spirituality of communion.

Echoing the "Body of Christ" Christology of de Lubac and the Council, John Paul went on to insist in the document that we should consider our brothers and sisters as members of the Mystical Body and so as "a part of me." According to John Paul, this identification with others allows us to enter into their lives, sense and meet their needs, and enter into true friendship. His spirituality calls us to see the positive in others and recognize their gifts as belonging to us as well. Lastly, his communion spirituality urges us to "make room" for others and bear their burdens.[25] He wrote:

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[21] Ibid., no 43, para. 1.

[22] Ibid., no. 43, para. 2.

[23] R. Duncan, *Emmanuel Levinas in the Light of Fides et Ratio*, in *Communio* 29(2002), 111, citing E. Levinas, *From the One to the Other: Transcendence and Time*, in *Entre Nou* 147(1983), 151 and 153.

[24] D. Ford, *Self and Salvation: Being Transformed*, Cambridge 1999. See Chapter 2, *Enjoyment, Responsibility and Desire: A Hospitable Self*.

[25] John Paul II., *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, no. 43, para. 2.

> The ethical and social aspect of the question is an essential element of Christian witness: we must reject the temptation to offer a privatized and individualistic spirituality which ill accords with the demands of charity, to say nothing of the implications of the Incarnation and, in the last analysis, of Christianity's eschatological tension. While that tension makes us aware of the relative character of history, it in no way implies that we withdraw from "building" history.[26]

John Paul wrote that this spirituality, related to interior communion, must be in place before external aspects of communion can have meaning: "…unless we follow this spiritual path, external structures of communion will serve very little purpose. They would become mechanisms without a soul, 'masks' of communion rather than its means of expression and growth."[27] This statement reflects the importance John Paul placed on the interior aspects of *communio*.

In John Paul's spiritual theology, *communio* includes the notion a relationship with the individual Christ, but with an emphasis is on the indwelling Trinity. In this he differs from Henri de Lubac. McPartlan interpreted de Lubac's notions of the indwelling of Christ as follows: "…it is the individual Christ himself whom he (de Lubac) is envisaging, indwelling in Christians."[28] De Lubac affirmed that mysticism is not just for a few individuals but that "mystical experience….is Christianity itself."[29] It is a mysticism characterized by the "I—Thou" relationship wherein union does not destroy individuality. McPartlan interpreted de Lubac as suggesting this notion of a "separate but united" relationship between the individual and Christ is based on the being of Christ as defined at Chalcedon, that is, the union of two natures but without confusion.[30] John Paul mentioned this Chalcedonian Christology in the apostolic letter.[31]

In a section of the document which begins with the question of what we must do to live a Christian life, John Paul suggested we do not need a new program as one already exists: "Ultimately, it [the program] has its center in Christ Himself, who is to be known, loved

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[26] Ibid., no. 52, para. 3.

[27] Ibid., no. 43, para. 2.

[28] P. McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church,* Edinburgh 2006, 53, quoting H. de Lubac, *Mystique et Mystère*, in *Théologies d'occasion*, Paris 1984, 37-76: "Christ is the mystery, and mysticism wholly consists in living Christ."

[29] Ibid., 54, quoting H. de Lubac, *Mystique et Mystère*, 60, and 64-65.

[30] Ibid., 55. See H. de Lubac, *A Brief Catechesis on Nature and Grace*, San Francisco-Ca. 1984, 85.

[31] John Paul II., *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, no. 21.

and imitated, so that in Him we may live the life of the Trinity, and with Him transform history until its fulfillment in the heavenly Jerusalem."[32] For John Paul, Christ is he *within* whom we exist, but it is the Trinity that dwells in us. In the document, he set forth the importance of the Eucharist as the sacrament of unity, and proclaimed its pneumatological character:

> Every Sunday, the Risen Christ asks us to meet him as it were once more in the Upper Room where, on the evening of "the first day of the week" (*Jn* 20:19) he appeared to his disciples in order to "breathe" on them his life-giving Spirit and launch them on the great adventure of proclaiming the Gospel."[33]
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> The Sunday Eucharist which every week gathers Christians together as God's family round the table of the Word and the Bread of Life, is also the most natural antidote to dispersion. It is the privileged place where communion is ceaselessly proclaimed and nurtured. Precisely through sharing in the Eucharist, *the Lord's Day* also becomes *the Day of the Church*, when she can effectively exercise her role as the sacrament of unity.[34]

Finally, John Paul also emphasized devotion to the Word of God, as in *lectio divina*, and that "listening to the word of God should become a life-giving encounter." He also urged proclamation of the Word as well.[35]

Carmelite Influences

The Christo-centric and Trinity-centric contemplative aspects of his spiritual theology in this document are suggestive of Carmelite spirituality, especially the link between contemplative prayer and apostolic zeal for the salvation of souls in service to the Church and the world.

The young Karol Wojtyla was known as a young man to have been deeply influenced by a lay Carmelite, Jan Tyranowski, and to have wanted to become a Carmelite friar himself. He wrote one of his two doctoral dissertations on St. John of the Cross.[36] Weigel noted in his

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[32] Ibid., no. 29, para. 3.

[33] Ibid., no 35, quoting JOHN PAUL II., Apostolic Letter *Dies Domini* (31 May 1998), 19, *AAS* 90(1998), 724.

[34] Ibid., no. 36.

[35] Ibid. 39, no. 1, and 40.

[36] G. WEIGEL, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of John Paul II*, New York-N.Y. 2020. 59-62.

biography of the saint that Tyranowski led a kind of school of prayer for the young Karol and others, witnessing to them that sanctity was not reserved for priests or religious, and that the contemplative life includes an apostolic dimension as well.[37]

John Paul, perhaps in echo of his early mentor's witness, pointed to the link between prayer, the spiritual journey, and the transformation of the world.[38] First, he mentioned the importance of the witness of both John of the Cross and Teresa of Avila for today regarding the nature of prayer and the soul's spiritual journey, culminating in nuptial union.[39] Immediately following, John Paul detailed the importance for the Christian community of teaching us how to pray and how to fall in love with God, thus opening our hearts to others and making us capable of changing history:

> Yes, dear brothers and sisters, our Christian communities must become *genuine "schools" of prayer,* where the meeting with Christ is expressed not just in imploring help but also in thanksgiving, praise, adoration, contemplation, listening and ardent devotion, until the heart truly "falls in love". Intense prayer, yes, but it does not distract us from our commitment to history: by opening our heart to the love of God it also opens it to the love of our brothers and sisters, and makes us capable of shaping history according to God's plan.[40]

John Paul went on to write in *Novo Millennio Ineunte* about the "lived theology" of the saints, notably about the reality of suffering, and of following Jesus, who suffered for us. He quoted *Thérèse of*

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[37] Ibid.

[38] John Paul II., *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, no. 33.

[39] Ibid., no. 33, para. 2: "The great mystical tradition of the Church of both East and West has much to say in this regard. It shows how prayer can progress, as a genuine dialogue of love, to the point of rendering the person wholly possessed by the divine Beloved, vibrating at the Spirit's touch, resting filially within the Father's heart. This is the lived experience of Christ's promise: 'He who loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself to him' (*Jn* 14:21). It is a journey totally sustained by grace, which nonetheless demands an intense spiritual commitment and is no stranger to painful purifications (the 'dark night'). But it leads, in various possible ways, to the ineffable joy experienced by the mystics as "nuptial union". How can we forget here, among the many shining examples, the teachings of Saint John of the Cross and Saint Teresa of Avila?"

The use of bridal imagery as applied to the church is prominent in de Lubac's ecclesiology as well, indicating that he may also have been an influence in John Paul's thinking. See Paul McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church*, 90.

[40] Ibid., no. 33, para. 3, citing the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Letter on Certain Aspects of Christian Meditation Orationis Formas* (15 October 1989): *AAS* 82(1990), 362-379.

Lisieux, who "lived her agony in communion with the agony of Jesus, 'experiencing' in herself the very paradox of Jesus's own bliss and anguish."[41]

The Face of Christ

John Paul's treatment of the contemplation of the face of Christ is a major aspect of document and could be said to promote a spiritual theology of communion based on contemplation of the face of Christ.

To understand the foundations of this spirituality, a closer look at other sections of the document is warranted. John Paul developed therein a spiritual theology of *communio* based on the icon of the face of Christ. For example, he observed the Church during the Great Jubilee devoting "herself to contemplating the face of her Bridegroom and Lord."[42] He reflected on the witness that a life of contemplation produces: a holiness that is the "message that convinces without the need for words…the living reflection of the face of Christ."[43] John Paul wrote that the legacy of the Jubilee Year was the: "…*contemplation of the face of Christ*: Christ considered in his historical features and in his mystery, Christ known through his manifold presence in the Church and in the world, and confessed as the meaning of history and the light of life's journey."[44] He also noted, however, that in "contemplating Christ, we have also adored the Father and the Spirit, the one and undivided Trinity, the ineffable mystery in which everything has its origin and its fulfilment."[45]

John Paul urged that it is "the Church's task to reflect the light of Christ in every historical period, to make his face shine also before the generations of the new millennium."[46] It is in knowing Christ, both God and man, that we also know "the true face of man, 'fully revealing man to man himself'."[47] Also, it is prayerful conversation with Christ

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[41] Ibid., no. 27, footnote 14: T. of Lisieux, *Last Conversations, Yellow Booklet*, 6 July 1897: *Oeuvres completes,* Paris, 1996, 1025.

[42] Ibid., no. 1, para. 3.

[43] Ibid., no. 7, para. 1.

[44] Ibid., no. 15, para. 1.

[45] Ibid, no. 5. This Trinitarian emphasis, based on the doctrine of the Indwelling, has its origin in the Latin Fathers' focus on the unity of the divine essence, applying it, by appropriation, to all *ad extra* operations to explain the soul in a state of grace. See D.L. Greenstock, *Exemplar Causality and the Supernatural Order*, *Thomist* 16 (1953), 1–2.

[46] Ibid., no. 16, para. 1.

[47] Ibid., no. 23, para. 1, citing Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, *Gaudium et Spes*, 22.

that makes us his friends. He echoed *Lumen Gentium* in his use of light imagery, when the Council Fathers wrote: "…under the light of Christ…the Council wishes…to shed light on the mystery of man."[48]

A longtime part of tradition, devotion to the Holy Face as depicted on the Veil of Veronica was a cherished devotion of St. Teresa. Thérèse of Lisieux, whom John Paul made a doctor of the Universal Church, took the name "Teresa" to honor her and was familiar with her writings.[49] Of note, John Paul so respected Thérèse's spiritual doctrines that he altered the qualifications necessary to become named a doctor of the Church, so that Thérèse could be so named.[50]

Aspects of what could be called Thérèse's "Holy Face" spiritual theology include the depiction of Christ as fully human and engaged in the world, as well as a view of reparation as a joyful and efficacious participation with Him in the Mystical Body, a practice accessible to all believers through the contemplation of Christ, and one certainly echoing the teachings of Teresa of Avila, as we will discuss.

Arguably, John Paul's great witness to the evils of communism and his eventual role in the fall of the Soviet Union may have been the fruit, in part, of his exposure to Thérèse's reparative spiritual theology of the Holy Face.

Christopher O'Donnell wrote that Thérèse's greatest gift to the Church was in the area of ecclesiology by way of her ideal of the power of the communion of saints.[51] Thérèse had known of the devotion to the Holy Face since early childhood, and had also read the autobiography of a little-known visionary, Sr. Marie of St. Peter, a discalced Carmelite nun of Tours, France, who died in the odor of sanctity in 1848, twenty-five years before her birth. Marie was to have a profound influence on Thérèse's spiritual theology of

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[48] M. Sullivan, *The Road to Vatican II*, 50, citing *Lumen Gentium*, art. 10.

[49] C. Eire, *The Life of Saint Teresa of Avila: A Biography*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2019, 171. Citing E. Renault, *L'influence de sainte Thérèse d'Avila sur Sainte Thérèse de Lisieux*, Toulouse 2009.

[50] S. Payne, *St. Thérèse, Doctor of the Universal Church*, New York-NY., Alba House, 2002.

[51] C. O'Donnell, *Love at the Heart of the Church*, Dublin 1997, 215.

[52] Marie of St. Peter, *The Golden Arrow: The Autobiography and Revelations of Sister Mary of St. Peter 1816-1848: On Devotion to the Holy Face of Jesus*, D. SCALLAN, Ed., Rockford-Ill. 1990. In reported apparitions, Christ tasked Marie with spreading devotion and reparation to His Holy Face for sins against the first three commandments, and notably, against a little-known group of revolutionaries who were to hold their first meeting in Paris within months, known as "communists." See 55 and 198. Mother Genevieve of the Lisieux Carmel required all novices upon entering Carmel to read the life of Sr. Marie. Sr. Agnes of the Holy Face, of the same Carmel, explained to Thérèse

reparation.[52] While Marie was given the mission to spread devotion to the Holy Face in reparation for sins against the first three commandments and the spread of communism, Thérèse came to know in her final illness the darkness of atheism herself, offering her suffering for atheists:

> Previously she [Thérèse] had pondered the question of people who declared themselves atheists, but possibly she had never believed in the reality of their unbelief… But now "Jesus made me feel that there are really souls without faith"; this powerful intuition becomes a costly grace, a purifying darkness, and ultimately a new mission field of fellowship solidarity for Thérèse. She accepts this darkness in order to beg pardon for unbelievers and she declares, famously, her willingness to sit as long as God wills at this table with unbelievers, sharing the "bread of pain" and the "table full of bitterness where these poor sinners eat". Her insight into the lived actuality of atheism leads her immediately to see unbelievers as her "brothers", to an identification with them in a void of feeling which she embraces in a missionary spirit on their behalf. Thus she enters her long months of "temptations against faith."[53]

Novo Millennio Ineunte also shows the possible influence of the spiritual theology of Elizabeth of the Trinity, a Carmelite nun whom John Paul beatified, in both its emphasis on the indwelling Trinity and the promise of the eschaton. As mentioned, the foundational consideration in his spirituality of communion is the contemplation of the indwelling Trinity. John Paul included a prayer of Elizabeth in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* related to the ideal of unity with the Trinity as the goal of the Christian life. He wrote: "The ultimate end of the whole divine economy is the entry of God's creatures into the perfect unity of the Blessed Trinity. But even now we are called to be a dwelling for the Most Holy Trinity…" Elizabeth wrote:

> O my God, Trinity whom I adore, help me forget myself entirely so to establish myself in you, unmovable and peaceful as if my soul were already in eternity. May nothing be able to trouble my peace or make me leave you, O my unchanging God, but may each minute bring me

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in 1888 the scriptural underpinnings of the cult of the Holy Face, especially the psalms. Thérèse carried a lock of Sr. Marie's hair as a relic and insisted her own novices recite prayers to the Holy Face as given in these apparitions.

[53] CARMELITE COMMUNITY OF DUBLIN, *St. Therese and Atheism*, 1998. See P. MURTAGH, *The Irish Times Book of the Year 2001*, Dublin 2001.

> more deeply into your mystery! Grant my soul peace. Make it your heaven, your beloved dwelling and the place of your rest…[54]

Elizabeth perceived heaven as already present in her soul, a reality accessible via a living faith. She wrote: "Let us live with God as with a friend, let us make our faith a living faith in order to be in communion with Him through everything…It seems to me that I have found my Heaven on earth, since Heaven is God, and God is [in] my soul."[55]

Finally, John Paul's methodology in exploring the theme of the face of Christ took the form of inquiry similar to that utilized by phenomenologist and Carmelite saint, Edith Stein, in her study of the life of John of the Cross. In her book *Science of the Cross*, Stein attempted to "grasp John of the Cross in the unity of his being as it expresses itself in his life and in his works…" She did this through an analysis of how what she called the "emblem" of the cross, and how it became a lived reality for John in his everyday life, as well as how it grew into a body of doctrines.[56] Similarly, John Paul, a one-time doctoral student of phenomenology himself, entered into a step-by-step consideration of what the "icon" of the face of Christ suggests as a proper lived reality of *communio*—a spirituality of communion, evolving into a spiritual theology of communion. This mirroring of methodologies is a testament to Stein's possible influence.

John Zizioulas's Ecclesial Mysticism

John Zizioulas proposed what he called an "ecclesial mysticism" in his book *Communion and Otherness*. He did not begin with a definition of the term but set out a detailed methodology for exploring what this mysticism might be if seen in the light of "fundamental components of ecclesiology" and placed "in the context of theology as a whole." Such components included the sacraments, ministry, and the

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[54] *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Second Edition, Washington-D.C., United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2000, part I, section 2, chapter 1, article I, paragraph 2, no. 260. See E. of the Trinity, *Elizabeth of the Trinity: The Complete Works*, Vol. 1, ICS Publications, 1984, 183-191.

[55] Jenniifer Moorcroft, *He is My Heaven: The Life of Elizabeth of the Trinity*, Washington- D.C. 2001, 84, citing *The Early Letters (#1-83)*, in *J'ai Trouvé Dieu: Oeuvres Complètes*, Volume 2, Paris 1979.

[56] E. Stein, *The Science of the Cross*, translated by J. Koeppel, Washington-D.C. 2002, 5.

"word".[57] His starting point was the Church as the Body of Christ.[58] He desired to recapture the understanding of the term "body of Christ" found in the Christology of Chalcedon, wherein unity does not destroy but "affirms and realizes otherness."[59] In this he mirrored de Lubac. In methodology, he resembled John Paul in his willingness to enter into a free exploration of a theme.

According to Zizioulas, mystical union considered in a "body of Christ" Christology results not in fusion but in otherness—divine transcendence is maintained and the danger of monism avoided. He wrote that in the past, the "body of Christ" image was only applied to the Church, leading to misunderstandings in ecclesiology. Christ acquired an independence over the "many," and union with him occurred on an individual basis only, either as a kind of erotic mysticism or as a "sacramental-Eucharistic mysticism centered on the objectified Eucharistic body."[60]

In his vision of an ecclesial mysticism true to a "body of Christ" Christology, Zizioulas proposed the addition of the pneumatological dimensions of communion and freedom, not separating Christ from the Spirit (an Orthodox inheritance). Communion suggests a mystical experience that by definition must pass through the communion of the "many," where all experiences or charismata are meant to edify others. Freedom implies that the "freedom of the Spirit transcends historical reality and brings about that which did not have to be."[61] He wrote:

> Mystical experience is not simply *a participation in an objectively given reality, but an implication in a set of new events*. The body of Christ *is* by *becoming* again and again what it is as if it were not at all that which it is. The Spirit brings the charismata from the future, from the eschata, as new events; he does not elicit them out of history as out of a deposit of grace….Spiritual mysticism is thus *eschatological* in nature.[62]

Next, Zizioulas turned to an aspect of his ecclesial mysticism he termed "Eucharistic mysticism." He contended that in the early Church, liturgy was conceived as the vision of the kingdom in which all who entered the Eucharistic celebration entered the new heaven

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[57] J. Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness: Further Studies of Personhood and the Church*, London 2006, 288.
[58] Ibid., 290.
[59] Ibid., 293.
[60] Ibid., 294.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., 296.

and earth. However, he wrote, sacramental theology lost this visionary character and turned the liturgy into an historical retrospection and reenactment. The liturgy took on similarities with the pagan Hellenistic mysteries as it was "spiritualized" in the wrong sense, that is, it became a matter of unity with God through the human mind or "spirit." The "body of Christ" lost its "bodiness" both in the sense of corporateness or community and in the sense of materiality. From a vision of the glory of a transfigured creation it became a means of escaping from matter and the senses. Zizioulas asserted the contrary: "In the liturgy, matter is not a window to higher things. It is the very substance of a transformed cosmos."[63] For Zizioulas, mystical experience is not only corporate but essentially corporeal.

Continuing his exploration, Zizioulas located the loss of the use of charisms at Eucharist with the loss of what he termed "word" mysticism. The word eventually became separate from mystical experience and the Eucharistic mystical experience from the prophetic. One reason he cited for this was that people forgot that the word is prophetic not didactic: it comes from the future. Zizioulas noted that a sermon becomes mystical when it allows "eschatological realities" to visit the present.[64] Thus, for Zizioulas, ecclesial mysticism is intimately tied to the word of God.

Zizioulas summarized the characteristics of a true ecclesial mysticism as being that which involves union on an unconscious level of the heart. What is key is not what happens inside myself as an individual but what happens with others in relationship: this is what forms the mystical union of the Church.[65]

In his 2011 book, *The Eucharistic Communion of the World*, Zizioulas developed his ideas regarding his Eucharistic vision of the world, pointing to the roots of these ideas on ecclesial mysticism in Orthodoxy itself and the idea of the cosmic liturgy:

> For Orthodoxy, "the church is in the Eucharist and by the Eucharist," and its concrete form is the temple in which the Eucharist is celebrated and which is also called— not coincidentally, of course— the Church. The entire universe is a liturgy that offers the whole of creation before the throne of God. Orthodox theology, too, is basically a doxology, a liturgy: it is a Eucharistic theology.[66]

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[63] Ibid., 297-298.
[64] Ibid., 298-299.
[65] Ibid., 306.
[66] J. Zizioulas, *The Eucharistic Communion and the World*, London and New York 2011, 123.

Zizioulas wrote of Eucharistic union and communion with the life of God in Trinity, pointing to the Divine Liturgy as "as an image of the Kingdom of God." It is at Eucharist that the believer encounters the Trinity, another Orthodox inheritance. He wrote, "There is nothing so clear as this in the Orthodox liturgy. Our liturgy begins with the invocation of the Kingdom, continues with the representation of it, and ends with our participation in the Supper of the Kingdom, our union and communion with the life of God in Trinity."[67]

He asserted that, yes, there is a sacrifice at the Divine Liturgy but pointed to the important question of the relationship it has with the coming of the Kingdom. He noted that this sacrifice is "the sacrifice of the *perfect*, *eschatological* pascal Lamb."[68] Zizioulas then listed the eschatological references found in the Divine Liturgy, which he saw as pointing to the future: Christ described as the Lamb repeatedly throughout the Book of Revelation; At the Last Supper, the slain Lamb connected to the last day—the establishment of the Kingdom of God, and; The liturgy celebrated on Sunday, the day of Resurrection with the priest facing east where Christ is expected to appear at His Second Coming.[69]

Zizioulas, in this vision of a cosmic liturgy, also developed the idea of believers as priests of creation, adding his thoughts on the ethical demands of the Eucharist in regard to right action in the world, including in the preservation of creation: "…the Eucharist, as action and community, gives the full and concrete meaning of the moral life."[70] He wrote that, "The Eucharist is not only communion between each person and Christ, it is also communion among the faithful themselves and unity in the body of Christ…"[71]

He also pointed, importantly, to the idea of a Eucharistic ethos in this regard: "Thus the eschatological orientation of the Eucharist creates its own ethos: the *eucharistic ethos*, the ethos of forgiveness, which is not merely an inner state but is experienced as *gathering* and *coexistence with the person who has hurt us*, in a future we do not control and has no end…"[72]

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[67] Ibid., 39.
[68] Ibid., 51.
[69] Ibid., 52-29.
[70] Ibid., 128. See also 133-175.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., 78-79.

The Eucharistic Theology of St. Teresa of Avila

Bringing Teresa into conversation with these great contemporary theologians can help highlight and address aspects of both their visions and further Church unity as well.

Just as spiritual theology has been an underappreciated area of study, so, too, has the spiritual theology of the saints themselves. In both a talk and article commemorating the 500th anniversary of Teresa's death, Williams developed his ideas on Teresa's theology of the Eucharist. Rowan Williams called Teresa a "theologian of the Eucharist, and an "independent theological thinker."[73] In his talk, Williams described Teresa's vision of the "Eucharistic Church" as key to restoring Church unity. This, at a time when the crisis in Eucharistic piety, as she saw it, was also an ecclesiological crisis. Williams wrote:

> Thus the project of the Teresian Carmel is defined as a response to what Theresa sees as the crisis of Eucharistic faith and devotion provoked by the reformers: Christ is being dishonored and cast out; the Teresian community must therefore honor and welcome him all the more, not only to make reparation for these injustices but to 'persuade' God to defend his honor…to allow God space to act more fully and visibly in the world…this means ultimately that the community itself becomes a kind of Eucharistic demonstration. A place of invitation such as the church itself is meant to be.[74]

This vision of community as Eucharistic demonstration for the sake of redressing injustice, making reparation, and inviting others to communion approximates and, perhaps, even augments Zizioulas's Eucharistic ethos, as well as John Paul's notion that all lead should completely Eucharistic lives.

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[73] R. Williams, *St. Teresa of Avila as a Theologian of the Eucharist*, *Teresa of Avila 1515-2015*, Lecture, *Mystical Theology and Spiritual Theology in the Carmelite Tradition*, Conference, St. Mary's University, Twickenham, London 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0TNKipIBUko, [27 May 2023]. See also R. Williams, *Teresa, the Eucharist, and the Reformation*, in *Teresa of Avila: Mystical Theology and Spiritual Theology in the Carmelite Tradition,* P. Tyler and E. Howells Eds., New York-N.Y. 2017, 67-76.

[74] R. Williams, *Teresa, the Eucharist, and the Reformation*, 68. Williams noted that Teresa's treatment of the petition in the Lord's prayer to give us our daily is central to her ideas. See *Way of Perfection*, chapters 33-35.

The Trinity

Williams considered the most important feature of Teresa's Eucharistic theology the idea that it is through the Eucharist that the love of the Trinity occurs in us at a time of disunity.[75] Teresa worked out a particular Eucharistic theology, according to Williams, that gave importance to the already indwelling Trinity, in which the Father receives the humanity of the Son in the soul upon reception of the Eucharist:

> In other words, *the sacrament does not bring Christ to a place where God is absent*. And clarity about God's unimportance is not something that *replaces* a localized view of presence or action as in the sacrament or the incarnation: what Teresa is doing is, in effect, denying a model of grace which sees no further than occasional divine incursions in a neutral finite territory that needs to be colonized.[76]

In these passages, we can see the Eucharist for Teresa was not just a historical re-enactment, as critiqued by Zizioulas, but a Trinitarian-human encounter. Whereas Zizoulas wrote of communion with God in Trinity at the Divine Liturgy and John Paul of the contemplation of the indwelling Trinity, in Teresa's vision, both come together with the proposal that the Trinity already exists in our soul, and is also participating in the action of Eucharistic reception.

Christ

Williams outlined four main aspects to Teresa's doctrine of the Eucharist, which he considered both orthodox (AND in line with Chalcedon), and original:

> The Eucharist as manifesting both the divine and human aspects of Christ in the eternal mission of the Son and in His solidarity with suffering humanity;
>
> The importance of the idea of Christ as suffering servant, truly present in the Eucharist (Teresa condemned those who wished to cast aside Christ's humanity in meditation as also endangering devotion to Christ in the Eucharist);
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> Teresa's contrasting of the presence of the divinity of Christ already in the soul with the reception of the humanity of Christ in the Eucharist

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[75] R. Williams, *St. Teresa of Avila as a Theologian of the Eucharist*, *Teresa of Avila 1515-2015*, Lecture.

[76] R. Williams, *Teresa, the Eucharist, and the Reformation*, 72. See *Spiritual Testimonies*, no. 52.

(notably, her latter experiences of the divinity of Christ depended on the Eucharist, without the union of the two, she thought nothing could be done), and;

The acceptance of suffering as a means of reparation, in imitation of Christ.

What, then, IS was Teresa's "body of Christ" Christology?

Kieran Kavanaugh gave a cogent summary of her Christology, writing that, "Teresa knows experientially the correlation between the Body of Christ as Eucharist and the Body of Christ as community. She brings together the body of Jesus in life, the Body of the risen Christ, the Body of Christ that Christians are, and the Body of Christ in the Eucharist."[77]

Both John Paul and Zizioulas, like Teresa, held to a Chalcedonian Christology. They also rejected an overly spiritualized concept of the believer's relationship with Christ. Of note was John Paul's focus on the contemplation of the humanity of Christ and Zizioulas' critique of the loss of "bodiness."

Teresa's was neither an overly spiritualized experience of the liturgy nor of contemplative prayer. Teresa's emphasis on retaining a focus on the humanity of Christ echoes these concerns, as Williams wrote:

> And, as she notes in M: 6:7 the *Interior Castle*, any piety that seeks to relativize or diminish the significance of Christ's humanity because of a false and preconceived valuation of spirit over body, will end in a loss of devotion to the sacrament. In simple terms, if it matters that Christ took flesh, it matters that he continues to be in some sense materially present; if the taking of flesh is simply instrumental to a purely 'spiritual' goal, the sacraments are of no importance. Thus the Eucharist affirms the necessity of not turning away from the life of the body as this is where Christ fidelity to creation is continuously affirmed and enacted.[78]

It is clear that, like John Paul, Teresa saw others as part of herself, and like Zizioulas, her concept of the Mystical Body affirmed otherness and the idea of union as not just an individual union of the soul with Christ. One influence on Teresa's thought may have been Juan of Avila, with whom she corresponded. Jodi Bilinkoff wrote that

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[77] TERESA OF AVILA, *The Way of Perfection*, Study Edition, K. KAVANAUGH and ROTILIO, EDS., Washington-D.C. 2000, 63, citing chapter 3.8.

[78] R. WILLIAMS, *Teresa, The Eucharist, and the Reformation*, 71.

in the Avila of Teresa's day, Juan of Avila, named a doctor of the Church by Pope Benedict XVI, had a great influence among laity and priests. He followed an Erasmian concept of the Mystical Body as that of all believers, and one that included devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.[79]

That said, in the life and thought of Teresa, does all mysticism pass through all, and all charisms experienced used to help others, as Zizioulas asserted?

In terms of the life of charity, his notion of ecclesial mysticism could be applied, in part, to Teresa's thought. For example, Kavanaugh wrote, "The Eucharist [for Teresa] is the means by which we are enabled to respond positively to the petition 'your will be done.' The will of God as seen here is principally the practice of forgiving those who offend us."[80]

Williams noted, importantly, that the Eucharist was necessary for Teresa for the gift of contemplation, again linking contemplative piety to Eucharistic living: "Teresa does not attempt to work out exactly how the sacrament all gift correlates with the intensified awareness of continuing divine presence on the 5th mansions but it would make sense to see the Eucharistic counter as the necessary normal condition for the contemplative gift."[81]

Notably, Teresa received the grace of mystical marriage just after receiving communion, and it was in the mystical marriage that she had the great impulse to forget herself and serve others, as we will discuss.

The next question that presents itself is whether Teresa's reception of the Eucharist was the sole source of her experiences or whether they were somehow the result of a participation in the overall liturgy. Teresa requested and was allowed to receive communion daily at a time when weekly reception was the general practice.[82] She herself would go into rapture at Mass, levitate, and would often see Jesus in the Host, for example, including in His resurrected body.[83] These events could be associated with reception only, or, it could be argued that, her private extraordinary experiences of union with Christ and the Trinity broke through into public manifestation, at least in part, through the experience of the entire liturgy, lived in community.

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[79] See J. Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa*, Ithica and London 1989, 83.
[80] Teresa of Avila, *The Way of Perfection*, 408, see chapter 36.
[81] R. Williams, *Teresa, the Eucharist, and the Reformation*, in *Teresa of Avila*, 72-73.
[82] Teresa of Avila, *Way of Perfection*, 396.
[83] Teresa of Avila, *The Book of Her Life*, chapters 20.4-5; 29.4; 38; and 39.

For Sandra Schneiders, the importance of Teresa's mystical experience for our own time is in her vision of Christ as risen and in his Eucharistic presence as truly alive and active in our lives and throughout the entire universe.[84] Both aspects find echoes in the thought of John Paul and Zizioulas.

Word Mysticism

Teresa's word mysticism, if it could be so called, was influenced by the Rule of Carmel, which emphasized daily liturgy, the divine office, and meditation day and night. As the Rule commanded: "The sword of the Spirit, too, which is the word of God, is to dwell abundantly in your mouth and in your hearts; and whatever things you have to do, let them be done in the word of the Lord.[85]

The Bible in the vernacular having been banned, Teresa immersed herself in the word via liturgical readings and sermons, and also through approved secondary authors, since access to many books in the vernacular had also had been prohibited. When Teresa fretted over this loss, Jesus appeared to her, saying, "…I shall give you a living book." She remarked, then, that "His majesty had become the true book in which I saw the truths."[86]

One could say that this prohibition became a great gift to the Church through Christ teaching Teresa directly as the Word Himself. Teresa's prophetic witness included her advocacy for frequent communion, for the importance of contemplative Eucharistic community, and her emphasis on the humanity of Christ in both contemplative prayer and the Eucharist.

While John Paul emphasized the importance of the liturgy of the word, and listening to, meditating upon, and proclaiming the word, John Zizioulas proposed the return of a lost "word mysticism" at Eucharist, which he felt had resulted in a separation from the word and mystical experience, and notably Eucharistic mystical experience from the prophetic. In Teresa's own word mysticism, we see both an emphasis of the word as well as her prophetic witness closely tied to her immersion in the word.

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[84] S. Schneiders, *The Jesus Mysticism of Teresa of Avila: Its Importance for Theology and Contemporary Spirituality*, in *Carmelite Wisdom and Prophetic Hope: Treasures Both New and Old*, M. Frohlic Ed., First edition, Washington-D.C. 2018, 250.

[85] See *The Rule of Carmel*, chapter 19, https://carmelites.net/the-carmelite-rule/, [18 June 2923].

[86] *The Book of Her Life*, chapter 26.5.

The Kingdom

In Teresa's writings on the Lord's Prayer, she treated of the petition "Thy Kingdom come."

Teresa held that the prayer of quiet is a foretaste of the kingdom: "He begins now to give us his kingdom here below so that we may truly praise his name and strive that all persons do so." [87] In this prayer of quiet, the soul "sees it is in the kingdom, at least near the King…" The Father has already "granted its petition for his kingdom."[88] Kavanaugh noted that Teresa admitted it was her own interpretation that "contemplation, the foretaste of God's kingdom, (was) come on earth so his name may be hallowed."[89]

Both John Paul and John Zizious wrote of the coming of the Kingdom. For Zizioulas, the liturgy is an image of the Kingdom itself – of a new heaven and earth, a kind of reflection of the cosmic liturgy. John Paul referenced the Kingdom of God a number of times, writing that "God…invites us to invest all our resources of intelligence and energy in serving the cause of the Kingdom."[90] In Christ, the Christian is enabled to live the life of the Trinity, and with Him transform history until the reign of the heavenly Jerusalem wherein it will finally be fulfilled.

Teresa's teaching seems to be suggestive of the eschatological in the sense that creation is already the place of the breaking forth of the Kingdom, accessible through prayer. Her witness also points to benefit of viewing the importance of the Our Father in the liturgy itself, the Church's greatest prayer, and to the idea of a more contemplative understanding and practice of the liturgy.

The Holy Spirit

Brouillette wrote that Teresa's "liturgical representation of the Holy Spirit is not trivial; it indicates an anchoring and a concrete effect of the Spirit in the believer's life." Teresa herself saw a causal link between liturgical feasts and spiritual occurences, for example, in her vision of the Holy Spirit on the vigil of Pentecost, as well as the offering to the Holy Spirit of a subsequent vow to her confessor on that same vigil several years later.[91]

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[87] Teresa of Avila, *The Way of Perfection*, Study Edition, chapter 30.6.
[88] Ibid., chapter 31.1-2, and 12.
[89] Ibid., 334.
[90] John Paul II., *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, no. 38, para. 1.
[91] A. Brouillette, *Teresa of Avila, the Holy Spirit, and the Place of Salvation*, New York/Mahwah-N.J. 2014, 129, citing *The Book of Her Life*, chapter 38.11 and *Testimonies,* 36.

Both John Paul and John Zizioulas placed an emphasis on the pneumatological dimensions of the Eucharist, with Zizioulas emphasizing the use of charisms at liturgy, and the notion of the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb as pointing to the coming of the Kingdom. John Paul rather framed the pneumatological dimension as part of the invisible aspects of communion in the unity of the Body in Christ, through the Spirit, and with the Father.

Just as Zizioulas advocated for a vision of the liturgy not just as a window to higher things but as the substance of a transformed cosmos, one could argue that Teresa's own body, transformed by the Spirit as a result of her becoming what she ate, emanated both the odor of sanctity and a light which shone about her face, a foretaste of the eschaton. Witnesses spoke in her canonization procedures of her gift of prophecy as well.[92]

Reparation and Solidarity

Teresa's theological focus on the suffering Christ was fully in line with Christian tradition. Jürgen Moltmann, in comparing Luther and Teresa, wrote that "both lead away from the false route of transcendental mysticism and return to Christ himself, to his humanity, to the crucified God."[93] In this, Moltmann found a place of "*ecumenical worldwide fellowship:*" "Teresa found and claimed her place under the cross, and there became sure of God and herself…The nearer we come to the cross, the nearer we come to each other."[94]

Importantly, Williams noted that Teresa's understanding of reparation was not to make her sisters into "exemplary ascetics" but that the sisters were, rather, to be "exemplary receivers of the Eucharist," with the effectiveness of their prayer based on the prayer of Christ himself in the Eucharist.[95]

An important influence on the thought of John Paul, albeit indirectly through Thérèse, was Teresa's reparative spirituality in the service of the Church and the world, and specifically in relation to

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[92] See the discussion of witnesses during canonization procedures in G.T.W. AHLGREN, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity*, Ithaca and London 1996, 150-151. Accounts taken from *Biblioteca Mística carmelitana* 18-20, ed. SILVERIO DE SANTA TERESA, Burgos 1934-49.

[93] J. MOLTMANN, *Teresa of Avila and Martin Luther: The Turn to the Mysticism of the Cross*, in *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 13(1984), 267.

[94] Ibid., 278.

[95] R. WILLIAMS, *Teresa, The Eucharist, and the Reformation*, 69, citing TERESA OF AVILA, *Way of Perfection*, 34.2 and 34.7-8.

devotion to the face of Christ. As noted, Teresa found, when she experienced both the mystical marriage with Christ and a profound experience of the Trinity, a great desire to forget herself and serve others, an important witness against the kind of self-absorbed devotionalism Zizioulas critiqued.[96] Living, herself, a completely Eucharistic life, Teresa accepted suffering as a means of reparation, as did Christ the suffering servant, whose presence in the Eucharist she saw as evidence of His solidarity with our own suffering.[97]

Williams suggested Teresa's theology of the Eucharist could encourage ecumenical dialogue.[98] Baptist theologian Elizabeth Newman saw the figure of the wounded Christ in Teresa's work as a source for unity as well.[99] Her spiritual theology of the Eucharist could also serve to heal wounds within the Roman Catholic Church as well, during this time of deep internal divisions.

Personhood

Teresa's mansions in *The Interior Castle*, according to Gillian Ahlgren, were internalized versions of those mentioned in the Gospel (John 14:2-3), which Christ has prepared for us: "Teresa "offers us a clear vision of the human person, a theological anthropology that allows us to explore what it might mean when scripture asserts that the human person was created in the image and likeness of God (Gen 1:26)."[100]

John Paul and John Zizioulas each placed the dignity and uniqueness of the human person at the center of their projects. Both of their spiritual theologies hold to the divine human relationship as a personal encounter. That said, a detailed study of their ideas surround personhood are beyond this study.

Teresa also gave us a detailed account of one soul's personal relationship with God as friend, and herself as a friend among valued friends in community during a century when millions were lost to the French wars of religion.

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[96] Teresa of Avila, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, *Interior Castle*, Washington DC 1987, chapter 3.

[97] R. Williams, *St. Teresa of Avila as a Theologian of the Eucharist*, *Teresa of Avila 1515-2015*, Lecture.

[98] R. Williams, *Teresa, The Eucharist, and the Reformation*, 76.

[99] E. Newman, *Attending to the Wounds on Christ's Body: Teresa's Scriptural Vision*, Cambridge 2013, 144.

[100] G. Ahlgen, *Entering Teresa of Avila's Castle*: *A Reader's Companion*. Mahwah-N.J. 2005, 21.

Conclusions

Methodologies

The limits of this study include its focus on one aspect of the intersection of Eucharistic union and ecclesial union—that of the spiritual theology of the Eucharist in relation to how the Eucharist makes the Church as proposed in the thought of these three great theologians. It is an opening attempt, with greater emphasis on the Carmelite influences on the thought of John Paul and without delving into detail of those of Zizioulas or Teresa. Further study could yield fruit in understanding especially the shared roots of all their proposals.

In terms of the methodology, John Paul conducted a meditative, quasi-phenomenological inquiry into what a contemplative spirituality focusing on the face of Christ would yield in terms of a spirituality of communion and in terms of just external structures of communion. He applied concepts of spiritual theology to ecclesiology.

On the surface, John Zizioulas proposed the reverse: to look first at the phenomenon of certain ecclesiological notions such as sacrament, word, and ministry in order to suggest in what might an ecclesial mysticism consist. Implicit in Zizioulas's project, however, are mystical elements already present, such as the concepts of word mysticism, charismata, and the eschata.

Teresa's theology of the Eucharist was born of her own personal experience, and written down for others, often while in contemplative states.

Gillian Ahlgren noted that Teresa's project was a corrective to the separation between spirituality and theology that occurred not long after her death.[101] This separation has continued and so, her lived theology is relative to theological inquiry today.

Each of the three theologians' inquiries reflect a profound respect for the numinous and a willingness to move outside categories of systematic theology into the realm of spiritual theology to seek new ways of understanding *communio*.

Pope John Paul and John Zizioulas brought their training to bear on the links between spiritual theology and ecclesiology. John Paul's spirituality of communion, inspired in part by Carmelite saints, is neither pietistic nor inward gazing, but serves to highlight that interior dimensions of communion are vital to the external, and not to be

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[101] Ibid., 13.

feared or downplayed. His meditation on the face of God gives a basis for it, and shows that it is not in contradistinction to traditional piety, but is built upon it. He brought ecclesiological notions into a more personal realm, allowing devotion to inform them, and pointing to the transformation of history and the eschaton as the fruit of communion spirituality.

Zizioulas illustrated just how far spirituality has strayed from its roots in Jewish and apostolic times by applying new insights in ecclesiology to replace some of the pietistic notions he felt had come to influence Eucharistic spirituality. He clearly demonstrated that an ecclesial mysticism has been lost in the celebration of the liturgy.

Their efforts show the importance of an interdisciplinary approach, as well as the need for further conversation to foster unity between East and West.

Teresa of Avila, living and writing some 500 years before these two great theologians, prophetically anticipated them in her own project to combat the loss of ecclesial unity and honor for the humanity of Christ in the Eucharist, as well as in contemplative prayer, by the establishment of contemplative Eucharistic communities devoted to the service of others and the Church.

Resolving the Tension between Internal and External Aspects of Communio

Zizioulas wrote that "the entire history of the Church seems to show that charisms and institution are quite often in conflict with each other."[102] At this time in the Church's history, charismatic experiences have become more common and continue to be an issue for leadership.

John Paul, John Zizioulas, and Teresa each contributed to addressing this issue in their own way. John Paul did so by placing the building of a spirituality of communion as antecedent to external structures. Zizioulas did so by legitimizing charisms in his liturgical framework. Teresa did so by the witness of her life—one filled with signs and wonders testifying to the presence of God, but also lived in obedience to the Church.

Each of their spiritual theologies serve to aid in understanding *communio* by imagining the deep structures of the interior dimensions of communion from both mystical and ecclesiological perspectives.

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[102] J. Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness*, 287.

They illustrate that these internal aspects are not at odds with external structures but integral if hidden parts of them.

Conclusion—Visions that Realize *Communio*

John Paul, John Zizioulas, and Teresa of Avila proposed spiritual theologies that reflect their own wisdom on how the Eucharist makes the Church by exploring what *communio* means as a ground of experience. Their spiritual theologies are founded upon the notion of *vision* as integral to realizing communion. John Paul's is a contemplative vision honoring the Trinity within others. In this vision, if we truly see others as "part of me," our lives will be transformed into the fullness of life in Christ. John Zizioulas's is a vision of Eucharist as the place where the eschata breaks into history, transforming us together into Christ in union with the life of God in Trinity. If we would allow ourselves to really see the truth of the Eucharist, we would open ourselves to receive the gifts from the future that it can bring, and the call to serve others.

Teresa's vision is of the restoration of unity through friendship with the suffering Christ and with others in Eucharistic communion, in the presence and love of the Trinity. Being herself a Spirit-filled Eucharistic demonstration of the effects of the eschata breaking into history at a time of grave ecclesial crisis, Teresa prophetic testimony can continue to serve to restore Church unity today.

Teresa, John Paul, and John Zizioulas each have taught us how to live in *communio* by calling us, first and foremost, to see ourselves as the Body of Christ.

Carmelus 70 (2023) fasc. 1, 235-254

EDITH STEIN: ASPECTOS SOBRE A QUESTÃO DA FORMAÇÃO HUMANA

VINICIUS ALEXANDRE BEIGER DA LUZ O.CARM.

INTRODUÇÃO

Em 2022, completam-se 8 décadas do martírio de Edith Theresa Hedwig Stein no campo de concentração e extermínio de Auschwitz-Birkenau. Sua vida e testemunho ajudam a oferecer provas de que nada pode calar a voz da esperança, e seu pensamento filosófico representa um impulso para diversos estudos que são realizados e ainda estão para serem explorados dentro da escola filosófica, fenomenológica, teológica e histórica em que se insere a pensadora em questão.

A filosofia de Edith Stein, assentada na fenomenologia e no projeto filosófico de busca da verdade do ser, temas como a empatia, a alteridade, a pessoa, a comunidade se desenvolvem como um sol que nasce: "ontologicamente, estamos fundados nos outros"[1]. O tema da educação e formação humana aí se inserem como contribuições capazes de suscitar e promover compromissos morais e éticos constatados desde a condição humana que, na visão de Edith Stein, se constitui para além de si mesma e propõe um movimento de abertura ao outro e ao transcendente conduzindo a uma "postura de questionamento e de revelar o que é o Ser"[2].

As nuances formativas (aspectos formais-curriculares e vivenciais) em Edith Stein são pontos importantes para compreender o processo de "tornar-se" pessoa humana, visto que "educar é conduzir o outro a fim de que se realize e se torne mais humano"[3]. Em Edith

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[1] I. NOVINSKY, *A pessoa de Edith Stein, a pessoa humana em Edith Stein,* in G.L. DOS SANTOS, M.R. FARIAS, *Edith Stein: A Pessoa na Filosofia e nas Ciências Humanas.* 18 ed. São Paulo 2014, 216.

[2] Ibid, 221

[3] A.J.G. MACHADO, *A educação steineana: aspecto estruturante da pessoa humana,* in G.L. DOS SANTOS, M.R. FARIAS, *Edith Stein*, 90.

Stein, há uma diferença entre educação e ensino. Educação se refere à pessoa inteira, a conduzi-la para ser o que deve ser por meio do autoconhecimento, da sociabilidade, do alcance da salvação e felicidade plena e eterna. O ensino, por sua vez, se refere ao desenvolvimento das capacidades cognitivas e do uso da inteligência. Tais temas não se prendem à escola ou à educação formal, mas "todos nós nas nossas relações interpessoais temos a possibilidade de ajudar a conduzir o outro para que se realize enquanto pessoa."[4].

Portanto, a presente pesquisa intenta percorrer aspectos da vida e obra de Edith Stein, trabalhando, ao longo destes, as questões constitutivas do ser pessoa humana como apresentadas pela filósofa, podendo, por fim, sintetizar contribuições ontológicas e éticas para o tempo presente, contribuindo para manter, da filósofa carmelita, um pensamento vivo e atual.

Diante do exposto, percebemos em Edith Stein que o caminho da formação humana é um contínuo e parte da compreensão filosófica do ser seguindo um diálogo com tudo aquilo que compõe a pessoa que se reconhece como "um ser racional e social, tomando consciência do seu eu corpóreo, anímico, espiritual, individual e social"[5]. Há então uma proposta pedagógica steineana que propõe um novo entendimento do indivíduo, agora descrito como pessoa humana, integrada em si mesma e na comunidade. Por isso, nos propomos a perguntar: Como acontece o processo de formação humana a partir das contribuições de Edith Stein?

Com o objetivo de apresentar as contribuições dos aspectos da formação humana à luz do pensamento steineano, percorremos o seu contexto histórico-filosófico, com enfoque na fenomenologia de Husserl, em seguida seguimos para as questões próprias do ser e da autoformação, como apresentada por Edith Stein.

Contexto Histórico-Filosófico de Edith Stein

O trabalho de Edith Stein (1891-1942) pode ser considerado um vértice de unidade entre o pensamento cristão, o judaico e o filosófico do século XX. Estudá-la é abrir tesouros comuns às três tradições sobre as quais ela está ligada e às quais viveu profundamente, até sua morte no campo de extermínio do regime nazista. As duas experiên-

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[4] Ibid, 98
[5] Ibid, 96

cias religiosas, a que veio de sua família e a que veio de sua conversão por meio do contato com a obra de Santa Teresa D'Ávila, são aspectos do que se concretizava também na vida e obra filosófica, especialmente no tema que realiza uma ideal intersecção entre estes pilares: a questão do ser, ou, como em Edith Stein, a questão da pessoa.

O Salmo 8, descrito por denotar a grandeza de Deus e a dignidade do homem, costura também a necessidade de observarmos, a partir da figura de Stein, a dignidade homem, ainda que devastada no exemplo histórico da Segunda Guerra Mundial e dos meandros do holocausto. Resgatar a dignidade da pessoa, mostrá-la e aponta-la é também um empreendimento necessário ao perpassar a filosofia steineana, sua antropologia filosófica, e a questão da formação e da recomposição do próprio homem, em vista de seu crescimento integral.

Para tanto, Stein propõe, ao escrever sua autobiografia, e a história de sua família, a necessidade do testemunho, uma vez que "em nossos dias, ela [a juventude] está possuída pelo ódio racial desde a mais tenra infância"[6]. Ela escrevia para a juventude de seu tempo – 1933 – no entanto, ainda hoje se faz necessário, ao pensar o homem em sua integralidade, ter presente a sua história e o contexto em que ele insere.

Para entender a gênese do pensamento filosófico steineano no que tange à perspectiva da educação, é preciso expor o método fenomenológico e principalmente como este aparece em Husserl. A fenomenologia husserliana "exprime-se pela determinação em dar consistência científica à Filosofia"[7], ou seja, estabelecer na Filosofia uma sólida base, dotada de rigorosa fundamentação objetiva e indubitável. Trata, a sua fenomenologia, de constatar e descrever a realidade como se apresenta à consciência, não havendo, como em Kant, um *noumeno* adjacente ao fenômeno, mas no objetivo de firmar um estudo: "puramente descritivo dos fatos vivenciais do pensamento e do conhecimento oriundo dessa observação"[8]. Interroga-se a consciência na sua própria forma de conhecer os dados fenomenológicos, estabelecendo um método de conhecimento objetivo, exato e ideal para a Filosofia.

Portanto, o pensamento de Edith Stein se assenta sobre o método fenomenológico, e somente a partir dele é que se pode dar consistência ao seu pensamento. Estudar o ser pessoa humana em Stein, como

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[6] E. Stein, *Autobiografia de uma família judia*, São Paulo 2018, 12.

[7] T.R. Gilles, *História do Existencialismo e da Fenomenologia*. São Paulo1975, 131.

[8] Ibid, 132

na fenomenologia, não se liga a estudar situações relativas, como dados psicofísicos, mas empreender uma espécie de relato ou observação acerca do que constitui a pessoa voltando à coisa mesma (tarefa fenomenológica) chamada de "núcleo da personalidade"[9], a partir do qual, a pessoa caminha em seu processo de desenvolvimento pessoal.

A FENOMENOLOGIA

Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) encontrou na matemática seu objeto de estudo primeiro, mas foi na filosofia que se dedicou com maior afinco, perfazendo o caminho de construir um método que, compartilhando do pensamento cartesiano, apresentasse um rigor científico e, assim, servisse à humanidade no mundo da vida. Neste empreendimento, a redução eidética é o principal caminho apontado por Husserl em seu método fenomenológico:

> O verdadeiro método científico na filosofia será aquele que proporcione meios para um contato direto com o *eidos*, que proporciona uma perspectiva intuitiva das essências. Para Husserl, essa ciência é a fenomenologia.[10]

A ciência eidética visa cumprir a ambição de Descartes e Leibniz pela exatidão na filosofia indo à essência daquilo que se apresenta ao sujeito. Compreendendo o *eidos (essência)*, se compreende a *"coisa mesma"*[11], ou seja, a verdade do raciocínio, que não se dá somente pela sensibilidade, mas em um ato espiritual: "para chegar às essências, é preciso purificar o fenômeno de tudo que não é essencial"[12]. Assim, esta convicção é ponto de partida para compreensão objetiva do mundo e local onde a filosofia, como ciência universal, deve começar a dar seus passos, pois "só quando a filosofia se limitar a uma investigação do ser fenomenal, conseguirá a verdadeira realização como ciência universal"[13].

A esse respeito, Zilles (2016) evidencia que a fenomenologia é um exercício sintético entre o subjetivismo e o objetivismo. Importante destacar que a fenomenologia se configura como um método, ou um

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[9] G.L. SANTOS, *Liberdade Pessoal e Liberdade alheia segundo Edith Stein*, in G.L. DOS SANTOS, M.R. FARIAS, *Edith Stein*, 36.

[10] T.R. GILLES, *História do Existencialismo*, 157.

[11] Do original em alemão: *"zu den schafen selbst"*

[12] U. ZILLES, *Panoramas das filosofias do século XX.,* São Paulo,2016, 32.

[13] T.R. GILLES, *História do Existencialismo*, 168.

"modo como o mundo aparece para a consciência, sem nenhum pressuposto"[14]. A proposta de se chegar às coisas mesmas faz com que a ciência do espírito *(gesiteswissenschaft)*, contida na fenomenologia, ofereça um panorama para a investigação da consciência. Os pilares fundamentais da fenomenologia, a saber: a ausência de pressupostos, do qual se abandona o que se sabe e se parte da coisa que se apresenta; o caráter *a priorístico* que lhe contém, sendo o estudo da consciência de como o fenômeno se apresenta; e a necessidade pela evidência apodítica, da qual não reste dúvidas na equação entre "o pensado e o imediatamente dado"[15], fazem com que essa *ciência das essências* adquira seu papel fundamental, visto que "a intencionalidade fenomenológica é a visada da consciência e produção de um sentido que permite perceber os fenômenos humanos em seu teor vivido"[16].

Considerando, pois, o método fenomenológico e sua possibilidade de contribuição, Edith Stein o retoma como uma completa imagem de mundo: "Em cada ser humano espiritualmente vivo, encontra-se o desejo de tal visão de mundo"[17] especialmente ao afirmar que cada pessoa, em sua ocupação ou em seu contexto, terá sua forma de experienciar o mundo, embasado, ainda que não saiba, no espírito do tempo no qual a filosofia ali predominante fornece os óculos para ver o mundo. O papel da fenomenologia, é, portanto, de um constante problematizar e de identificar novas estruturas de sentido para aquilo que se apresenta na experiência ordinária: "A filosofia tem de transformar em objeto de investigação tudo o que alhures se pressupõe como evidente"[18], assim, dos mais simples temas, aos mais complexos, se pode fazer filosofia, constatar de forma objetiva – proposta da fenomenologia – e chegar à essência da coisa mesma. A partir da proposta fenomenológica, portanto, consideremos como a questão do Ser se apresenta no pensamento steineano.

O Ser em Edith Stein

Situados na vida e no contexto histórico-filosófico da autora, se pode partir para os aspectos a que o presente artigo se destina: a pes-

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[14] U. Zilles, *Panoramas das filosofias do século XX.*, 26.
[15] Ibid, 28
[16] Ibid, 31
[17] E. Stein, *Textos sobre Husserl e Tomás de Aquino,* São Paulo 2019.
[18] Ibid, 151

soa humana. Para chegar ao objetivo, é preciso analisar a questão do ser. Stein estabelece a questão da seguinte forma: "O ser não se pode definir [...] [*O ser*] Se percebe em tudo que é percebido, e está contido na própria percepção"[19] (STEIN, p. 561, 2017) o "ser" é, portanto, um ato, uma ação e um movimento, o homem é o lugar de possibilidade da compreensão do ser e sua estrutura, através da mútua relação entre corpo e alma, entre ato e potência, finito e eterno.

Em sua obra "Ser finito e Ser eterno" (2007) aparece aquilo que a filósofa destacará como aspecto constitutivo do homem. A pessoa é corpo (*Köper*) e vida (*Leib*), uma vez que nela se encontra o vértice da unidade entre o que é passageiro (instinto e reações sensoriais) e o que é eterno e divino, presente na vida espiritual. No entanto, não se trata de uma simples dualidade de caráter greco-platônico, mas uma unidade estrutural que forma a pessoa. Tal possibilidade de "diversidade do ente" foi aberta nos filósofos da Idade Média. Edith Stein alude, e principalmente se apoia, em São Tomás de Aquino:

> Dentro do *ente* (*ens*) se faz uma distinção entre o *ser (esse)* e a essência (*essentia*). Graças a essa distinção se concebe o *ser enquanto tal* – separadamente *do que é* – de tal forma que se abarca o finito e o infinito, e, ao mesmo tempo, o abismo que separa este com relação àquele.[20]

Desta forma, o ser, que é movimento e devir, está sempre na fronteira do não-ser, e esse movimento coloca o homem em uma disposição favorável para propriamente constituir-se como pessoa, que se configura como resultado de um processo formativo, "partindo sempre da questão fundamental: que é o ser humano? Tal questão define a visão e o ato educativo"[21].

Para essa construção do ser enquanto pessoa, E. Stein se engaja profundamente no método fenomenológico que, ao visar a objetividade e as "coisas mesmas", não permanece estagnada em conceitos prontos, mas tem um caráter de infinitude que busca aprofundar o ser pessoa humana em uma "preocupação descomunal com o ser humano na sua integridade e sua relação ética com o diferente, com o outro,

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[19] E. Stein, *Obras Completas,* Madrid 2007, 561.

[20] Ibid, 657. Do original, em Espanhol: "Dentro de el ente *(ens)* se hace una distinción entre el ser *(ese)* y la essencia *(essentia)*. Gracias a esta distinción se concibe el ser en cuanto tal – separadamente de lo que es - y por tanto de tal forma que abarca finito y infinito, pero al mismo tiempo el abismo que separa a éste de aquél"

[21] E.S.O. Nogueira, *O ser humano e sua formação pessoal em Edith Stein: um gesto empático*, *Fragmentos de Cultura*. Goiânia, v. 29, n. 3, 2019, 2. Disponível em: http://seer.pucgoias.edu.br/index.php/fragmentos/article/view/7144/4390 [24.8.2023]

com o estrangeiro"[22]. Tal é o caminho de Stein, ou seja, uma preocupação com aquilo que forma a pessoa em todos os seus aspectos, considerando-a corpo e vida, lugar do ser. Nela, uma dimensão fenomenológica se efetiva no que se refere ao que a pessoa é, e como ela se dá ou se torna aquilo que deve ser.

Esse caminho de ascensão ao sentido do ser "tenta mostrar como o existente humano na sua autocompreensão deve superar-se e assim chegar a compreender o ser de Deus como fundamento da sua realidade finita e contingente"[23]. Portanto, é preciso levar em conta compreensão dos aspectos mais profundos da constituição da pessoa, abordado em Stein por meio dos aspectos do ser eterno (transcendência e infinitude) e do ser finito (a contingência).

A transcendência: O ser eterno

Desde a questão fenomenológica do ser, se desdobra aquela da transcendência e o místico. Como apontamentos que não podem ser ignorados, tampouco vistos como tabu pela atividade filosófica:

> A estrutura do ser humano – como indivíduo psicofísico e espiritual – e o laço que ele estabelece com as coisas, com outros seres humanos e com Deus são os aspectos que compõe o homem na sua individualidade e no amplo contexto de sua sociabilidade. O ser humano é visto neste emaranhado de relações, marcado por sua abertura, um ser livre e espiritual.[24]

Um exemplo também pode ser encontrado no próprio apóstolo dos gentios, Paulo, já nos apresenta: "que o espírito, alma e corpo de vocês se conservem íntegros e irrepreensíveis para a vinda de nosso Senhor" (1 Ts 5, 23b). Portanto, diante das apresentações daquilo que constitui o ser pessoa humana, não precisamos temer um risco teológico, visto que a apresentação do ser "em tudo aquilo que é" tem sua característica profundamente filosófica, ontológica e antropológica, na qual o aspecto da transcendência não pode ser ignorado.

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[22] S.A.Grzibowski, *A fenomenologia no pensamento de Edith Stein,* in G.L. dos Santos, M.R. Farias, *Edith Stein*, 150.

[23] M. Mahfoud, J.S. Filho, *Diálogos com Edith Stein*. São Paulo 2017, 17.

[24] M.B. Kusano, *O Conceito de Espécie em Edith Stein*, in G.L. dos Santos, M.R. Farias, *Edith Stein*, 129.

A própria filosofia viu a falácia de arraigar-se somente na razão e na experiência sensível, somente a razão não conduz à possibilidade de abarcar aquilo que é o homem e aquilo que nos faz pessoa. Edith Stein, em sua própria vida, é mostra de que filosofia se faz com a vida. A filósofa viveu aquilo que se referiu ao problema da empatia ao servir na primeira guerra mundial, cuidando daqueles que caíam feridos. Em sua própria experiência vital com o outro, pôde reconhecer: "o Outro como alguém como eu, embora diferente de mim, único e singular"[25]. Portanto, é desta forma vivencial que se verifica como a empatia tem seu caráter espiritual. Stein (2007) escreve:

> É possível que dois homens ouçam juntos uma notícia que captam racionalmente com claridade o conteúdo: por exemplo, o anúncio do assassinato do rei no verão de 1914. Um deles 'não considera as consequências' do que acaba de saber, continua tranquilamente a sua vida [...]. O outro está profundamente transtornado; prevê uma grande guerra europeia em perspectiva, [...] e vive na espera tensa e febril do que vai acontecer. A notícia penetrou profundamente no seu ser. [26]

Farias (2014) registra que é preciso constatar a pessoa como sujeito espiritual, que se efetiva na experiência tanto particular quanto intersubjetiva: "a apreensão, uma capacidade não mais psicofísica, mas espiritual, [...] que por sua vez está sujeita a uma lei racional dotada de compreensibilidade, e entre outras vivências está inclusa na empatia"[27], ou seja, é parte constituinte da pessoa, de maneira não somente imanente, mas transcendente. A apreensão se apresenta, na perspectiva steineana, como um processo empático.

Tal ato espiritual de apreensão trabalha dentro do processo formativo, e da autoformação e de como este precisa ser articulado com vista no desenvolvimento integral. Se trata, portanto, de olhar para a

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[25] NOVINSKY, I. A pessoa de Edith Stein, a pessoa humana em Edith Stein *in* SANTOS, G. L. dos; FARIAS, M. R. *Edith Stein:* A Pessoa na Filosofia e nas Ciências Humanas. 18 ed. São Paulo: Fonte editorial, 2014, 215.

[26] E. STEIN, *Obras Completas*, 1026. Do original, em Espanhol: "Es posible que dos hombres oigan juntos una noticia y que capten racionalmente com claridade el contenido: por ejemplo, el anuncio del asesinato servio del rey em el verano de 1914. Uno de ellos 'no considera las consequencias' de lo que acaba de saber, continua tranquilamente su vida [...] el otro está profundamente transtornado; prevé uma gran guerra europea em perspectiva [...] y vive en la espera tensa y febril de lo que va suceder. La noticia há penetrado profundamente em el íntimo de su ser."

[27] M.R. FARIAS, *A Empatia e a Ética*, in G.L. DOS SANTOS, M.R. FARIAS, *Edith Stein*, 28.

"alma da alma", para o núcleo da pessoa: "que apesar de ser o mesmo, em termos de princípios, para todos os seres humanos, é individualizado para cada pessoa"[28]. Realizar-se e tornar-se si mesmo, a partir dos processos de identificação com o núcleo do ser, é a principal tarefa da formação humana, segundo a estrutura tanto comum e universal quanto a estrutura específica e pessoal.

Em Edith Stein, há, portanto, este cotejo filosófico e teológico sem medo de uma distinção ou cisma entre fé e razão, que tanto marcam o tempo presente:

> O caminho da fé nos dá mais do que o do conhecimento filosófico; o caminho da fé nos conduz ao Deus pessoal e próximo, ao que ama e ao misericordioso e nos dá uma certeza que não se encontra em parte alguma pelo conhecimento natural [29]

O caminho da experiência religiosa – e da transcendência – é um caminho possível para o conhecimento do ser humano, uma vez que a filosofia e a razão podem falhar nas respostas sobre a origem do mundo, do gênero humano e de sua estrutura essencial. A pessoa finita, como veremos a seguir, tem seu fundamento naquilo que é infinito, ou seja, em Deus, e o caminho da abertura ao transcendente nos oferece um meio para se chegar ao núcleo da pessoa, ou da coisa mesma que é a pessoa, a fim de que possa ser e crescer dentro e conforme aquilo pelo qual ela é chamada.

A PESSOA: O SER FINITO

A pessoa, portanto, em Stein é identificada como lugar do ser, presente nela está o corpo, a alma e o espírito que formam um todo e colocam o ser pessoa humana em um constante devir; na constante fronteira entre o ser e o não ser. Este é um movimento no qual a formação pessoal, social, espiritual, intelectual e todos os outros aspectos se faz presente como força motriz em vista do vir a ser aquilo que se é: "ao atualizar a uma possibilidade do modo de ser, ocorre uma

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[28] A.A. SBERGA, *A formação da pessoa em Edith Stein: um percurso de conhecimento do núcleo interior,* São Paulo 2015, 51

[29] E. STEIN, *Obras Completas,* 669. Do original em Espanhol: "el camino de la fe nos da más que el del conocimiento filosófico; el camino de la fe nos conduce al Dios personal y cercano, al amante y misericordioso y nos da una certeza que no se encuentra en ninguna parte en el conocimiento natural"

transformação da pessoa, que se posiciona então existencialmente de forma distinta"[30].

A formação é um processo que acontece de dentro para fora, pois há, segundo Sberga (2015) uma força vital que confere o dinamismo na formação integral do ser humano de forma que o desenvolvimento vai muito além do intelecto, cognição e razão, mas parte do mais profundo das potencialidades internas para que venha o homem a se tornar ato. Tal é a característica principal de um processo educativo: entender o que é o homem enquanto objeto e sujeito da educação.

Para compreender o homem, como ser finito, pode-se perfazer um processo de notar o que o identifica como diferente do animal. Tanto no homem, quanto no animal, há a existência de uma alma: "todo corpo vivo tem um lado anímico"[31] que não se trata de um dualismo, mas duas substâncias que foram uma unidade: "uma matéria formalizada vitalmente, cuja forma se manifesta na matéria e simultaneamente se expressa interiormente na atualidade da vida anímica"[32].

Nogueira (2019) afirma que "formar-se significa passar do homem animal ao homem pessoa", a pessoa, em tudo aquilo que a constitui, é o objetivo da formação, que se constitui não apenas nos profissionais da educação e na escola, formalmente, mas é uma tarefa de todos, como instrumentos para conduzir o outro à realização como pessoa. Nos aspectos da formação dentro daquilo que nos é comum, também nos interessa o que nos marca individualmente, ou seja, a questão das especificidades dos gêneros, como trataremos a seguir.

O Masculino e o Feminino

Dentro do desafio de tornar-se pessoa, não podemos nos furtar a observar certas questões práticas e sociais que ocorrem em meio ao contexto histórico e filosófico de Edith Stein, bem como atentos aos que ocorrem hoje, a saber, a questão do masculino e do feminino, que alguns podem denominar gênero, mas aqui, de acordo com a litera-

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[30] I. Novinsky, *A pessoa de Edith Stein, a pessoa humana em Edith Stein,* in G.L. dos Santos, M.R. Farias, *Edith Stein*, 212.

[31] E. Stein, *La estructura de la persona humana,* Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid 2007, 55. Do original, em Espanhol: "Todo cuerpo vivo tie ne um lado anímico".

[32] Ibid, 56. Do original, em Espanhol: "uma matéria formalizada vitalmente, cuya forma se manifesta em la matéria y simultaneamente se expressa interiormente em la actualidad de la vida anímica".

tura utilizada[33], podemos trabalhar o masculino e feminino (antropologia dual da tradição católica a qual Edith Stein encontra-se ancorada), sem desconsiderar, no entanto, as diversas nuances que o tema pode nos proporcionar, mas que podem ainda carecer de estudo.

Edith Stein encontra-se na aurora de um tempo que favorece o desenvolvimento de um papel mais ativo da mulher na sociedade. O ano de 1901, na Alemanha, marca a abertura da possibilidade de as mulheres ingressarem na universidade, e, em 1919, há o direito pleno da mulher como cidadã: "naquele período Stein participa do movimento sufragista alemão, que garantiu para mulher o direito ao voto, mas logo percebeu que os direitos estavam sendo ameaçados"[34]. Edith Stein, portanto, não deixava de se engajar naquilo que destacava como responsabilidade social:

> Eu ficava indignada com a indiferença que a maioria dos meus colegas ostentava diante das questões de interesse geral [...] Em razão desse forte sentimento de responsabilidade social, eu me engajei também, resolutamente, em favor do direito de voto das mulheres. Isso não era algo óbvio na época, mesmo no seio do movimento cívico das mulheres. A associação prussiana pelo direito do voto das mulheres, a qual aderi com minhas amigas visando à igualdade política plena e inteira para as mulheres, era formada majoritariamente por socialistas[35]

Desta forma, Edith Stein nos mostra um caminho próprio em que partia de um conservadorismo prussiano para uma postura mais democrática e igualitária, sem, no entanto, se perder em algum revolucionarismo, visto que Stein "critica uma busca de emancipação que negue a natureza feminina, ora desconsiderando qualquer diferença em relação ao homem, ora os colocando como rivais, com ênfase na diferença"[36]

A questão da mulher, portanto, em Edith Stein, se antecipa ao posicionamento da Igreja Católica no tema, que dos escritos da filósofa também pode-se dizer que iluminaram os desdobramentos para publicações a respeito da dignidade e missão da mulher dentro do

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[33] A saber, os estudos organizados por A.F. Holanda et al, *Masculino e Feminino na Fenomenologia de Edith Stein,* Curitiba 2020.

[34] M.C.M. Rocha, M.C.I. Parise, *A questão da mulher em Edith Stein: Feminilidade, Empatia e Maternidade*, in A.F. Holanda et al, *Masculino e Feminino na Fenomenologia de Edith Stein*, 86.

[35] E. Stein, *Autobiografia de uma família judia*, 139-140

[36] M.C.M. Rocha, M.C.I. Parise, *A questão da mulher em Edith Stein: Feminilidade, Empatia e Maternidade*, 86.

corpo eclesial, haja vista a Carta Apostólica *Mulieris Dignitatem*[37], sobre a promoção efetiva da dignidade e da responsabilidade das mulheres, publicada pelo mesmo Papa que beatificou e canonizou a irmã Teresa Benedita da Cruz.

Estando a pessoa no centro do processo formativo, tornamo-nos capazes de utilizar um método para compreensão do "ser-aí-assim" que é o ser humano. No entanto, há dimensões que precisam ser levadas em conta no que tange a estrutura de cada pessoa, compreendidas nos aspectos específicos encontrados em cada um, sendo ou predominantemente feminina ou masculina, tais aspectos somente são compreendidos pela redução eidética, o caminho de investigação para o núcleo *(kern)* o qual Stein se refere à "alma da alma" de cada indivíduo:

> Para Edith Stein a feminilidade e a masculinidade ocupam um papel essencial na formação do indivíduo humano, algo que não ocorre nas outras espécies de animais. Diferentemente dos outros seres vivos, a *species,* ou a sua forma interna específica, não está totalmente pronta desde o início de seu ser. Ela se desenvolve no indivíduo concreto, em um processo temporal, dependendo de diversos fatores entre os quais a liberdade humana, que permite ao ser humano interferir na própria formação e na dos outros.[38]

Tendo, portanto, em vista que o engajamento de Edith Stein por igualdade não se pode reduzir a somente uma vã revolução, é importante registrar que a concepção steineana se liga principalmente ao desenvolvimento da "alma da alma" de cada pessoa, desde se núcleo. É uma passagem, um processo, e um movimento em direção ao cumprimento da vocação que está inscrita em cada um, "propondo uma igualdade profunda entre homens e mulheres, sem perder de vista as suas especificidades"[39]. Este processo é possível de ser descrito e cons-

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[37] João Paulo II., *Mulieris Dignitatem,* Roma 1988: "Auspiciaram [os Bispos] o aprofundamento dos fundamentos antropológicos e teológicos necessários para resolver os problemas relativos ao significado e à dignidade do ser mulher e do ser homem". Neste trecho da carta, se evidencia também algum traço do trabalho filosófico de Edith Stein no tema, visto que reitera a necessidade do posicionamento acerca da natureza objetual (homem e mulher) e seu destino, missão e vocação. À luz do aspecto da substancialidade ontológica que se apresenta na alma e da forma acidental que se dá pela especie. Disponível em: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/pt/apost_letters/1988/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_19880815_mulieris-dignitatem.html. [21.8.2023]

[38] M.C.M. Rocha, M.C.I. Parise, *A questão da mulher em Edith Stein: Feminilidade, Empatia e Maternidade*, 93-94

[39] Ibid, 98

tatado por meio do método fenomenológico, que se encontra no plano de fundo do estudo da autora:

> Edith Stein explora a hipótese da existência de uma tríplice vocação, comum a todo ser humano, independente de cor, raça, sexo, condição social, etc. (evidenciada pelo fenômeno da empatia); uma vocação específica a cada gênero, masculino ou feminino (forma interna ou espécies) e uma vocação individual e irredutível a cada pessoa, a sua forma pessoa individual, com seu caráter e suas qualidades específicas, a sua individualidade.[40]

No entanto, não podemos confundir a afirmação da vocação como presa a um determinismo biológico. Uma essência feminina de cuidar, de ser mãe, por exemplo, pode muito bem habitar também na pessoa masculina, visto que, a maternidade, por exemplo, é "dom da disponibilidade interior e é dom recíproco de si por parte tanto do homem como da mulher, salienta o sentido do ser humano, do valor do dom de si, da pessoa"[41]. Por isso, em Edith Stein, a experiência de tornar-se pessoa vem de dentro para fora, da alma para o corpo e para a missão.

Os aspectos abordados com relação à finitude e infinitude – propriedades do ser – e da "questão de gênero" na abordagem steineana de redução fenomenológica para se conhecer o núcleo da pessoa e conhecer aquilo que é chamada a ser-no-mundo, nos podem oferecer um panorama da visão de Stein para o desenvolvimento da pessoa na questão ontológica e antropológica. Podemos então verificar aspectos práticos, do mundo da vida e da educação, e como este percorre o processo da formação humana.

Formação Humana em Edith Stein

Em Edith Stein, considerando os elementos acima analisados, é possível dizer que se abrem novos horizontes para uma filosofia da educação, tendo em vista especialmente seu cuidado em compreender o homem "no seu amplo contexto sociológico, psicológico e religioso"[42], uma vez que suas obras são centradas na pessoa como objeto, centro e fim de toda existência. A pessoa humana é relacional e mem-

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[40] Ibid, 98
[41] Ibid, 98
[42] A.J.G. Machado, *A educação steineana: aspecto estruturante da pessoa humana*, 94.

bro de uma comunidade na qual está inserida, não pode ser compreendida isoladamente – nem assim viver – sempre há uma comunidade.

Adair Sberga (2015), constata que a formação humana atinge seu maior objetivo quando a pessoa é colocada no centro do processo educativo e pode, neste processo, contemplar e vir a ser tudo o que a realiza como corpo e vida. Dessa maneira podemos entender de forma mais completa o que se propõe por meio da educação steineana: "a pessoa pode se desenvolver por meio da formação do seu corpo, da sua psique e da sua alma, em consonância com a atualização constante daquilo que está traçado em seu núcleo interno"[43].

O processo educacional se dá por meio tanto da educação quanto do ensino. Em Edith Stein, temos, como já apresentado, uma certa diferenciação de função entre esses termos, que encontram na própria pessoa a sua unidade. Educação se refere principalmente ao nível do crescimento de si mesmo: "pode-se entender o educar como uma incidência sobre a vontade, no sentido de persuadir para a tomada de decisões"[44]. O ensino, por sua vez, se refere principalmente ao campo do entendimento e do uso das capacidades cognitivas e intelectuais, de "se abrir a para o desenvolvimento de alguma potencialidade que conduz para se tornar algo"[45]. Desta forma a educação em Edith Stein é o que hoje também se refere ao termo *bildung*[46], que destaca a formação integral da pessoa no campo da educação formal, da escola.

A formação da pessoa humana se efetiva em todos os aspectos em que a pessoa se insere, em uma formação integral, não se referindo somente a um simples "*mens sana in corpore sano*" dos antigos romanos. Todavia, ao considerarmos o pensamento de Edith Stein, não podemos ignorar a presença da transcendência do homem. Na pedagogia, conduzimos o outro para aquilo que ele deve se tornar e ser, desenvolvendo-se em tudo o que lhe contém, porém, não podemos chegar à profundidade ontológica da pessoa: "o educador não conse-

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[43] A.A. Sberga, *A formação da pessoa em Edith Stein*, 36

[44] Ibid, 15

[45] Ibid, 15

[46] Pedro Goergen (2017) pode ser um nome importante para contribuir no destaque devido ao termo alemão *bildung,* aplicado à educação como uma "teoria para a formação". Em seu artigo, trata do renascimento do termo como uma ferramenta de contraposição à discrepância observada entre o processo de racionalização do homem, trazido pelo iluminismo, e a realização integral do homem no processo de tornar-se pessoa: "o ideal da *Bildung* reforça a ideia da autoformação" (P. Goergen, *Bildung ontem e hoje: restrições e perspectivas*, *Revista Espaço Pedagógico* 24 (2017), 5).

guirá nunca compreender perfeitamente a natureza do educando"[47]. É impossível ignorar a dimensão da transcendência no âmbito da formação humana. Em E. Stein, Deus é o educador por excelência. Educar tem em conta fazer com que o homem atinja seu fim últimos na salvação, felicidade e realização, tais elementos, advindos da cosmovisão cristã, são os princípios de conhecer, amar e servir a Deus. É o principal fim último do homem e da mulher e, no pensamento steineano, conduzir pelo místico também é parte constituinte da formação da pessoa.

Portanto, o homem que caminha para a realização nunca o faz isolado, sempre o faz em comunidade, no entanto é na pessoa – no lugar do ser – que se dá a realização da mesma, visto que a pessoa, como centro mesmo da individualidade e a comunidade como lugar de acolhimento e realização do eu. Por isso, seguiremos abordando a pessoa no centro do processo de formação em direção a sua realização como sujeito de sujeitos (inserido em uma comunidade).

A PESSOA HUMANA: OBJETIVO DA FORMAÇÃO

No processo de constante devir em que a pessoa se insere, apresenta-se também um *telos*, um objetivo: "Trata-se mais de uma atividade constituinte que se desdobra ao longo da experiência como passagem ao ato"[48], por isso o método fenomenológico encontra lugar ideal para o caso da problematização do ser, como observaram Husserl, Edith Stein e outros, porque produz novas estruturas de sentido que nunca são ligadas apenas a um sujeito individual, mas "em conexão com uma comunidade de indivíduos"[49].

A conexão da pessoa com a comunidade é parte importante do processo pedagógico, que não deixa de se atentar com aquilo que circunda o indivíduo, mas que pertence a um povo ou a uma raça. Para auxiliar o trabalho pedagógico, a antropologia encontra aqui seu mérito. Ancorada nas ciências do espírito, porque diferente das ciências da natureza, se efetiva como um estudo capaz de descrever contextos individuais e caracterizar aqueles nos quais o homem está inse-

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[47] A.J.G. MACHADO, *A educação steineana: aspecto estruturante da pessoa humana*, 100.

[48] F. FERRAGUTO, *Husserl: a ingenuidade da vida e o filosofar ingênuo*, in E. FALABRETTI, J. OLIVEIRA, *Fenomenologia da Vida,* Caxias do Sul 2019, 19.

[49] Ibid, 19

rido e "é missão do educador formar [o homem] não somente como indivíduo, mas também como membro do todo"[50].

A pessoa no centro do processo também carrega consigo um método livre e a ativo de formação. A liberdade é importante no sentido de proporcionar um desenvolvimento que não se dá pelo cumprimento de comandos ou da vontade do outro. A pessoa se forma de dentro para fora, por isso, a liberdade na tomada de consciência, fomentada pelo diálogo, pelo protagonismo e desenvolvimento de capacidade de análise e decisão, é fundamental no processo:

> É por meio da educação, das experiências de vida, das relações humanas e/ou de outros fatores que a pessoa vai gradualmente fazendo a experiência de se expressar por si mesma, de formar pensamentos, de emitir suas opiniões e julgamentos e, quanto mais consciente estiver sobre o modo como está vivendo e agindo no mundo, mais possibilidades terá para agir com liberdade, autonomia e responsabilidade.[51]

Para que o processo de formação, dentro do aspecto da educação steineano, seja integral, portanto, é preciso atenção àquilo que faz com que de fato o desenvolvimento se efetive: corpo, alma e psique em processo constante de experiências e relações se equilibrando e reequilibrando, assimilando-se e engajando-se na comunidade em que pertence, com vista ao objetivo da felicidade e salvação que se encontram no fim último da pessoa.

Sobre uma arte de educar

Consideramos, portanto a educação e o ensino como um processo de vir a ser. Este é um caminho livre, protagonizado pela pessoa, autônoma e ativa quanto possa ser, ocupando-se da pessoa inteira, em uma formação integral. Constitui-se, assim, num processo pedagógico que está: "a disposição do educador é capaz de penetrar a alma do educando, exprimindo não só um processo de conhecimento intelectual, mas um processo original e vinculado a totalidade do sujeito"[52].

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[50] E. Stein, La estructura de la persona humana, 22.

[51] A.A. Sberga, *A formação da pessoa em Edith Stein*, 74

[52] L.A. Brustolin, P.E.L. Teixeira, *A Educação em Edith Stein: Breve Análise Histórica e Conceitual*, in C. Perette, V.F. Dullius, *A Arte de educar por uma Pedagogia Empática em Edith Stein,* Curitiba 2018, 37.

É por este sentido que o termo *bildung,* do alemão, tem a melhor correspondência para tratar da formação humana, uma vez que em sua amplitude de significado consegue abranger a integralidade da pessoa, com vista a uma pedagogia empática, ou seja, comunitária, que sai de si e se compromete com o outro. A formação pessoal, para a transformação naquilo que a pessoa deve ser, é também uma formação social, que visa cumprir também uma função comunitária.

Dentro desse aspecto, Sberga (2018), apresenta uma análise interessante ao mostrar depoimentos de militares, cuja formação, principalmente nos anos iniciais de vida na caserna, está ancorada no espírito de corpo e na coletividade. Tais depoimentos são de um sargento iniciante e de um capitão com anos de experiência[53]. Em ambos os depoimentos, a respeito dos cursos de formação e aperfeiçoamento, aparece aquilo que está no cerne do que almeja ser a formação militar: "se pretende, muitas vezes, uma mudança não só de comportamento ou de postura do militar, mas de caráter, para que assumam com maior fortaleza uma personalidade mais determinada, arguta, disponível, generosa e comunitária"[54]. Dentro desta comunidade militar, por exemplo, há um espírito de formação que pretende ser integral, desde a pessoa até a sua relação com a organização a que pertence como "sujeito de sujeitos" (comunidade).

No que se refere ao elemento comunitário, como elemento marcante e exigido na deontologia militar, mostra-se a importância, principalmente diante da formação para situações adversas, a doação de si pelo bem coletivo, em prol do mesmo. A formação humana não se dá somente nas elocubrações filosóficas e teóricas, ela se dá também na vida prática e principalmente comunitária, em que potência e ato seguem atualizando as potencialidades do que se pode chegar a ser, na esteira do núcleo da pessoa. A formação não trata somente de uma matéria para a educação, mas para todos e de cada um, em cada comunidade em que a pessoa se insere.

A dinâmica formativa de vida é um processo do ser biopsicossocial, que se percebe sempre em relação a outros, ele é intersubjetivo: "É a partir dessa abertura, dessa relação entre sujeitos, que se chega à constituição do indivíduo próprio."[55]. A pessoa, em sua autonomia,

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[53] Os depoimentos podem ser encontrados no artigo de A. Sberga, publicado na obra organizada por C. Perette, V.F. Dullius (2018), p172-175.

[54] A.A. Sberga, *A dimensão comunitária da Formação Humana em Edith Stein,* in C. Perette, V.F. Dullius, *A Arte de educar por uma Pedagogia Empática em Edith Stein,* 174.

[55] Ibid, p, 185

descobre-se inserida na comunidade e tal comunidade é um forte elemento formativo:

> O que o indivíduo faz ou representa no mundo social (estudante, filho, profissional, político, etc.) contribui para aprimorar a forma de toda a sua estrutura psicofísico e espiritual, e do seu pertencimento social. Dessa forma o meio social é determinante na formação da pessoa, pois na relação comunitária uma pessoa exerce influência sobre as outras e há uma colaboração recíproca, um ajuda o outro a se formar.[56]

Esse processo de educação social, é enriquecido quando cada pessoa é capaz de assumir com maturidade a sua função dentro da comunidade em que participa, uma vez que a comunidade é formada pelas mais diversas singularidades.

Considerações finais

Edith Stein se doou tanto pela filosofia, quanto pela Igreja, quanto pela educação e principalmente pela verdade que haveria descoberto em todas as coisas: a pessoa de Jesus Cristo. Portanto, cresce de importância a contínua investigação e exploração de seu pensamento, tendo em vista, principalmente, as necessidades hodiernas de revisitação e revalorização da antropologia filosófica, da filosofia da educação e da contínua necessidade de interrelação entre os temas da ciência do espírito e a fé.

A antropologia filosófica de Edith Stein aqui apresentada, demonstrou seu pensamento inserido na fenomenologia e na sua etapa do pensamento cristão. Perpassamos o conceito de ser pessoa humana através do que nos apresenta a filósofa, dentro do seu contexto histórico-filosófico, e como tal conceito é um processo gradativo e contínuo de vir-a-ser, no qual os temas universais (a questão do ser) e específicos (a questão da pessoa) se apresentam. Bem como, algumas reflexões, em consonância com algumas discussões atuais, que demonstram como a pessoa, no está no centro do processo educativo, se desenvolve de dentro para fora, devendo ser formada desde si mesma para a autonomia, liberdade, e corresponsabilidade com a comunidade.

O legado de Edith Stein para a ontologia, para a antropologia e para a educação permanecem com diversas nuances a serem explora-

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[56] Ibid, 188-189

das, que podem ser retomadas em pesquisas futuras, visto que o campo de trabalho na autora permanece capaz de iluminar diversas questões na atualidade que tratam das questões que neste breve estudo nos propusemos a analisar dentro da educação steineana e nos aspectos formativos da pessoa humana, à luz de seu pensamento.

LIBRORUM AESTIMATIONES

HISTORIA

PENITENZIERIA APOSTOLICA, *Penitenza e Penitenzieria tra rivoluzioni e restaurazioni (1789-1903)*, a cura di CARLO FANTAPPIÈ – UGO TARABORRELLI, LEV, Città del Vaticano 2022 (Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica, 86); Pp. 366, ISBN 978-88-266-0764-1.

Tra le attività pastorali e spirituali dei Carmelitani ci sono sempre state la confessione sacramentale e la direzione spirituale; può essere interessante leggere un volume uscito di recente che riguarda l'attività della Penitenzieria Apostolica, il cosiddetto "Tribunale della Misericordia".

Il volume è il settimo di una serie che raccoglie gli atti dei Simposi organizzati sin dal 2009 dalla Penitenzieria Apostolica; vi sono riportati i contributi dell'ultimo di tali incontri di studio, svoltosi nei giorni 21 e 22 ottobre 2021. Il Simposio si sarebbe dovuto tenere l'anno precedente, ma era stato rinviato a causa della pandemia. Come rilevava il Cardinale Archivista e Bibliotecario di S.R.C., cardinal Josè Tolentino de Mendonça, nel saluto iniziale (p. 5-8): «L'originalità di questi incontri […] risiede nella capacità di mettere a confronto percorsi diversi – storici, giuridici, teologici, pastorali – senza privilegiare un'unica prospettiva, ma mettendo a confronto competenze e interessi differenti» (p. 6).

Il carattere istituzionale delle giornate di studio è manifestato dalla partecipazione di tre cardinali: oltre al già menzionato cardinal Tolentino hanno partecipato il Segretario di Stato, cardinale Pietro Parolin, il quale ha concluso i lavori con il saluto finale (p. 343-345) e il Penitenziere Maggiore, cardinale Mauro Piacenza, il quale da buon padrone di casa ha introdotto i lavori (p. 9-15).

Tuttavia, la dimensione istituzionale ha fatto da cornice a una serie di contributi di alto valore scientifico articolati nel volume in tre parti con obiettivi di studio complementari e specifici tutti di grande interesse sia dal punto di vista della storia delle istituzioni, sia da quello archivistico e naturalmente da quello della storia della teologia e della prassi. La prima parte è dedicata alle "Trasformazioni delle forme della Penitenza", la seconda alla "Penitenzieria Apostolica: profili istituzionali" e la terza all'"Attività consultiva del Teologo della Penitenzieria Apostolica". Anche solo una rapida scorsa all'indice dei nomi (p. 347-356), che chiude il volume, dà una buona idea dell'ampiezza degli studi e della loro ricchezza scientifica.

La prima parte raccoglie cinque interventi di carattere teologico, pastorale e spirituale. Si inizia con la panoramica proposta da Alfonso V. Amarante su "Il Sacramento della Penitenza nella teologia e nel magistero della Chiesa (XIX secolo)" (p. 19-40). La dottrina di sant'Alfonso Maria de' Liguori ha segnato profondamente l'indirizzo degli studi e del magistero nel secolo XIX; si passò infatti dal rigorismo giansenista alla benignità di ispirazione alfonsiana, la cui diffusione fu favorita anche dalle missioni popolari e da importanti figure di confessori "nuovi". Dal punto di vista della materia penitenziale ci fu un graduale aumento di attenzione a nuove questioni di carattere ideologico e politico, come il liberalismo e il comunismo. La manualistica, pur accogliendo ispirazione e riferimenti alfonsiani restò ancora legata alla struttura neoscolastica.

Della "Dottrina e prassi del Sacramento della Penitenza alla luce dei decreti dei concili provinciali e plenari dell'Ottocento" si è occupato Carlo Pioppi (p. 41-72), il quale ha esaminato le deliberazioni di alcuni concili particolari, sostanzialmente concordi nella dottrina e nella prassi, con chiari riferimenti alla dottrina alfonsiana.

Maurizio Tagliaferri ha proposto una panoramica su "I santi e la Penitenza" (p. 73-93), in cui ha preso in considerazione sia la dimensione penitenziale nel cammino di santificazione, sia le canonizzazioni del XIX secolo fermandosi in particolare sulle figure dei santi Paolo della Croce, Gaspare del Bufalo e Jean-Marie Vianney.

Ugualmente sul versante dell'esperienza è stata la conferenza di Uwe Michael Lang su "Il sacramento della Penitenza nell'itinerario spirituale e nel ministero sacerdotale di san John Henry Newman" (p. 95-108), un primo passo per ulteriori studi. Inquadrata nel contesto biografico spirituale di Newman, la penitenza appare come un'esigenza sofferta da parte dell'anglicano e una prassi del convertito divenuto oratoriano.

Infine, Renata Salvarani ha parlato di "Pellegrinaggi penitenziali in Terra Santa" (p. 109-121). In quel contesto, ricco di implicazioni diverse e complesse, la penitenza si caratterizzò come elemento essenziale del cammino di conversione, proprio del pellegrinaggio stesso. Non c'è dubbio che questa pratica abbia segnato in maniera determinante la vita dei Carmelitani sin dalle origini, ma non sono mancati anche in epoca moderna frati in pellegrinaggio verso la Terra del Signore.

La seconda parte del volume prende in considerazione l'aspetto istituzionale del Tribunale della Penitenzieria, illustrato dai contributi di Andrea Cicerchia, "La Penitenzieria Apostolica nell'Ottocento. Un profilo istituzionale e nuove linee di ricerca" (p. 125-144), di Roberto Regoli, "L'opera del Tribunale della Penitenzieria in tempo di rivoluzioni. La delega dei poteri papali" (p. 145-160) e di Patrick Valdrini su "Le *Facultates* tra poteri episcopali ed esigenze missionarie" (p. 161-170). Tutti questi contributi evidenziano alcuni aspetti già noti, come ad esempio il fatto che la Penitenzieria, vero «cuore del papato» (p. 159), fu l'unico dicastero che restò in funzione, magari in clandestinità, anche durante i periodi di occupazione francese. Cicerchia

ha esaminato l'evoluzione e la successione degli uffici, sottolineando che si tratta di una materia aperta ad approfondimenti e nuove ricerche. Ha quindi preso in esame la questione delle facoltà ordinarie e straordinarie concesse in momenti di difficoltà. Regoli ha evidenziato il sorgere di problemi ideologici e politici nuovi, che avrebbero avuto conseguenze sul lungo periodo. Ha quindi illustrato l'operato di monsignor Di Pietro nominato Delegato Apostolico a più riprese. Lo studio di Valdrini è di chiara impostazione archivistica: egli ha infatti studiato i documenti relativi a quarantatré diocesi, inizianti con la lettera A e relative agli anni 1814-1825, delle complessive sette buste del fondo "Facoltà dei Vescovi". Sempre di carattere archivistico è lo studio di Johan Ickx, "La Penitenzieria Apostolica e la Sacra Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari" (p. 171-182), sul materiale, oggi conservato nell'archivio della Segreteria di Stato, relativo ai rapporti tra la nuova Congregazione AA.EE.SS. e la Penitenzieria. Dopo averlo studiato dal punto di vista analitico-tematico, propone l'inventario cronologico del fondo archivistico (p. 183-199). Infine, il contributo di Matteo Nacci, "La Penitenzieria Apostolica: ricognizione storico-giuridica di un tempo complesso" (p. 201-211), conclude questa seconda parte illustrando la situazione del Dicastero a partire dalla struttura datagli da Benedetto XIV tra il 1744 e il 1748 e le riforme successive.

L'ultima parte del volume si apre con l'intervento dell'archivista della Penitenzieria e uno dei curatori del volume, Ugo Taraborrelli, il quale ha parlato de "I teologi della Penitenzieria Apostolica e il loro archivio: presentazione del fondo (secolo XIX)" (p. 215-232); a conclusione dell'intervento c'è un'appendice con la serie dei teologi della Penitenzieria nel periodo considerato, dunque dal 1789 al 1903 (p. 233-239). Lo studio e l'ordinamento del fondo è di particolare interesse, perché tenendo in debito conto la distinzione tra materiale di "foro interno", del tutto indisponibile alla ricerca e allo studio, e di "foro esterno" offre comunque una miniera di informazioni su diversi aspetti della vita della Chiesa e della società del tempo. Ci si imbatte in voti su dubbi di natura teologica, giuridica, morale elaborati dai Prelati Teologi tra il 1789 e il 1903. A conclusione del suo studio Taraborrelli prende in esame due questioni calde del periodo: le questioni poste circa l'autorevolezza della morale di sant'Alfonso M. de' Liguori e l'evoluzione del "non expedit" di fronte alla questione della partecipazione dei cattolici alla vita politica del neonato Regno d'Italia.

Dallo studio del fondo del Teologo sono emersi i voti dei "Teologi 'prestati' a Propaganda: i voti del teologo della Penitenzieria Apostolica per le terre di missione" di cui si è occupato Diego Pinna (p. 245-259). Il contributo mette in evidenza le relazioni tra i due Dicasteri, durante quello che è stato giustamente definito "il secolo delle missioni". Pinna ha studiato le carte relative al Teologo padre van Everbroeck, contemporaneamente anche consultore di Propaganda; in particolare ha preso in esame alcuni voti riguardanti casi emblematici: il "caso marino" riguardante le facoltà di assolvere se si è su una nave in mare aperto (il punto focale riguardava il

rapporto tra la potestà d'ordine e di giurisdizione), la questione dei mutui e dei prestiti in Cina, il sistema scolastico irlandese e la questione delle ordinazioni di figli di ex condannati in Australia.

Andrea Campani ha proposto "La Penitenzieria Apostolica nel governo della Chiesa e l'orientamento dei cattolici nel Regno d'Italia nei primi decenni dell'unificazione nazionale" (p. 261-286). Il saggio si concentra sull'evoluzione dell'atteggiamento della Penitenzieria rispetto alla questione del ruolo dei cattolici nella politica del paese. In particolare, si rileva che gli interventi miravano soprattutto alla formazione della coscienza in vista di comportamenti responsabili.

L'ultimo contributo della sezione è di Giovanni Vian, il quale ha presentato "«Lo stato di lutto o di oppressione della Chiesa in Italia». La Penitenzieria Apostolica di fronte all'introduzione del Codice penale italiano del 1889 ("Codice Zanardelli")" (p. 287-307). L'approvazione del nuovo Codice penale pose diverse questioni di carattere morale, a cui la Penitenzieria si trovò a dover rispondere soprattutto riguardo all'esercizio del culto e della missione pastorale da parte del clero. L'autore prende in esame la questione delle dichiarazioni e composizioni relative all'alienazione di beni ecclesiastici indemaniati, la riserva sul giuramento, la possibilità di incriminazione per attentato all'unità nazionale per chi avesse sostenuto la legittimità del potere temporale del Papa. Nella parte finale del contributo, Vian presenta criticamente il testo dell'Istruzione preparata dal tribunale a proposito del Codice, di cui riporta la parte finale in appendice (p. 308-309). È degna di nota la seguente affermazione: «La breve Istruzione era caratterizzata da una chiara difesa dei principi e da un significativo margine di adattamento nelle applicazioni pratiche, secondo il tipico criterio adottato da Leone XIII nel suo pontificato» (p. 304).

Le conclusioni del Simposio erano state affidate al professor Carlo Fantappiè, il cui intervento ha per titolo "Penitenza e Penitenzieria Apostolica alla prova della modernità borghese" (p. 313-341). Dopo aver illustrato i mutamenti epocali, antropologici, politici, culturali e ideologici avvenuti nel periodo in questione, l'autore considera il riposizionamento istituzionale della Penitenzieria e la sua conseguente trasformazione. Mette quindi in evidenza la tolleranza canonica, la prospettiva teologica più che storico-culturale.

Il cardinale Parolin, nel saluto conclusivo, traccia una rapida panoramica del Simposio, da cui sono emerse in larga misura soprattutto le questioni relative alla situazione italiana e in parte europea, rispecchiando in ciò buona parte dell'attività della Penitenzieria nel periodo, senza tuttavia per questo limitare l'orizzonte di azione, visti gli interventi a favore dei territori di missione.

Il volume offre un'interessante panoramica dell'attività della Penitenzieria fino agli inizi del XX secolo e si auspica che in altri simposi si possa completare il percorso storico giungendo fino ai nostri giorni. Nello specifico, questo volume contribuisce a chiarire l'evoluzione dell'atteggiamento della Santa Sede nei confronti dell'incipiente modernità; dall'iniziale volontà di

restaurazione e dall'intransigenza verso le spinte rinnovatrici si passò gradualmente ad un approccio pur sempre chiaro sui principi, ma assai prudente e nelle applicazioni pratiche. Gli studi mettono in evidenza alcune questioni ancora suscettibili di approfondimento: oltre all'analisi e allo studio più completo dei fondi archivistici e di altre fonti, si possono individuare meglio le posizioni di alcuni cardinali e prelati e le relazioni tra le diverse tendenze dei gruppi presenti nella curia. Ancora: tutto il campo delle missioni *ad gentes* può offrire spunti interessanti di studio. Insomma, il volume ha aperto una porta su un vasto campo di ricerche diversificate, che potranno anche offrire spunti per altri futuri simposi.

GIOVANNI GROSSO, O.CARM.

MARIOLOGIA

JOSÉ MANUEL SANCHIS CANTÓ (ED.), *Maestra en el amor y esperanza en la aflicción. Estudios sobre los títulos marianos* Virgo dolorosa y Mater Misericordiæ (Studi Mariologici, 17), Città del Vaticano, Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 2022. Pp. 628, 978-88-896-8152-7.

Tra le recenti pubblicazioni di carattere mariologico, interessanti anche per la teologia carmelitana, segnaliamo questa raccolta di saggi sui titoli mariani Vergine addolorata e Madre della Misericordia. Il volume, curato dal Francescano Minore, José Manuel Sanchis Cantó, attualmente docente all'Antonianum di Roma, si articola in tre parti; la prima è dedicata a «La realidad antropológica y sobrenatural de la Madre del Salvador en la Sagrada Escritura»; la seconda a «La Tradición vive con María, piensa su misterio y ora incándola con ternura filial»; infine la terza si intitola «Actualidad y experiencia de la realidad eclesial mariana según el Magisterio y la Teología sistemática». Ogni parte è composta da X contributi firmati da studiosi eminenti in campo mariologico.

A Stefano Cecchin, Presidente della Pontificia Accademia Mariana Internazionale e docente all'*Antonianum*, è stata affidata la Presentazione (p. 7-10). Di Sanchis Cantó, anch'egli professore all'*Antonianum*, è l'introduzione generale (p. 29-80), mentre le conclusioni sono state affidate a Vincenzo Battaglia, già Presidente della PAMI (p. 603-618). Alle p. 17-28 si trova un utile repertorio dei documenti magisteriali e della stessa PAMI sul tema.

Nell'introduzione, p. Cantó spiega il motivo di questa raccolta di saggi. Tutto parte dal miracolo avvenuto nel XVI secolo nella città di Cocentaina (Alicante), siamo nel sud della Spagna nella comunità Valenciana. Il miracolo riguardò una immagine mariana, riprodotta in copertina e detta appunto in valenciano "Mare de Deu del Milacre", che sudò e lacrimò abbondantemente, il 19 aprile 1520. Cantó riporta per intero l'atto notarile rogato per l'occasione (p. 30-33) e illustra alcuni poemi e inni composti in lode della Vergine

raffigurata nella venerata immagine. Dopo aver accennato ai due titoli mariani che vengono studiati nel volume, di cui viene spiegata la struttura, Cantó presenta largamente gli autori dei contributi, dei quali viene offerto un profilo e indicata la bibliografia principale (p. 60-79).

P. Vincenzo Battaglia, dopo aver ricordato qual è il posto della mariologia nella teologia contemporanea, riassume davvero il senso dell'intero volume con questa frase:

> "El volumen [...] tiene, esencialmente, el mérito de tejer un armonioso conjunto entre lo scinco apelativos mariológicos que constituyen el esquema-proyecto de todos los estudios que lo componen: *Virgo dolorosa* y *Mater misericordiæ*, que son los dos títulos sobre los que se establece la fundamentación y el propósito de la publicación, y, junto a ellos, los de «Hija de Sión», «Nueva Eva» y «mujer». Estos títulos, en su totalidad, hunden sus raíces en el que es el título más importante e imprescindible para comprender la realidad de la Virgen de Nazaret; *Theotokos*, Madre de Dios".

Vediamo nel dettaglio i singoli contributi.

Nella parte dedicata agli studi scritturistici, Aristide Serra ha ripreso i propri studi sul versetto di Luca 2,35a: "«Una espada te trapasará la vida» (Lc 2,35a) ¿Qué espada? Análisis de los datos de la Biblia y de la Tradición" (p. 83-117). Il professore emerito del *Marianum* ripercorre la tradizione veterotestamentaria e della letteratura giudaica sui temi della spada e del dolore per approdare al Nuovo Testamento. Dopo aver esposto esegeticamente il testo, lo mette in relazione a quanto si legge nel Vangelo secondo Giovanni (19,25-27) per concludere che Maria è "donna dei dolori", perché madre dell'"uomo dei dolori" e che tutta la sua vita è attraversata dalla spada a doppio taglio della Parola di Dio, che provoca sofferenza.

L'intervento di Ricardo Pérez Márquez, frate Servo di Maria e docente al *Marianum*, si intitola: "La presencia «generadora» de María, madre de Jesús, en los *Hechos de los Apóstoles* (Hch 1,14)" (p. 119-147). Maria è presente nel cuore della comunità primitiva e accoglie il dono rigenerante dello Spirito, come madre di Gesù e della stessa comunità nascente.

Il Monfortano Alberto Valentini, docente presso il *Marianum*, ha invece trattato "El «gran signo» de Apocalipsis 12: la mujer vence al dragón" (p. 149-176), riprendendo il parallelo tra Maria e la Chiesa, ambedue generatrici dei credenti contro i quali si avventa il maligno.

La parte dedicata alla storia della tradizione inizia con l'intervento del Frate Minore Juri Leoni, docente all'*Antonianum* e al *Seraphicum*: "La maternidad de María, «Hija de Sión» y «Nueva Eva» en los autore cristianos prenicenos" (p. 179-211). Si tratta di una rilettura dei primi Padri sulla maternità di Maria in cui vengono messi in evidenza i due titoli di derivazione veterotestamentaria accolti dal Concilio Vaticano II nella *Lumen gentium* (nn. 55 e 63). I due titoli evidenziano la relazione di Maria con il popolo dell'Alleanza e con l'umanità intera, nel contesto della storia di salvezza fatta di gioia e dolore, peccato e misericordia.

Luca Maria Di Girolamo ha trattato in esteso "Historia, significado y desarrollo de los títulos *Virgo dolorosa* y *Mater misericordiæ*" (p. 213-314). Nel suo lungo contributo (il più ampio del volume: ben cento pagine), il professore del *Marianum* Servo di Maria ha illustrato l'evoluzione storica dei due titoli mariani riletti anche in chiave antropologica: il dolore e la sofferenza così come la povertà soprattutto dovuta al peccato e la misericordia sono elementi propri di ogni esperienza umana.

Il terzo intervento di questa parte è stato affidato al Frate Minore Rafael Sanz Valdivieso, "Dos antiguas oraciones a la Virgen María: *Sub tuum præsidium* y *Salve, Regina*" (p. 315-335). Delle due famose preghiere mariane, l'autore mette in evidenza il riferimento alla misericordia e alla funzione di avvocata della Madre del Signore.

Nella terza parte si concentrano cinque contributi di teologia sistematica. Apre la serie il Servo di Maria, già Preside del *Marianum*, Salvatore Maria Perrella con "La Virgen María y la obra redentora de Jesucristo. Significado de la participación de la Madre de Dios en la victoria sobre el mal" (p. 339-435). Nel saggio, Perrella espone la proposta della cooperazione di Maria all'opera salvifica di Cristo, che risponde in tal modo alla domanda cruciale del perché ci siano il male e il dolore nel mondo.

Cettina Militello, già docente al *Marianum* e in altre facoltà romane, ha trattato "María, verdadera hermana y madre en el camino existencial de la humanidad" (p. 437-457). La maternità e sororità di Maria vengono proposte come segno di partecipazione della Madre di Gesù alla sofferenza umana nel cammino di fede della comunità ecclesiale verso la quale Maria esercita la propria maternità spirituale.

Il Salesiano Antonio Escudero Cabello in "Pasión y compasión de la «Hija de Sión» en el magistério de Juan Pablo II, Benedicto XVI y Francisco" (p. 459-499) ha proposto un panorama del magistero degli ultimi pontefici sul tema della compassione mariana. La condivisione del dolore si sposa, in Maria, con l'impegno per sollevare l'umanità e dare un annuncio concreto di speranza.

L'intervento di Ernesto Brotons Tena, nominato Vescovo di Plasencia proprio durante l'elaborazione del volume, è intitolato: "María, «con-pasión» y «miseri-cordia». Los títulos marianos *Virgo dolorosa* y *Mater misericordiæ* en la mariología contemporánea: elementos doctrinales y pastorales" (p. 501-549). Con un occhio alla teologia sistematica e l'altro alla pastorale, viene messa in evidenza la partecipazione di Maria alla condizione di sofferenza umana, vissuta anche attraverso la necessità di farsi discepola del Figlio, e d'altra parte la sua funzione di consolatrice e segno di speranza per l'intero genere umano. Alla p. 545, l'autore ricorda la suggestiva, commovente immagine della celebrazione del Venerdì Santo 2020, quando papa Francesco, da solo e sotto la pioggia, affidò a Maria *Salus populi romani* e al Crocifisso miracoloso della chiesa di San Marcello l'umanità sofferente per la pandemia da Covid-19. Un concreto esempio della fede nella compassione di Maria e del Signore verso le sofferenze umane.

Chiude la parte Gian Matteo Roggio con un saggio su "María, mujer de la Pascua, signo escatológico de la Iglesia" (p. 551-602). Il Missionario della Salette, docente al *Marianum*, parte dalla considerazione della mancata inserzione nella *Veritatis gaudium* (2017) della mariologia come disciplina teologica; prosegue con un excursus in cui mostra come si è passati dopo il Concilio Vaticano II dalla "mariologia papale" alla "mariologia magisteriale". A partire da questa discussione Roggio enuclea due titoli presenti in nuce nelle costituzioni conciliari *Sacrosanctum Concilium* e *Lumen gentium*: Maria "Donna della Pasqua" e "Icona escatologica della Chiesa", capace di partecipare al dolore umano con una prospettiva di fede e speranza.

A chiusura del volume, a p. 619, il curatore ha inserito un sonetto in onore della Madre di Dio del miracolo scritto da Gabriel Reig Lloréns; è un esempio moderno della persistente devozione alla Vergine, misericordiosa madre dei dolori, che mai abbandona la sua prole spirituale e si premura di guidarla fino al pieno compimento della vocazione alla santità.

A conclusione della lettura viene spontaneo chiedersi: "Dove sono finiti i carmelitani?". In effetti, la mancanza di specialisti in Mariologia nell'Ordine, in questi ultimi anni si sente particolarmente. Terminata la stagione di Eamon Carroll e di Christopher O'Donnell e di pochi altri, chi oggi ne segue le orme? L'interrogativo è pressante e richiede una riflessione seria da parte di tutti noi.

GIOVANNI GROSSO, O.CARM.

LIBRI AD CONSILIUM COMMENTARIORUM MISSI

NORME EDITORIALI PER *CARMELUS*

1. Lunghezza dell'articolo: da 25.000 a 75.000 caratteri circa (inclusi spazi e note), su carta A4.

2. Note: le note vanno messe a pie' di pagina; vi preghiamo di indicare sempre questi dati bibliografici: Nome/i, Cognome/i (maiuscoletto), titolo in corsivo e altre informazioni, città, edizione o casa editrice, anno, pagina/e.

Esempio: JOACHIM SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume 1, *Ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent*, Revised Edition, Darien-Ill., Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988, 29.

Quando lo stesso autore viene citato nella nota immediatamente successiva, si scrive solamente: Ibid. e pagina.

Esempio:

[1] JOACHIM SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume 1, *Ca. 1200 until the council of Trent*, Revised Edition, Darien-Ill., Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988, 29.

[2] Ibid., 31.

Se lo stesso autore viene citato nuovamente dopo una o più note, si prega di indicare: iniziale del Nome Cognome/i, titolo principale, (volume se esiste) e pagina.

Esempio: J. SMET, *The Carmelites*, vol. 1, 35.

Quando la nota viene presa da un periodico, si prega di scrivere: Nome/i, Cognome/i, titolo in corsivo, il nome del periodico in corsivo e preceduto da "in" e altre informazioni, anno tra parentesi e pagina.

Esempio: GREGORIONOVAK, *L'alleanza veneto-serba nel secolo XIV,* in *Archivio veneto-tridentino,* 8 (1925), 29.

Quando in una nota si fa riferimento ad un sito internet, si indica: il sito, URL del sito e la data dell'accesso.

Esempio: La Santa Sede, http://www.vatican.va/news_services/or/or_eng/text.html#3, 16 Aprile 2008.

Per i testi patristici, i manoscritti, le fonti d'archivio e altre fonti, si prega di seguire le norme correnti.

3. Bibliografia: è consigliabile aggiungerla, soprattutto se aggiunge materiale interessante per l'approfondimento del tema. Non serve se ripete i testi già indicati nelle note.

4. Lingue: francese, inglese, italiano, portoghese, spagnolo e tedesco.

5. Ogni articolo in lingua inglese, italiana e spagnola deve essere accompagnato da un sommario (*abstract*); per gli articoli in lingua francese, portoghese e tedesca si prega di scrivere un sommario (*abstract*) in una delle tre lingue: inglese, italiano e spagnolo.

6. Ogni articolo deve essere consegnato entro 30 aprile. Gli articoli che arrivano dal mese di maggio in poi, verranno pubblicati nel volume dell'anno successivo. Gli articoli possono essere inviati via e-mail (consigliabile), oppure spediti, insieme alla copia stampata, in cd, o in dischetto.

Queste norme saranno valide per *CARMELUS* dal 2009.
Grazie,

NORMAS EDITORIALES PARA *CARMELUS*

1. Extensión del artículo: de 25.000 a 75.000 caracteres (incluyendo espacios en blanco y notas), en folio A4.

2. Notas: las notas se ponen a pie de página; se ruega indicar siempre los siguientes datos bibliográficos: Nombre/-es, Apellido/-os, título en cursiva y otras informaciones, ciudad, edición o casa editorial, año, página/-as.

Ejemplo: JOACHIMSMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume 1, *Ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent*, Revised Edition, Darien-Ill., Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988, 29.

Cuando el mismo autor es citado en la nota inmediatamente sucesiva, se escribe solamente: Ibid. y página/-as. Ejemplo:

[1] JOACHIMSMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume 1, *Ca. 1200 until the council of Trent*, Revised Edition, Darien-Ill., Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988, 29.

[2] Ibid., 31.

Si el mismo autor es citado de nuevo después de una o más notas, se ruega indicar: inicial del Nombre/es Apellido/-os, título principal, (volumen, si existe) y página/-as.

Ejemplo: J. SMET, *The Carmelites*, vol. 1, 35.

Cuando la nota se toma de un periódico, se ruega escribir: Nombre/-es, Apellido/-os, título en cursiva, el nombre del periódico en cursiva y precedido de "en" y otras informaciones, año entre paréntesis y página.

Ejemplo: GREGORIO NOVAK, *L'alleanza veneto-serba nel secolo XIV,* en *Archivio veneto-tridentino,* 8 (1925), 29.

Cuando en una nota se hace referencia a un portal de internet, se indica: el portal, URL del portal y la fecha en que se ha accedido al mismo.

Ejemplo: La Santa Sede, http://www.vatican.va/news_services/or/or_eng/text.html#3, 16 Aprile 2008.

Para los textos patrísticos, los manuscritos, las fuentes de archivos y otras fuentes, se ruega atenerse a las normas corrientes.

3. Bibliografía: se aconseja añadirla, sobre todo si aporta material interesante para profundizar el tema tratado. No sirve si repite los textos que ya han sido indicados en las notas.

4. Lenguas: francés, inglés, italiano, portugués, español y alemán.

5. Todo artículo en lengua inglesa, italiana y española, tiene que ir acompañado de un sumario (*abstract*); para los artículos en lengua francesa, portuguesa y alemana, se ruega escribir un sumario (*abstract*) en una de las tres lenguas: inglés, italiano y español.

6. Los artículos tienen que ser entregados antes 30 abril. Aquellos que lleguen a partir del mes de mayo, serán publicados en el volumen del año sucesivo. Los artículos pueden ser enviados por e-mail (que es lo más aconsejable y práctico), o bien remitidos, junto con una copia impresa, en CD o en disquete.

Estas normas serán válidas para *CARMELUS* a partir de 2009.

Gracias,

CARMELUS STYLE SHEET

1. Articles should be from 25.000 to 75.000 characters in length (including spaces and notes), and formatted for A4 paper.

2. Notes: Notes should be placed at the foot of the page. For references to books you are asked to indicate the following bibliographical data: author name and surname(s), title in italics, city, edition and publisher, year, page(s).

Example: JOACHIM SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume 1, *Ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent*, Revised Edition, Darien-Ill., Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988, 29.

When the same author is cited again in the immediately succeeding note, use Ibid. (and page).

Example:

[1] JOACHIM SMET, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Volume 1, *Ca. 1200 until the Council of Trent*, Revised Edition, Darien-Ill., Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1988, 29.

[2] Ibid., 31.

If the same author is again cited after one or more intervening notes, please give a brief reference indicating author name, main title, (volume, if necessary), page.

Example: J. SMET, *The Carmelites*, vol. 1, 35.

When the note refers to a periodical, please give author name and surname(s), title of article in italics, name of periodical in italics preceded by "in", volume and other information, year in parenthesis, page.

Example: GREGORIONOVAK, *L'alleanza veneto-serba nel secolo XIV,* in *Archivio veneto-tridentino,* 8 (1925), 29.

When a note refers to an internet site, please indicate the site, its URL, and the date of access.

Example: La Santa Sede, http://www.vatican.va/news_services/or/or_eng/text.html#3, 16 April 2008.

For patristic texts, manuscripts, archival sources and other material, please follow the usual practices.

3. Bibliography: It is advisable to append a bibliography, especially if it adds material useful for further investigation of the subject. It may be omitted if it would only repeat works already indicated in the notes.

4. Languages: English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish.

5. Articles in English, Italian and Spanish should be accompanied by a summary (abstract); articles in French, German, or Portuguese should be accompanied by a summary in either English, Italian, or Spanish.

6. The deadline for submission of articles is 30 April. Articles which arrive after this date will be published in the following year. Articles may be submitted by email (preferred), or submitted on CD or diskette along with a printed copy.

These norms are valid for *CARMELUS* from 2009.

With thanks,

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The authors are Carmelites *(irrespective of the subject)*
or the subject is related to the Carmelites *(irrespective of the author)*

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Registrato alla Cancelleria Tribunale di Roma, Decr. 3637 del 4.1.1954