THE MARIAN PRESENCE IN THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SAINT IGNATIUS LOYOLA:
From Private Revelation to Spiritual Exercises—
The Cloth of Loyola’s Allegiance

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WITH SPECIALIZATION IN MARIAN STUDIES

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Alumni Hall Marianist Community
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ABBREVIATIONS

AHSJ--Archivum Historicum Societatem Jesu


FN--Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Jesu initiis, Volumes 1-4.

FD--Fontes Documentales De S. Ignatio de Loyola

MHSI--Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu

MI--Monumenta Ignatiana.

MI I EpsInst--S. Ignatii...Epistolae et Instructiones, Volumes 1-12.


SpD--Ephemeris S.P.N.--1544-1545

Cons--Constitutiones Societatis Jesu

Scripta--Scripta De Sancto Ignatio de Loyola, Volumes 1-2
The Cloth of Loyola's Allegiance: The Marian Presence from Private Revelation to the Spiritual Exercises

Introduction

In this Introduction, I would like to explain what I tried to accomplish, how I went about doing the work and what results I claimed regarding the characteristic Marian presence in the life and works of St. Ignatius Loyola when the work was done.

The overall aim of this dissertation was to examine all of the major Ignatian life-experiences and writings to discover the most accurate historical picture of the Marian presence and ask what difference this presence makes in the life of St. Ignatius and in the life of the Christian today, especially, those interested in Ignatian discipleship.

In addition, I made a parallel study of the women in Ignatius’ life and works as part of the dissertation I defended. However, the present publication required a less ambitious attempt that required a limiting of the material. The present work includes only the study of Ignatius’ relationship with Mary. Where those documents on Ignatius’ relationship with Mary overlap with the stories of the women in his life and works, especially, for example, in the Letters to Women and in a document I wrote entitled Women of Alcala, I have made an attempt to note the connections between Mary and Women without trying to draw out the implications that would require more work.

To accomplish this task, I studied the original Ignatian sources in the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, putting particular emphasis on the major writings of St. Ignatius including his Letters to Women, his Spiritual Diary or Ephemeris, his Spiritual Exercises, especially, the Autograph version, his Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and his Autobiography or Acta S. Ignatii.
These critical documents were the basis of the compilation and analysis of the Ignatian sources done in Chapter 2. I ended this second chapter with my own evaluation of the Marian presence in the Ignatian sources and my own formulation of a hypothesis regarding the Marian presence in Ignatius’ life and writings. The task involved discussing some implicit aspects of the Marian presence in the colloquies and in the text of the Spiritual Exercises. The results suggest that Marian presence in scripture and in the privileged conversational encounters appear to be an essential part of the Ignatian prayer of the receiver of the Exercises when that person wishes to learn from the experience and the text of St. Ignatius.

In Chapter 3, the research on the Marian presence covers the history of Marian devotion in Spain before Ignatius’ times (e.g., Perez, 1956) and during his times with some emphasis on the issues and problems of the 16th century. These authors introduced background material related to Marian devotion within the culture into which St. Ignatius was born. For example, articles by prominent scholars of Marian devotion in Spain, in the Basque regions (Anasagasti) and several others that focused upon and corroborated each others insights about the connections between Marian devotion in the school of St. Bernard and the early Cistercian missionaries from France to Spain. Other authors [Herran, Llammas-Martinez, Koehler, Johnson (1988)] offered more specific details about medieval Marian devotion that are probable sources of Ignatius’ devotion to Mary.

In essence, these authors surfaced a number of Marian dimensions of medieval and Spanish Marian devotion that resonated in Ignatian Spirituality and, in particular, in the Spiritual Exercises. Dr. Johnson’s article in particular focused upon the role of St. Bernard’s insights in the development of medieval Marian devotion. Her research
brought out certain significant socio-political and religious aspects of feudalism that have affected Marian devotion. Her insights seemed especially important for anyone wishing to read and make more than a superficial reading of the data related to the Marian presence in the Ignatian documentation.

From my perspective, Dr. Johnson made two observations that can have a major impact on the understanding the Marian aspect of Ignatian spirituality and ultimately upon Ignatian spirituality as a whole. The two observations include the notion of the “feudal courtroom” as an image of heaven, and therefore an image of God, and the image of the “Mother of the King” as analogue to Mary's role in relationship to her Son.

The image of the “feudal courtroom” gathers into a kind of root metaphor numerous feudal textual references to God, Jesus and Mary in the Ignatian sources. Second, as a person of extraordinary presence in that courtroom, the image of the Mother of the Lord (the King) becomes a key analogue for understanding the Marian intercessory function in medieval prayer. From the analysis of the Marian presence in the Ignatian documentation, the association of these two insights in the process of understanding the meaning of Marian devotion in an Ignatian context seemed a reasonable.

Chapter 4 considers a second batch of research that covers some of the early Jesuit tradition on the Marian presence in the life and works of St. Ignatius, spanning from Fr. Maas in 1895 to Fr. Marien in 1953. In this second batch of research, the thrust of the argumentation, on the one hand, was gathering the Marian citations within the Ignatian Sources, and on the other, focusing upon the discussion of the relationship between St. Ignatius and Mary in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises. A substantial body of literature grew out of scholarly efforts during this period to verify whether and how Mary
“dictated” the text of the Spiritual Exercises to St. Ignatius. Some would have been satisfied to get beyond what others called the “pious hypebole” of the metaphor of “dictation” to arrive, at least, at some kind of reasonable understanding of the Marian influence upon Ignatius in the production of a text replete with her presence under numerous titles.

On the one hand, it seems that authors are quick to dismiss the thought of dictation without much exploration of what it might mean or what it could mean. Perhaps, the somewhat anecdotal style of the witnesses and the documentation of the pertinent events does not sit well with more serious scholars. On the other, I wanted to view this literature differently seeing it as a stage in the development of the Marian presence in the Ignatian tradition. I saw these significant literary efforts as a step in the process of understanding both the relationship between Ignatius and Mary and between Mary and the giver and receiver of the Spiritual Exercises.

The discourse carried on by these writers runs the gamut of responses. The gamut includes acceptance and rejection. In this overall story, historians had little sympathy for “pious tradition.” Neither does it seem that they entered into a discussion and inquiry about the relationship of “pious tradition” to history as they did it. There seemed to be no discussion on engaging theological thought with the historical method and engaging the historical method with religious discourse. Viewed from a distance, the documentation surrounding events like the “dictation” seemed to be a first attempt within the order to deal with the issues surrounding prophecy that have benefited and plagued the Church and the Society from their beginnings. Real attempts to deal with the myriad of issues that surround the Marian presence in the Church today seem rare. Some exceptions are the
commissions and individuals dedicated to looking into various apparitions of Mary in the Church today, a phenomenon that continues to stimulate discourse, concern and renewal even today.

That is to say that some of these issues having to do with "dictation" were remarkably close to those addressed in the official process of examining a modern Marian apparition and were not unfamiliar to Ignatius himself given his experience in Gandia 1549 where he developed criteria of evaluation at length, apparently, with the help of his secretary, Polanco.

The parameters for making decisions without the influence of inordinate attachments are close enough to the official modern parameters for approaching "private revelations" that further study might be warranted. We use much of the vocabulary, revelations, visions, apparitions, discernment, thinking with the Church, etc., in dealing with the experience of Ignatius. An official letter to Gandia in 1549 corroborates this assertion with regard to the problems of the Society, but more it will show how immediately important the *Spiritual Exercises* must have been in providing a structured approach to dealing with the recurring "prophecies" that surfaced during the time of Ignatius and continue until today, especially, where the image of Mary is involved.

In larger measure, the authors in Chapter 5 seem to have taken for granted the importance of Mary's presence in the *Spiritual Exercises* and provided excellent, interdisciplinary, insights, connections and suggestions, regarding the relationship between Mary and Ignatius. These insights were worked out in terms of the Marian presence in the life of Ignatius, viewed in terms of her presence in the *Spiritual Diary* and in the *Spiritual Exercises* and the triple colloquies, in particular, and the special
meditations like those dedicated to the mysteries associated with Mary or even the meditation on the “Principle and Foundation (SpEx, #23),” as Fr. Durana has pointed out, and “The First Contemplation of the Fourth Week: How Christ appeared to Our Lady (SpEx, #s 218 and 299),” his Blessed Mother; including the process of “Discernment of Spirits (SpEx, #s 313-336), among others among other valuable “rules.”

The approach of the earlier authors added a new dimension to the earlier studies of the Marian presence in the secondary literature by focusing upon the content, context and dynamics of the Marian presence. Fr. Giuliani’s classic article had an international readership in the Holy Year, impetus that may have moved those who read him seriously in order to focus on the Marian presence just because the issues around “dictation” came to the fore. Giuliani focused upon the twofold presence of Mary in the Spiritual Exercises, “The Mystery of Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises.” I am including the whole article translated into English in Appendix IV.

In his article, Fr. Giuliani pointed out that at least two kinds of encounters take place between the receiver of the Exercises and Mary. These two encounters take place in the form of two kinds of recommendations for prayer. These involve Mary in the scriptures and in the colloquies. The recommendations apply to the contemplations of the Life of Christ in which she appears and to the colloquies involving her in the Spiritual Exercises. The encounters involve a process of prayer that begins with the scriptural contemplation and continues in the colloquies. Second, Third and Fourth Weeks directly connect through the colloquies.
Among these authors, Brien, Roy and La Fontaine, have tried to capture the panoramic view of the Ignatian Sources and to suggest connections with the meaning of Mary's presence in the Exercises and in the spiritual life. Eventually, Fr. Kolvenbach acknowledged a role for Mary as actor as well as co-author in the process of creating one's own text of the Exercises, in communication with this special authorship that included several additional "actors" involved within the text.

At the instigation of Giuliani, the authors in these internal workings of the Exercises opens up new ways of understanding and applying both the Marian presence in the Exercises and the Exercises themselves as an instrument of God's grace. The new vocabulary that comes from Fr. Kolvenbach parallels that of Giuliani in terms of the "narrative" and "functional" presence. The terminology offers the adherants of Ignatian spirituality the opportunity to appreciate anew the nurturing and graced environment that the retreat provides for some and what it could do for so many more who have a thorough understanding of the text that frees them to use the Exercises more effectively.

With this new acknowledgement of the Marian content and context of the Spiritual Exercises, the Marian dimension of the experience can add a special level of discourse by means of the combined privileged encounter. Together the scripture and the personal appropriation for the clarification and authentication of a variety of discourses that arise in prayer in relationship to her expanded and deepened presence.

The giver of the Exercises must be ready to allow the Marian dimension of the Exercises to facilitate the encounter with Mary both in the scriptures and the colloquies. Mary attracts opinions from both within and outside the Church. Thus, she affords the receiver an opportunity to test the authenticity of her opinions in relationship to Christian
choices. Those choices to be aligned with God is heavily linked with the persons doing. Knowing St. Ignatius as the human author who was in relationship with Mary in the production of the Exercises precludes the avoidance of her presence and function in any authentic approach to the experience of those Spiritual Exercises.

Last treated among these authors is the only non-Jesuit, Fr. Johann Roten, S.M., director of the International Marian Research Institute at the University of Dayton a Marianist institution of Higher Education. Fr. Roten's article on German Mariology reported the variety of discourses that German mariologists have been involved in during the past century. These discourses parallel many, if not all, of the theological issues of our age viewed in terms of the Marian theology. The discourse about these issues leads to a consideration of the applicability of a variety of Marian issues to an Ignatian spirituality that will take seriously and proportionately its Marian component. The scriptural and colloquial aspects of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises provide an ideal environment in which the recognized influences may become part of an authentic Christian response or they can be rejected.

The article pointed out how German Mariologists engaged in a number of different discourses with culture, theology, faith and religion during the twentieth century. Simply put, a viable Marian dimension in Ignatian Spirituality would enhance the value of discourses already taking place as a result of the dynamic of the Exercises but could be mutually beneficial to the users. This means that in the retreat environment recommended and provided by these Exercises, the “narrative” and “functional” presences of Mary have the potential to become a theological locus and point of departure
for the surfacing and addressing a number of issues linked to theological discourses that are involved in Christian decision-making in existing cultures today.

Fr. Roten's terms form a basis for a valuable exchange between Ignatian and Marian spiritualities. His study of German Mariology in terms of these cultures, models for us the kind of analysis that can arise in addressing the manifold issues in the higher educational situation where these issues constantly arise and need to be articulated and dealt with in terms of the faith and tradition.

The results of these studies lead me to consider the applicability of his definitions. Do the scriptural and conversational aspects of the Marian presence provide content and context in which these discourses could be fruitfully integrated into one's authentic Christian response? If not in the Exercises, where will this happen in any formal way?

In the conclusions, I attempted to supplement the conclusions and reflections already presented in the previous chapters with those that incorporate a university level discourse about Marian issues related to personal faith-discourse, discourse that is based upon "personal revelations" within the context of the Spiritual Exercises.

The method used in these Chapters was historical, analytical and synthetic involving the gathering of information about Mary in the Ignatian sources, reflecting upon the presence of Mary as viewed in the Ignatian tradition and synthesizing the connections, first into a theory of Ignatian-Marian spirituality (expressed at the end of the second chapter) linked with the image of the Mother of the King and second into a theory which incorporates the whole narrative and functional Marian presence within the process and principles of giving and receiving the Exercises.
In the second chapter, the historical method attempted to guarantee the factual and critical textual issues with regard to Mary's presence in Ignatius' life and writings. As noted, the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu provided the critical texts of the Ignatian sources. In the other three chapters, the research provided background and foreground information about Ignatius' own writings, the history of Marian devotion before and during Ignatius' times and some earlier and more recent examples of attempts to interpret the Ignatian tradition of Marian presence in a relevant way for the Exercises today.

The problems that I encountered in this threefold process were numerous, mostly linked to my own considerable limitations with language and the associated difficulties of being unable to address certain literature more directly than through translation, e.g., the German Ignatian literature. Some helpful articles, books and pamphlets have come across in French, Spanish, Italian and English. But, I had the help of some colleagues who translated some articles, but for the present student, only assistance in backing up my translation of Fr. Giuliani's article. The hope was that in publishing the whole text, as with some of the longer quotes by European authors, Americans could go away with some of the richness that comes through pouring over this material. In some instances, my translation may be a little more literal that I would have hoped, but I settled for that not always being able to have someone read and offer suggestions for every quoted text.

Other limitations will come in the form of wordiness. Not that I have not worked and reworked the text but apparently to no avail. The passive voice wins out over the active no matter how hard I try. I take full responsibility for the errors, mistakes and ambiguities that remain in the text.
This investigation of the Marian presence in the Ignatian Sources delivered a fundamental threefold finding. First, the Marian spirituality embedded in the life-experience and writings of St. Ignatius Loyola is primarily “intercessory” in character and medieval at root. The intercessory character, however, has the qualities of language derived not just from chivalry, but from chivalry a lo divino, that is, from divine or religious chivalry which resulted from a theological reflection (some call it sublimation, other do not like that term) on some aspects of secular or heroic chivalry. Second, the major medieval source for the meaning of this specific brand of holy chivalric intercession lies in the writings of the Fathers of the twelfth century, especially, the articulations of the threefold relationship between Mary, Jesus and the Father in St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Arnold de Bonnville. They and their school advocated this triple-tiered type conversation with those mentioned above that was highlighted in the text of the Spiritual Exercises, but not before the form had been for a long time part of his own personal piety and part of his apostolic repertoire of recommended forms of prayer for those who sought his aid. Three, the application of these insights to the data of the Ignatian writings reveals several further insights.

One, the use of the feudal metaphor of the “courtroom” (including the image of the “Mother of the King”) connects numerous expressions (Divine majesty, Celestial throne, Son and Lord, etc.) that together offer hints that aid in the better understanding of the Ignatian texts like the Exercises whether one is giver or receiver. Two, the image of God as a “feudal courtroom” is an extrapolation upon the “feudal courtroom” as an image of Heaven. But, the fundamental relationship between the knight, the lady and the Lord are the guiding canons for this metaphor and, at the same time, analogously providing a basis
for theological reflection that enriches the Christian life. Knight, lady and lord become analogues for the active Christian, the Eternal Lord and the Glorious Mother of the King in Christian theology during the time of Ignatius and to some degree even today where the Kingdom of Christ still prevails. Three, the verbal descriptions and imaginal content of this image of the Mother of the King can give concreteness to the process of personal faith-appropriation of the Gospel texts (for evangelization, inculturation, catechesis) and make possible the use of different aspects of the image of Mary as they emerge within this theological and spiritual applications. Four, these insights also recognize and acknowledge privileged theological loci (colloquies) that include images of Mary which guide receivers and givers of the Spiritual Exercises to recognize, distinguish and address, in their proper forum, a variety of private revelational discourses based upon Ignatius' experience with Mary. Five, understood in the feudal context, these insights also throw into relief the need for the Marian presence to be proportionately placed within the process of the Ignatian retreat in order for proper balance of theological understanding can take place.
Chapter 2

The Analysis of the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Sources

Introduction

The task of analyzing the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Sources begins with the Ignatian documents. This is so because as we begin to study several areas of the secondary literature, the reader will need to be familiar with the place and role of Mary in the context of the Ignatian writings in order to see the contribution being kind and quality of contributions being made by various authors. In actuality, the first step involves establishing the place of Mary in the Ignatian sources for those unfamiliar with the texts or with only a cursory knowledge of the Marian presence in the various documents. The second step focuses upon the role of Mary in terms of the quality of her presence within the various contexts of the written documents. On the one hand, the investigation of the place of Mary involves the contruction of three periods in the life of Ignatius that will help the reader to observe different kinds of data regarding her presence and a possible cycle of development in Ignatius' relationship with Mary. On the other hand, the investigation of the role of Mary lead to the study of some key feudal metaphors that gave a structure and set a direction for her specific role in Ignatian Spirituality in general and in the Spiritual Exercises in particular. The articulation of this interpretation of the Ignatian-Marian heritage will also be done after the place of Mary has been established in order to lay the groundwork for the possible influence of certain dimensions of Marian Theology in the Ignatian contexts especially in the relationship between the givers and receivers of the Ignatian retreat.
Chapter 2: The Analysis of the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Sources

The first period encompasses from the time of his birth to the end of his first stay at Loyola as a young man around sixteen or so years old. The second period covers the decade or so he spent in the mobile court of Castile, but primarily at Arevalo. The third covers his life as a "soldier, pilgrim and monk" concluding his life as founder and Superior General of the Society of Jesus at Rome.

**The First Period—His Early Life at Loyola Castle**

Like the four men who lowered the paralytic into the presence of Jesus after stripping off the roof of the building (Mark 2: 1-12) in which he was preaching at Capernaum, the people who accompanied Inigo during his early childhood were instrumental in the development of his faith-life while he lived at Loyola Castle. Admittedly, however, one can only judge with varying degrees of accuracy to what extent each person contributed to his spiritual growth or which person may have had the greatest impact on introducing him to the Mother of Jesus. Several persons have been considered influential from the point of view of his Marian heritage. The list begins with his birth mother, Doña Marina de Licona, and his father, Don Beltran Yañez de Loyola. Other names include his Basque nurse, Maria Garin, his sister-in-law, the former lady-in-waiting to Queen Isabel, Magdalena Araoz, and yet other members of his immediate and extended family with whom he lived before and after leaving for Arevalo.

St. Ignatius Loyola was born in 1491. Unfortunately, we do not know very much about the key persons who surrounded him at the time of his birth. In the

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1 The references to St. Ignatius Loyola may take various forms in the course of these chapters. Generally, the name that is preferred by scholars during his early years up to his graduation from college at the University of Paris is Inigo. His certificate of graduation was signed "Ignatius" so after that time he was generally called Ignatius, but occasionally referred to as Inigo by some authors. To be accurate, one may refer to him as Inigo up until his graduation from college and after that Ignatius, it was only in 1622 that he was canonized a saint and dubbed patron of retreats in the Catholic church. At the same time, many who
most general terms, we do know that his parents supported him in his early Christian formation and in the development of his faith until sometime before his departure from Loyola in 1505 or 1507, after the death of his parents and of Queen Isabel, as Fr. Leturia suggested.

In addition to his relationship with his birth-mother, he had a significant relationships with two women important in his life. The first was his nurse, Maria Garin. The second was his sister-in-law, Magdelena Araoz, the wife of his older brother, Martin. Magdelena came upon the scene at Loyola castle sometime after her marriage to Martin in 1498 and became a surrogate mother to him between the believed early death of his birth mother and his departure for Arevalo. Surprisingly, his father, Don Beltran, may also have an important and lasting impact on the development of his liturgical devotion in general and his Marian devotion in particular. Let us look at these relationships and their relationship to the Marian presence in Inigo’s early life.

The details of the story about Inigo’s birth mother, Marina Sanchez de Licona, are few. The facts that we do have are not very abundant and the official sources seem to be few. This lack of documentation is certainly true with regard to the details of her life and of her life of faith in Loyola castle. However, her origins did receive some attention. We know, for example, that her father’s name was Doctor Martin de Licona and that he was patron or Lay leader of the parish in Azcoitia. Being patron, the mother’s family was

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2 Pedro Leturia, *Inigo de Loyola*, trans. Aloysius J. Owens, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, reprint October 1965), p. 36. The nurse pointed out to investigators that Ignatius was two years older than he had said he was. Born in 1491, he died in 1556 at the age of 65.

3 Ibid., p. 17. In the times of St. Ignatius, certain noble laypersons were given effective title to certain churches in thanksgiving, usually, for some service they have provided their king. Both Ignatius’ mother’s father and Ignatius’ father, himself, don Beltran, enjoyed such patronal positions in the family parish.
probably more than ordinarily involved with leadership in the parish and probably more than ordinarily involved in living out their witness to the faith, though the sources that I am familiar with provide no independent evidence that demonstrates this point. As far as documented evidence will allow, there does not seem to be anything very specific known about her actual impact upon the faith-life of her son. No one is denying that she had some impact. We just do not know the specifics.

Only one indirect statement comes to us from the documentation of Ignatius' canonization process. In the perception of the interviewee, looking back to a distance time at best, she was judged to have been instrumental, along with her husband, in providing for the fundamental religious instruction of her son Inigo. Certainly, Fr. Leturia feels confident enough to confirm this expression of the deep faith of Inigo's parents. In this case, the people attested to Inigo's adherence to the faith, at least, while he still lived at Loyola castle.

The Church of San Sebastian de Soreasu was Inigo's family parish. His father, Don Beltran, was also the patron of the Loyola family's parish Church. In other words, both grandfathers of Inigo had major leadership roles in the parishes of their families. This church building was a much larger one than the estate shines. It was an ancient monastery originally associated with the Knights Templar. With the spiritual obligations of his patronage, Inigo's father Don Beltran may have had quantitatively more opportunity to impact upon his faith than his mother. That is to say, as Patron, he had the obligation to attend regular and specific liturgical events at the church. These

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4 Ibid., p. 21.
5 Ibid., p. 9. Fr. Leturia quotes "Sect. Docum. Azpeitia" from 1649 in the parish church of Azpeitia: "There is an old tradition that the said church will all its tithes ... was owned by the Templars until their suppression in Spain and France. After the suppression the said church and tithes accrued to the Crown of Castle by grant of Clement V."
celebrations would have included Marian devotions and feast days, especially, the "Saturday devotion" which, when interrogated by the inquisitor, Iñigo admitted that he celebrated in honor of Our Lady. At least for Fr. Leturia, the young Iñigo was present at such family liturgical gatherings and was imbued with the faith established by his parents.  

Something that Fr. Leturia said about the proximity of one of the Marian of Our Lady of Olaz to the house of Maria Garin leads me to think that she could have had significant remote impact upon Iñigo's Marian devotion also. That is to say that Maria was a devout Basque woman. She spent a good deal of time with Iñigo during his earliest years when he lived with her and her family. Members of Maria's family worked and lived on the land of the Loyola estate. Apparently, she was the one who cared for Iñigo for some time immediately after his birth. The rustic shrine of Our Lady of Olaz contained an image of Our Lady and the Child that would have drawn her to visit and pray frequently. The baby boy Iñigo would have accompanied her. Together they would have viewed the standing Virgin of Olaz, a roughly carved, wooden statue of Our Lady crowned and holding the Child Jesus.

Two artifacts in the landscape of Loyola vie for the distinction of being the first images of Mary viewed by Ignatius, namely, Mother and Child from the shrine of Our Lady of Olaz, or the altar piece of the Annunciation in the family chapel at Loyola castle. Some have suggested that the alterpiece of the Annunciation painting came as a wedding gift from Queen Isabel to Magdalena and her husband, Martin, in gratitude for Magdalena's many years of service as a Lady-in-waiting to her. Others suggest that the

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6 Ibid., p. 21.
7 Ibid., p. 20. He "must have spent his life for twelve or thirteen year, partly at the castle, partly at Eguibar."
piece came from nearby relatives who had received it from the Queen and passed on this work of art to the newly-wed couple. At least the new couple showed some special devotion to Our Lady when they had a new chapel built to house the gift they received and displayed during the childhood of Inigo. Magdalena’s arrival at the castle also ushered in the period when she took up the role as surrogate mother until he left for Arevalo.

At the same time, the castle held another major image of Our Lady, a statue of the "Mater Dolorosa." A statue like this normally depicts Mary’s heart pierced by seven swords. In this way, the piece symbolizes the "compassion" she had for her Son during his life, from the time of the drawing of his first blood at his circumcision to the time when he was to loose it all on the Cross.

In addition to the images of Mary in the castle chapels, there were additional hermitage shrines or "sanctuaries" on the Loyola estate property, including the aforementioned, Our Lady of Olaz. These shrines were staffed by “freilas” who were religious sisters primarily responsible for their care and who lived at the shrines, dressed in religious garb. They were not, however, bound by the rules of religious life. The simplest of the smaller rustic hermitage "shrines" were mere “sheds,” while others were more “palatial” in appearance with “porches” of various sizes. Each of these buildings provided a place of prayer for the common people who lived in the countryside. The origins of these shrines were linked with the ancient and famous “confraternities” often

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8 Ibid., p. 8, n. 4
9 Ibid., p. 13.
10 Ibid., p. 12f. "The sisterhoods at times worked in the fields, taught or engaged in works of charity. But their main duty was to take care of the shrines. They saw to the lamps in the shrine, cleaned and dusted it and its ornaments, prepared wine and hosts for the Holy Sacrifice, rang the bell at the proper times and supervised the behavior of the women at burials and processions."
established even before the towns were officially recognized. These shrines usually contained some kind of religious artifact associated with a saintly patron or patroness of the location. Often, they provided certain “spiritual benefits” for the pilgrim visitor.

The shrines, too, were relatively small in relationship to some of the other nearby holy places associated with Our Lady like Aranzazu and Montserrat. These sanctuaries are well known examples of revered regional “sanctuaries.” As we will see, these and other shrines were significant in similar though distinct ways during the journey of the pilgrim.

Conclusions for the Marian Presence in the First Period of the Life of St. Ignatius

Let us consider some of the goals that we proposed in the introduction of the first chapter in relationship to discovering the presence of Mary during the childhood of Inigo. We only partially met the goal to establish historical facts since not much well developed and documented information exists about the persons around Inigo during this period. Those close to him, as well as other contemporaries, were mindful of an intercessory role for Mary in their own lives of faith, but only a few had documented devotion to her.

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11 Ibid., pp. 20-21.
12 Ibid., p. 177, n. 9, Aranzazu. “The devotion of the Azpeitians toward the Virgin of Aranzazu is shown in documents which are contemporaneous with Inigo’s conversion and departure from Loyola. Pero Martinez of Emparan wrote in his will of February fifteenth 1518: ‘My said wife has promised to watch one night at the monastery of Our Lady, Holy Mary of Aranzazu… I charge that some good person be sent to fulfill said promise.” “The Duke of Najera’s family was devoted to Montserrat. Inigo must have noticed this during his service at Navarrete. The Duke’s wife, Juana de Cardona, inherited this devotion from her father, Juan, (+1513) a magnate of the first Catalan nobility…. The Duke’s sister, Ana Manrique, figures also in the annals of Montserrat because of the miracle the Virgin worked in her behalf in 1535(Ibid., 176).” “Their Catholic Majesties were especially devoted to the shrine of Our Lady of Montserrat…. It is a place of great devotion and pilgrimage, visited from all parts of the world(Ibid.).” Fr. Leturia reported that one of Inigo’s elder brothers, Juan Pedro, addressed her as follows: “Most glorious Virgin Mary, whom I have ever held to be my Lady, and Helper, and Advocate in all my actions, and to whom I now most devoutly offer with sincere heart myself, as slave and servant, body and soul, and of whose mercy I ask, as devoutly as I can, that She protect me from all danger and from all sin, and guide and console me.
The devotion to Mary at Loyola became manifest in the hermitages, shrines and chapels that contained her artifacts. The very presence of the shrines and chapels gave reason to believe there was sustained devotion to Mary and the saints.

In addition, the two kinds of religious artifacts we observed present in the religious surroundings of Inigo contained images of Mary linked with the Paschal Mystery of Christ. The first was the image of the Mother and Child, standing as crowned royal figure holding her Son, as at Olaz.\(^\text{13}\) The second was the image of the Sorrowful Mother, or Dolorosa, which was, along with the first image, a prominent image in the shrines and church buildings where particular care was given to these objects of religious piety and art, even though they were not always of the greatest artistic quality.

In retrospect, these images of Mary were, first of all reflective of the atmosphere in which he lived. Secondly, the images were probably more indirectly supportive of Inigo’s image of Mary, in an unconscious manner, than they were part of an exposition of Marian artifacts authored by him or even a result of the efforts of the Franciscan branch of his relatives to educate him specifically and document his Marian devotion. The Franciscan connection, however, may have brought some of that school’s great devotion to Mary into the mix. Some of the major regional shrines like Aranzazu changed from hands from Benedictine to Franciscan responsibility by the time Inigo arrived on the scene and this change may say something about their increased influence in spreading Marian devotion in the Basque region. The dual devotion for St. Francis

\(^{13}\) Appendix III contains an image of Our Lady of Olaz. I believe that it was the work of Fr. Lizarralde that brought this relatively obscure image of Mother and Child to my attention. I was especially impressed by the fact that it is a standing Madonna with crown.
and St. Dominic that St. Ignatius spoke about in his Autobiography, though unarticulated in Marian terms, certainly has to include something of the devotion that was so much a part of their lives and ministries. In the end, the image of Mary seems to have pervaded even the early stage of Inigo’s journey, keeping him under her mantel of protection, perhaps, while the Lord prepared him remotely for His service.

The Second Period—At Court up to Pamplona

Beside the Marian sentiment that pervaded the mentality of his relatives, family and country, it is sufficiently clear that Ignatius left his youthful abode with the beginnings of an appreciation for certain religious artifacts and/or images of Mary and her Son and brought that appreciation into the newest stage of his life at Arevalo. This appreciation becomes concrete from some reflections offered by Fr. Araoz who commented upon the first life or Vita of St. Ignatius by Fr. Pedro Ribadeniera. In his reflections, Fr. Araoz gave supporting evidence for Inigo’s devotion to Mary during his life at court, devotion that gained the attention of modern Jesuit scholars as well.  

During this second period, the textual evidence for the Marian presence centers around Inigo’s expression of devotion to Our Lady in times of distress. His contemporaries reported that expressed his devotion to Mary, and thus her presence in his life, in terms of composing prayers, “before” Our Lady’s “image.” The descriptive preposition “before” seems to refer to being “in front of” some kind of statue, religious artifact, mental, or other, visual image. At the same time, he attempted to write prayers in her honor and, possibly, prayers to her for protection during various challenging

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14 Acta P. Ignatii, #7. The heroic gestures of St. Francis and St. Dominic apparently became religious touchstones used by Inigo in his first experience of a process of discernment on his bed of convalescence. Remember that he was reporting this after many years of reflection on his life.

moments in his work at Court or at certain moments when he felt the need to ask God's mercy through her intercession.

Along with Polanco, Fr. Araoz made the further point that Inigo performed a "Saturday" devotion to Mary. The devotion was linked with his abstinence from playing musical instruments on Fridays and Saturdays. The custom of observing these two days offers a basis for reflections based upon the traditional meaning of these days in terms of Mary's presence in the Paschal Mystery.

In addition to the religious attitudes reflected in Inigo's sense of devotion to Mary, other attitudes and values seem to have become a part of his thinking in the atmosphere of the household of Juan De Cuellar and Maria Velasquez, his extended family, at Arevalo. Being a knight himself, Don Juan De Cuellar naturally modeled knightly attitudes and behavior for his Page, Inigo de Loyola. He did the same for his own sons who were becoming Pages in the Court of King Ferdinand. The whole atmosphere of his house, the religious art and artifacts, the literature, the code of behavior, the studies and the encounters with nobility, all enhanced the blend of the

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16 FN 1, Summ. Hisp. Polanci, p. 174, #39, lines 33-35, "...el sábado tenía devoción a nuestra Señora:..."
My Translation: "...he had the Saturday devotion to our Lady..."

17 On the first Good Friday, Mary stood at the foot of the Cross as the "woman" who became St. John's mother and on the first Holy Saturday, Ignatius, himself, placed those who made the SpEx with her at prayer in her house after the burial of her Son (SpEx 297 and 298). Not knowing exactly what prayers or religious poetry Inigo would have written, or what his "Saturday Devotion" would have entailed, we cannot be very clear about the specific connection with Mary. But, it seems reasonable to assume that, during these two days of Holy Week, these two mysteries of the Mother and the Son, the mysteries of the Madonna and the Dolorosa, do suggest that he focused his prayer upon Mary in her role as the "Sorrowful Mother" in the mystery of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus. His reading of the Passion from the Hours during the Mass at Manresa may be another indication of this continuing devotion to our Lord that would have included the Mother at the foot of the Cross.
secular and religious attitudes until they became of part of his way of thinking about life as much as about God and Mary.  

The richness of the religious and Marian presence at Arevalo tends to get lost in the events that initiated his departure from that court to the new allegiance with the Duke of Najera which lead him to the tragic but fateful wounds at Pamplona. He noted in his Autobiography that during the time of his recovery at Loyola, he began to read some holy books including a *Life of Christ* by Ludolf the Carthusian and the *Legenda Aurea* or *Lives of the Saints*, by Jacobe de Voragine, books offered to him by his Sister-in-law, Magdalena, when he asked for romantic novels.

It was then, in reading about the heroes of the Church, that he began to get ideas about making a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem. So attracted was he to what he was reading, that he wrote down the words of Jesus in red ink, those of *Our Lady* in blue.

Around the same time, he was "visited" by a "vision" of Our Lady and the Holy Child Jesus that wiped clean his whole way of thinking, especially, with regard to the "flesh."

Conclusions about the Marian Presence in the Second Period of the Life of St. Ignatius

What conclusions emerge from the experience of this second period? Three...

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18 The archival studies of Fr. Luis Fernandez Martin described the contents of the DeCuellar household. His descriptions lead me to claim that the blend of the secular and religious probably began to take place during the ten years he was a court and continued for the rest of his life.

19 *Acta P. Ignatii*, #11. "The words of Christ were in red ink; those of Our Lady in blue."

20 *Ibid.*, #10. "These desires were confirmed for him by a visitation as follows: being awake one night, he saw clearly a likeness of Our Lady with the Holy Child Jesus, at the sight of which, for an appreciable time, he received a very extraordinary consolation. He was left so sickened by his whole past life, and especially at matters of the flesh, that it seemed to him that there had been removed from his soul all the likenesses that he had previously had painted in it. Thus, from that hour until August 1553, when this is being written, he never again had even the slightest complicity in matters of the flesh. On the basis of this effect one can judge that the thing has been of God, although he himself did not venture to define it, nor was he saying more than to affirm the above-said."
seem quite possible. First, the environment at Court was not wholly devoid of religious values during the ten or more years Inigo was there. Second, a significant personal Marian devotion arose during this period, one that was substantially documented by important Jesuit contemporaries and one that was congruent in terms of possible childhood experiences with his Father as well as possible childhood encounters with artifacts and images of Mary as Madonna and Dolorosa. Thirdly, Ignatius’ later reflection on his earlier experience of Mary lead him to describe his experience of “Our Lady and the Holy Child Jesus” as a profoundly life-changing moment that transformed his thoughts and actions for the rest of his life. A definite and documented development has taken place in this second period.


The Journey Continues

While traveling to Jerusalem,21 Our Lady was close to his heart after his \( \text{visitation} \) and “vision.” At the sanctuary of Aranzazu, he made a vigil of arms, probably with his brother, Pedro, the priest, who was traveling with him part of the way toward their sister’s house in Onate. This gesture may have been in penance for youthful indiscretions and crimes that he and his brother had committed in defense of the family honor and fortune. From there on, Ignatius continues the story of the Marian presence in his life by naming numerous Marian gestures he made along the way. At Navarette, he

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21 A rather significant expression of Inigo’s devotion to Mary appears during the very beginning of this third period of the Ignatian itinerary. But, Ignatius does not mention it in any of his writings. Fr. Dalmases reported the story of the picture of the Dolorosa that Inigo wore pinned to his inner garments as he finished his convalescence and began to journey from Loyola toward Jerusalem. It will be treated in Chapter IV as part of the secondary literature that arose at that time. Cf. “De Imagine B. Mariae Perdolentis Quam S. Ignatius Gerebat: Narratio Joannis De Avinon—1595-c. 1600,” Monumenta Ignatiana: Fontes Narrativi De S. Ignatio De Loyola 3 (1960) 405-409.
paid some people to whom he felt obligated, and renovated and decorated an “image” of Our Lady in a church dedicated to her. Along the way to Montserrat, he became worried about the possibility of falling back into his old sinful ways and made a vow “to Mary” in order that she might protect him from the sins of the flesh.

As he traveled, he met a Moor riding on horseback in the same direction. Íñigo was riding a mule. Along the way, they discussed many things, but at one point Íñigo became agitated because his companion seemed to dishonor the Virgin by suggesting that she was not perpetually a virgin. The Moor accepted her state of virginity before birth, but not afterwards. So the Moor rode off ahead on his own while Íñigo argued with himself about how to respond to the apparent disrespect. He wanted to give him “a few stabs” with his dagger. In the end, he decided to leave it to the mule! On the one hand, he let the mule have his head and said to himself that if he takes one route, he would go to the place where he knew the Moor would be and have it out with him in blood. On the other hand, if the mule took the other route, he would go along his own way toward the monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat as it turned out he did.

When he approached the monastery of Montserrat, and let go of his mule and clothing, which he replaced with course pilgrim’s garb, he met with a spiritual director who spent time with him hearing a general confession which Íñigo decided to write out in great detail. Then, he went before the altar of Our Lady to pray a “vigil of arms.” He had put off the old self and put on the “livery” or clothing of Christ suggesting a renewal

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22 Acta P. Ignatii, #13.
23 His contemporaries point out in the early documents that he made this vow “sine scientia,” or without theological knowledge of what he was doing since vows are, technically, made only to God.
24 Acta P. Ignatii, #15.
25 A “vigil of arms” a ceremony of personal prayer carried out by the Page on the night before he was to be dubbed a knight.
like that which takes placed in the soul at Baptism. He prayed there all night, “standing and kneeling but not sitting” before the altar of the Virgin dedicating himself to God and to her.26

From Montserrat, to avoid the crowds on the feastday,27 Inigo took the back roads toward Manresa, a little town where he wanted to add some notes to his notebook. On his way into the city, tradition has it that he visited, or simply passed by, the image of Our Lady of the Guide, or Our Lady of the Way, near a bridge that he had to cross coming into the village. In the end, he spent months there at Manresa, praying and serving the poor while waiting for passage to Jerusalem via the ports of Barcelona and Venice, respectively.

During the wait, Inigo went through a spiritual transformation that did not exclude the presence of Our Lady. In fact, she seems to have been every bit as much present as was Christ Himself. She was present in visual shape similar to Christ in his spiritual visions.28

One day, while he was praying the “Office of Our Lady” on the steps of the Dominican monastery, he experienced the Trinity in the form of the sound of three

26 Acta P. Ignatii, #s 17 and 18. Tradition has it that he was given permission by the custodians of the monastery to place a ceremonial ex voto offering of his dagger and sword at the altar of Our Lady. These actions along with his night vigil, were modeled on the "vigil" of a Knight and his Lady on the eve of a battle.
27 Acta P. Ignatii, #18. “At night on the eve of the feast of the Annunciation, in the year 1522, he went as secretly as he could to the poor man, and, stripping himself of all his clothes, he gave them to this poor man and clothed himself in the attire he wished for. And he went to kneel before the altar of Our lady. And sometimes in this posture, at other times standing, he spent the whole night with his staff in his hand. And as dawn was breaking he left so as not to be recognized...to a town called Manresa....”
28 Acta P. Ignatii, #29.4. “Often, and for a long time, as he was in prayer, he used to see with his interior eyes the humanity of Christ. As for the form that used to appear to him, it was like a white body, not very big nor very small, but he did not see any distinct limbs. He saw this often at Manresa. Were he to say twenty or forty time, he wouldn't be so bold as to judge that this was a lie. He has seen it another time when he was in Jerusalem, and again, when traveling near Padua. Our Lady too he has seen in a similar form, without distinguishing parts.”
musical keys. She was part of his discussions with the laity who supported him in his ministries to the poor and to whom he revealed that she was so significant an inspiration in the compilation of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Tradition has it that at the Church of Our Lady of Villadordis in Manresa, the women of the town saved him from death when he fasted from every form of sustenance for a full week. At Manresa, too, the Ignatian sources are clear on the point that it was there that Ignacio wrote a first draft of his *Spiritual Exercises* with some form of Marian assistance. From the content of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Our Lady’s presence is clear. The *Autobiography* holds an explicit reference to Mary’s intercessory and confirmatory role in the formulation of the content of one of the versions of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus and the content of his *Spiritual Diary* applied to the discernment of the revenues at the disposal of the members of the Society.

The documentation shows no specific reference to Mary as Ignatius approached, entered, remained in and departed from Jerusalem. The aforementioned reference to his visions of Mary, associated with similar one’s of Christ while at Jerusalem, open up the possibilities of what he might have experienced, although I will not go into this speculative task here except to say that it would be hard for him avoid the sanctuaries of

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29 *Acta P. Ignatii*, #28. This passage is about a mystical experience that Ignatius had that was initiated, he thought, by his reading of the Office of Our Lady. Ignatius says two important things by way of comment on this experience. First, it had an extraordinary influence upon his sobbing and tears and, interestingly, affected the articulateness with which he spoke about the Trinity, “with a great variety of comparisons about the Most Holy Trinity.” Ignatius was familiar with using a “great variety” of comparisons to speak about God in three persons, the three musical keys, perhaps, being the first that struck him.

30 *Acta P. Ignatii*, #100. “And this he could now affirm more easily because every day he used to write down what passed through his soul, and could now find these things in writing. And thus he showed me quite a large bundle of written notes, from which he read me a good part. The majority were visions which he saw in confirmation of one of the *Constitutions*, seeing sometimes God the Father, at other times all the three persons of the Trinity, at other times Our Lady interceding, at other times her confirming, in particular, he told me, in the course of the decisions over which he had been forty days saying mass every day, and every day with many tears. And the question was whether the church should have any income, and if the Society could take advantage of that.”
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Our Lady in the Holy City. At the very least, he would have experienced her presence in the art, if not the experience, of the Holy Sepulcher Church, where we know that he went to participate in a ceremony of knighthood during his stay. Later, at Alcala, he referred to Saint Mary of Egypt whose story involves the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and an icon of Mary that used to hang on the wall near the entrance.

Upon his return from Jerusalem through Venice, we have an indicator of the Marian presence in his life and the kind of devotion that was in his life at that time. The indicator comes in the form of a letter that he sent to Ignes Pascual. In the letter, Inigo shared his insight into the role of Our Lady in his spirituality by the associations he made between human needs and Marian intercession. The letter, dated 1524-25, showed how Inigo saw himself in solidarity with other sinners in relationship to Mary and that he saw how Mary’s role was to obtain grace, though not without effort on the part of people. The end of this Marian intercession and human effort was to be the transformation of our human spirits into strong, faithful and joyful witnesses in praise of God. If the structure of the last section of this letter was a reflection of the first of the three colloquies in the triology, that was to take shape later in his Spiritual Diary and his Spiritual Exercises, then we have here the earliest extant published version. Then we can say that by the time he had reached the destination upon return from Jerusalem, Ignatius had found a way to

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31 Anthony Buono, General editor Dictionary of Mary (New Jersey: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1997), pp. 166-178, especially, 168 for Bethlehem. These pages of the Dictionary point out numerous public cites that would have been available for him to visit, for example, the Church of the birthplace of Mary near the Sheep Pool close by the Temple, the Basilica of the Annunciation at Nazareth, the Church of Cana, the Church of the Visitations, the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Chapel of the Cenacle and the Church of the Transitus or Dormition (falling asleep) of Our Lady at Jerusalem.

32 See Appendix III, Women of Alcala.

33 Cf. MI 1 71-3 (See also, Rahner, H., Letters, p. 177). In this original source the editors of the Monuments raise the question whether this letter was written in 1524 or 1525. Either date indicates an earlier technical knowledge of mediatory spirituality than most authors have admitted. The earlier date may suggest that Inigo could have picked up this way of thinking theologically in the East, if not at bit latter at Alcalá upon his return. In a letter written in 1523 to Isabel Roser, he was able to refer Isabel to Our Lady as “Mother of God,” showing that he was not totally unfamiliar with theological titles and understandings related to Mary.
adapt the classic triple address in the teachings of the school of St. Bernard, as articulated by his disciple Arnold De Bonneval,\textsuperscript{34} to his own needs and those of his associates.

Around this same time, Íñigo recommended Marian intercession once again at Alcalá when he and his companion Callisto encountered a woman popular among the university students, Maria del Flor. In the documentation of the trials of the Inquisition at Alcalá, the record states that they recommended that she invoke Our Lady in the reformation of her life noting how Our Lady had intervened in the life of Saint Mary of Egypt.\textsuperscript{35}

We have no record of additional Marian experiences during the years of Íñigo’s studies. But when he and his first companions were about to leave Paris to continue their theological studies at Venice, do we have another report that suggests some level of consciousness of her presence at that time. This time the event occurred at Monmartre, about a “mile” from Paris, in the Church of Queen of the Angels, on the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady in August, in 1534, when he and his seven companions chose to dedicate themselves to God by vows of poverty and chastity in her presence.\textsuperscript{36}

While his companions made their way to Venice in preparation of their ordination in 1535, he went to his hometown in Azpeitia. One reason for his going home was his doctor’s recommendation that his “native air” was the only medicine that would help him with his ailments. Another reason was to help settle the affairs of his new companions before these men continued their life together as servants of God for the salvation of

\textsuperscript{34} Fr. Leturia acknowledged the Ignatian debt to St. Bernard in his study on the Books of the Hours. See bibliography for citation.
\textsuperscript{35} Story of Mary of Egypt may be found in the Legenda Aurea and this episode may be viewed in content in the Appendix on the Women of Alcalá.
\textsuperscript{36} Ribadeniera, \textit{Vida}, FN, IV, Book II, Chapter IV, #20, lines 70ff., p. 279, also noted that Ignatius and his companions used to visit another Carthusian Church of Our Lady on feast days called Notre Dame de Champs. This recreational event took place in a suburb of Paris called St. Germain. Cf. FN, III, p. 438 and footnote 46.
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souls. While at Aspeitia, he preached at one of the hermitage shrines called Our Lady of Eloisiaga and drew large crowds. Before leaving for Venice, Ignatius got an agreement from his brother, Martin, to dedicate his portion of the Loyola inheritance to the ringing of the Angelus bells three times a day as at Rome in the shrines on the Loyola estate in order to remind the people to pray for those in sin. 37

After the completion of theological studies in Venice, Ignatius and his companions were ordained priests of the Catholic Church. They lived in a run-down monastery outside the city imitating the holy family by sleeping on straw. Since they could not obtain passage to the Holy Land, they decided to follow-up as they had promised by offering themselves to the Pope granting whatever he wished. The others celebrated their first Masses, but Ignatius put off his celebration until the Pope Paul III approved the Society. Only much later at Rome did he celebrate his first Mass since he had hoped to do so in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. When that did not happen, upon arrival in Rome, he looked to the “Jerusalem of the Holy Roman Church” and later celebrated his first Mass at midnight in the basement chapel of the Crib in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore 38 on December 25, 1538.

But, before that first celebration, he traveled with two of his companions to Rome. For some time after ordination, he prayed to Our Lady to intercede for him with the Father so that he would be “placed with the Son.” At one point along the road to Rome, they stopped to pray at a dilapidated chapel called La Storta along the way. At that time,

37 Acta P. Ignatii, # 89.
38 Letter to his brother Martin.
Ignatius had the special spiritual experience of being “placed with the Son” by God the Father. All this happened through the acknowledged intercession of Mary. 39

At Rome, finally, the first parish church given to the Society of Jesus was the Marian chapel of Santa Maria della Strada or degli Astralli, Our Lady of the Way. Today, the remnants of this chapel appear in the chapel of Our Lady of the Way in the Gesu Church of Rome. Facing her altar, it lies symbolically between the main altar on the right and the altar of St. Ignatius on the left. Several scenes from the Protoevangelium of James adorn the chapel walls and a wonderful statue of St. Ann and Mary graced the entrance.

Before the recent renovation, three images of Mary graced the basement rooms of St. Ignatius in the bowels of the International Jesuit Philosophate adjacent to the Gesu Church. These included Our Lady of the Way, Our Lady of the Scrivania and Our Lady and the Holy Family including John the Baptist.

When Ignatius and his companions established the Society of Jesus in Rome, he reluctantly became the first Superior General of the Society of Jesus. 40 After that, he and his companions made their solemn profession of vows to God and to the Society of Jesus before the image of the “Mater Domini” at the chapel of the Eucharist in the Basilica of St. Paul’s outside-the-Walls on April 22, 1541. 41

In the time right after St. Ignatius got established as Superior General at Rome, some of his letters of May and July of 1541 indicate that he saw the Rosary as an instrument for personal prayer for those women who collaborated in the ministries of the

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39 Acta P. Ignatii, # 96.
40 FN, vol. 1, Electio Praepositi et Professio: “1541. Forma de la Compañía y Oblación,” pp. 16ff., especially, number 3, line 19, etc.
41 Ibid., p. 20ff., number 9, lines 80ff.
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Society. At the same time, from an explanation he gave to one group of sisters receiving several of these specially indulgenced rosaries, it becomes evident that he understood and used these as an apostolic tool to spread the faith. All of these small indicators of the Marian presence appeared along the way to make it easy for us to understand after the publication of the Spiritual Exercises, the Autobiography and much later, the Spiritual Diary, that Mary was a constant companion of St. Ignatius throughout his life. We now look at each of these texts, to examine the Marian presence and role.

The Spiritual Diary

Although only available in the relatively recent past, the Ephemeris or Spiritual Diary presents additional insights into the place and role of Mary in Ignatius' life and works. In February, 2-6, 8, 9 and 13, 1544, Ignatius noted that he prayed to Our Lady asking that she intercede for "perfect poverty." Here he was referring to whether the Society of Jesus ought to break the financial links between the Jesuit communities and their apostolic institutions, whether parish churches, schools, etc., in order to keep their finances separate and keep the Jesuits in dependence upon God.

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42 Codina, P. A., S.J. Monumena Ignatiana. Ex Autographis vel ex antiquioribus Exemplis Collecta. Series Tertia. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu. Tomus Primus. Monumenta Constitutionem Praevia 1. Ephemeris S.P.N. -1544-1545: A Die 2 Februari 1544 ad 27 Mensi Ejusdem 1545 Autographum. Romae: MHSI, 1967. Cf. Giuseppe de Gennaro, S.J., "La expresion literaria mistica del Diario espiritual ignaciano," Manresa 35 (1963) 25-46. Fr. Gennaro points out that Ignatius' style of writing is that of a "captain in the service of the Divine Majesty." In his final sentences, the author sums up his analysis. "Hay que observar aqui que los misticos no han formado una criatura totalmente nueva, sino que han perfeccionado y elevado el espiritu antiguo de Ignacio. El capitán de Pamplona, ya paje de la Corte de Espana, habia siempre considerado como el mas alto ideal un rico hombre, el se(r)vir a la soberana majesdad de los Reyes Catolicos. La nobleza de character y el ejercicio de la milicia habian hecho de el un perfecto oficial. La mistica, sin destruir lo humano, lo habia transformado <<a lo divino>>, dandolos al general de la Compania de Jesus." My translation: "It is necessary to observe that the mystical gifts have not formed a totally new creature, but they have perfected and elevated the old spirit of Ignatius. The captain of Pamplona, already page of the Court of Spain, has always considered as the highest ideal of a rich man to serve the sovereign majesty of the Catholic Kings. The nobility of character and the military service have made him a perfect official. The mystic aspects, without destroying the human, have transformed him <<a lo divino>>, giving to us the General of the Company of Jesus."
Later on, on the 11th, he conversed with the Holy Spirit alone and prayed "to Our Lady, to the Son and to the Father that He give me His Spirit to discuss and discern" the issue. Ignatius was asking "to know how the Son first invited the apostles into poverty to preach" and was confirmed by Holy Spirit giving His spirit and tongues and eventually confirmed by all three persons to such a mission. He prayed to the Holy Spirit to discern whether to have "all, part or no revenues." He was confirmed in his movement toward separating the finances in the context of the Mass of the Holy Spirit.

Still later on the 13th, having celebrated the Mass of "Our Lady" and being conscious that he had left "the Divine Persons at the time of thanksgiving" on the preceding day, he took the "Mother and the Son" as his "intercessors" "in the hope of being forgiven and restored to (his) former grace...." He "saw (his) mediators with great confidence regain what I(he) had lost, and in all these periods,...I(he) held firm to the offering already made, and found nothing against it."

On the 15th of February, he reported that he celebrated the Mass of the mystery of the Presentation involving "Our Lady in the Temple and Simeon." While none of his mediators seemed to be available to him, he "saw" a "likeness of Our Lady." He realized at that time how "serious" had been his fault of the day before in becoming so distracted as to neglect offering thanksgiving to the Trinity. With this he began to think that the "Blessed Virgin felt ashamed at asking for me(him) so often after my(his) many failings, so much so that Our Lady hid herself from me(him)...." On the same day, his report included an unusual reference to another aspect of Marian intercession, her links with the Father. When he could not "find" Our Lady as intercessor, he went directly to the Father on high who showed himself "favorable and kindly." The Father "also gave a sign that it
would be pleasing to Him to be asked through Our Lady, whom I(he) could not see.” All this took place during the preparations for Mass and during the Mass itself.

During the Consecration of the Mass of the 15th, in the context of the mass of Our Lady in the Temple with Simeon (and the piercing of her heart by a sword), he had a special vision of Our Lady that linked her with intercession to the Father and with access to all graces through Him. 43 At the same time, Ignatius learned directly from Mary that her flesh was the same as the flesh of her Son, Jesus. 44

“...While preparing the altar, and after vesting, and during the Mass, very intense interior movements, and many and intense tears and sobbing, with frequent loss of speech, and also after the end of Mass, and for long periods during the Mass, preparing and afterwards, the clear view of Our Lady, very propitious before the Father, to such an extent, that in the prayers to the Father, to the Son, and at the consecration, I could not help feeling and seeing her, as though she were a part, or the doorway, of all the grace I felt in my soul. At the consecration she showed that her flesh was in that of her Son, with such great light that I cannot write about it. I had no doubt of the first oblation already made.”

In this third entry on the 16th, he not only recalled the “shame” felt by “the Mother,” who frequently interceded for him so successfully with the Father, but he went on to tell about his own “shame,” or something like it, before “our Mother,” moving him to examine his conscience for the entire day before he felt the presence of the Father,

43 The former event may suggest Mary’s function as “mediatrix” of all graces, just as “gate” of all heavenly graces was suggested in the Litany of Loreto.

44 The next paragraph of entries on February 16th, along with the entries for February 15th, are most important in relationship to Ignatius expression of the Marian presence in the Diary. The citations outline some of the key parameters of Ignatius’ relationship with Mary including “mediation” and what I will call titles parallel to that of “motherhood of the Church.” In the entries of the 15th, the notion of Mary’s mediation (part or port) of “all graces” appears in relationship to the Father who is the “Giver of all graces” along with concept of “the flesh” of Jesus and Mary being the same. In this latter notion of the sameness of the flesh between the two, there seems to be a range of connections with the notion of the Church and Mystical Body, the notion of the communion of saints and the notion of the spiritual solidarity of all Christians in and through and with the experience of the Eucharist.
though without his mediators, was favorable to him again, namely, favorable to granting him the grace he asked for—to totally separate the finances of Jesuit communities and the institutions they served.

Within the journal entries for February 18th, Ignatius connected his overall image of God with his previous entry for the 16th in which he draws a clear picture of the “celestial court.” In that court (feudal courtroom), he included the Father in the presence of Our Lady and Mother sitting at the right hand of her Son interceding for him. At this point, the self-proclaimed “ignoble knight” of the Spiritual Exercises saw himself as having returned from exile after his conversation with the Father and he went on in this new entry to “commend(ing) myself(himself) to Our Lady and to her Son in the celestial court….45

Ignatius also reports having received that final confirmation and having given thanks to “Our Lady and to her Son…..” After making the ultimate confirmation of the grace received from the Most Holy Trinity, Ignatius recorded an electrifyingly intense physical experience that he had at the moment he offered the final confirmation to the Most Holy Trinity. The experience occurred in the presence of “the whole heavenly court, while giving thanks with great affection, first to the Divine Persons, then to Our Lady and to her Son, then to the Angels, the holy fathers, the apostles and disciples and to all persons for the help they had given me(him) in this matter.” And, in this process, he

45 Here Ignatius stands before the “celestial throne.” These reports seem to confirm Dr. Johnson’s perception regarding medieval Marian devotion (cf. Chapter II). Ignatius is asking “Our Lady and her Son” to intercede “for ultimate confirmation” for him “before the celestial throne of the Most Holy Trinity.” What is more, the content of this particular report supports the suggestion that an amplified view of the three intercessors found in the Triple Colloquy in the SpEx are being presented here in the SpD, namely, “beseeching and placing as intercessors the angels, the holy fathers, the apostles and disciples and all the saints, and so on, to intercede with our Lady and her Son, and again asking and begging them with long colloquies that my(our) final confirmation and (my) thanks rise before the throne of the Most Holy Trinity....”
recalled the La Storta event as part of his experience of final confirmation on February 23rd.

In his March 7th entries, Ignatius offered his twelfth Mass to the Trinity wondering whether he needed to celebrate others. He reported feeling "consolations indifferently, as they terminated now to the Most Holy Trinity, now to the Father, now to the Son, now to Our Lady, now to particular saints with many tears." These entries give examples of the an expanded form of the Triple Colloquy that include "particular saints" in addition to the usual mediators and Giver of gifts.

On March 9th, the Second Sunday of Lent, Ignatius reported appealing to Our Lady with the Father and the Holy Spirit in an apparently ineffective attempt to invoke their aid.

"The whole day passed in great contentment of soul. at night I thought that I prepared myself for devotion, terminating in the Most Holy Trinity and Jesus, which appeared to the understanding, letting Itself be seen in a certain way. Wishing to apply myself to the Father, the Holy Spirit and Our Lady, I found neither devotion nor any vision, the understanding or vision of the Most Holy Trinity and of Jesus remaining for some time."

On March 11th, Ignatius celebrated the Mass "Of Our Lady" and directed his devotion to her "In the chapel, at the altar, and afterwards, with tears," "but without seeing her." The Mass that followed on the 14th was that of the "Holy Spirit," while that of the 15th of March was that of "Our Lady." On the 16th, Ignatius made his last proposal "before God Our Lord and all His Court, etc." The Mass of March 17th was celebrated in honor "Of Our Lady," while that of March 20th was just marked with the word "Lady" as was that of March 25th, April 21st and May 21st. May 14th was the Mass of the
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"Conception of (Our) Lady" and that of Wednesday, July 2nd was that of the "Visitation of Our Lady."

In the last period of Ignatius’ life, the theme of the “Dolorosa” arose again as late as 1544-1545. Ignatius expressed his continuing devotion to Mary and the Child Jesus by celebrating a Mass dedicated to the mystery of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, as he reported in his Spiritual Diary (SpD).

The Spiritual Exercises

Leaving the Ephemeris or Spiritual Diary (SpD), we turn to the Spiritual Exercises (SpEx) to continue our consideration of Mary’s presence, her place and role, in the major writings of St. Ignatius Loyola.

The first of the numbered paragraphs of the Spiritual Exercises that mention Our Lady is #47, a introductory instruction to the First Exercise (#45) of the First Week. The instruction invites those receiving the Spiritual Exercises to compose themselves in (call to mind) the details of a particular subject for meditation, suggesting Our Lady or Jesus as examples of such subjects.

Her explicit presence continues in the first of the three colloquies of the Third Exercise. This Exercise introduces the Triple Colloquy in the First Week. The

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47 The reader should be aware that the four Weeks of the SpEx are roughly analogous to the outline of salvation history. The First Exercise of the First Week begins with a meditation on the First Parents, their Creation and Fall as outlined in the Book of Genesis of the Hebrew Bible. The last set of points for meditative consideration and contemplation in the Fourth Week has as its theme the Ascension of Christ Our Lord (#312; Acts 1: 1-12) after beginning with his Resurrection and appearance to Our Lady (#218 and 299). The Second Week begins with the Annunciation/ Incarnation and continues with the following of Christ while the Third focuses on Christ’s Passion and Death.

48 Exercitia Spiritualia, #47.

49 Exercitia Spiritualia, #63.

50 Exercitia Spiritualia, #62.
instruction given in paragraph #62 suggests that the one making the “three colloquies” at the end of a prayer period ought to recapitulate what has gone before in the two previous prayer exercises. The matter of these prayer periods are necessary preludes to the first use of the colloquy involving Our Lady.

The First Colloquy will be with our Lady, that she may obtain for me from her Son and Lord grace for three things: First, that I may feel an interior knowledge of my sins and also an abhorrence of them; Second, that I may perceive the disorder in my actions, in order to detest them, amend myself, and put myself in order; Third, that I may have a knowledge of the world, in order to detest it and rid myself of all that is worldly and vain. Then I will say a Hail Mary.

The second colloquy requests the Son to obtain these same graces and the third colloquy implores the Father to grant the request.

In the Second Week, we first encounter Our Lady in the context of a dedicatory prayer, one of personal commitment placed at the end of a period of prayer that invites the retreatant to contemplate “The Call of the Temporal King, as an aid toward contemplating the life of the Eternal King.” Ignatius placed the one making the Spiritual Exercises in the midst of the presence of God, the presence of the “glorious Mother” and the presence of everyone else in the heavenly court when he needed witnesses to the process of commitment.

Eternal Lord of all things, I make my offering, with your favor and help. I make it in the presence of your infinite Goodness, and of your glorious mother, and of all the holy men and women in your heavenly court. I wish and desire, and it is my deliberate decision, provided only that it is for your greater service and praise, to imitate you in bearing all injuries and affronts, and any poverty, actual as well as spiritual, if your Most Holy majesty desires to choose and receive me into such a life and state.

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51 Exercitia Spiritualia, #63.1.
52 Exercitia Spiritualia, #91ff.
53 Exercitia Spiritualia, #98.
On the First Day of the Second Week, the First Exercise locates the one receiving the Spiritual Exercises in the midst of the contemplation of the Mystery of the Incarnation. As would be expected, the Marian presence is significant in every part of this contemplation including the preambles, the points for contemplation and the colloquy. Our purpose is to become aware of the Marian presence in every one of Ignatius' presentations.

In the first preamble of the contemplation, Mary is the point of contact between God and man. The three Persons of the Trinity saw the world and everyone in it going to destruction. They decided to make the second person a man, in the fullness of time, by sending the Angel Gabriel to Our Lady. Ignatius leads the one receiving the Spiritual Exercises to see the place where these events happened on earth, in Mary's geographical province, her city, her house and in the rooms within her house.

Ignatius then asks the one receiving to reflect and draw profit from the specific points of the contemplation. That is, he asks them to “see the persons,” including the variety of cultural and ethnic groups on the earth, see the three divine persons in their dwelling, or on the throne of the Divine majesty, looking at all the people of the world, and see those being born and dying and see the Angel greeting Our Lady.

In the Second Point, Ignatius wants the retreatant to “listen to what the persons are saying,” how the persons all around the world “swear and blaspheme,” how the divine persons “redeem human kind, etc.,” and afterwards “what the Angel and Our Lady say” to each other. The Angel greets, exhorts, predicts and reassures Mary based upon who she is, the heritage that belongs to her and how her elderly kinswoman, Elizabeth, would

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54 Exercitia Spiritualia, #101ff.
bear a child in her old age. Mary’s verbal response was her “fiat”, “You see before you the Lord’s servant, let it happen to me as you have said (Luke 1: 26-38).”

In the third point of this key contemplation, Ignatius suggests the actions of persons as the subject for contemplation. Some are wounding, others killing, still others going down to hell. Ignatius suggests further reflection upon, comparing with and drawing profit from, the divine persons working the Incarnation; the angel fulfilling his office as legate and Our Lady humbling herself and giving thanks to the divine majesty.

During this Second Week, Ignatius suggests the use of a colloquy with “the three divine persons, or with the incarnate Word, or with the Mother and Our Lady.” He further more exhorts the retreatant to seek “favors according to what I(he or she) perceive(s) in my(their) heart(s), that I(he,she) may better follow and imitate Our Lord, who in his way has recently become a human being(nuevamente encarnado).” Finally, he recommends saying an “Our Father” to close the colloquy.

Also during the Second Week, Mary has an important role in the colloquies of the special meditations like the Two Standards, the Three Kinds of Persons and the Three Degrees of Humility. These colloquies interplay in a cumulative way. The contents of the meditations cumulatively move from the mediation and colloquy of the first to the second and then the third of these colloquies making Our Lady present and active in relationship to material and spiritual poverty at every level of these meditations according to the devotions of the individual.

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55 Someone has suggested the connection between Mary’s spiritual motherhood and the phrase “newly incarnate.” The suggestion may be that the context of the retreat assumes that just as Christ was born in the flesh, the retreatant can now expect to be born anew in Him and Our Lady is appropriately present to play her part in this process of spiritual growth and development.

56 Exercitia Spiritualia, #s146, 147, 148, 156, 157, 159, 162, 164, 168 and 199.
"The Mysteries of the Life of Christ Our Lord" are additional points related to the scriptural texts first recommended for prayer in the latter part of the text of the Spiritual Exercises. Ignatius personally selected these points to facilitate additional prayer and reflection on the words of the Gospel. The following directly involve Our Lady: the Mystery of the Incarnation(#262ff.), the Visitation(#263), the Birth of Christ Our Lord(#264), the Shepherds(#265), the Circumcision(#266), the Three Kings(#267), the Purification of Our Lady(#268), the Flight into Egypt(#269), the Return from Egypt(#270), the Life of Christ Our Lord from 12 to 30 years old(#271), the coming of Christ to the Temple when he was 12 years old(#272), the departure from Nazareth(#273), the First miracle at the Wedding at Cana(#276), the Mysteries of the Cross(#297), the Mysteries from the Cross to the Tomb(#298) and the Mystery of the Resurrection: His first apparition to the Virgin Mary(#299) among others.

In addition to these Gospel texts and the colloquies, several additional modes of prayer were used in the consideration of Marian vocal prayers that contain numerous Marian titles and images.

The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus

The references to the place and role of Mary in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus are few, but not insignificant citations. Both texts a and B have the potential to

57. Exercitia Spiritualia, #s261ff.
59. Since the selection of the text to be examined is so important, I chose the one produced by Arturo Codina in 1936. According to Fr. George Ganss, S.J., in his The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Translated, with an Introduction and Commentary. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources), 1970, p. 53, the text is a "masterful edition which is fundamental for all present-day studies on the Constitutions." Fr. Codina's text may be found in volume 64 of the series Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana, Ex Autographis Vel Ex Antiquioribus Exemplis Collecta. Series Tertia. Tomus Secundus: Textus Hispanus (Rome, 1936). Fr. Codina presented four texts of the Constitutions: text a from 1547-1550 and in parallel columns texts A, B, and D, respectively from circa 1550, 1556 and 1594. Fr. Antonio M. de Aldama's judgements about the individual significance of these four texts were
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reach the "primitive" and "definitive" Marian presence in the Ignatian writings. Although the work of this chapter is based primarily on text \( a \), I used the new edition provided by Fr. Ignacio Iparraguirre, in his *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (second edition: Madrid, 1963), vol. 86, from the series *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*, for my references to Text \( B \).

In the most primitive version of the *Constitutions*, text \( a \), three Marian citations appear in the definitive version. Reference to Mary first appears in a citation that relates to prayer suggestions for unordained Jesuit Scholastics and the Jesuit brothers in formation. The latter are not obligated to say the regular daily Divine Office, but the text suggests the Little Office of Our Lady. That is, Part IV, Chapter 4, text \( a \), "On the conservation of the Scholastics received into the Company," speaks of the "corporal and spiritual" aspects involved in sustaining the approved Scholastics. In its third point, the text takes up the issue of the "hours of Our Lady" as "required prayer" although the subjective seems to have been used in translating the text (may say).

# 3 Concerning vocal prayer, those who are not obligated to say the office may say the hours of Our Lady on Sundays and Saturdays; Mondays, those of the dead; Tuesdays and Thursdays, the penitential Psalms; Wednesdays and Fridays, the hours of the Cross. Even though this order is for all, the confessor or rector may change it as it seems convenient.60

The second citation refers to religious vows in Part IV, Chapter 4.61

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60 Arturo Codina, *Textus Hispanus*, p. 178f. "3 Cerca de la oración vocal podrían dezir los domingos y sábados las horas de nuestra Señora los que no son obligados a dezir officio; los lunes las de finados; los martes y jueves los psalmos penitenciales; los miércoles y viernes las horas de la Cross. Pero aunque sea común esta orden, con los particulares podrá mudarla el confessor o rector según pareciere conveniente...."

For those wishing to enter the Society of Jesus, the required vow formula appears in three forms in Part V, Chapter 5, for the Professed Fathers, for the Coadjutors and for the Scholastics.

Our Lady was included in each of these vow formulae. In two of the three, the same words described Our Lady’s presence. The Professed formula stated, “Ego N. professionem facio et promitto omnipotenti Deo coram eius Virgine Matre...” The Marian element in the formula for the Coadjutors was the same, “...coram eius Virgine Matre...” In the third formula for the Scholastics, the words used were “...coram sacratissima Virgine Maria...”

The text quoted from the Obras Completas, text B, shows both contractions and expansions of the aforementioned textual formulae. B expanded text a to include optional Offices, such as the Office of the Passion, which could be used on days other than Sundays and Saturdays. In the B text, Our Lady’s Little Office became the only option that remained from the list of Hours for recitation. Prayer to her, however, joined with two Examinations of Conscience and with other desired prayers that filled up one hour each day, something not required in the earlier text.

Text B distinguished the Hours of Our Lady from The Little Office of Our Lady. The addition seems to open up the possibility of the use of this prayer by Jesuits other than Scholastics (whether or not they are obliged to say the Divine Office). In either

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62 The Professed Fathers were those who took a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope.
63 The Coadjutors included both material and spiritual assistants. The “material coadjutors” referred to the “Jesuit Brothers,” while the “spiritual coadjutors” referred to “Jesuit priests who did not take the fourth vow of obedience to the Pope but they assisted the Professed in their priestly ministries.
64 The Scholastics of the Society of Jesus were men in training for roles as priests or brothers. For all three formulae, cf. Arturo Codina, Textus Hispanus, pp. 200-202.
65 Arturo Codina, Textus Hispanus, pp. 200-202, lines 35-36, 6 and 23, respectively.
case, in making his judgment about the overall program of prayer, the Superior has to keep perspective on the “true devotion” of the individuals in relationship to that of the founder.

More often than every eight days is not permitted, except for special reasons, giving more respect to necessities than to devotion.... And this will remain totally in the discretion of the Superior; taking for themselves the determined hour more or less in order to say the Hours of Our Lady. But for Scholastics, who are not obligated to say the divine Office, one is able to change more easily the time spent in meditation and other spiritual exercises (completing for themselves the hour in them);... 67

Text a does not recommend the use of the Rosary. B includes two references to the Rosary.

The first of these two references recommends that “some temporal coadjutors who cannot read” fill out the hour of prayer by means of the recitation of the “rosary or crown of Our Lady” as recommended for the Scholastics.

The second reference went beyond urging the simple recitation of the Rosary. Rather, the instructions given to the Scholastics were “to think or meditate on the mysteries contained in it.” The purpose of this “thinking and meditation” on the

67 Ibid., p. 491, n. [343]. “Más a menudo que cada ocho días no se permita, sino por especiales causas, y tuviendo más respecto a la necesidad que a la devoción. Del diferir más de ocho días tampoco se hará sin especiales causes; por las cuales podría también dexarse algún día la Missa, y con algunos augmentarse y diminuirse el término de la oración. Y esto quedará todo en la discreción del Superior; tomándose la hora determinada poco más o menos para decir las Horas de nuestra Señora. Pero en los Escolares, que no son obligados a decir el officio divino, se podrá mudar con más facilidad a tiempos en meditaciones y otros exercicios spirituals(compliéndose la hora en ellos); mayormente con algunos que en el un modo no se aprovechan en spiritu, para poderse más ayudar mediante la gracia divina en el otro, con licencia or por orden de sus Mayores, a quienessss quedará siempre ver si en particulares o algunas causas otra cosa mass conveniese, para hacerlo, teniéndose miramiento a la vera devoción dellos o del fundador y circunstancias de personas, tiempos y lugares.”
mysteries of the life of Christ was to enable greater "attention and devotion"\textsuperscript{68} to those mysteries.

[344] 4. Others (like some temporal Coadjutors or Brothers who may not be able to read), after the Mass, will fulfill their hour, in which they will say the Rosary or Crown of Our Lady[C], along with examining themselves twice a day or some other prayers according to their devotion, as was said of the Scholastics.

[345] C. Regarding saying of the Rosary, they are to be instructed to think or meditate on the mysteries which are contained there, so that they are able to say it with greater attention and devotion. And when they find those who know how to read, who profit more in the Rosary than in the Hours, as we already said, they themselves will be able to commute their prayer into that which will help them more.\textsuperscript{69}

At the same time, although Ignatius did recommend the Rosary, he was flexible enough to allow the reading of "the Hours" for those who found that approach more profitable. Nevertheless, he cautioned Scholastics about desiring "miracles and visions."

Thus, Text \textit{a} also recommended that prayer be tempered with hospital work and pilgrimages, as the footnote below will show. These formal cautions reflected what Ignatius had learned from his own experience at Loyola, Manresa, etc., with regard to Marian visions and apparitions.

\footnotetext[68]{\textsuperscript{68} Antonio M. de Aldama, S.J. \textit{The Constitutions}, p. 160. Cf. footnote 68 in which the Fr. De Aldama pointed out that the "first part of declaration C is also wholly in the hand of St. Ignatius." The author was quoting from paragraph \# [345] in the \textit{Constitutions} which states the following, according to Fr. Ganss: "In regard to the recitation of the rosary, they should be instructed how to think or meditate about the mysteries which it contains, that they may take in this exercise with greater attention and devotion. Moreover, if those who know how to read should find more progress in it than in the recitation of the Hours, they could be changed for what will be more helpful, as was already stated."}

\footnotetext[69]{\textsuperscript{69} Ignacio Iparraguirre. \textit{Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola}, p. 491, \#s [344] and [345]. The translation offered of the following passages is mine. "[344] 4. Otros (como podrian ser algunos Coadjutores temporales queno supiesen leer), después de la Misas tendrán su hora, en el qual dirán el Rosario o Corona de nuestra Señora[C], con examinarse asimismo dos veces en el día, or algunas otras oraciones a su devoción, como está dicho de los Scholares. [345] C. Cerca el rezar el Rosario, sean instruidos a pensar o meditar los misterios que en él se contienen, porque con mayor atención y devoción se puedan exaltar en él. Y quando hallasen los que saben leer más provecho en él que en las Horas, ya está dicho que se podrán commutar en lo que más les ayudará."}
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30 They are to be instructed that they should not desire miracles nor visions; and when they find themselves without compunction, how they might think and how they might behave themselves, walking with humility and good will as best they can in the things related to divine service.

31 The experiences of hospitals and pilgrimages will help all; likewise and more for persons who do not walk as prudently as they ought; but the decision, whether the two months are to be more suitably spent in the hospital or two on pilgrimage or whether they ought to work through the night or only for two or three hours, will remain at the discretion of the superior.\(^{70}\)

A final point suggested that the selective use of Marian titles in the formulae were not arbitrarily chosen but reflect the circumstances of the one taking vows at particular stages of their vocation. For example, the title "Mary" was used for the vow formula for the "simple vows" of the Scholastics, thus, placing them with Mary before her "fiat" and before their own initial, but nonetheless definitive, profession of commitment. For ministers other than those taking first vows, during the profession of solemn vows or their renewal, the title "Mother" was in the formula, perhaps, to remind those committing themselves of the their definitive commitment in line with that of Mary at the foot of the Cross. Regarding this last point, the "primitive text" of the Constitutions reflected the experience of Ignatius of Loyola at Manresa when it recommended the optional use of particular Offices on various days of the week. This was especially for the Offices of the Cross or

the Passion, an Office that included texts related to Mary as *Stabat Mater*, depicting the final expression of commitment by the Mother to the Son.\(^{71}\)

Part of the book of Hours that Iñigo used at Manresa contained the Little Office of Our Lady.\(^{72}\) The fact that this prayer-form was interchangeable with the Rosary ought to indicate that it was considered to be a significant prayer, comparable in importance not only for the spiritual formation of Scholastics, but also for the prayer of Jesuits at other levels of formation, even those fully formed, always, of course, at the discretion of the Superior and according to the individual’s own true devotion and circumstances.

In addition, it is significant that Ignatius proposed specific Marian prayer and devotion in a document like *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus.* Even more significant is the fact that these proposals link with a statement about the retention of new Jesuits by means of specific spiritual tactics linked again with prayer over the Word of God. At the same time, the fulfillment of the obligation of the hour of prayer of all Jesuits does not exclude Mary. The latter statement seems to recognize that adherence of members to the letter of *Constitutions* involves living out the mystery of Mary as well. Later, Ignatius went so far as to place the experiences that he had of visions of Jesus and Mary on the level of those he had with Scripture.\(^{73}\)

\(^{71}\) P. Leturia, *Libros De Horas, Anima Christi, Y Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio,* 17 AHSI: p. 31. Fr. Leturía suggested that Iñigo probably introduced the theme of the *Stabat Mater* into the contemplations of the SpEx based upon his experience of the Hours of the Passion in his own Book of Hours.

\(^{72}\) P. Leturia, *Libros De Horas...,* 21ff. Fr. Leturia pointed out that Polanco was the one who had included the various Hours in Text a. Ignatius’ predilection for the Little Office came out in draft Text A wherein he corrected Polanco’s suggestion with the exclusive recommendation of Our Lady’s Office for the hour of prayer and on a daily basis(p. 22). Leturia also pointed out the connection between Ignatius’ use of the Hours and the use by the Brothers of the Common Life at his College in Paris, thus, connecting this practice with the “methods” of the *Devoto Moderna.*

In the connection between Ignatian and Marian spirituality, Ignatius, thereby, places Mary where she belongs, with her Son. In the Constitutions, he, thereby, places her in relationship to the virtues of humility and poverty. As in the Spiritual Exercises (Cf. #147), he calls upon his followers to “place themselves” under the banner of her Son where they can best grow in grace, wisdom and age before God and those they serve in God’s name.

**Letters to Women**

Let us move on to consider Mary’s place and role in the letters from St. Ignatius to women. Admittedly, the citations that involve Mary are few. However, these citations are, perhaps, more important because they have become significant documentation of the apostolic and spiritual use that Ignatius makes of the image of Mary with women. The dated letters gives some temporal benchmarks within which we can mark of the development of Marian thought and presence in St. Ignatius. Select letters clearly mark what Ignatius knew about Marian theology and when he knew it.

Among the thousands of letters that St. Ignatius wrote during the two decades before his death in Rome in 1556, only one hundred and thirty-nine of those that are extant involve correspondence exchanged with women.74

First, I will focus upon the place and role of Our Lady in the letters written to Women by Ignatius, a total of eighty-nine, and later upon the letters written to Ignatius by Women, a total of fifty.75

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74 Hugo Rahner, *Letters to Women*, (New York: Herder and Herder), 1960, p. xv. “The silent Ignatius reveals to us the secret fullness of his heart not only in his Spiritual Exercises, his mystical diary and his memoirs, but also in his letters, especially, in his hitherto unknown correspondence with women of his time. It was this unexplored territory that we wished to discover the unknown Ignatius.” For similar reasons, these letters became valuable sources of information about Ignatius’ relationship with Mary in and through his relationships with women.
St. Ignatius addressed thirty-nine different women in these eighty-nine different letters to women. The women were from many different social levels, from royalty to the common housewife, from religious women to the mothers of Jesuits.

Ignatius was writing to these women for many different reasons. Some he comforted in times of loss. To others, he passed on his regrets or congratulations in response to their requests for the service of specific Jesuits in their towns and parishes. In the foundation of colleges like Louvain, as with other institutions, for example, he sought the mediation of some of these women with reluctant government or Church officials (as in the case of Joanna, Regent of Spain). Still he consistently refused the persistent pleas of other women for acceptance into the new Society of Jesus where they hoped to be placed under obedience to him.


75 One of the important contributions of Fr. Rahner's book, Letters to Women, was that he brought together all extant letters to and from women in a single volume. The authors who preceded him produced only limited selections of letters (cf. Letters to Women, p. 1 and endnote 3, p. 483). Fr. Rahner also cautioned us about the relatively small number of these letters by pointing out a few other pertinent points about the number one hundred and thirty-nine. We should realize that many letters have been lost including some of Ignatius' correspondence with women. We know about certain letters only from lists called registra which indicate their content. Twenty such lists exist for letters to women and Fr. Rahner gives the names of those involved (p. 483, endnote 6).
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Out of the eighty-nine extant letters, Ignatius referred to Our Lady in only seven. Among these seven, he used her name only twice in very specific contexts. For the purposes of this presentation, the focus of our attention will be on these two letters since

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\(^{76}\) Hugo Rahner, *Letters to Women*, pp. vii-xiv. This list has been culled from Fr. Rahner's table of contents. After the name of the correspondent, the footnote contains the citation from the (12 volumes) or the *Epistolae Mixtæ* (5 volumes), the date of the first extant letter written to the person and, lastly, the overall number of extant letters in parenthesis written to the particular women. 1. Maria de Austria—*Epist. I* 4 202-4, March 26, 1552, (1); 2. Catherine, Queen de Portugal—*Epist. I* 4 183, March 12, 1552, (1); 3. Juana, Infant and Regent of Spain—*Epist. I* 8 235, June 3, 1555, (1); 4. Isabel, Infant of Portugal—*Epist. I* 1 5 458-9, September 3, 1555, (1); 5. Margarita de Austria—*Epist. I* 1 1 272-3, August 13, 1543, etc., (5); 6. Elenora de Medici—*Epist. I* 1 0 397-401, September 23, 1553, etc., (3); 7. Magdalena de Loyola y Araoz—*Epist. I* 1 1 151-2, September 24, 1539, (1); 8. Magdalena de Gallaiztegui—*Epist. I* 1 1 170-1, May 4, 1541, (1); 9. Isabel de Borja—*Epist. I* 3 283-4, January 1, 1551, (1); 10. Luisa de Borja—*Epist. I* 1 5 368-9, August 20, 1553, (1); 11. Juana Menses de Castro—*Epist. I* 3 527-8, June 1, 1551, (1); 12. Joanna Colonna—*Epist. I* 2 311-12, January 18, 1549, etc., (2); 13. Catalina de Zúniga—*Epist. I* 4 384, August 24, 1552, (1); 14. Catalina de Mendoza—*Epist. I* 4 252-3, June 1, 1552, (1); 15. Jacqueline de Croy—*Epist. I* 2 302-4, January 14, 1549, etc., (3); 16. Inés Pascual—*Epist. I* 1 1 71-3, December 6, 1524, etc., (3); 17. Doña María—*Epist. I* 1 1 723-4, January 7, 1553, (1); 18. Maria Frassoni del Gesso—*Epist. I* 4 590-1, January 7, 1553, etc., (5); 19. Costanza Pallavicini Cortesi—*Epist. I* 5 400-1, August 26, 1553, etc., (8); 20. Margherita Gigli de Fantuzzi—*Epist. I* 3 411-12, May 30, 1551, (4); 21. Violante Gozzadini—*Epist. I* 1 8 183-4, December 22, 1554, (2); 22. Lucretia di Storento—*Epist. I* 1 1 412-13, May 17, 1556, (1); 23. Aldonza González de Villasimplex—*Epist. I* 2 395-6, May 4, 1549, (4); 24. Widow Boquet—*Epist. I* 1 7 409-11, August 16, 1554, (1); 25. Isabel Roser—*Epist. I* 1 1 83-9, November 10, 1532, (4); 26. Jacoba Pallovicino da Scipione—*Epist. I* 1 1 723-4, January 7, 1553, (1); 27. Jeronima Pezzani—*Epist. I* 1 6 8-10, December 2, 1553, (1); 28. Theresa Rajadella—*Epist. I* 1 1 99-107, June 8, 1536, (4); 29. Hieronima Oluja and Theresa Rajadella—*Epist. I* 1 2 374-75, April 5, 1549, (1); (Cf. *Epist. I* 1 2 412 in *Regestra* re: his reform proposal); 30. Anchoress at Salamanca—*Epist. I* 1 1 171-3, July 24, 1541, (1); 31. Bartolomea Spadafora—*Epist. I* 1 2 691-93, February 22, 1550, (1); 32. Catherine de Cordoba—*Epist. I* 1 6 709-12, May 15, 1554, (1); 33. Juana de Valencia—*Epist. I* 1 9 552-3, September 5, 1555, (2); 34. Madonna Cesare—*Epist. I* 6 251-2, January 28, 1554, (1); 35. Widow Johanna Agnes Berze—*Epist. I* 7 615-16, October 4, 1544, (1); 36. Magdelena Angela Domenech—*Epist. I* 6 160-2, January 12, 1554, (1); 37. Leonor Mascarenhas—*Epist. I* 1 1 307-310, June 28, 1545, (5); 38. Leonor de Vega Osorio—*Epist. I* 1 1 562-5, July, 1547, (4); 39. Isabel de Vega—*Epist. I* 1 2 258-59, November, 1548, (11).
the other five instances were references made to the rosary with no specific mention of Our Lady.\footnote{This is not to say that these passages related to the rosaries are without value in establishing Ignatius' relationship to Mary. They appear in letters to his blood sister Magdalena Galaiztegui, the Anchoress at Salamanca, Leonor Mascarenhas (2x) and Leonor de Vega Osorio. Information regarding the specific indulgences available to those who recited these special rosaries were included separately in these letters but have, apparently, been lost. The issues surrounding the rosaries would make an interesting study, but for now they would lead us astray. According to the respective addressees named above, the letters may be cited as follows: MI I I 170-1, MI I I 172-3, MI I I 307-10, MI I I 319-20 and MI I 2 189-190. In addition, only six additional letters from women to Ignatius mentioned Mary explicitly. In chronological order, the citations are as follows: MI I 2 371-4(Juana Cardona), Mixt. V 658-61 (Leonor de Vega Osorio), Mixt. II 60-62(Hieronima Oluja and Teresa Rejadella), MI I 12 421-2(Jeronima Perzzani), Mixt. IV 63-4(Maria Frassoni del Gesso), Mixt. IV 148-50(Isabel Roser) and Mixt. IV 222-3(Maria Frassoni del Gesso). Several of these letters spoke of Mary as intercessor, one as her "mediator" together with Jesus and two others expressed the desire for the intercession of Jesus and Mary by placing the dual heading on their letters.}

The two letters are as follows: 1. Ignatius to Inés Pascual, p. 177, Letters to Women, MI I I 171-73, December 6, 1524 and 2. Ignatius to Isabel Roser, p. 264, Letters to Women, MI I I 83-9, November 10, 1532.

The letter to Inés Pascual was the more significant of the two letters from the perspective of a person trying to understand the limits of Mary's place and the dimensions of her intercessory presence in Ignatian prayer and spiritual direction. Most scholars point to this letter as the single text available when they refer to Mary in the letters of St. Ignatius. They do not usually note the significance of the date of the letter for understanding the sources of St. Ignatius' Marian theology, whether that date is 1524 or 1525 as a footnote in the text from the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu indicates.\footnote{Note the date of the first letter to Pascual from Ignatius. The letter Isabel Roser in 1523 has an even more flexible usage of the three colloquies in which the whole or better part of the letter seems to fall within the appeals made in the three to Mary, Jesus and the Father or Trinity.} From the Marian religious experiences of Inigo that we have named so far, we know that Our Lady had become a significant personal and apostolic partner for Inigo. This letter to Pascual marks the first documented attempt by Inigo to attempt to reach out beyond his normal conversational to share his experience and knowledge of
Marian intercession in writing with a faithful but spiritually disturbed laywoman for use in her own spiritual life.

In this letter, Inigo said that he was writing to Inés because he was aware of her desire to serve the Lord. He perceived that her distress was coming from the recent loss of her husband, Moses, who was a “servant of God” himself. Distress also plagued her “because of the many enemies and obstacles in the Lord’s service” that she had in Barcelona.

In addition, Inigo pointed out that the “enemy of human nature” was also a source of temptation operative in her circumstances. In her efforts “to put the glory of the Lord before all things,” he exhorted her that she must not choose “to do things which might cause suffering or harm” to her person. Rather, she must choose “to live in him in joy, giving the body whatever things are necessary for it.” In this way, he was sharing the wisdom that he had only recently learned from personal experience at Manresa where he had gone to physical and spiritual extremes in his own quest. He summed up his mild exhortation by saying the following:

Let your speaking, thinking and conversing be in him and of the things necessary for the body to this end, putting the Lord’s commandments before all else, for this he wants from us and commands.⁷⁹

Lastly, he requested that she speak about her affairs to a man in Barcelona named Callisto.⁸⁰ Ignatius also exhorted Inés to continue her efforts for “the love of our Lord” to whom “we owe (him) so much.”

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⁷⁹ Hugo Rahner, Letters to Women, p. 178, for this translation. The original Spanish text may be found in MI I 1 72 as follows: “Y nuestro hablar, pensar y conversar(sic) sea en él, y en las cosas necesarias del cuerpo para este fin, anteponiendo los mandamientos del Señor adelante; que él esto quiere y esto nos manda.”
With these points in mind, Iñigo recommended that Inés ask for Mary’s intercession. He made this appeal in the final paragraph of his letter normally rich in spiritual content from him. The translation into English of this portion of Fr. Rahner’s letter, deliberately or accidently, leaves out some words of key importance in unfolding the roots of Marian intercession in St. Ignatius. The translation in Fr. Rahner’s book reads as follows:

Pray to our Lady to intercede between us sinners and her Son and to obtain for us in our labours (sic) and toil that our weak and sorry hearts may be changed into strong and joyful ones, to his praise.\(^\text{81}\)

The translation skips the word “gracia” or grace in the original phrase “nos alcance gracia” quoted below. Most importantly, the translator decided to omit the important words “and Lord” in the phrase “Son and Lord” from the original text. These words are important for establishing congruence with the phraseology used in the SpEx on the one hand, but their absence also looses historical and theological connection with some important roots of Ignatian Spirituality that could, at least, help explain Mary’s place and role to those who have loss access to the value of Mary in Ignatian spirituality.

My own translation of the original Spanish text follows with my emphasis added:

Pray to our Lady, that she intercede between us sinners and her son and lord that she obtain the grace for us, with our labor and work, so that he converts for us our weak and sad spirit into strong and joyful ones to his praise.\(^\text{82}\)

80 Soon after this letter was written, Callisto would be a companion of Iñigo at Alcalá. From the reports made by certain women to the Inquisition at Alcalá, we know that he and Callisto gave similarly structured, but a bit more abbreviated, advice to María del Flor for her to ask Mary’s intercession with regard to her vocation in life. According to separate reports, her life eventually changed for the better.

81 Hugo Rahner, *op. cit.*, p. 178, for this translation. Cf. MI 1 I 72 for the original Spanish text that follows: “Plega a nuestra Señora, que entre nosotros pecadores y su hijo y señor nos interceda, y nos alcance gracia, con nuestro labor y trabajo, nuestros espíritus flacos e tristes nos los convierta en fuertes y gozosos en su alaban.” Emphasis mine.

82 Cf. MI 1 I 71-73, especially, p. 72. The original text is as follows: “…nos alcance la gracia de que su hijo y señor nuestro convierta, cooperando nosotros con nuestro trabajo, nuestros espíritus flacos y tristes en fuertes y gozosos.” *Cf. Edi. Maritensi* or the Madrid edition of the Monumenta.
The elimination of words “and Lord” from the phrase “Son and Lord” deflects the attention of the reader from an important cultural element that has theological significance in the relationship between Mary and her Son indicated in Scripture where she is called Mother of the Lord (Luke 1: 43). This incomplete translation impacts the data offered for the retreatant’s understanding of Mary’s intercessory role for the retreatant by eliminating a part of the feudal metaphor that allows Mary to be “Mother of the Lord” and eventually “of the King.”

In addition, the translation is incongruent with the Autograph text of the Spiritual Exercises. In effect, the connections between the two models for the Triple Colloquy in the First (#63) and Second Weeks (#147) which contain the phrase “Son and Lord,” “Hijo y Señor,” are also lost.

On the one hand, the failure to include this part of text causes the reader to miss an opportunity for a proper visualization of Mary’s place and role within the feudal image of the heavenly court. The result is the loss of a clear opportunity for the retreatant to compare this specific visual element of the metaphor to the verbal description of Mary’s intercessory role, leaving behind the elements of Marian theology implied in the relationship with her Son that would make her “Mother of the King.” The usage helps the retreatant retain the basic meaning of intercession so that the important spiritual meaning of the spiritual motherhood can merge into the personal prayer and decision-

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making to accomplish the intent of the author and supporting the individual with the riches of the theological tradition bound up in Mary’s intercession.

On the other hand, the use of the original text places the retreatant in greater metaphorical congruence with the intent of St. Ignatius which the whole metaphorical scheme of his spirituality is taken into consideration. The Autograph(A) and P1 and P2 versions of the text of the SpEx confirms the intent of St. Ignatius.

The second epistolary reference to Mary involves a letter from Iñigo written from Paris to Isabel Roser on November 10, 1532. In this letter, Iñigo referred to three other letters that he had received from Isabel, one containing a “check” for “twenty ducats.” He expressed gratitude for all that Isabel had done for him and acknowledged he owed her more than anyone else alive. He went on to tell her that he trusted her judgment about who to ask, or not to ask, for alms among the women of Barcelona.

In response to the third letter, he started out by recapping what Isabel must have told him about “all the malice, jealousy and false accusations that have been leveled against (her) from all sides.” At the same time, Iñigo did not express surprise at the conflict that now faced Isabel. He reminded her about the “warfare against the world” of which she was already a part and that this comes with giving oneself wholeheartedly to “God our Lord, desiring and striving for his glory, honor and service....”

Under these circumstances, Ignatius offered several different spiritual tactics. The suggested tactics were reminiscent of meditations and colloquies from the Spiritual Exercises, namely, the Principle and Foundation meditation, the Two Standards meditation and the first of the three colloquies associated with the Two Standards meditation. The colloquies were focused upon words with double meanings and upon
insults, keeping Christ’s greater sufferings in mind and praying to Our Lady that “more insults” would come in order that patience might increase in union with Christ. More specifically, the colloquies, including that one addressed to Mary, involved the following:

... that she might obtain the grace from her Son and Lord so that (they would be) received under his banner, first in the highest spiritual poverty, and if his divine majesty would be served to elect and command(them), no less into actual poverty. Also, in bearing disgraces and injuries, the better to imitate Him in them, only that one is able to suffer them without sin on the part of another nor the displeasure of (their) divine majesty; and with this an Ave maria.”

In this same letter to Isabel, Ignatius introduced Mary to Isabel under the title the “Mother of God.” Prayer to Mary was to include desire for more of the verbal injuries that she had received. This was so that she “might merit more and more.” In this way, Isabel would “engraft” herself ever more closely to Christ, the one who suffered for her.

By doing this, Ignatius was suggesting that she would be drawing herself ever more close to Him, endearing herself to the memories of those who would eventually learn the truth about her patience. As an example, Ignatius went on to tell her the story of St. Marina who was an example of patience vindicated at the end of her struggle.

At one and the same time, Ignatius illustrated the meaning of the Marian intercession which leads the individual person or community into congruence with the heart, the interior dispositions and tendencies of Christ, by the example of Mary’s own congruence with Him throughout His life Moreover, the context of spiritual combat in

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84 MI, Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 248, n. 147. This is my translation of the following text: “...a nuestra Señora, porque me alcance gracia de su Hijo y Señor, para que yo sea recibido debaxo de su bandera, y primero en summa pobreza espiritual y, si su diuina(sic) maiestad fuere seruido y me quisiere eligir y rescibir, no menos en la pobreza actual; 2 , en pasar opprobrios y injurias, por más en ellas le ymitar, sólo que las pueda pasar sin peccado de ninguna persona ny displeazer de su diuina maiestad; y con esto vna Aue maria.”
the letter throws into the relief the apostolic application of the special mediations of the Spiritual Exercises with their colloquies involving Mary in a very dramatic way. The text of Ignatius' letter follows:

Nothing of this surprises me, nor even would it do so if it were much more, for from the moment when you give yourself to God our Lord, desiring and striving for his glory, honour and service, you are already embarked on warfare against the world, are setting up your standards against it, and disposing yourself to struggle against what is exalted by embracing what is lowly, resolved to accept indifferently things both high and low—honour and dishonour, riches or poverty, being loved or hated, welcomed or rejected, in short the world's glory or its abuse. So long as they do not go beyond words, we shall not be able to count the insults of this life as much, for all of them together cannot destroy one single hair on our head. Words with double meaning or those which are hurtful and abusive do not cause either more pain—or more inward peace—than what we will to accept. If our desire is to live in absolute honour and glory in the eyes of our neighbours, we shall not be able to be engrafted in God our Lord, nor will it be possible for us to remain indifferent when insults are offered to us. Thus, just as it once pleased me that the world should insult you, so does it grieve me to think that on account of these adversaries, you have sought help and remedy for the trouble and suffering they cause you. Would that it might please the Mother of God, provided that patience and constancy remain undiminished in you—considering the greater insults should come upon you, so that you might merit more and more. If, indeed, we do not find this patience in us, we have greater reason to complain of our own sensuality and of our flesh, and of the fact that we are not so mortified or dead in the matter of worldly things as we should be, than to accuse those persons who insult us; for they provide us with material with which we can gain greater treasure than one can acquire in this life and greater riches than a man can gather together in this world, such as a person in the monastery.

85 The links between the exercise of these colloquies of the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks of the Exercises speak of Mary's pervasive, though hidden, presence in the Spiritual Exercises. This epistolary text of Ignatius to Isabel demonstrates the apostolic application of what is called for in these combined texts and colloquies articulated in the Exercises to "not allow inordinate attachments to interfere with decision-making." This means union with Christ is crucial in these circumstances. It means that the magis of the prayer to the "Eternal Lord," before the Glorious Mother, also means precisely that one consciously enters into this battle of their human sensibilities, a battle with the 'flesh,' between the Spirit of Christ in us and the other spirits in us, so that like Mary by her "fiat," we might also allow the Spirit of God to take flesh in us, becoming "newly incarnate" at the sound of our ongoing "fiat."
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of St. Francis in this very city gained and gathered together.\textsuperscript{86}

The content of this letter draws us into the deepest reflection upon the meaning of Mary’s intercession that we will see in the sparse presence of Marian texts. For this reason, I will speak of the text of his letter again when I draw some conclusions about the place and role of Mary in the written works of St. Ignatius at the end of the next, and final section, of this first chapter.

Except for those who wish to look at the documentation of the events depicted here, the reader can either omit this next section or look at summary of Marian texts at a glance in the first Appendix. Or, one could move on to some conclusions that I want to add at the end of this section about Mary’s presence and role in the Ignatian Sources.

\textsuperscript{86}Rahner, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 266. “Ninguna cosa me marauillo dello, ni mucho más que fuera; porque á la hora que vuestra persona se determina, quiere y con todas fuerças se esfuerça en gloria, honor y servicio Dios N.S., esta tal ya pone batalla contra el mundo, y alca vanda contra el ciglo, y se dispone[á] lançar las cosas altas, abraçoando las cosas baxas, queriendo lleuar por vn hilo lo alto y lo baxo: honra y deshonra, riqueza ó pobreza, querido ó oborrecido, acogido o deshechado, en fin, gloria del mucho ó todas injurias del siglo. No podremos tener en mucho las afrentas destra vida, quando no passan de palabras, porque todas ellas no pueden romper un cabello; y las palabras dobladas, feas e injuriosas no causan más dolor ó más descanso de quanto son deseadas; y si nuestro desseo es viuir en honra absolutamente y en gloria de nuestros vezinos, ni podremos estar bien arraygados en Dios N.S., ni es possible que quedemos sin herida, quando las afrentas se nos ofrecieren. Assi quanto me plazia vna vez que el mundo os afrenta, tanto me pesaua en pensar que por estas aduersidades, por la pena y por el trabajo huistes de buscar remedies de medicina; pluguiese á la madre de Dios, con tal que en vos fuesse entera paciencia y constancia, mirando las mayores afrentas os veniessen, para que más y más mereciéssedes. Y si esta paciencia no hallamos, más razón tenemos de quexarnos de nuestra misma sensualidad y carne, y en no estar nosotros tan amortiguados ni tan muertos en las cosas mundanas como deuriarnos, que no del los que no afrentan; porque ellos nos dan material para nosotros ganar mayores mercaderías, que en esta vida hombre las puede ganar, y mayores riquezas que en este siglo hombre las puede llegar, como ganó y allegó en esta ciudad vna persona en el monasterio de san Francisco,...” Following this passage came the story of St. Marina who entered the monastery pretending to be a man in order to be accepted. When she died and was found to be a woman, a great weight was lifted from the monastery because in her lifetime she had been accused and punished when a young woman, whose advances she pushed away, became vindictive and accused her of impregnating her. Since Isabel was one of the first three women to take vows in the Society of Jesus, the selection of this story may mean more to Ignatius than he expressed here. For our purposes, however, the story seems to have the sole purpose of exemplifying the person who was malformed and was ultimately vindicated by her silent patience in the face of her accusers. For the story of St. Marina, cf. Jacobus de Voragine. The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, trans. William Granger Ryan Volume I (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 324f. Iñigo may have read this story at Loyola castle.
The Autobiography or Acta P. Ignatii

Moving from the letters, we turn to the Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola or, in the original text, the Acta P. Ignatii. In this text, we find St. Ignatius' own perspective with regard to many practical and spiritual events in his life including those involving Mary, Our Lady, the Mother of Jesus Christ Our Lord. His perspective with regard to Mary must be understood in light of the content and dynamics of the Spiritual Exercises and the Spiritual Diary if it will be anything more than a few scattered and quite austere references. Without the content provided by the other Ignatian writings, the Acta would be like a skeleton without musculature.

Translators have put the Acta into many languages. Several recent translations are in English. The titles of the translations shown in the note 54 indicate how the Acta

88 Cf. FN, I, pp. 323-354. A series of encounters between Fr. Ignatius and Da Camera brought the text into being. First, Ignatius chose Luis Gonzalez Da Camara as the one he would talk to about his story. After some time, Da Camara met several times with Ignatius, each time listening to what he said. Afterwards, Da Camara went aside and made notes about what he heard. Later, he formulated the notes into a final text that we call the Acta or Autobiography. The term tradition refers to the various texts that have been in circulation until the critical version was provided in the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu (contains the key critical texts for all writings by St. Ignatius) in 1904. Both Fathers Da Camara and Nadal wrote Prefaces to the document. These were independent formulations which gave us special insights into Ignatius' purpose for finally writing the story.
89 Cf. FN, I, Acta P. Ignatii Prefactio Scriptoris, #3, p. 337. The perspective that St. ignatius agreed to take in writing his Autobiography was outlined by Nadal as follows: Tylenda's translation, p. 123: "I begged the Father to be kind enough to tell us how the Lord had guided him from the beginning of his conversion, so that his explanation could serve as a testament and paternal instruction." Original text: "...pero a Padre atque obsecro, ut nobis vellet exponere, quemadmodum ob initio suae conversionis illum Dominis gubernasset, ut nobis illa expositione esse posset loco testamenti, et paternae institutionis."
have been viewed by various Ignatian scholars compared to someone on the scene like Fr. Nadal.

From the start, the reader needs to understand that St. Ignatius did not write the text of his own "Autobiography," but he dictated it, as the prior footnote mentioned. Most of us think of an "autobiography" as being penned by the one whose life history is being reported, as the etymology of the word suggests. As we also read above in note fifty-two, Fr. Da Camara explained in his Preface to the *Acta* how the document was actually formulated using Ignatius’ skills as a story teller and Da Camara’s skills as a listener and writer. Da Camara described the process as follows:

The Father’s manner of narrating is the same he usually uses in everything else; he does it with such clarity that it seems that the whole past is made present to the listener. Thus, there was no need of my asking him any questions because whatever was essential to make the story intelligible, the Father did not forget to relate. Without saying anything to the Father, I immediately went to write the points down, first sketchily and in my own hand, and later in greater length as it is now written. I have tried not to write a single word other than those that I have heard from the Father, and with regard to those where I fear I have failed it is because, not wanting to depart from the Father’s words, I have not been able to properly explain the force of some of them.  

The process of textual formulation of the *Autobiography* grounds the contention that the words of St. Ignatius about Mary are in the text. The story we do have covers only eighteen years of his life, 1521-1538. This view of his life does not include the first thirty years of his life: not his childhood, not his young manhood, nor the period he spent

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91 *FN, I, Acta F. Ignatii – Praefatio Scriptoris*, # 3, pp. 358f, lines 46-57. "El modo que el Padre tiene de narrar es el que suele en todas las cosas, que es con tanta claridad, que parece que hace al hombre presente todo lo que es pasado; y con esto no era menester demandalle nada, porque todo lo que importaba para hacer al hombre capaz, el Padre se acordaba de decíello: yo venía luego inmediatamente a escribirlo, sin que dijese al Padre nada, primero en puntos de mi mano, y después más largo como está escrito. He trabajado de ninguna palabra poner sino las que he oído del Padre; y cuanto a las cosas que temo haber faltado es, que, por no desviarme de las algunas del Padre, no he podido explicar bien la fuerza de algunas dellas."
at court. At the same time, the story being told may be more accurately termed a “spiritual autobiography,” as some of the authors suggest in their choice of titles in translation. The content was not so much intimate historical detail as the story of how God was acting in his life and how he perceived God’s presence at various stages of the period he choose to discuss.

Near the end of his task, Da Camara left almost immediately for Portugal to be the tutor of King Sebastian, son of Juana of Austria.92 Because of the timing of his departure from Rome, he was unable to get the last portion of his notes written up in time to be dictated to a Spanish scribe. Thus, he waited until he arrived in Genoa where he completed his work with the help of an Italian scribe. The original text, therefore, has been handed down to us with the first part in Spanish and the last part in Italian.93

When we turned to the list of textual citations that mention Our Lady, we identified numerous texts that needed identified and evaluated in light of how they might influence our overall understanding of Mary’s place and role in Ignatian spirituality.

The total number of Marian references include the following numbered paragraphs[#] in the text of the Acta. They represent an overview of Mary’s presence in the text of the Acta: #5[Chivalric Romance novels, Vita Christi and Lives of Saints]; #10[una visitación(a visitation); ... una imagen de nuestra Señora con el santo Niño Jesús(an image of Our Lady and the holy Child Jesus)]; ... con cuya vista por espacio notable(picture for a long time)]; #11[palabras de Cristo de tinta colorada, las de nuestra

92 Fr. Rahner’s book, Letter’s to Women, holds the most accessible source of basic information about Juana. Eventually, she became the one of four women who were officially a part of the Society of Jesus to remain in the Society throughout the rest of her life.

93 FN, I, Acta P. Ignatii, pp. 354-470(Spanish section) and pp. 470-506(Italian section). According to Fr. Tylenda(A Pilgrim’s Journey, p. xii), in the period between 1558-1561, Fr. Hanibal Coudret translated the final Spanish-Italian text of Da Camara into Latin. Both sections can be found in the critical text in FN, I, MHSJ, pp. 354-507, which contain both Prefaces by Da Camara and Nadal. Cf. Tylenda, A Pilgrim’s Journey for translations of both these Prefaces, pp. 1-6 and 123-124, respectively.
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Señora de tinta azul (words of Christ in red ink, those of Our lady in blue ink); #13[... una vigilia en nuestra Señora de Arançuz (a vigil in Our lady of Aranzazu)]; ... una imagen de nuestra Señora... concertase y ornase muy bien(... refurbish and decorate very well ... an image of Our Lady at Navarrete)]; #15[... indignación contra el moro, para... dixese tales cosas de nuestra Señora... obligado volver por su honra(... indignation against the Moor, because... he said such things about Our Lady... he was obligated to return for her honor)]; #17[... velar sus armas toda una noche... delante el altar de nuestra Señora de Monserrate (to make a vigil of arms ... before the altar of Our Lady of Monserrate); ... la spada y el puñal colgase ... en el altar de nuestra Señora (placed his sword and dagger... on the altar of Our Lady)]; #18[La vispera de nuestra Señora de Março (on the Feast of the Annunciation); los dió a un pobre y se vestió de su deseado vestido, y se fué a hincar de rodillas delante el altar de nuestra Señora (gave my clothes to a poor man and dressed himself in his desired garment, and knelt before the altar of Our Lady)]; #20[... ordinariamente leía a la misa la Pasión (... ordinarily he read the Passion{cf. note 5, the Passion from John's Gospel from a book of Hours} at Mass]; #28[... rezando en las gradas del mesmo monasterio las Horas de nuestra Señora... vía la santísima Trinidad en figura de tres teclas (praying the Hours of Our Lady on the steps of the same monastery... he saw the Holy Trinity in a figure of three musical keys)]; #29[... En... Manresa, ... veía con los ojos interiores la humanidad de Cristo, y la figura, que parecía era como un cuerpo blanco, no muy grande ni muy pequeño, ... no... distinción de miembros. Esto vió en Manresa... en Hierusalem, ... y otra vez caminando junto a Padua. A nuestra Señora también ha visto en sínim forma, sin distinguir las partes... le dieron tanta confirmación siempre de la fe... Si no hubiese Escritura... él se determinaría
a morir por ellas, solamente por lo que ha visto(En Manresa...he saw the humanity of Christ with the interior eyes in a figure that seemed like a white body, no very large and not very small...no...distinction of members. This he saw in Manresa...in Jerusalem...and another time working to Padua. He also saw Our Lady in a similar form, without distinguishing the parts...they gave him much confirmation always in faith...If he would not have had Scripture...he would be determined to die for them, solely for what he saw....)]; #45[...grande consolación...devoción...en las visitaciones de los lugares santos...el guardian...hasta que viniese de provincial(...great consolation...devotion...in the visitations of the holy places—Bethlehem, Church of Assumption, Holy Sepulcher...the guardian...until the provincial would come)]; #46[...con promesa...y empezó a escribir cartas para Barcelona para personas espirituales(with the promise...he began to write letters to spiritual persons in Barcelona)]; #55[aquello era tentación...después de hecha oración se fué a santa María de la Mar, junto a la casa del maestro,...declarada...hacia promesa...nunca más tuvo aquellas tentaciones.(...that was a temptation...after praying he went to—the Church of—Holy Mary of the Sea, joined to the house of his—latin—teacher,...told him everything about the temptations,...made a promise to attend all classes...never again those temptations.)]; #74[...venir al toque del Ave María, y salir de día;...(to be home at the sound of the Ave Maria and not leave in the morning before daylight...)]; #89[Alli poveri ha fatto dar' ordine come se fosse provveduto publico et ordinariamente. Et che si tocasse tre volte all’Ave Maria, cioè: la matina, il mezzo giorno, et la sera, acciò il populo facesse orazione, come in Roma.(He saw to it that some provision ws officially and regularly made for the poor, and that the bells were rung thrice in the day, at the time of the angelus, morning, noon and evening, and that the people should pray as they do in Rome.)]; #96[...questo viaggio fu molto specialmente
visitato da Iddio...un'anno senza dire messa, preparandosi et pregando la Madonna lo volesse mettere col suo figliuolo....alcune miglia ..a Roma, in una chiesa, et facendo oratione, ha sentita tal mutazione nell'anima sua, et ha visto tanto chiaramente che Iddio Padre lo mettava con Cristo, suo figliuolo, che non gli basterebbe l'animo di dubitare di questo, senonché Iddio Padre lo metteva col suo figliuolo. (...this journey was very specially visited by God...one year without saying Mass, preparing himself and praying to the Madonna that she would put him with her son....some miles...to Rome, in a church, and praying, he felt such a change in his soul and saw so clearly that God the Father placed him with his son)]

le constitutioni le haveva anche molto spesso;...mi mostrò un fasce assai grande di scritture;...Il più erano visioni, che lui vedeva in confirmatione di alcuna delle constitutioni, et vedendo alle volte Dio Padre, alle volte tutte le tre persone della Trinità, alle volte la Madonna che intercedeva, alle volte che confirmava.(at Mass...many visions...he wrote the constitutions and very often had them;...he showed me a large enough fascicle of writings;...Most were visions which he saw in confirmation of some parts of the Constitutions, sometimes seeing God the Father, other times all the persons of the Trinity, yet other times the Madonna who interceded and sometimes confirmed.])

These citations represent the great variety of texts about Mary present in the Acta. Certain categories may help us to organize the data: intercessory prayer, confirmatory prayer, devotion, devotions, shrines, ex votos, The Spiritual Exercises, Romance novels and Holy Books, among others.

In paragraph #5 of the text of the Acta, we encounter Inigo at Loyola on his bed of convalescence after his battle injuries from Pamplona had begun to heal. At this point, he seems to feel well enough to ask for something to read, hoping to find some chivalric romance novels in the house, but accepting the four volume set of the Life of Christ by Ludolf of Saxony and a copy
of the Golden Legend by Jacobe de Voragine offered to him by his sister-in-law, and chief caretaker, Dona Magdalena Araoz y Loyola.94

In paragraph #10, Ignatius announced that a "visitation" took place on his bed of convalescence at Loyola castle. When he could not sleep, he "saw" an "image of Our Lady and the Holy Child Jesus" which brought with it much consolation that lasted a good long time. Since the event seemed to have washed his mind of past deeds of the "flesh," while it strengthened him against any tendency to even the slightest self-indulgence in the future (in retrospect), he determined that it had to be God working in him.95

In paragraph #11, this freedom from the deeds of his past life allowed him to share the bounty of his changing soul with the rest of the members of the household. At that time, too, he began to take down notes about what was most important in the holy books he had read and reread. When the words of Christ, or of the saints struck him, he copied them in his journal clearly on "polished" and "lined paper," the words of Christ in "red ink," and those of Our Lady "in blue."96 In this way, too, he exhibited a change of soul not only in what he chose to write, and in the care and attractive style in which he wrote it, but also by reflecting the strength and quality of the impulse he was now feeling toward embarking on a journey of service to the Lord.

In paragraph #13, he documented the changes that had become apparent to the members of his family and himself, and his decision to leave the castle to continue his spiritual quest. Earlier, he had sounded out the Carthusian monastery at Miraflores through one of the family servants, apparently, a community that he had read about in Amadis de Gaula,97 but that he decided to delay entering at this time in order to follow his own path to Jerusalem. The

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94 Joseph Tylenda, A Pilgrim's Journey, p. 12, footnote 5. By this gesture, Magdalena may have been instrumental in his process of conversion. Cf. FN, I, Acta S. Ignatii, #5, p. 370, lines 60-65.
96 Ibid., #11, p. 376, lines 49-57.
97 Tylenda, A Pilgrim's Journey, p. 18, n. 12.
announcement of a visit to the Duke of Najera allowed him to leave the castle at a time when his older was trying to influence what he would do with his future. At this moment, the impact of his reading showed itself in several ways that involved Our Lady and the new conviction he carried in his soul.

First, he wanted to travel to Onate to visit one of his blood sisters, probably, María Galaiztegui, who had cared for him after French soldiers carried him by her house on route to Loyola from Pamplona. Ignatius wanted his brother, Pedro, a priest, to accompany him to the sister’s house in Oñate. On the way, Inigo persuaded him to travel to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Aranzazu where he wanted to make an all night vigil of prayer, perhaps, in reparation and/or reconciliation for serious past indiscretions that they carried out in their youth. Either while at the Franciscan sanctuary of Our Lady of Aranzazu, or on the road to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Montserrat, Inigo made a vow of chastity “to Our Lady” seeking the strength not be overcome along the way by his past temptations of the flesh, something that Father Lainez, one of his first companions, spelled out. From the visit with his sister, he went on to the town Naverette to see the Duke who offered him a position that he refused. When he finally collected what was owed him for his past services, he paid some debts and made a gesture indicating his devotion to Our

99 FN, I, Epistula P. Lainii, pp. 74f., lines 51-62. My translation: “In order to pursue his purpose, he determined to go to Catalonia to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Montserrat; and because he had more fear of being overcome on the road by that which pertains to chastity than other things, he made a vow of chastity “to Our Lady” for whom he had special devotion, although without knowledge of such things(namely, not quite theologcally correct in that vows are made only to God); but Our Lord, who gave pure intention and used his most holy Mother as mediator in order to help this creature, seemed to accept this sacrifice and took him under his protection; he did this in such a manner that, up until then having been attacked and overcome by the vice of the flesh, from then on Our Lord gave him the gift of chastity. (...)” “Y para seguir este su propósito, determinó de irse en Catalunia a nuestra Señora de Monserrate; y porque tenía más miedo de ser vencido en lo que toca a la castidad que en otras cosas, hizo en el camino voto de castidad, y esto a nuestra Señora, a la cual tenía especial devoción, aunque no por entonces secundum scientiam; pero nuestro Señor, que daba aquella pura intención, y tomaba su santísima Madre por medio para ayudar a esta criatura, paresció que aceptó este sacrificio, y lo tomó en protección; de tal manera que, con haber sido hasta allí combatido y vencido de vicio de la carne, desde entonces acá nuestro Señor le ha dado el don de la castidad,(y a lo que creo, de muchos quilates.)” (Tylenda 1991, 20), regarding the journey and the vow.
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Lady by refurbishing an “image” of her in a local church, a gesture that one author called typically “Franciscan.”

When he left Navarette, in the spirit of the heroic saints he had read about, he wanted to imitate and outdo them. With this in mind, he went on his way to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Montserrat where he made a vigil of arms. Along the way, he encountered a Moor on horseback with whom he rode along and engaged in conversation related specifically to Our Lady’s perpetual Virginity, namely, her Virginity before, during, and after the birth of the Child, Jesus. The Moor could accept that she had conceived the child without the intervention of a man. But, he was not able to believe or accept that she remained a virgin after the birth of the child, even when Íñigo made his best arguments to overcome his doubts. At the same time, when the Moor chose to ride on ahead unconvinced, Íñigo knew where he would be going and struggled interiorly with the possibility that he had done evil by allowing him to say such things about Our Lady. Strangely, he found relief by putting the decision whether to give the Moor a few stabs with his dagger to the mule, as if to God or to Fate, by allowing him to choose the road he would travel. If the mule went toward where he knew the Moor would stop, he would go and avenge the Virgin. If not, he would continue on his way to Montserrat. As it happened, the mule chose the road to Montserrat and the pilgrim went about stopping at a nearby large town to purchase the cloth for the garment that he would wear on his way to Jerusalem. Ignatius, himself, reported all this and more in paragraph #15 of the Acta.

Upon reaching the monastery and sanctuary of Montserrat, Íñigo had several purposes to accomplish before he would be ready to leave. First, he wanted to make a general confession.

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100 Pedro Leturia, Íñigo de Loyola, p. 135. Fr. Leturia refers to a “statue” although the term in the Acta is “una imagen.”

101 FN, I, Acta S. Ignatii, #13, p. 380, lines 20-21 and #14, p. 382, lines 42-62. On this issue, the complexity of Íñigo’s religious education comes out when we realize that he was willing to try, though unsuccessfully, to give good reasons for the Perpetual Virginity of Our Lady at a time in his life when he was generally considered to have had less religious and spiritual sensibility and training.
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He did that to a priest in writing for three days. Then, he wanted to put on the “livery of Christ.” Before his vigil, he gave all his elegant clothing to a poor man, his mule to the monastery and his sword and dagger he hung as an “ex voto” offering at the altar of Our Lady.

Lastly, he wanted to make an all night “vigil of arms,” “neither sitting or lying down,” but “kneeling or standing” with staff in hand before the altar of Our Lady. He did just that on Monday, the eve of the Feast of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522, before leaving for Manresa, a nearby small town where he wanted to obtain lodging at the local hospital and take a few days to write about his experience in his notebook.102

After all his good intentions, Inigo remained in Manresa where, for almost one whole year,103 God instructed him in spiritual things as a “school-master” would treat a child.104 He told how every day he heard “Mass, vespers and compline” totally sung in the Dominican monastery church. There too, he “ordinarily read the Passion” of St. John’s Gospel at Mass from a book of the Hours.105

From the steps of that same monastery church, he prayed “the(little) Hours of Our Lady” and was lead into a vision of the “most holy Trinity in the figure of three (musical) keys.”106 On another day, he was in the same monastery church “hearing Mass” when he saw with his “interior

103 Ibid., #29 3, p. 402, line 5.
104 Ibid., #27, lines 68-74. “En este tiempo le trataba Dios de la misma manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño, enseñándole; y ora eso fuese por su rudeza y grueso ingenio, (o porque no tenía quien le enseñase), por la firme voluntad que el mismo Dios le había dado para servirle, claramente él juzgaba y siempre ha juzgado que Dios le trataba desta manera;....” Tylenda’s translation: “During this period God was dealing with him in the same way a schoolteacher deals with a child while instructing him. This was because either he was thick and dull of brain, (apparently left out by Tylenda but in the original text: or because he was not able to learn it himself) or because of the firm will that God Himself had implanted in him to serve Him — but he clearly recognized and has always recognized that it was in this way that God dealt with him....”
105 Ibid., #20, p. 390, lines 31-34, respectively, notes 4 and 5 regarding the fact that it was a “Dominican” church and that he read “John’s Gospel” from a book of Hours including, I assume, the key Marian scene at the foot of the cross in chapter 19 verse 26ff. He included at least two references to Marian texts from John’s Gospel in the SpEx. See #s 297.1 and 298.
106 Ibid., #28, p. 402, lines 81-84
eyes” something like “white rays that came from above” at the elevation of the host, the “corpus Domini.” Frequently, he saw “the humanity of Christ” in a “figure” that seemed to be like a “white body” without much distinction of parts. He also saw the same figure at Jerusalem and on the road to Padua. Lastly, he saw “Our Lady” “in a similar form (as Christ) without distinguishing the parts.”

Although no further detail was given in the Acta, the reference to experience similar to those at Manresa in Jerusalem, included having experiences like this when he visited the “holy places” which had to include the churches of the Nativity at Bethlehem, Holy Sepulcher, etc., with their particular Marian connections as well.

While studying in Barcelona, he received “understandings” during the time he spent at Mass and prayer. He did not receive them, however, during the time he spent studying grammar. In this situation, he gradually understood that these “understandings” were temptations that he had to go against. With this, he promised to listen to his school-master during the next two years as long as he had bread and water to sustain him. He made such an effective promise that he never experienced the temptations again.

After completing his studies at Paris, Ignatius returned to Azpeitia in Guipuzcoa on the advice of his doctor to get some of his “native air” and to fortify his health. While he was there, he took upon himself the burden of helping his followers to put their personal affairs to order.

Before leaving his family home, he had preached in the church of Our Lady of Elosiaga, helped settle a long standing dispute between the local clergy and the local convent of the Conception and called upon the governor to deal with a blatant form of clerical infidelity where

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107 Ibid., #29, pp. 402f., lines 16-24.
109 Ibid., #54 and 55, p. 436, lines 11-15 and 18-30.
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laywomen betrothed themselves to priests. Before leaving, he pledged to have the Angelus rung three times daily as at Rome in the estate chapels in order to remind sinners that they were saved, the last of these accomplishments being of the greatest particular interest with regard to his Marian devotion.110

Among the last instances of Marian presence in the Autobiography, Ignatius journeyed to Rome continuing to ask the intercession of Our Lady with her Son and with the Father that he be placed with Him." On the outskirts of the eternal City, Ignatius experienced God the Father placing Him with the Son111 along with such a change in his soul that he could not deny it.

Lastly, Ignatius acknowledged that he experienced many visions associated with the writing of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and that he received confirmation of those Constitutions from the persons of the Trinity and from the Madonna who also interceded for him in these matters.112

Some Conclusions about the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Sources

Without rehashing all of the textual citations in the first Chapter or the first Appendix that gathered these texts, I want to offer my own interpretation of the data that has come out of the Ignatian sources referring to Mary’s place and role.

After completing the analysis of the Ignatian Sources, I want to address the apparent lack of willingness on the part of Ignatius to explain the significance of Mary’s place and role in his writings. Up until I actually studied the Ignatian sources, the general opinion of most of my professors was that there was not enough material to write about Mary in the works of Ignatius. There isn’t much material. The tiny pamphlets and

110 Ibid., #89, pp. 484f., lines 45-47.
111 FN, I, Acta S. Ignatii, #96, p. 496f., lines 88-95.
112 Ibid., #100, pp. 504-506, lines 63-72.
occasional remarks in texts with the exceptions of books by Karl Rahner and a few other theologians, seemed to prove the point. What those professors meant, perhaps, was that what there was of Mary in the texts was so scattered, that so far, no one has been able to put it together in a meaningful way that could be easily popularized. Inspired by the European literature of the last century, I entered into what I considered was an intriguing game of trying to understand the fragments in a way that the whole of Ignatian spirituality made more sense when Mary was included as I thought she should be along with Christ and the Trinity. With these studies in mind, what also arose in my mind was the possibility of mutual enrichment between the Ignatian and the Marian sources.

That conclusion about mutual enrichment led to my taking a look at all of the documented presentations of the Marian presence in the Ignatian sources, even the apparently sparse fragments in the Ignatian letters. I found that the spiritual direction given in the letters brought out the apostolic applications of Marian spirituality and the possibility of their mutual enrichment. The kind of spiritual direction given by Ignatius brought out the true value of the Marian presence and images for the refinement of the process of personal conversion and transformation. Thus, the mutual enrichment of these two fundamentally Christian spiritualities became apparent.

The presentation of the Triple Colloquy in the Spiritual Exercises is more complex than it looks. We all get the idea immediately of the three-tiered form of conversational prayer that somehow involves Marian intercession at the end of a period of meditation or contemplation. Even a cursory look at the “model” forms of the prayer in the First and Second Weeks, manifest several complex spiritual themes bound up or somehow juxtaposed to Mary’s presence. Then, of course, there is the added complexity
of somehow merging these themes, rather one's personal appropriation of them, and joining them yet again with the presence of Christ or the persons of the Trinity. For example, the text of the first colloquy to Mary in the First Week reveals many significant explicit issues that are left undefined or minimally so. These issues include the following: grace, sin, interior knowledge of sin, my sin, hatred of my sin, feeling a sense of the disorder in my actions, hating the disorder and amending my life, obtaining knowledge of the world in order to hate the world and put away the worldly and aimless things in my life.

Whatever the level of our knowledge about Mary's place in the text, we have to acknowledge a substantial presence of Mary in the context of this colloquy of the Spiritual Exercises. The same is true for the colloquy of the Two Standards meditation of the Second Week which extends by instruction, and in combination with the colloquies of special meditations to the rest of the text. This substantial presence of issues refers to the enumerated theological, spiritual and cultural issues that Ignatius seems to have assumed in presenting Our Lady in the context of this colloquy. Beyond the cultural, there are theological, spiritual and practical issues that are called into play and the individual needs to be able to deal with them in creative and integral way that respects the Marian presence in relationship to Christ and the Trinity if their decisions are to be authentically Christian in relationship to their personal revelations.

The cultural issue has an overriding initial importance in the presentation of my interpretation of the meaning and significance of the Marian presence in the Ignatian context because, first it has apparently been forgotten or given short shrift by the recent
generations. The spiritual and theological aspects will have to wait for the proper moment in order to be considered.

The cultural issue strikes the attentive reader first by the use of the title “Our Lady” for Mary and, perhaps, “Eternal Lord” for Christ. Where did Ignatius find these titles? “Our Lady” is his preferred title for Mary in all of the major texts of the Spiritual Exercises. We find “nuestra Senora,” in the Spanish Autograph version and “Dominam nostram,” in the P1 and P2 versions and even in the V version, which further qualifies with the addition of “Christi Matrem,” “the Mother of Christ,” in the Latin.

I raise the issue of the Marian presence in the First colloquy because the title used to describe Mary has roots in medieval, feudal culture, which influences the meaning of this title and provides a specific context in which the titles of lady and lord were used. The cultural issue then provides a broad context that the one who is interpreting the text of the Spiritual Exercises in general, and the Marian presence within it in particular, must first ascertain for the proper interpretation of the role of Mary.

This cultural aspect of the Marian title first brought the urge to look for the source of the titles of lady and lord. The schools of St. Anselm and St. Bernard came up early on and the formula of a three-fold colloquy traced back to St. Bernard and a particular rendition of this spirituality in the writings of his confriar, Arnold de Bonnville. Of course, these links brought with them other links like the Knights Templar, only indirectly related to our considerations, but part of the background of Ignatius at Arevalo.

What was intriguing about this particular point of Ignatius’ thought was the unifying effect that this cultural aspect, really socio-cultural aspect, had, primarily, upon the interpretation of the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises, but secondarily, upon the other
Igatian texts including the letters and Spiritual Diary which give evidence for this kind of interpretation of the Exercises.

This socio-cultural aspect of Ignatius' text allowed and urged one to take into account aspects of feudal relationships that were absolutely crucial in the interpretation of the meaning of Mary's presence in those Exercises. Of course, the resulting metaphor of feudal relationships has implications for all of Ignatian spirituality. But, I'm focusing upon the Marian aspect here and noting that numerous "feudal fragments" in the sources are united by this interpretation.

The collective titles of Mary go beyond the title "Our Lady" adding "Mother" and "Queen" among other titles. As we will see in the Chapter two, feudalism contributes at least two major metaphors that give meaning to Marian presence in the Ignatian context, namely, the feudal courtroom and the image of the Mother of the King within that courtroom.

Taken together these two concepts embrace the essence of the information that explains the meaning of the Marian presence. With that in hand, the significance of the Marian presence may be determined for present and future situations.

The image of God as a feudal courtroom was prevalent in medieval times and found expression in medieval Marian devotion by means of the image of the "Mother of the King," a biblical title that has found renewed importance as part of Marian theology. The feudal language in the vocabulary of St. Ignatius shows an attraction to the medieval and feudal socio-cultural metaphor bound up with the relationships between the knight, the lady and the lord. Based upon my reading of the texts of the Exercises and Spiritual Diary, in conjunction with the other available texts that refer to Mary in the Ignatian
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writings, the description of the image and the function of the Mother of the King describes most helpfully, and effectively, the meaning and significance of the image of Mary as "Our Lady, Queen and Mother," in the Spiritual Exercises and in the other Ignatian contexts in which Mary appears.

Probably the most convincing texts, besides the colloquies with the words "Son and Lord," came in the Spiritual Diary when Ignatius spoke first of his own "shame" in asking for Our Lady, his mediator's help so frequently, and, then, of her perceived shame for the frequent requests on his behalf. This odd mystical experience of Ignatius spoke of the "impetrate power" of the Mother of the King here being manifest in Mary on behalf of St. Ignatius. For this reason, one can conclude to medieval and even feudal influences upon the spirituality of St. Ignatius, as has often been done, but more one can point to the specific image of Mary that defines the particular character of his intercessory presence in Ignatian spirituality.

The reasoning that goes into this assertion involves three fundamental feudal relationships that appear in the text of the Exercises and give this perceived meaning to Mary and to the Exercises themselves as an instrument of prayer and discernment for the Christ disciple who who wishes to recognize and appreciate a relationship with the Church through the Marian presence. The three relationships are those that have noted, the Lord, the knight and the lady.

The relationship between the Lord and the knight was fundamental in this feudal context and also in the chivalric metaphor that we perceive established most clearly in the meditation of the "Two Kings" sometimes called the "Kingdom meditation." The relationship between the King and the knight is a blood pact or covenant between two
parties who depend upon one another for mutual survival, especially, as the “conmigo” of meditation on the “Two Kings” suggests. If one does not remain faithful to the pact, the other could lose everything including his life. The penalty for infidelity to this pact was death or, perhaps, banishment or exile at best. If however the Lady were called upon to intercede, she could become intermediary between a knight and the King. As wife of the King, but especially, as mother of the king she could be instrumental as intercessor on behalf of the knight (or perhaps the king) in the process of reconciliation and renewal of the pact. Justice and Peace could prevail again.

The principle that makes this interpretation work came from the theological interpretation that St. Bernard and others placed upon the feudal categories raising them to represent religious realities. In short, the “lord,” of secular chivalry became the “Lord” in Theology. The “knight” became the “militant” or “active” Christian. The “lady” became “Our Lady.” Her role was then understood to be that of intercessor between the “Lord” and the “knight or active Christian” in search of a renewal of the Baptismal covenant that had somehow been broken the relationship through sin. In this way, the concept of the Mother of the King, known in medieval times and earlier, was used to emphasize the special capabilities of this intercessor who was “Mother of the King.”

The image of the “Mother of the King” within the feudal courtroom brings special nuances to the image of Mary understood in terms of “chivalry a lo divino.” Chivalry a lo divino, understood as religious chivalry, allows the characteristics of the secular “Mother of the King,” or other feudal socio-cultural aspects of the relationship like the concept of “servoli” or “little pages” of the Lady, to become metaphor for relationships with the Mother of the “Son and Lord.” In this way, theoretically, all aspects of the image
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of the "Mother of the King" could be applied to Mary, but the tradition can and does place limits on where the imagination of the individual goes and within what gospel parameters of both testaments new parameters of that relationship may develop.

In this way, the colloquies in the Spiritual Exercises and in the Spiritual Diary reflect an image of the lady who dwells there veiled in her spiritual and theological significance by an undeveloped sense of the meaning of this title in the simple reference to Our Lady. With the title of "Mother of the King," the one whom the King who is Son bows before, she becomes unveiled not only to give a basic image of intercession to those who have no clue from the clutter of their own culture, but also to understand Mary's intercessory role in a more nuanced fashion in relationship to the Mother of the King as the experience of St. Ignatius might have revealed with regard to Isabel and her short-lived son Don Juan. The advantage of establishing this image and metaphor make it especially valuable in sharing the meaning and significance of Marian intercession with those who use the Ignatian spiritual structures to enhance their personal or communal prayer.

The title "Our Lady" absorbs all of the titles linked with Mary in the Ignatian sources, "Lady, Queen and Mother" becoming the "Mother of the King" in the context of the Exercises, whether "narrative"(scriptural) or "functional(colloquies) presence, creating the opportunity and the environment for theological reflection based upon a new theological richness not added to the text but retrieved from a title that had remained static for some time. The presence of Mary under the composite image of the "Mother of the King" reflects her personal testimony(brought out in the scriptures) towards the receiver of the spiritual exercise and the conflict or congruence that emerges between
their testimonies become immediately apparent. Her personal testimony is one with the testimony of the Eternal King, just as her flesh is in-the-flesh of her Son, Jesus Christ. Her testimonial “fiat” gives personal concreteness to the Baptismal convenant of every person who follows the Eternal King. Her spiritual motherhood of all Christians is in fact their baptismal rebirth in the womb of the Church of which Mary is the Mother. This rebirth is supported by sacraments of the Church beginning with Baptism and including all the formal sacraments which are the mother’s milk to the members of the Church, the Body of Christ.

Why is the socio-cultural aspect of the Marian presence so important for Ignatian spirituality? The short answer is because the cultural aspect of the Marian presence, understood on the level of Marian theology, can most quickly focus the attention of the individual upon what in their lives of prayer (cf. SpEx, #s 63, 98, 147, etc.) will most effectively lead them to examine themselves in light of their relationship with the Lord Jesus. The socio-cultural of relationships made, broken and reformed makes possible the imagine those relationships on the theological and spiritual level.

The feudal image of the courtroom places the whole heavenly court including the Lord, the Lady and the knight in a recognizable place with recognizable rules of order. Within those recognizable rules of order, the dramatic attention of a person’s spiritual journey focuses upon their relationship with Christ. This is the purpose of the presence of the Mother of the King, to sustain the kingdom of her Son. She makes her Son who is King aware of needs of his people and to disperse what is needed to those people in need. He listens to everything she says and always answers her requests on behalf of others. Anything she asks for, she gets.
The use of the colloquies in the two letters to Ines Paschual and Isabel Roser illustrates how Ignatius blended the spiritual combat with the role of Mary as intercessor.

Firstly, the context of these letters is most important to keep in mind.

The letter to Ines Paschual, you will recall, comes in 1524 or 1525, right around the time Inigo was returning to Spain from Jerusalem. If he left Loyola for the first time when he was around twelve or fifteen years old, he was now close to thirty years of age at the time of his return from Jerusalem, about mid-way in his lifespan.

What is interesting is the fact that he starts using his knowledge of Marian intercession so quickly after his conversion just a year earlier, first in this letter to Ines Paschual, then in the context of his work with the women in Alcala and later in his letter to Isabel Roser. What this action may say is that Inigo took a lot more spirituality from his experience at court than the traditional interpretations have lead us to believe.

This assumption is important for the interpretation of the Ignatian-Marian data. The assumption means that the title “Our Lady” was understood in a feudal context not long after the time at Manresa when the first draft of the Spiritual Exercises was supposed to have been written. Ignatius was assuming the root metaphor of the aforementioned feudal relationships to explain the intercessory place given to Mary in very early in his spiritual journey. It was common knowledge to many of the people of his time. His first extant publication, so to say, of the Marian presence was his own letter in which he requested a grace for himself and for Ines that was couched in the language of what we have later come to know as the Triple Colloquy of the Spiritual Exercises with its medieval and feudal roots. This colloquial or conversational context of this prayer can allows for a variety of theological and spiritual notions linked with
Mary to be addressed in connection with her role as Mother of the King. The explanation of these notions brings clarity to the retreat experience for both the giver and the receiver of the Spiritual Exercises.

Recall the letter to Isabel Roser. It was outlined in the section above dedicated to the Marian presence in the letters of St. Ignatius. The first phrase that struck me forcefully was "warfare against the world," itself reminiscent of part of the content which Ignatius asked the retreatant to examine and eradicate in themselves in the Ines Paschual letter. The point here is, of course, the spiritual, interior conflict like that rehearsed in Romans 7: 14ff., a significant passage for any retreat.

This "warfare" was presented in the context of the "Two Standards" mediation which depicts a battle between the armies of Christ and the armies of the evil one, Lucifer, the light-bearer or deciever. The "Standards" refer to the flags of these two armies and are the symbols of those armies. The battle "against the world" means a struggle against "...what is exalted by embracing what is lowly..." To repeat for clarity and emphasis, Inigo stated it as follows:

...for from the moment you give yourself to God our Lord, desiring and striving for his glory, honour and service, you are already embarked on warfare against the world, (you) are setting yourself up against it, and disposing yourself to struggle against what is exalted by embracing what is lowly—honour and dishonour, riches or poverty, to be loved or hated, welcomed or rejected, in short the world’s glory or its abuse. If our desire is to live in absolute honour and glory in the eyes of our neighbours, we shall not be able to be engrafted in God our Lord, nor will it be possible for us to remain indifferent when insults are offered to us.  

Living within the fact of our being "saved sinner" seems to be very difficult for many, if not, all Christians. How do we overcome the complacency that could come with

113 H. Rahner, Letters to Women, p. 266.
the knowledge that God has already redeemed us by the grace of Jesus Christ, His Son, while at the same time being able to maintain a sense of being saved, or of our salvation, in the midst of personal concrete knowledge and experience of our own sins and sinful tendencies? It seems that we resist embracing "both the light and the darkness" within us.

It was in the discourse with one's "Creator and Lord" (Jesus Christ for Ignatius) that the soul finds this healing self-forgiveness that brings one back into the good graces of the Giver of all graces. To Him, Inigo makes the final added prayer moving predictably from the image of the "Mother of God" to the "Creator and Lord," and finally to God, the Father, in the Trinity. He asks in that prayer that, if it pleases the Lord, he "take(us) into his affections and his house," in the "celestial homeland." That is, Inigo asks for the abundant graces that will allow one to bear all of the adversities in life and in every situation where we can serve God.

Finally, we know that he was familiar with this grace himself. He knew its concrete effects in his life because of the final twist of humility he adds in asking for grace for Isabel. Thus, even his final pithy recapitulation of the message that he wished to impart disclosed the kind of humility that it takes to live out God's love in the world. For Inigo, the one who epitomizes this kind of spiritual wisdom of choosing to be with the lowly is Mary, the Mother of God. Her Magnificat reveals this clearly. So he asked Isabel to invoke her in the hope that her persecutions will increase her "lowliness" and, thus, she will be the more "engafted into Christ" in solidarity with the compassion of his Mother who did not waiver through her own pilgrimage of faith.

May it please the most holy Trinity to grant you(Isabel) abundant grace in all the adversities of this life and in all other things in which
you can serve God, as I desire for myself, and to me may he grant no more than that which I desire for you.114

The spiritual battle that is taking place within the individual is in the “order of grace.” And, Mary is our Mother in the order of grace (cf. Lumen Gentium and Redemptoris Mater). It is in the depiction of the conflict in graphic terms, described best by the image of the Eternal King based upon the Temporal one of the Two Kings meditation, that Ignatius can interject the image of the “Glorious Mother” who leads the way for the Christian to humble themselves in ways that identify them with her Son. In this way, she is the “Lady, Queen, Mother” of Ignatian spirituality who pleads with the Father as the penitent’s Lady. The Lady intercedes for the truly penitent person that they be placed “under His standard” so that they too might be glorified with Him.

As a final gesture, I suggest something about the significance of the Marian presence. The Marian presence exists in the Spiritual Exercises in terms of scripture related to Mary’s life in relationship to her Son. That Marian presence also exists in terms of the special encounters with Mary in the Colloquies. The prayer of the Exercises takes place in relationship to biblical texts and the results of that prayer, ideally, carries forward into the colloquies between the retreatant and Mary, Jesus, the Trinity and God. In a meeting between the giver and the receiver after a session of prayer, they debrief in private the previous hours of prayer. The two talk about what happened in the prayer of the receiver and the giver listens to what happens, asks about what was going on inside the person at the time and shares their own personal faith-experience and other pertinent points for mediation. As the “repetitions” of the Exercises continue, various issues may be discussed between the giver and receiver of the retreat if they are linked with the

114 Letters to Women, p. 267.
scriptural texts prayed over. From these discussions, a mixture of theological, faith, cultural and religious discourse may take place.

Discourse about theological, personal-faith, cultural and religious experiences arise in the sharing about what happened in the prayer of the receiver. Colloquies at the end of these prayer periods, become "privileged encounter" with Mary or one or other persons of the trinity. Each individual person brings forward, at the same time, a kind of personal distillation of the various discourse that become operative depending upon the scriptural matter used for the retreat.

The Marian experience of Ignatius, and his accumulated knowledge of the Marian intercessory role, has convinced him that her role lies in reflecting back to the individual, in a prophetic manner, the true meaning and significance of their own personal thoughts and actions, using her as a model for anyone who wishes to validate their experience as truly Christian. This validation of experience takes place in terms of their past experience of humiliation in mission and their potential for union with Christ and their continued identification with Him in the future which Ignatius expresses in terms of "engraphting."

Engraphting ourselves into the affections of Jesus can begin with "placing ourselves" under the protection of the Mother who has been with the Son and who intercedes for the others with her Son. The Son is the One who can give more abundant life in union with His Father and Spirit. The beginning of this process is attention to and attractiveness of the word of God. The structure of the Exercises, whatever the form of prayer being suggested, is to create an environment which is conducive to "putting on the
inner form" of Mary whereby one can be attentive to God’s word (narrative), make it their own in faith-discourse (colloquy) and live that word as Mary did.

Whatever the situation in the contemporary world, whatever the new discourses that arise in the minds of educated people, those who are in touch with the variety of discourses in progress, those who can use words and select the currently effective metaphors, these will aid in putting Jesus Christ in the forefront of minds and hearts by stimulating “many comparisons” of Mary, of Jesus and of the Trinity. In a moment of consolation, Ignatius used the currency of language in his culture to awaken people to God’s graceful presence in their lives, the gift that already brings life out of death and the gifts that is mirrored in “Our Lady,” the “Glorious Mother” who intercedes on our behalf that we be “placed with the Son.”
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Chapter 3

Introduction

This second chapter is dedicated to helping to provide a foundation for an understanding of the place and role of Mary in the life and writings of St. Ignatius Loyola. To lay this foundational understanding, this chapter attempts to deal with the presence of Marian thought and action in the Roman Church in Spain prior to the birth of Ignigo de Loyola and during his lifetime. This retrospective involves consideration of the history of Marian devotion in Spain. It is a prelude to an investigation in the following chapters of the secondary literature that deals with the Marian presence in the life and works of St. Ignatius.

Regarding Mary in the times of Ignatius, the question arises as to how people used to think about Mary in the times prior to Ignatius. What role did Marian images and events play in their lives? What was the level of Marian discourse and action, liturgically and otherwise? The answers to these questions can help us see the Marian texts in their fuller context and make our application of this material more effective in its apostolic uses, especially, in the use of the Spiritual Exercises and in the spiritual direction that builds on the scriptural and contextual situations that support spiritual growth and development of individuals and communities.

Since St. Ignatius lived from the last decade of the fifteenth century to the sixth decade of the sixteenth century, the authors and articles selected reflect studies that documented the Marian presence during this period. In this way, the documentation

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1 Cf. footnote one in Chapter one regarding the name of St. Ignatius.
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throws into relief not only what he inherited by way of thought and action, but also how he used the prevailing understanding of Mary’s place and role in the Church during his own pilgrimage of faith.

To cover this time period, I selected articles by Perez (1956), Herrán (1969), Monsegú (1975), Pozo (1978; 1979), Anasagasti (1979), Llamas-Martinez (1979), Koehler (1980), and Elizabeth A. Johnson (1988). Each author has its own individual importance, though sometimes one author’s work presents a piece of information that is clearly more pertinent our understanding of the presence of Mary in the Ignatian sources. In that case, I attempted to highlight the connections and offer any reflections and conclusions that I think could be drawn in relationship to the Ignatian Sources.

Beyond selecting the articles and authors, the task was to attempt a selective summary of the main ideas of these articles by translating longer or shorter key passages, placing the original texts in the footnotes and placing the translations in the text of this dissertation. This work seemed necessary since so little of this important background documentation was in English. I wanted the translation of portions of the work of these authors to be part of my contribution, as they are already a part of my consideration. The further hope was to provide a doorway through which others might walk to find new paths and new connections according to their own interest, but ultimately toward a deeper understanding of Ignatian Spirituality, Ignatius’ way of proceeding “in the Holy Spirit,” as in this case with regard to Mary the Mother of Jesus.

Perez: The Spanish History of Marian Devotion
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In a posthumously published article, Perez\(^2\) presented what seems to be a brief conglomeration of facts about Mary in the history of the Spanish People. The author told us in his first footnote that he had written two volumes on the subject and had two other volumes in preparation.

The outline provided by the author indicated several different points that he covered in this study. Those points included the Marian History of Spain, the Campaign for the Definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the Marian Geography of Spain and the diverse forms of Marian devotion in Spain.

Because the article touched upon various epochs, not all of the author's information was of the same degree of interest as we already suggested.

To begin, the author made it quite clear that he was not going to study the Marian piety the spiritual, political, intellectual and artistic giants of Spain, but the piety of the entity that he depicted as "the people of Spain." At the same time, he actually did recall the names of some of the "grand personages" from among the Spanish People who were known throughout the world and who had received devotion to Mary from their Spanish ancestors. They then spread that devotion to others. Ignatius of Loyola appeared about midway through the list of these names.

A few of those mentioned were part of the tradition that was supposed to have been handed down and passed on by Ignatius. Those included were Ildephonsus of Toledo, Alphonse Rodriguez, Francis Solano and Maria de Escobar.\(^3\) Included in this group were the Spanish Kings, Heroes, Theologians and Artists who had built churches

in her honor, who had invoked her name in battle, who had defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, or who had created a variety of painted or sculpted artistic works commemorating her mysteries. The devotion of these people was indicative of the deep devotion toward the Mother of God among a people formed by the lights of their great ones. 4

The author's Marian history of the Spanish people included archeological information that showed Marian piety existed in the very first centuries including "the most ancient representation of the Assumption, a bas relief from the third or fourth century." 5 The author noted a gradual evolution of various sanctuaries and liturgical feasts and he pointed out that "The Province of Alava for example, was a kind of marian republic in the interior of the kingdom of Castile." 6

Although the earlier origin seemed unclear, the devotion to the Immaculate Conception become "clearly" present in the fourth century. It did not, however, become public worship until the eleventh. 7 Raymond Lull was the first in a long line of theologians who defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception with the support of the Spanish monarchs and Popes of the Roman Church. 8

At Barcelona, a priest named Juan de Roca successfully defended attacks against the doctrine in public disputes. By order of the King, his winning arguments gained him the title "victorious warrior" as though he had finished a stint on the field of blood. He was crowned and carried triumphantly through the streets of cities and towns.

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4 Perez, 1956, p. 593f.
5 ibid., p. 594.
6 ibid., p. 595.
7 ibid., p. 597.
8 ibid.
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During the plague, cities themselves vowed to defend their belief against attacks aimed at the doctrine "and to celebrate the feast and to fast on its vigil." The center for spreading information in favor of the dogma in Spain was the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception in Barcelona. The group was founded in the chapel of Peter IV. The members supported the cause of the definition at the Council of Basil and sent three small treatises to the emperor Sigmund, while John II of Castile sent "the celebrated John de Segovia" who obtained the definition. Because of the Western Schism the definition never was well received in the Church. Several cities in Spain, however, organized feasts and various celebrations that united all classes of people dancing in the streets when they thought the ready for definition. The mutual impact of the devotion upon Church and State seemed extraordinary.

In the sixteenth century, enthusiasm grew with the foundation of the Conceptionistas headed by Béatrice de Silva to whom the Virgin appeared dressed in white robe and blue mantle. Some laity imitated her by wearing "blue scapulars," while others wore blue colored ornaments to Mass.

After long negotiations in Rome between the numerous ambassadors from the Kings of Spain and the Pope, Alexander the Seventh (1661), the pope "explained the purpose of the feast and imposed, with grave sanctions, a perpetual silence on its detractors.... This was the last and most important in a series of steps toward the definition."
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According to Perez, it was in the time of Philip V that the Courts of Aragon and Castile, with the support of the monarch, renewed the demand for the dogmatic definition, "first to Clement XI and then Clement XII."\(^\text{13}\) And, under Charles III, the Courts of Spain, in accord with their King, sought and obtained the Immaculate Conception as the Patroness of Spain.\(^\text{14}\)

Notwithstanding these accomplishments, partial victory with regard the privilege of the Virgin also brought loss. Though the enthusiasm of the people never diminished, the nation had lost the government vehicles to further its cause. The prose and verse written in defense of her privilege, dried up when the Council of royal theologians dissolved. No longer did processions take place in her honor. At the same time, the Spanish Catholics protested "in the press and parliament" when a minister of "the O'Donnel government, "with "schismatic and regalian tendencies," dared "to defend the publication of the bull "Ineffabilis.""\(^\text{15}\)

In 1855, however, the whole of Spain was able to celebrate the Immaculate Conception by appropriate feasts. The Archives of the Cathedral of Puy-en-Velay holds several volumes of documentation about the events that took place in 1904 and 1929 on the gold and diamond anniversaries of the dogmatic definition.\(^\text{16}\)

During the 16th century in Spain, the Marian Congregations of the Society of Jesus flourished with their "sections of the apostolate, of good works and the literary academies."\(^\text{17}\) Our author noted that,

\(^\text{13}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{14}\) Ibid., p. 601.
\(^\text{15}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{16}\) Ibid.
\(^\text{17}\) Ibid., p. 606.
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"In the solemnities of Holy Week and Easter, the Virgin of Sorrows plays a large role. Before being imported from the Low Countries by the sovereigns of the house of Austria, this devotion was already known in Spain, but it became much more prosperous at the beginning of the 16th century, under the names of las Angustias, la Piedad, and la Soledad. By contrast, the devotion of los Gozos (the joys), thriving in the Middle Ages, has nearly fallen into disuse or rather is found, with the devotion to the Sorrows, in the devotion of the Rosary."18

In discussing the "Marian Geography of Spain," the author pointed to the thousand plus sanctuaries of Mary found in that country. Referring only to the most important ones of each region, he began with the sanctuary of Pilar at the head of the list.19 The Marian Sanctuary at Montserrat was among the list of "a certain number of sanctuaries intimately connected with the origins of the Reconquest in the Pyrennes."20 From the ninth century,21 the statue of Our Lady of Montserrat existed in this sanctuary. According to the author, the statue was "found in a grotto" which the tradition states was marked by "miraculous lights."22

As early as the fourteenth century, the city of Chelva had a copy of the room of Our Lady of Loreto. According to a modern map, the city lies northwest of Valencia.23

At Granada, we learned that the people venerate an ancient and miraculous Virgin of the "Angustias," while in Jaen, they venerate the Virgin of the "Capilla."24

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid., p. 602.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
24 In the time of Ignatius, the city of Jaen was, apparently, also the site of the shrine of "Veronica’s veil" and, until it was proven to be a false accusation, Ignatius was incarcerated by the Inquisition for sending two widows—mother and daughter—on pilgrimage there. Cf. FN, I, p. 448, #61, lines 38-64. Cf. also, Appendix II, Women of Alcala.
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In Estramadure, the "most ancient realm of Castile," they venerate the Virgin of Guadeloupe who appeared in the fourteenth century to a cattle herder, 25 "the most celebrated after Our Lady of Pilar."

In Navarre, where Ignatius fought in the battle of Pamplona in 1521, there were so many Marian sanctuaries that the author found it difficult to choose which ones to consider. Among those at Pamplona, the citadel where Inigo was wounded, was the Madonna of "Sainte Marie la Real," a replica of the one that dated back to the Goths. 26

From the Basque Provinces, among the most celebrated shrines that the author named were "Our Lady of Aranzazu and Our Lady of Iciar in Guipuzcoa..." 27

One of "the Diverse Forms of Marian Devotion" in Spain was the pilgrimage associated with some of these shrines. In the Middle Ages, "Pilgrimages to the sanctuaries of Our Lady" were frequent as they were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even until the present day. Closer to the border with France, Montserrat was noted for its visits by foreigners as well as people from within Spain. Notwithstanding these more well known sanctuaries, "In Castile, the sanctuary most visited by pilgrims was Our Lady of Guadeloupe" in spite of its less accessible location. 28

Conclusions and Reflections

This selective summary of Fr. Perez's description of the evolution of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was important for at least two reasons. First, we learned that there was a significant devotion to Mary Immaculate from the earliest centuries in Spain.

25 Perez, p. 603.
26 Perez, p. 604.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., p. 605.
Second, the Spanish people played a significant role in the eventual definition of the Dogma.

Along the way, some of the commentary pointed out that heroes and kings among the Spanish people have been instrumental in passing on the devotion they received from their ancestors in the faith, among them, St. Ignatius himself.

In addition, the mentioning of the name Maria Escobar, a seer, seemed significant in the context of the acceptability or not of doctrines based upon the testimony of persons who reveal "private revelations." This mystical phenomenon continues throughout history.

One important drawback in the article was that the author assumed a knowledge of dates in Spanish history that prevented one unfamiliar with the dates from situating events in relationship to Ignatius' life and writings with greater accuracy. Nor did the article always explain the events and personages of Spanish history that marked the various periods of the development of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. During the sixteenth century, however, we did learn that the Dogma entered a new phase of acceptability among both religious and laity. During Ignatius' lifetime, we learned that the manifestation of the Dogma, and the documented response, were more reminiscent of the guarded response of the Council of Trent than of the enthusiasm noted by the author among the Spanish people.

Given the sensitivity to private revelations, Ignatius may have thought it wiser to simply "celebrate the Mass of La Conception," as reported in his Spiritual Diary (which was private religious information), and only mention the title of Our Lady, without any explanation, one or more times in his letters to avoid addressing issues he felt
outside his capacity or desire to address. Certainly, he did not see it necessary to write anything about Mary as he had thought about doing with regard to the Trinity.

Although "Our Lady of Aranzazu" can easily be recognized as part of the Ignatian-Marian itinerary after he left Loyola, the author documented the sanctuary of Iciar as a prominent one in Guipuzcoa (his home Province) and one that was along the way Ignatius decided to travel, though he never mentioned it as far as I know in the primary Ignatian Sources. Neither do the secondary sources make such a point as far as I know. These and other sanctuaries filled the countryside of the Spanish provinces giving witness to the great attention the Spanish people gave to the veneration of the holy Virgin before, during and after Ignatius' time. But, the documented Marian devotion of St. Ignatius, although it seems to have spanned the local to the "national" for him, from Navarette to Montserrat, he was selective in the shrines and devotions that he celebrated at first. Later, however, he continued Marian devotions at Marian chapels in chain of Benedictine monastery Churches that marked his itinerary of him and his companions from Montmartre in Paris to St. Paul's Outside-the-Walls in Rome.

The reference to Our Lady of "las Angustias" suggested two possible connections with Ignatius. First, there is the connection between the picture Inigo wore pinned inside his clothing as he left Loyola for Aranzazu and Montserrat. Second, the reference to Our Lady as "Soledad" may find expression in the Third Week of the Spiritual Exercises. Ignatius recommended that the retreatant consider spending time alone with Our Lady of "solitude" after the burial of her Son: "At the same time, considering the solitude of Our Lady, with great pain and fatigue; afterwards, for another part, that of the disciples."\(^{29}\)

\(^{29}\) Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 292, #208f, Day seven. "...considerar todo aquel día, quanto más frequente podrá, cómo el cuerpo sacratissimo de Xpo nuestro Señor quedó destado y apartado del ánima, y
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The connections did reveal an interesting overlap between the history of Marian devotion in Spain and the devotion of St. Ignatius. And, thought these realities do not explain why Ignatius picked up this devotion they give some indication how he would have felt very at ease in doing so given his cultural background. That at easeness with the devotion may have translated into a readiness to step beyond into the deeper mysteries of the Marian presence suggested in the connections with his personal devotion to Mary and the documentation of that devotion in his Spiritual Exercises, etc.

Although the connections between the spiritual mission of the new Society of Jesus and the Marian Congregations, or Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary, known today as Christian Life Communities, cannot be developed here, neither can these communities now more focused upon Christ, ignor their historical relationship with the Mother since to neglect her jeopardizes the authenticity of their experiences of the Spiritual Exercises they make on a yearly basis as they loose touch with the place and role of Mary in those Exercises and thus in their communitarian life.30

**Herran: the Amalgamation of secular and sacred through Chivalry**

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30 I refer the interested reader to the Progressio Supplement entitled God Works Like This, by Louis Paulussen, S.J., Rome, c. 1975. In this pamphlet, Fr. Paulussen, of happy memory, wrote about the rise and fall of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The fate of the Sodalities was tied up with the Spiritual Exercises being lived by the membership. When the Society of Jesus was suppressed in the middle to late 18th century, all its missions were also suppressed except the Sodalities. Without the Spiritual Exercises, however, the Sodalities gradually turned into social groups that were without spiritual food to a large degree. Just before Vatican Two, a movement toward renewal eventually developed into the International Federation of Christian Life Communities whose Constitution was sanctioned by Pope Paul VI after Vatican II and its preferred spiritual charism, the Spiritual Exercises, restored to its proper role as a viable source of spiritual nourishment today.
Fr. Herrán wrote about the "Knightly or Chivalric sense and the Medieval Devotion to Our Lady," a topic that was of great interest because of the information that could be gathered about the meaning of medieval Marian devotion in Ignatius’ life.

In his conclusions, the author clearly formulated the issue that he wanted to pursue,

"What relationship may be able to be established, then, between the knightly sense of existence, where the woman is center and summit, and the splendid flowering which Marian devotion experienced in those same centuries of knightly love?"

According to our author, the notions of knightly chivalry and Marian devotion related well as seed to flower. "Amor cortés" was the seed from which developed a special kind of "loving service" on the lips, and at the fingertips, of various Christian saints. Some of these saints lived according to this newly amalgamated spirit, this union of the secular and the sacred. The author dated and summed up his position in the following helpful way:

"For this, the definitive sublimation of courtly or knightly love, which takes place in the beginning of the second period of five years of the 13 c., it is certain that one must have reasons that

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31 Herrán, Laurentino María. "El Sentido Caballeresco y La Devoción Medieval A Nuestra Señora." Estudios Marianos 33 (1969) 153-242. Cf. also, E. Llamas, 1975, p. 42, footnote 20 which cited Herrán and additional sources including a second article by Herrán, "El servicio De Amor de la Devoción a Nuestra Señora(de S. Ildefonso a S. Bernardo)," Estudios Marianos 36 (1972) pp. 165-193. This article pointed out the connection between this "loving service" and the Great Commandment as expressed in Mark’s Gospel, Chapter 12, verse 29, with reference to Deuteronomy(6:4-5)and Leviticus(19:18). What we find interesting here is the fact that the Great Commandment was the fundamental basis of his preaching and counseling at Alcalá. Beatrice Ramirez, a close and loyal follower, nonetheless, seemed to complain to the Judges, at the same time she was understood to be a friendly witness helping to explain Ignatius's doctrine, that all he talked about was the commandment to love and she seemed to want something more.

32 Herrán, 1969, p. 235. "¿Qué relación puede establecerse entonces entre ese sentido caballeresco de la existencia, donde la mujer es centro y cima, y ese expléndido florecimiento que la devoción mariana experimenta en esos mismos siglos de amor caballeresco?"
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... favored the eclipse of courtly love. But, all this was no more than the final stage of a general process of intensive christianization, which, under the marian sign, operated in the culture, in the customs and in the knighthood with those great figures like Alfonso de Sabio, Raymond Lull, Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Thomas of Aquinas, Saint Bernard and Saint Peter Nolasco..."
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(DISCIPLE AND INSPIRER OF ABELARD), MARIA DE FRANCIA, MARIA PEREZ BALTEIRA, HILEDGARDA (†1179), HERADA DE LANDSBERG (†1195).

In addition to these individuals, the author pointed to the "mixed" community at Font Ebraus or Fontevrault. The community was approved as a religious order by Pascual II in 1106 and named an example of "the most significant congregation" of this type and of "the spirit of the times."34 The listed headings and names give us a quick scan of the broad array of content entailed in this period and dealt with by the author.

For those who accept the monastic contribution to the process of christianization and transformation of the "amor cortés," they accept also a movement toward "loving service" that was centered around a monastic contemplative intimacy with the Virgin Mother. Not only were they influenced by the clarity of the statement by the author regarding the Virgin's influence, but also because of the depth and breathe of the evidence gathered. The author showed both the actual meaning of these kinds of love in the monastic literary context and, at the same time, pointed out the gradual evolution of a new relationship that bridged these two distinct forms of love through Mary. These distinct forms of love became manifest in the Church's officially approved and apostolically demonstrated manner, for example, in the community at Fontevrault.

Connections and Reflections: Herran

The focus of attention on this article was most important because of the light that it threw upon the meaning of a relationship of devotion to Mary. Herran first the clear

34 Herrán, 1969, pp. 153-234, especially, p. 233. "Pero la fundación más significativa fue la congregación de Font Ebraus (Fontevrault). Una congregación francamente original, muy del espíritu del tiempo." My translation: "But the most significant congregation was that of Font Ebraus (Fontevrault). It was a congregation freely original, very much of the spirit of the time." In reading the characteristics of this community, we cannot but wonder about some of the similarities and the differences that appear between this original idea and Ignatius' approach to ministry in Rome, especially, Santa Marta and the work of the widow, Isabel Roser.
connection between Chivalry and the Saints, some of whom he named directly influenced Ignatius like St. Francis Assisi, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, confirming those connections again. He dated this time of "intensive christianization" in the early part of the 13c. (1200s) and described it further as a kind of "sublimation of courtly or knightly love." And this sublimation was intimately involved with the relationship between Mary and women because of the relationship that existed between "amor cortes" and "loving service." He pointed to a "monastic contemplative intimacy" with Mary that paralleled the love expressed between the knight and the lady in terms of "loving service." In this way, he led me to the place where Ignatius stands with regard to Mary in the Spiritual Exercises, the place of "contemplative intimacy."

It is out of this intimacy that the great "sublimation" and "Christianization" occurred at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. And, for our purposes, this kind of contemplative intimacy with Mary, through both the scriptures and personal faith response, made possible through the experience of the Spiritual Exercises, brings the receiver of the Exercises into "loving service" under the standard of Christ her Son and Lord. The contemplative experience of Mary bridges the gap between the secular and the sublime order, the order of grace.

In connection with both Mary and women, St. Ignatius gradually used the chivalric term "Lady" to describe both Mary and women. This religious sense used by St. Ignatius developed from the secular sense he knew before his conversion and which he extended to a more religious sense that permeated his attitudes toward women, at least, from the changes that occurred after his convalescence at Loyola castle. According to his own testimony, this change in him, this new religious sense, expressed in terms of the
presence of the Mother and the Holy Child Jesus, carried him through his time at Manresa and up to the time of his death at Rome.

For Ignatius, a great sublimation began at Loyola, continued along his way by means of his vow "to Mary" and flowered in his apostolic relationships with women between Manresa and Jerusalem, during his years in studies and service and again during his years in Rome.

Monsegu: Mary and the Heroic Deeds of the Spanish People

Several notable details stand out in the article by Monsegu35 entitled "Mary in the Heroic Deeds of the Spanish People from the 12th to the 15th centuries." Beginning with an acknowledgment of the importance of knowing "the written testimonies" of "marian adoration and cult through the centuries," through "liturgical, theological and literary means," the author attended to a "no less important" source, the deeds of the people.

Viewed not as isolated religious acts, the deeds were recorded as "heroic deeds (gesta) of a whole people or nation," deeds which expressed their devotion.

"Above all these constitute what we might call deeds of the whole people or nation, those which the presence of Mary becomes palpable, at once for invocation in the hour of battle, or great endeavors, or for the ex-votos, sanctuaries or monuments raised in gratitude, or, simply, as proof of devotion on the part of those who held the command or the representation of such people or nation."36

Acknowledging the special quality of "gestures as their ability to sing (figuratively speaking)," the author pointed out the important connection between the "cult and

36 Ibid., p. 203.
devotion to Mary" and the "religious spirit of our nation." In other words, this devotion had become a "popular and public heritage."

Deeds sing as a Spanish proverb says. And these are the acts which I want, precisely, to recognize, in a very compressed synthesis, in order that through them, as in a wreath of Spanish gestures from the 12th to the 15th centuries, which forms the object of this communication, and which remains very clearly that the cult and devotion to Mary were, already in those centuries, consubstantial with the religious spirit of our nation, or, in other words, a popular and public heritage."

Interestingly, the author saw this religious spirit occurring during the whole period that he hoped to address, namely, the 12th to the 15th centuries. He confirmed his perception by quoting a "famous Spanish tribunal in the first third" of the twentieth century that described the history of Spain in such a way that it could not be conceived outside of devotion to the Virgin.

For further testimony, Fr. Monsegú pointed to a significant source of Marian History in Spain, namely, the important connection between Mary and the recapture of the nation of Spain from the Muslems. Quoting Fr. Pérez, he recounted that,

"In light of the larger Chronicles and Archives, we see Our Lady appearing as the female Captain of the Reconquest and Queen of the states coming to birth, so that like milestones, the sanctuaries of Mary indicated their advances."

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37 Ibid., p. 203. "Los hechos cantan, dice un proverbio español. Y son estos hechos los que yo voy precisamente a recoger, en muy apretada síntesis, para que a través de ellos, como en un festón de la gesta hispánica de los siglos XII al XV(que forma objeto de esta mi comunicación) quede bien claro que el culto y la devoción a María eran, ya en esos siglos, algo consustancial con el espíritu religioso de nuestra nación, o, dicho de otro modo, patrimonio popular y público."

38 Ibid., p. 203.

39 Ibid., p. 204. Cf. Pérez, N., S.J., Historia mariana de España, 4 volumes, I, Santander, 1940, p. 47. "<<A la luz de los cronicones y cartularios vemos aparecer a Nuestra Señora como Capitana de la Reconquista y Reina de los nacientes estados que, como piedras miliarias, señalan sus avances con santuarios de María>>>."
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Moreover, he clearly pointed out the long history of prayerful gestures made by Kings and leaders of Spain during the period he considered. In a document that he quoted from the archives of Navarre, we learned that leaders responded differently on behalf of the Virgin.

"In the archives of Navarre, "Compto 1339," there is a document cited by CLAVERIA, Iconografía, p. 113, according to which Juana I, who was married to Philip the Beautiful of France, maintained a lamp burning, day and night, before the altar of Holy Mary of Pamplona. Charles II, the Evil One, was very devoted to Our Lady of Uxué, whose sanctuary he restored." 40

Alluding to the Catholic Kings in the 16th century being outside his period of study, the author, nevertheless, included some of their actions in his report, claiming they had roots in the previous centuries.

Some examples of Medieval Marian gestures made by the Catholic Kings resonated in life of St. Ignatius. 41

"Through the histories of the distinct sanctuaries, it is clear that Isabel the Catholic professed great devotion to the Lady from childhood under the title of the Virgin of the Angustias of Arevalo. That explained how she might have brought the same devotion to Granada next, when she expelled the Moor

40 Ibid., p. 213, footnote 19. Juana I, the wife of Philip the Beautiful, was "Juana la Loca," the mother of Catherine of Austria (later Queen of Portugal). Most Ignatian authors consider her to have been the woman of the dreams Ignatius had while on his bed of convalescence at Loyola.

41 Immediately, the question arises as to what might have been the role of Isabel's devotion in the development of the obvious devotion that Ignatius had toward the Virgin of the Angustias as he left the castle at Loyola toward Jerusalem? Cf. FN. III, pp. 405-9. Regarding image Ignatius wore, was he somehow introduced to this devotion at the time of his arrival at Arevalo, perhaps, during the events surrounding the Queen's death? Or, was this particular part of his devotion another contribution made by Magdelena Araoz y Loyola, Maria Guevarra or Maria Valasquez, the wife of Juan DeCuellar who were all close to the Queen and influential to greater and lesser degrees in his personal and spiritual development? The impact of these women in the development of Ignatius' affective Marian Spirituality would require some specifically applicable sources whose study would not be appropriate at this time even if they could be easily found. Something more will be said about Mary and Women in Ignatius' times in the last chapter.
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from the City. Beginning to reign, she offered her crown to Our Lady of Parral in Segovia, where she was proclaimed queen.\(^{42}\)

On a separate issue, the author recounted how a cleric made a “vigil of arms” before entering into battle.

"Fray Antonio de Santa María adds that before entering into battle he made a vigil of arms before Our Lady..."\(^{43}\)

Fr. Monsegu reported that another commander of the knights, Juan de Vera, cut off the head of a Moor who spoke badly about the Virgin. As a result, tradition has it that he received 30,000 ducats from Queen Isabel.\(^{44}\)

Conclusions and Reflections: Monsegu

Since the Virgin was inseparable from the lives of the Spanish people, writings about these gestures would be one source of information about how people actually tried to live Christian lives while still defending her. Being from the noble class probably enhanced the possibility of Iñigo hearing some of the stories about various pious and piously extreme gestures at one and the same time.

As a member of the De Cuellar family household, hearing such anecdotes was more probable because of the talk of the court. Ignatius became a part of the court of the Catholic Kings just after the death of Isabel and in the last years of Ferdinand’s reign.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., p. 214. "Por las historias de los distintos santuarios, consta que Isabel la Católica profesó desde niña gran devoción a la Señora, bajo la advocación de la Virgen de las Angustias de Arevalo. Lo que explicaría que llevase el mismo culto luego a Granada, cuando expulsó de la ciudad al moro. Comenzando a reinar, ofreció su corona a Nuestra Señora del Parral en Segovia, donde fue proclamada reina..."

\(^{43}\) Ibid., p. 215. "Fray Antonio de Santa María añade que antes de entrar en batalla veló armas ante Nuestra Señora..." In particular, this event reminds us of Ignatius' vigils of arms at Aranzazu and Montserrat. Cf. FN, I Acta P. Ignatii., p. 380, #13, lines 3 and 4 and pp. 386-388, #s 17 and 18, lines 91-93 and 9-15, respectively.

\(^{44}\) Ibid., p. 215. Cf. FN, I, Acta P. Ignatii., pp. 382 and 384, #s 15 and 16, lines 42-62 and 63-73, respectively.
when he took a second wife with French background. Being aware of the important
gesture at the beginning of her reign, stories of the Queen Isabel’s devotion to Mary
probably would have abounded after her death and, as a member of the extended court
family, he would have heard about them.

For the reader who is already familiar with the basic Ignatian history laid down in
Chapter One, the devotion expressed by Ignatius did not appear for the first time in his
life after his visitation by the Mother and the Holy Child Jesus. The gestures that he
enacted seem to be part of a long history of response to the Virgin that were part of a
broad and deep current of tradition anchored in the religious spirit of his people and
possibly stimulated first by Ignatius’ love affair with the romantic novels of the time.45

Since both Juana I, La Loca, and Queen Isabel were contemporaries of Inigo, the
latter for an even briefer time than the former, the author’s quote about their devotion to
Mary indicated how the devotion of the Spanish aristocracy remained and carried over
into the Ignatian epoch. The devotion of the mother and daughter, two widows of Alcalá,
traveling to the sanctuary at Guadeloupe, gave similar witness that this devotion extended
to the nobles and others even in Ignatius’ own time and personal experience. The
shrines on the Loyola estate, too, were another indication of continued devotion among
the lower nobility and peasantry of the Province of Guipuzcoa and vicinity. Inigo
himself continued the tradition of Marian pilgrimage and restoration of artifacts when he
visited the shrines between Loyola and Jerusalem including the image of Our Lady that
he had restored at Navarrette.46 His later restoration of the tradition of the cycle of the

45 FN, I, Acta P. Ignatii, pp. 368 and 370, #5, lines 57-65. “...no se halló ninguno de
los(Caballerias) que él solía leer, y así le dieron un Vita Christi y un libro de la vida de los Santos en
romance.” Cf. FN, I, Epistola P. Lainii, p. 74, #3, lines 37-38.
46 Fontes Documentales, pp. 341 and 342, for virtually the same testimony as on 341 which
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Angelus prayer among the chapels of the estate were another personal indicator that the devotion to Mary still prevailed during his lifetime and in his own heart.

As far as we know, Ignatius never beheaded any moors. He did point out in his Autobiography that he met a Moor along the road to Montserrat. His irritation with this man seems quite reminiscent of that which gained the “commander of the knights” what seems like a large some of money and fame for the extreme gesture carried out with the support of the Queen herself. You will recall that the gesture of Ignatius was only “a few stabs” with his knife for words that sounded disrespectful toward the Virgin’s state of virginity after the birth of the Child. Ignatius’ own pilgrimage with Mary, and his gestures toward her along the way, seemed in line with the tradition of devotion of earlier centuries, even if, in retrospect, these same practices seemed to be toned down in his own day or lost to us because of the possible omission of some material before his twenty-sixth year.

Pozo I: Sixteenth Century Mariological Concerns

follows. "...—Dixo que fue a Jaén e a nuestra Señora de Guadalupe con su madre e una criada suya, que se llama Catalina." My translation: "...—She said that she was in Jaén and at (the sanctuary of) Our Lady of Guadalupe with her mother and a servant of theirs who is called Catherine." Cf. also, FN, Acta S. Ignatii, 1, p. 380, #13, lines 16-19, regarding his spending some of his money to “arrange and adorn "an image of Our Lady," "..."parte a una imagen de nuestra Señora, que estaba mal concertada, para que se concertase y ornase muy bien." In a sense, Ignatius’ gestures toward Our Lady were further evidence of bridging between the spirit of the Middle Ages and the Spirit of the Renaissance that was taking place in him.

Fr. Gonzales de Camera was the Portuguese Jesuit who wrote down the story that Ignatius reported. In his own reflections on how he was chosen to do the job, and how Ignatius was finally convinced by God that this was the thing he needed to do, told us that Ignatius intended to “give an account of all that had passed through his soul up to that time.” This took place on August 4, 1553, on the vigil of Our Lady of the Snows (Feast Day of the Church of the Major Church of Mary in Rome). In actuality, the account presented in the Autobiography begins in the 26th year of Ignatius life, summarizing the time before that with the sentence, “Until the age of twenty-six he was a man given up to the vanities of the world, and his chief delight used to be in the exercise of arms, with great and vain desire to gain honour.” Cf. Munitiz, Joseph A. and Endean, Philip. St. Ignatius Loyola: Personal Writings. New York: Penguin Books, 1996, pp. 5ff. and p. 13, # [1].
In writing his 1978 article, Fr. Pozo made an important response to Pope Paul VI’s encyclical letter, *Marialis Cultus*. He did this by way of exploring the scriptural underpinnings of some key titles of Our Lady. He chose this particular study because of certain facets of sixteenth century Lutheran Mariology that he felt were still having their effect upon the theology of the Church in the present moment.

In the year 1979, he stepped back to broaden his view of the whole sixteenth century, including its roots in the fifteenth century, and stepped down to a deeper level in order to consider some of the key theological explanations and arguments that were put forth to critique his response in the 1978 article. The author chose to do this to focus our attention on the place and role of Mary in the history of salvation.

In his 1978 article, Fr. Pozo began with his reading of *Marialis Cultus* that recognized, along with Pope Paul VI, that the renovation of "private worship" had to begin with the renovation of piety toward the Most Holy Virgin. This realization came for two reasons: Mary’s dignity as the Mother of God and her singular role in the work of salvation.

In his treatment of the subject of renovation, the important linkage became evident between Liturgy and Scripture from his reading of *Marialis Cultus*. This was especially true in terms of the possibility of opening any ecumenical dialogue on these matters. He took for granted that Luther "had effectively eliminated totally the

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50 See footnote # 72 below.
idea of Mary's intercession" even though it had been present in his earlier work in which he commented upon the *Magnificat*.  

In order to approach the subject of renovation of private prayer through the renovation of Marian piety, the author decided to use the scriptural foundations of Marian piety as the point of departure for his work. He focused upon to the scriptural underpinnings of two concepts related to Mary, the first, related to the title Mother of God, which was more recognizable than the second, related to the "Gebira or Queen-mother."

He approached the title Mother of God in terms of the Annunciation passage from Luke's Gospel. This passage included the phrase "full of grace" which lead the author to consider the title "Arc of the Covenant" in relationship to Mary. The second concept, "Gebira," or Mother of the King, brought him to some passages from the Old Testament.

We will focus upon the second of these two notions because of the explicit connection between the spiritual life, this less recognizable role and title of Mary and our overall understanding of Mary's role in Ignatius' life and writings. In my perception, for Ignatius her role is intimately linked with an understanding the overtones of the title Pozo gives to Mary, "Maria gebira del Reino mesiánico," "Mary Queen-Mother of the Messianic Kingdom."

Pozo's interest in the notion of the Gebira seems to stem from interest in historical work done on the "institutions of the Reign of David." The authors he studied were not interested in the "the figure of Mary." Rather, they were primarily interested in putting

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52 Ibid., p. 218. Cf. also, Pozo, 1979, especially, 15-24, on "The Protest of the Reformers," with emphasis on Luther.
54 Ibid., p. 224.
into relief the traditions of the Davidic dynasty. Historical consideration was possible because the official tasks of the Queen-Mother were recognized and practiced: "...While lacking institutional clarity on the Queen-spouse, the Queen-mother (la <<gebira>>) was, on the contrary, an official duty."\(^{55}\)

He then went on to list the characteristics of the official role from the Biblical sources.\(^{56}\)

The first of these "Queen-mothers" was "Betsabee" or Bathsheba, the wife of David, stolen from Uriah (2 Sam 11 and 12). She was the mother of King Solomon (2 Sam 12: 16ff.), the successor of King David (I Kings 1: 11-21, 28-31; 2: 13-21 and Chronicles 3:5).

In essence, the wife of the King normally bowed to him upon entering his presence. At the same time, when the mother of the King approached, the King stood up, bowed before her and had her enthroned next to him on his right hand side.\(^{57}\)

But, the Queen-mother did not "govern." Her role was limited "to interceding."\(^{58}\)

For Fr. Pozo, it was not important to understand the reasonableness of what she might ask, but "only to state the condition in which the function of the Queen-mother was exercised."\(^{59}\)

The theme of the Queen mother exists in the Canticle of Canticles. Here, the Queen exercised a unique role in the coronation of the King: more specifically, in the "coronation-wedding of the King."

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\(^{55}\) Ibid., p. 225.

\(^{56}\) Ibid., p. 225.

\(^{57}\) Ibid. Emphases mine.

\(^{58}\) Ibid.

\(^{59}\) Ibid.
Daughters of Jerusalem, come out. Look, O daughters of Zion, at King Solomon, at the crown with which his mother crowned him on the day of his wedding, on the day of the gladness of his heart.\(^{60}\)

The author then connected these considerations about the "Davidic reign" with the "messianic reign" of Jesus, heralded in Mark's Gospel 11:10. "Blessed is the coming of our ancestor David!" and he considered "a certain parallelism of structures" between the two reigns as "obvious."\(^{61}\) He stated the reason why all Christians ought to view Mary in this way as follows:

"Christ is the unique King of his Church. He governs it and rules it. But, at his side we meet the figure of a messianic <<gebira>>. The dignity which appears to be invested in the figure of Mary is motive for a cult of veneration toward Her on the part of all those who are citizens of the Kingdom of Christ."\(^{62}\)

After this conclusion about the motivation for all "citizens of the Kingdom of Christ," all Christians to venerate the figure of Mary, the author then went on to make a further analogy between the <<gebira>> of David's reign and Mother Mary of Jesus' messianic kingdom.

First, there is the intervention of the Queen-mother in the coronation of the King. In terms of the relationship between Mary and Jesus, even from the "patristic period," this event has been interpreted as "an act of betrothal"(desposorio) or promise to contract marriage\(^{63}\) and, thus, a prelude to the beginning of the construction of "the organism of salvation,..." which has taken place at the moment of Incarnation in the womb of the Virgin Mary and which makes Mary's "yes" (Luke 1:38) "the first aspect of the co-redemption" attested to by the earliest tradition in St. Irenaeus.\(^{64}\)

\(^{60}\) Ibid. Cf. also, Song of Solomon 3:11, New Revised Standard Version.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.

\(^{62}\) Ibid., p. 226.

\(^{63}\) Ibid.

\(^{64}\) Ibid.
As "messianic <<gebira>>" Mary does not rule, she "intercedes." The author explained what this means by saying that she brings "with maternal heart" the needs of all (sus hijos) (her children) before the throne of the King. This becomes "the foundation of a cult of supplication to Mary" and "invites" us to have confidence in her intercession.65

Recognizing the complementary contributions of Pius XII and Paul VI in proclaiming Mary, respectively, as Queen and as Mother of the Church, the author acknowledged the importance of taking these titles together, something that the study of the title <<gebira>> facilitated.

The author summed up the role of Mary in relation to Christ in the following terms:

"Mary is the Queen-mother of the Church, who, after having intervened actively in the constitution of Christ as King of the Church through the Incarnation, exercises her function through constant intervention in our favor."66

After noting some of the pertinent New Testament passages regarding the implications of the Resurrection, the author then reflected upon the mystery of the Assumption of Mary in parallel with Christ's Resurrection in order to help us understand the meaning of Mary's ongoing role of intervention.

"Only Christ and Mary, the King and the Queen-mother intercede with their whole existential human reality. Joined to the throne of the Father, besides the resurrected heart of

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65 Ibid. This image of the Queen-Mother in the presence of the King, Christ, offers a very clear image of what Ignatius had in mind when he reported his prayer experience in his Spiritual Diary (SpD). What he seems to have had in mind was a guiding image for those who used the Triple Colloquy at strategic moments in the Spiritual Exercises and in their subsequent prayer in daily life. The image becomes an essential mental framework in order to understand the Ignatian dynamics of prayer and so use those dynamics in light of modern scriptural and theological insights to critique our own prayer and action in the apostolic context.

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Christ, is a maternal heart of flesh, the Heart of Mary, beating with love towards us and preoccupying itself with maternal solicitude for our problems. Without doubt, this is not the unique aspect of superiority of the intercession of Mary compared with the intercession of the saints. But still from this aspect alone, it is clear that the intercession of Mary is placed at a superior level to the them."67

Conclusions and Reflections: Pozo I

The analysis that I am presenting of Fr. Pozo’s article surfaced numerous issues related to my interpretation of Mary’s place and role in the Ignatian Sources and in Ignatian Spirituality, the Spiritual Exercises, in particular.

First of all, his initial focus is upon the renewal of “private worship” based upon the call of Paul VI in Marialis Cultus. He has seen the value of using the scriptural foundation of Marian piety as a tool for the renovation of private prayer. Ultimately, the place and role of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises involves the role of Mary in meditative and contemplative prayer over scripture and personal communication with God based upon the impact of God’s word in one’s heart and mind discovered in dialogue with a specially prepared representative of the Community. Restoration of the Marian presence to the Spiritual Exercises, acknowledging and being ready to respond to results of both the “narrative” and “functional” dimensions of her presence, makes possible the introduction of the best of modern scripture scholarship on Mary and the best possible dialogue and integration of the results of those encounters into the spiritual life of the individual and the community. Already, a more biblical approach to Mary has made possible an ecumenical point of departure for theological discussions, as studies on

67 Ibid.
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Mary in the New Testament by Fr. Raymond Brown, et. al., have shown in the past couple decades or so.

For solution of the problem of the restoration of "private prayer," Fr. Pozo's approach led him to look at a notion that I discovered present in Ignatian spirituality. His description of the "Mother of the King," the "Gebira," focused the question of how the scriptural approach would aid in the renewal of the prayer life of the Church members. The information gained from his historical studies of the "Gebira" demonstrate clearly how the biblical foundations in the Hebrew Bible can be supplemented by studies in other disciplines to achieve a fuller understanding the life of prayer. For example, he applied his studies of the "function" of the Queen Mother directly to Mary whom he viewed as the "Mother of the Messianic Reign of Jesus," heralded in Mark's Gospel chapter 11 verse 10, as the author suggested. These studies provided by him make it possible for us to see the kinds of connections that I suggest may be found in the text of the Spiritual Exercises if Mary's role as the "Mother of the King" is accepted in terms of her separately defined roles of "Lady, Queen and Mother." She is, effectively, "glorious Mother" of the King in the Exercises and the connections with the teaching of the Pope's, and thus the Church, can easily come from those connections, namely, the putting together the titles from consecutive Popes like "Queen(Pius XII)" and "Mother of the Church(Paul VI)" with "Mother in the order of grace(Vatican II)" and "Mother of the Redeemer(JPII)." As he says, Gebira studies facilitates this approach and in the case of the Spiritual Exercises, the titles of Mary like "Our Lady" take on much fuller and richer meaning that is more in line with the apparently separate associations made by St. Ignatius in his two model triple colloquies(#'s 63 and 147). The further connection
which the author makes between the role of Mary and Christ as King, literally, “constituting” Him as King of the Church through her positive intervention at the Annunciation, allows her to continue to function through a constant intervention in the ongoing incarnation of Christ in the old and new members of His mystical body. This is what happens in the “privileged encounters” of the colloquies when she appears under all a single title, properly interpreted, that allows for the richness of Marian theology to seep into Ignatian spirituality. As the author stated so profoundly, those who intercede for us, intercede with their “whole existential human reality.” The “whole existential human reality” of Mary, as far as we know it in a scriptural sense, are bound up with the mysteries of the life of Christ which Mary shares with her Son and Lord and which Ignatius shares with the retreatant.

Given the direct focus upon the place and role of the “Gebira,” the article was one of the most exciting contributions to our investigation into the secondary literature on the relationship between Ignatius and Mary. As a Jesuit author, he has clearly set the parameters within which the “function” of the Gebira can be an independent source of biblical information (narrative) and official tasks (function) of that can easily be assimilated into the Ignatian context. Interestingly enough, he did not make any explicit claims or connections related to the Ignatian Exercises or Ignatian spirituality, perhaps, thinking it too “obvious” as he called the parallels between the Queen Mother and Mary.

What Pozo spells out here in greater detail, Ignatius seems to have done in the the Triple colloquies of the First and Second Weeks of the SpEx by placing these two titles
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of "Son and Lord" together, in reference to Mary's "Son and Lord," referring to her in effect as "Mother and Queen." 68

Pozo II: Sixteenth Century Catholic and Protestant Marian Cult

We found Fr. Pozo's 1979 article in the Archivo Teologico Granadino. 69 In this article, the author treated the theme of "The position of the Catholics and Protestants regarding the Marian Cult in the Sixteenth Century." Here, we have a clear and detailed overview of what this seasoned Jesuit author felt were the key Marian issues in the 16th century, in which St. Ignatius lived for half its duration.

Given the "vicissitudes of the Marian cult" in the sixteenth century, the author thought the topic was appropriate. His purpose was to treat these specific issues because of the significant impact he believed they have even today.

"It will permit a better understanding of the Marian cult in this crucial century in which was produced the most painful rupture of Western Christianity and which has continued disgracefully until our day." 70

As indicated by his list of headings, Fr. Pozo covered numerous related subjects: the Autumn of the Middle Ages, Erasmus or the Critique of Humanism, the Protest of the Reformers, the First Catholic Controversialists, the Council of Trent, Saint Peter Canisius, Francis Suarez, Popular Piety (Rosary and MarianCongregations) and a brief

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68 Exercitia Spiritualia # 147. "Un colloquio a nuestra Señora, porque me alcance gracia de su Hijo y Señor, para que yo sea recibido debajo de su bandera,..." My translation: "A Colloquy to Our Lady so that she may obtain grace from her Son and Lord (emphasis mine) in order that I may be received under his standard;..." Cf. also SpEx #63.


70 Pozo, 1979, p. 5.
conclusion which gives the essence of his whole treatment very succinctly. That conclusion is a good additional point of departure for our own summation and response to his article.

Beginning with a nominalist Marian piety with debatable emphases, Erasmus and Luther pass in their critique to an undervaluing of veneration to Mary which arrived logically—above all in the Lutheran heritage—at its dissolution. Among the cautious observations of the first controversialists, the Council of Trent, without being occupied greatly with the theme, indicates certain pathways which are determinant of later development. The post tridentine Marian veneration, such as appears very much the same in its theoretical plan (Canisius and Suarez), as in the life of the Church, represents a vigorous Marian piety, lacking the exaggerations of the Nominalists and having a positive connection with the figures of Mary and Christ. They are always valid roads which we must revert to following in the future. Without doubt, the sensibility of our epoch—for example, our better sense of the Bible—is able to and ought to bring about enrichments. But the fundamental line has been drawn already.\textsuperscript{71}

Considering an inevitable connection between the piety of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the author presented what he considered the source of "a notable part of the controversy about Marian cult during the sixteenth century." These "Nominalist" tendencies, as he termed them, suggested the division of justice and compassion (misericordia), respectively, between Christ and Mary, suggesting "greater confidence in Mary than in Christ."\textsuperscript{72} The author did us the favor of summing up that mentality in this way:

\begin{quote}
Gabriel Biel calls attention to an accentuation of the advocate function of Mary with expressions which suggest placing a greater confidence in her than in Christ: Mary is a mere human person, while Christ is God-man. God does not hear sinners.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., p. 41.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p. 15.
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For this to happen, a Mediatrix is necessary for the Mediator. For this, Mary has been given to us as the Mother of Christ and also our Mother. The Son always listens to her, as the Father listens to the Son. "Advocate" and "Mediatrix" are two titles dear to Catholic piety then and now. But the context of these titles in Gabriel Biel, in which a division was suggested between the justice of Christ and the compassion (misericordia) of Mary, explains a notable part of the controversy of the sixteenth century then and now.73

He also explained that,

"The "protest" of the reformers falls back upon this presentation of Mary who merits to be elected as Mother of Christ."74

In addition to the problems with Marian advocacy and "pious belief" in the Immaculate Conception, there was a third element of dissonance among the critics. They saw interdependent "abuses in the clergy and the people, an ample dogmatic confusion and exteriority of the religious life." Fr. Pozo concluded that Marian devotion was not exempt from the effects of this decadence and the effects came out in the polemics of the 16c.75

As the author noted, Luther's earlier treatment of the Magnificat did not contain the elements of his protest in developed form. His criticism did not seem any different from the critique of the humanists against popular Marian piety.76 At first, it seems that Luther accepted Mary as intercessor. However, he did not use the frequently referred to titles of the age, mediatrix and advocate, in his Commentario. Based upon the passage from 1 Timothy 2:5, regarding Christ as the one mediator, he was not able to accept the theological claim that "Mary is our Mediatrix before Christ." Moreover, in the end, Fr.

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73 Ibid., p. 7.
74 Ibid., p. 8.
75 Ibid., p. 8f.
76 Ibid., p. 15.
Pozo contended that Luther may have depended more on the critique of Biel with regard to the division between the justice of Christ and the compassion or mercy of Mary.\(^{77}\)

In 1522, however, Luther took up a more extreme position that excluded the possibility of Mary's advocacy, though not her intercession. As Pozo summed up quite succinctly, "...intercesora, si; abogada, no", "...intercessor, yes; advocate, no."\(^{78}\)

"The motives in this case did not come from an exegetical difficulty, as it may have happened, at least in part, with the term "Medianera."

The repulsion, in our judgment, proceeds from an emotional reaction of Luther in the face of popular Catholic piety of the times, mixed with his concept, pejorative enough for certain, of what it means to be advocate. In this last aspect, there is reason to think that Luther saw in the advocate the person always in favor of the offender, disposed to save him based upon their own ability and contriving pretexts upon presumed rights of the client. In a word, a person decided, including, if it were possible, to deceive the judge and, in every case, possessing special juridical titles of access to him. Notwithstanding, Luther may have rejected this description because he held it derogatory to the independence of Christ (and already this would be enough in order not to be compatible with his theology), I believe that, understood so, neither would the title of "advocate" have resulted in honor for Mary."\(^{79}\)

In short, Fr. Pozo saw arguments in Luther similar to those which he saw in the "nominalist transfusion of justice and mercy between Christ and Mary, respectively."\(^{80}\)

In his own words, the author pointed out that,

"The idea of Mary as passive on the plane of salvation remained, thus, obscured. The moral value and the sense of personal decision of the "yes" of Mary in Luke 1:38, were eliminated. With it, little by little, the idea of a positive intercessory action of Mary also terminated. In this way, all our confidence is concentrated on Christ alone and not divided between Him and a human person, notwithstanding, she being the Mother of Jesus."\(^{81}\)
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The author then stated Luther's criticism with regard to the precise use of the *Ave Maria* as a prayer of praise only. Luther observed the opposite in the widespread custom of "praying to Mary for oneself and of saying the rosary in order to obtain this or that favor." 82

In 1528, he formally counseled the people to conserve only the first half of the *Ave* omitting the last or supplicatory part. 83 Luther, according to Pozo, seems to have gone even farther in his critique. What Biel had allowed regarding the Divine Maternity and even what Erasmus felt was characteristic of Marian piety, in Pozo's eyes, Luther changed radically.

"The theme of the imitation of Mary, that in Biel referred to the virtue of humility for which Mary had merited her divine Maternity and which in Erasmus, with another plan of action, was made the practical element exclusive to Marian piety, reappeared in Luther but profoundly transformed. The figure of Mary had been let slip imperceptibly until converting itself into a "protestantized" figure of a woman in pure passive reliance before God. At bottom, it was so that Mary taught the passivity of the Lutheran faith that it justifies." 84

The element of Marian passivity carried over into, or was derived from, his interpretation of the text of the Infancy narrative in Luke's Gospel, Chapter 1, verse 28. In the footsteps of Erasmus, Luther translated "kecharitoméne" by the word in German that stood for "gracious," "pretty," "enchantress." This interpretation removed Mary's

81 Ibid., p. 19.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid., p. 19f.
84 Ibid., p. 21.
"merit." It placed her virginity as a post-Annunciation event for Luther, putting him more in harmony with Calvin on this issue, according to our author.85

Thus, according to Pozo, Luther definitely wanted to retain a cult of praise to the Virgin in the Christianity of the Reform, but eliminated "intercession directed to Her."86 However, Luther's desire to retain the praise of Mary in Protestantism has been virtually lost. This is especially true, "if we prescind from the more or less Catholic movements, those that, besides being recent phenomena, are not able to consider themselves characteristic Protestants."87

The question for Pozo, which may be the most crucial question for those of us who are interested in understanding the deeper significance of Mary in the Life and writings of St. Ignatius, was whether or not any positive aspect of Mary's role in the history of salvation might be lost if her praise were not maintained. In this light, the author questions whether or not the laws of "religious psychology" were overlooked by Luther, especially, where the Christian people were involved.88

For our author, however, there was a more seriously disturbing act on the part of Luther with regard to Mary. He described it as follows:

"But more disturbing yet is another fact. Luther suppressed the cult of intercession of Mary in order to concentrate piety in prayer on Christ(note 81). In 1532, he had to acknowledge that, with the suppression of the prayer to Mary, it had not followed that one will pray more to Christ. There is an order of salvation

85 Cf. A. Ross MacKenzie, "Calvin and The Calvinists on Mary," One in Christ 16 (1980) 68-78. Unfortunately, we were not able to corroborate this "post-Annunciation" interpretation of Mary's Virginity in this article. The only direct reference to "virginity" came in relationship to naming the "characteristic repudiation of virginity or celibacy in Protestantism," which on the one hand attempted to make the positive contribution of exalting "the ideal of marriage and family life," but, on the other hand, has "continued the subordination of women" with its emphasis on "patriarchal households(p. 78)."
86 Ibid., p. 22.
87 Ibid., p. 23.
88 Ibid.
desired by God in which Mary had a particular role. Not to recognize this order of realities only brought with it negative consequences. The figure of Christ—against what he expected—did not come out praised, but poorly drawn. 89

What Fr. Pozo has shared with us from his studies on this issue at least helps us to focus upon the meaning of the issue of "intercession." By pointing out the context in which Marian intercession got thrown out by the reformers, he focused upon the practical and ecumenical need to clarify the meaning of the “intercession” and even the “advocacy” of Mary.

Conclusions and Reflections: Pozo II

Ignatius and his followers retained a plausible and workable notion of Mary’s intercession while the theological discussions outlined by Pozo were going on. One of the goals of this dissertation was to describe the notion of “intercession” as understood by St. Ignatius. The notion of the “Lady,” combined with the biblical insights about the “Mother of the King,” offer a researchable, clear and applicable example of the way St. Ignatius perceived Mary’s intercession, properly “passive” in terms of trust in God as in her ‘fiat’ and properly “active” on behalf of those in need who are without a voice, the spiritual ‘infants.” As our author said in his earlier article, Mary “intercedes for us with her total existential reality” as the receptive Virgin and the Mother with a “maternal heart of flesh beating with love” for us and “our problems.”

Although the topic of “intercession” deserves a study in its own right, the whole thrust of what Fr. Pozo has been saying about Protestant theology needs to be connected to contemporary Marian Theology. There have been misunderstandings. There still are

89 Ibid., p. 23f.
today. Every Protestant Christian ought to hear Pozo’s line of argumentation to see whether that line helps or not with coming to clarity. This is also true for Catholics who are unfamiliar with the notions of advocacy and intercession, or leary of using them within their spirituality, accurate understanding of “intercession” in terms of the “whole existential reality of Mary”, for example, cannot be based upon an assumed image of who Mary is. Accurate understanding of Holy Scripture must be the foundation of this image and the image must be understood in terms of its theological implications.

The variety of discourses, theological, cultural, personal faith-related and religious, that surround Mary make her a natural point of reference in the renewal of personal prayer and in authenticating one’s response to the call of Christ either initially or in an ongoing way related to spiritual growth and development. This is what I am referring to in terms to the Marian discourse implied within the Spiritual Exercises.

The point about Luther’s belief that most disturbed Fr. Pozo validly illustrates what I am saying here. In effect, Luther thought praise of Mary somehow diminished the praise of Christ. Without praise of Mary, he thought, praise to Christ had to increase, as Fr. Pozo has described. In the perception of Fr. Pozo, just the opposite has happened. Neither did Protestant people praise Christ more, nor did they better understand the picture of Christ they had presented to them in the absence of Mary. The content and context of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises assumes the imaginative use of the images like the Mother of the King. The image remains biblically grounded and continues to be a valuable locus where all forms of theological discourse and prayer are openly encouraged and accepted including the Marian, Christological and Trinitarian forms suggested by the colloquies alone.
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Anasagasti: The Popular Religious Culture in Times of Ignatius

Fr. Anasagasti's article \(^{90}\) attempts to elucidate the Marian devotion found in the Basque Regions of Spain. The author looked at Marian devotion in these regions during the time between the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries and focused upon Marian devotion in the Provinces of Navarre, Alava, Viscaya and Guipuzcoa. \(^{91}\) The Marian devotion that took place in these Provinces is of special interest because Ignatius was actually born in the Province of Guipuzcoa. \(^{92}\) In addition, all of these Provinces are in close proximity to one another. \(^{93}\)

According to our author, Guipuzcoa had a later and less well documented history of Marian devotion than the other three surrounding Provinces, with the possible exception of Viscaya. However, the existing documents gave indications that the works of religious art, around which the shrines developed, were not always clear sources of information about the temporal or artistic origin of the pieces. More often, those documents offered information regarding previously existing shrines that had transferred a particular piece. \(^{94}\)

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\(^{90}\) Anasagasti, P. Pedro De, O.F.M. "La Devocion A Maria En Navarra Y Vascongadas (Siglos XII-XV)." De Cultu Mariano Saeculis XII-XV III (1979) 219-243.

\(^{91}\) The Province of Guipuzcoa is in northern, central Spain, contiguous on the North with the Bay of Biscay and with a small piece of the Southern border of France to the North Northeast. To the East of Guipuzcoa is the Province of Navarre, to the South, the Province of Alava and to the West, the Province of Viscaya, the Province in which the mother of Ignatius was born in the town of Andarroa, on the northern coast, directly on the provincial border with Guipuzcoa.

\(^{92}\) FN 1, Monumenta Ignatiana: Epistola P. Lainii, p. 71, n. 1. "Familia de Loyola una erat ex viginti quatuor familias, quae in provincia Guipuzcoa dicebantur <<parentum maicrum>> ...."

\(^{93}\) We know, for example, Ignatius' mother, Marina, was born in Viscaya in the town of Andorroa.

\(^{94}\) Anasagasti, p. 240-241, footnotes 21 and 22. On this point, the author quoted Fr. Lizarralde referring to his book on the "Andra Mari" in Guipuzcoa, Bilbao, 1926, pp. 28-29 and 30. Based upon Fr. Lizarralde's findings, Fr. Anasagasti stated that, "De todos modos, al igual que de Vizcaya, hemos de afirmar de Guipuzcoa que la documentacion mariana es tardia y poco expresiva. Y que, muy probablemente, la piedad mariana se habia extendido anteriormente por toda la provincia, aunque no poseamos documentos escritos ni monumentos que la demuestren. Varias de las imagenes marianas se
Like the other regions, the mystery of the Assumption was the most venerated of the titles of Mary in Guipúzcoa, emphasizing her "definitive triumph" at the same time that she remained "unnoticed in the shadow of her Son." Among the oldest Churches dedicated to Mary under this title were the parochial Churches of Azpeitia and Azcoitia, both of which claim Ignatius as their offspring, and both of which probably originated in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as the author suggested. The Kings of Spain mentioned the names of these Churches in their earliest communications with these ancient cities.

Anasagasti, p. 241. "El misterio mariano más venerado es el de la Asunción, que supone el triunfo definitivo de María, ya que mientras vivió en el mundo, pasó desapercibida, como una sombra de su Hijo. Era el primero de los misterios marianos celebrado con culto litúrgico, lo que supone la antigüedad de estas construcciones en honor de María. Señala Lizarralde --además de las más aläes ya citadas--- las iglesias parroquiales de Aduna, Albistur, Alzo, Arechabaleta, Azcoitia, Azpeitia... My translation: "The more venerated marian mystery is that of the Assumption, which supposes the definitive triumph of Mary, seeing that while she lived in the world, she passed unnoticed, as in the shadow of her Son. It was the first of the marian mysteries celebrated with liturgical worship which supposes the antiquity of these constructions in honor of Maria. Lizarralde indicates--moreover about the most ancient already cited---the parochial churches of Aduna, Abistur, Alzo, Arechabaleta, Azcoitia, Azpeitia..." (emphasis mine)

Anasagasti, p. 242. "Citadas las parroquias, sigue el P. Lizarralde(aunque sin fundamentar sus atrevidas afirmaciones): <<Casi la totalidad de estas iglesias, en lo tocante a su fábrica, proceden del siglo décimo o del siguiente; pero tanto por su emplazamiento en el puesto más certero y cómodo del territorio de la respectiva villa, en la parte llana or al nivel medio de la situación de la viviendas escalonadas sobre la falda de una montaña y siempre en sitio preferente respecto a las demás ermitas de la comarca, pretenden ser de origen medioeval, mucho anteriores a los años en que los Reyes concedieron cartas pueblas para la fundación de nuestras villas, en las cuales se las nombra como existentes a varias de las enumeradas>>." The parishes cited, P. Lizarralde follows (notwithstanding without groundig his bold affirmations): <<Almost all of these churches, in touching it at its fabric, begin in the tenth or following century; but many claim, because of their placement in the most central and convenient place in the territory with respect to the town, in the flat part or on the middle level of the situation of the graded houses upon the lower slope of the mountain and always in a preferable situation with respect to the rest of the hermitages..."
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In the immediate region of Loyola, additional shrines of note included Our Lady of Olatz which was the "most venerated in the early sixteenth century." Our Lady of Iciar and Our Lady of Aránzazu both had their list of devotees. All three of these were mentioned for their "images of the Mother of God" and for the "veneration" they received during various epochs.

Fr. Anasagasti also reported that Aránzazu seems to have attracted more devotees than the rest of the shrines. We learned from Fr. Anasagasti that the shrine of Aranzazu was famous for its pilgrimages dedicated to nocturnal vigils during which the pilgrims passed the whole night in "prayers and spiritual canticles" and in "numerous and various public penances."

The author introduced us to a new way of talking about Mary. The turn of phrase, Andra Mari, was Basque in its origin. In effect, the title connects the image of woman and mother to the image of Mary.

When Anasagasti first mentioned the title "Andra Mari" he was pointing out a number of Marian titles that he found in Viscaya including "Mary Queen, Mary crowned by the Angels, Mary Help(of Christians), Mary Star of the Sea." In this context, he

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of the district, to be of medieval origin, long before the years in which the Kings conceded public letters for the foundation of our towns, in which letters he names various ones among those mentioned as existing."

97 Anasagasti, p. 242. "En Aránzazu eran famosas las vigilias nocturnas, en las que los peregrinos pasaban la noche enterá en oraciones y cánticos espirituales, además de las numerosas y variadas penitencias públicas que ejercitaban. Son famosas las peregrinaciones colectivas a Aránzazu, Iciar, Arrate e Izaskun sobre todo." My translation: "In Aránzazu they were famous for nocturnal vigils in which the pilgrims used to pass the whole night in prayers and spiritual canticles, in addition to the numerous and varied public penances that they used to exercise. The collective pilgrimages to Aránzazu, Iciar, Arrate and Izaskun are famous above all."

98 Anasagasti, p. 242. Cf. also, Lizarralde, José A., O.F.M. Andra Mari: Reseña Histórica del Culto de la Virgen Santísima en la Provincia de Vizcaya, Bilbao: Imprenta C. Dochao De Urgüen, 1934. Fr. Lizarralde has also published another volume on the Andra Mari in 1926. That volume was devoted to the Andra Mari in Guipúzcoa and was not available to me at this writing.
indicated that the title "Andra Mari" was the dominant title (advocación) and placed the following parenthesis after the italicized words: "(Mujer = María Madre)." 99

In his conclusions, however, the author went on to give a brief capsule of the meaning of the two words, Andra Mari. He connected them with the mystery of the Assumption and linked them with the notion of Motherhood in a way that he said characterized the Basque mentality regarding Mary. At the same time, this notion of Motherhood of Mary said something significant about the meaning of womanhood. The author commented on the phrase in the following words:

"We have indicated already that the majority of Marian churches were dedicated to the mystery of the Assumption. Nevertheless, the aspect most venerated about Mary, in the whole of the Basque country, is that of her Maternity: it is the ANDRA MARI, the woman or the mother Mary. For this, the majority of the Marian icons are not of Mary as an individual, but with the Child, always making evident the motherhood. For this reason, in the Basque country, the woman, the mother, has occupied a socially preponderant role." 100

The "Cruceros" or "Crosses" were one more example of the kind of art that was related to the "Andra Mari." Anasagasti summarized verbally the same phenomenon which his source, Fr. Lizarralde, had demonstrated photographically and descriptively.

"And more worthy of attention, the one from Crutziaga, en Durango, which is able to situate its birth in the XV century. It is a stone in the form of a cross, in which has been cut the poem of the Redemption, with the fall of our first parents and the redemption through Christ and Mary, and the Resurrection of Christ, symbol of definitive triumph. The serpent, which decoratively occupies a great part of the cross, takes leave

99 Anasagasti, p. 237.
100 Ibid., p. 242. "—Hemos señalado ya que la mayoría de las iglesias marianas están dedicadas al misterio de la Asunción. No obstante, el aspecto más venerado de María, en todo el País Vasco, es el de su Maternidad: es la ANDRA MARI, la mujer o la madre María. Por eso, la mayoría de los iconos marianos no son individuales, sino col el Niño, resaltando siempre la maternidad. Es que en el País Vasco la mujer, la madre, ha ocupado socialmente un papel preponderante."
Several additional points arise in the context of this article that touch on the origins of Marian devotion and particular expressions of that devotion that developed in the Basque areas. These include the mention of a medieval Church dedicated artistically to the life of Mary, the influence of the monks of Cluny, the Vizcayan Marian devotions, the development of the Rosary and Sodalities in Vizcaya and the image of Mary as nursing mother.

Our author acknowledged the role of the Cluniac monks in the development of Marian devotion in the Province of Alava. At the same time, he(1979) did not make any connections with the work of Herrán(1969 and 1972, respectively) on role of a "knightly sense" in developing "loving service" of Mary.102

Alavan icons of all types reflected a range of titles including the Mother in search of her lost son, the Queen, the Mediatrix, the Nutrix of Grace and the Mistress of Life.

"In the immense majority of these icons one searches for the Mother, not in a particular mystery of the many beautiful Marian

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101 Anasagasti, p. 238. "Y más digno de atención, el de Curutziaga, en Durango, que puede situar su nacimiento en el siglo XV. Es una piedra en forma de cruz, en la que se ha tallado el poemsa de la Redención, con la caída de nuestros primeros padres y la redención por Cristo y María, y la Resurrección de Cristo, símbolo del triunfo definitivo. La serpiente, que ocupa decorativamente gran parte de la cruz, se despe de despechada ante el fracaso que ha expimtado. Es una serie de personajes y de símbolos, magistralmente tallados, en las dos alas de la Cruz, y que destacan igualmente por la cualidad de su ejecución señera como por la acertada disposición de sus ideas teológicas tan profundas cuanto comprensibles." Cf. also, Lizarralde, 1934, p. 81, who offers a photograph of the cross that is somewhat helpful in getting a sense of the piece as a whole, but not enlarged well enough to distinguish the figures completely nor to clearly determine Mary's place and function in the piece. The Prolog of Lizarralde's 1934 edition, written by a Spanish Bishop, reflected somewhat on the meaning of the title "Andra Mari." The phrase or title seems to have referred collectively, "to the sacred images of the Virgin that are the hope, the sustenance, the protection and the glory of the great Viscayan people(p. IX)."

102 Anasagasti, p. 229f.
privileges, but in her role of Mother who searches for her lost son. On the one side she is the Queen, the one who appears seated in the majority of cases, signaling majesty, and not a few times adorned on the head with a real crown; she offers...to her Son whom she assists with his plans, now that She is always the Mediatrix, whose function is secondary. Now she bears almost always a symbol in the free hand: a flower, an apple, a book, symbols of her functions by the abundance of divine grace, of the nutrix (alimentadora) of grace, in the same proportion that the apple was the loss of innocence, or as the mistress of life who teaches us where true knowledge is discovered, which is, her Son Jesús.103

The same author also noted that, in Viscaya,104 the Marian titles that predominated were as follows: The Assumption, the Immaculate Conception, the Sorrowful Mary and among others including those we have mentioned in relationship to the "Andra Mari," a title which was said to predominate.105

In Viscaya, too, the rosary and the "cofadias" (local precursors of religious brotherhoods like the later Sodalities of Our Lady--16th c.-- that were linked with the Jesuits of the Roman College) were dedicated to Mary, respectively, practiced and convened just before the end of the fifteenth century and were developed during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.106

Finally, the author mentioned a "curious panel" among the artistic treasures of a Viscayan parochial church. In the work, the Virgin is offering her breast milk to a monk

103 Ibid., p. 230f. "En la misma mayoría de estos iconos se busca a la Madre, no en un misterio particular de tantos hermosos privilegios marianos, sino en su papel de Madre que busca al hijo extraviado. Es Reina por una parte, ya que aparece sentada en la mayoría de los casos, en señal de majestad, y no pocas veces adornada su testa con una corona real; ofrece a su Hijo a quien acude a sus plantas, y que Ella es siempre la Mediadora, cuya función es secundaria; y lleva casi siempre un símbolo en la mano libre: una flor, una manzana, un libro, símbolos de sus funciones de dádivosa de las gracias divinas, de alimentadora de la gracia así como la manzana fue la pérdida de la inocencia, o de maestra de la vida que nos enseña dónde se halla la verdadera ciencia que es su Hijo Jesús."

104 Anasagasti, p. 235. Andarroa, a town on the border between Viscaya and Guipúzcoa, and also on the ocean, was the birthplace of Ignatius' mother, Doña Marina.

105 Anasagasti, p. 237.

106 Anasagasti, p. 237.
devotedly kneeling before her. The image viewed as an extraordinarily graphic interpretation of the spiritual relationship between the Monk and Mary. More accurately, the author connected this image of physical intimacy between mother and child with the spiritual intimacy between St. Bernard and the Virgin, an image of feeding the Church that St. Bernard was to imitate in his own life of evangelical ministry.\footnote{Anasagasti, p. 238. Cf. also, Lizarralde, p. 93, illustration or engraving (Grabado) 33.}

This intimate expression of maternal care was one of many expressions of Marian devotion that helped the people to express the quality of spiritual care needed by the members of the Church, care that was also grounded in the realities of life and in the recognition of the needs for spiritual growth and formation in Christian Faith. This was true as much for the mature Christians as for the neophytes within the Church.

In the tradition of the Church, images like this were considered indicative of the Church’s tendency, through its Popes, Doctors and Theologians, to refer to Mary, parallel with Eve, as Mother of all the living. As Mother of the Church, she was Mother of all those who are alive in and with the Spirit of Christ. That is, she was “restoring supernatural life to souls” by manifesting “obedience, faith, hope and burning charity in the work of the Savior…” For this, \textit{Lumen Gentium} called her our mother “in the order of grace.”\footnote{Austin Flannery, O.P., General Editor, \textit{Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents} (New York: Costello Publishing Company, 1977) 418, n. 61.}

For example, in the Basque regions, so many expressions of Marian devotion were expressions of parental care for their children, carried on in the presence of Mary,
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became a reflection of the care that God shows his people through the Savior given to us through Mary.\(^\text{109}\) Without excluding the transfer of knowledge to the other provinces, the author drew the following conclusion about Viscaya:

"The conclusion is highly optimistic. One can say well that Mary is a protagonist of the greatest importance in the history of the dominion of Vizcaya, not only in the personal history of the citizens, but also in the civil and public life of the people, even in the most important official decisions of the towns and the sovereign region. In the 12th to the 16th century, Vizcaya lived its life completely in the living and confident shadow of the Most Holy Mary, called the Andra Mari by its inhabitants.\(^\text{110}\)

Conclusions and Reflections: Anasagasti

Several points of interest arise from the work of Fr. Anasagasti for the person interested in learning about the background of Marian devotion and theology that both preceded and coincided with the life of St. Ignatius.

Fr. Anasagasti's description of what happened at the shrine of Arantzazu was particularly enlightening about the way devotions are carried on at the shrine of Our Lady of Aranzazu. His insight clarifies that an all night vigil and public penance could have taken place there during the vigil that Inigo planned. The fact that Inigo took along his brother, Pedro, suggests that they both could have been expressing regret for youthful indiscretions and crimes that they committed and now wanted to show that they were behind them and that their lives had taken a new direction.

\(^{109}\) Anasagasti, p. 239.

\(^{110}\) Anasagasti, p. 240. "Hemos señalado tan solo algunas de los santuarios marianos y de las tradiciones más conocidas, que, con pequeños detalles, se repiten en la mayoría de ellos. La conclusión es optimista en alto grado. Bien puede decirse que María es un protagonista de los más importantes en la historia del Señorío de Vizcaya, no solo en la historia personal de sus ciudadanos sino también en la vida civil y pública de sus pueblos, hasta en las determinaciones más importantes oficiales de sus villas y del mismo Señorío. En los siglos XII al XVI, Vizcaya ha vivido su vida compleja a la sombra viva y confiada de María Santísima, la Andra Mari para sus moradores."
The theological and artistic investment put into the reported cross of Durango suggested that the region had a significant belief in the themes being expressed. Particularly significant were the possible connections with Inigo's own devotion to Mary. The sculpture memorializes the Paschal Mystery in which Mary and Jesus are involved within the *Spiritual Exercises*. The scriptural foundation of the First Week lies in Genesis and the colloquy that falls at the end of that meditation (SpEx, #53). The First Week continues the connection in the Third Exercise when the image of Mary is presented in relationship to personal knowledge and abhorrence for personal sin and the sin of the world.

At least one author associated the sculpted panel of the Cross with the Virgin Nutrix, a story thought to be associated with St. Bernard and his own spiritual and apostolic journey. This artistic expression could account for Ignatius' pre-study use of a form of intercession that was dependent on an understanding of Bernard's theology.

Fr. Anasagasti noted that the piece contained everything from the Fall of the first parents through to the Resurrection of the Christ, the "symbol of definitive triumph," thus, summing up the whole thrust of the *Spiritual Exercises* and salvation history at the same time.

Taken by themselves, the holy icons of Alava Province reflected most of the key images that described Mary as Mother and Queen of all Christians: Mother in search of her lost son, the seated Queen, the Mediatrix, the Nutrix of grace and the Mistress of Life. As a seat, throne or lap of Wisdom, she teaches "magisterially," the "true knowledge of Christ Jesus." These images summarize the mystery of Mary in words and visual images.
as surely as the sculpted and embellished Cross epitomized the mystery of salvation in stone.

As we heard, other ecclesiastical expressions of the mysteries of the Assumption, the Immaculate Conception and the Sorrowful Mother were also part of the same public revelation that marked the beginnings of the Rosary. As we have seen, each of these mysteries have their place in the documentation of the Marian mystery in the Ignatian Sources. The first appendix resumes the details.

As other authors have observed, the pre-conversion years of Ignatius have only begun to receive the treatment that they deserve. Part of that needed treatment is a more in-depth consideration of the popular religious culture of Ignatius’ times, especially, during the early years of his formation. Studies like the one Fr. Anasagasti provided points the direction and offers some clear indications about where to go beginning with the art of the Province of Guipuzcoa and extending to the sources in the surrounding Provinces, especially, in their Cistercian origins.

In addition to the connection with popular religious cultural expression, Fr. Anasagasti work suggested a number of the more basic notions in the culture like the connection made between the Motherhood of Mary and the “magisterial” function of the Popes, theologians and doctors of the Church. The sequence of connections was impressive moving from the Mary/Eve where Mary is “mother of all the living” along with Eve to Mother of the Church. The ideas about the care of the parent for the child being transferred to Mary’s spiritual care of the faithful, though popular now in theological circles is quite new to younger Catholics who benefit from the comparison.

\footnote{Fr. Garcia Mateos and Luis Fernandez Martin have indicated the importance of increasing our knowledge of the Castilian period of formation and the pre-conversion experiences of Ignatius.}
These thoughts lead me to a final reflection for this section. The image of St. Bernard nursed by Our Lady suggests a visual version of the colloquies depicted in a variety of Books of Hours and in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius though only in words. The profound simplicity of this image of nursing speaks to the at once human and divine dimensions of the spiritual care needed by the young and old in our own age. The whole history of Marian devotion during this period suggests that the Spanish people appropriated some valuable spiritual wisdom that needs to be shared with the rest of the Church and world.

In light of the possible impact of the images of Mary in popular religion upon St. Ignatius, the question arises as to where this spiritual instruction will come from today if it does not take place any longer for the greater number of Catholics in Elementary and Secondary Schools? What is the exact care that they need to live in the present and future cultures? What particular spiritual recipes will meet the needs of our youth today?

How will they find this food? Where to they look for it? By what criteria do they judge the authenticity of what they learn? How do they integrate what the authentic learning into their thoughts and actions as Christians?

Llamas-Martinez: Devotion to Our Lady in Spain

The work of Fr. Llamas-Martinez was particularly helpful in increasing our knowledge of St. Bernard and the Cistercians, in particular, and of the eleventh to twelfth centuries, in general. He also discussed the history of Mariology from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.\footnote{Cf. Llamas-Martinez, P. Enrique, O.C.D. "Algunos Aspectos Del Culto Mariano En Espana En Los Siglos XII al XV." De Cultu Mariano Saeculis XII-XV III (1979) 175-201. Fr. Llamas has}
important underlying points about the origins of devotion to Our Lady in Spain during the "golden years" of Mariology up until just before Inigo’s arrival on the scene in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

For two reasons, Fr. Llamas-Martinez marked the Cistercians as the group of religious men most influential in terms of Marian devotion in Spain. First, the highway that went across Europe to the sanctuary of San Juan de Compostela facilitated travel to this location in Northwestern Spain. Second, certain Kings of Spain protected, defended and spread devotion to her by means of erecting churches, endowing monasteries, visiting sanctuaries and favoring the installation of the sons of St. Norbert and St. Bernard in their kingdoms, "which they founded wherever there was the love, veneration and consecration to the Queen of the angels." 113

These are the two causes that no historian is able to forget in studying the roots and origins of the flowering of Marian devotion in medieval Spain. For if it is certain that this movement was in intimate connection with the preceding centuries. And, that it may be considered as a logical and spontaneous fruit of the action of the spirit that animated the previous epoch, is no less certain at the beginning of the twelfth century that the Kings, on the one hand, and, on the other, the monks of Cisterc--who made their entrance into Spain in 1133--with all the force of their example and their doctrine, contributed more than anything to developing this devotion which made the soul of the Spanish People from the beginning of the Middle Ages. So much was this so that one of our Kings of the twelfth century, Alfonso VII, the Emperor, was named justifiably in the ancient documents, the Procurator of the Virgin; this was so because, descending through the paternal line of the noble line of Borgoña, he bore the Marian devotion of Clairveaux in his blood, in whose diffusion and propagation he collaborated in multiple ways. After the monastic orders and the

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religious institutions: the Carthusians, the Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Mercidarians, the sons of St. Francis, the Order of Carmel... and many more founded, promoted and vitalized this devotion, so that, for many, it was their manner of life.... This imposition of the Marian in the very same heart of the Christian life and activity came about precisely in this twelfth century,... In Spain we have a concrete example of the Portico of Glory of Santiago de Compostela which represents the conceptual end of a way of life in the critical moment of pilgrimage. It reflects that it was the epoch of Cluny, on the one hand-- that inundated the Spanish People with Marianism--, and it establishes a relation between the chivalric sense (el sentido caballeresco) and marian devotion, which involves and blends the most noble aspirations of the spirit.

Beginning with this century, the three following centuries will not do more than repeat their echo and raise the tone of their voice with the repetition of their formulas and the invention of new river-beds which channel the expression of the devotion to Our Lady, with the creation of new prayers, the establishment of new feasts and the discovery also of new nuances in the figure of the Virgin Mary, in her relationship with God, with Jesus Christ and with people, that provoked perceptions and forms of devotion not understood in other centuries. 114

As the author noted, the devotion to Mary in Spain was in large part due to the Marian spirit of the Cluniacs. According to Llamas-Martinez, the Marian spirit of the Cluniacs appeared in history by manifold means. Some of these means were monasteries, sanctuaries, iconography, pilgrimages, Christian fraternities, donations, liturgy, lectionaries, offices, missals, feasts, collections of sermons, hymnography, privileges, titles, prayers and devotions including the heart of Mary, the Sorrowful One, the praises of the Virgin, the Salve Regina, the Ave Maria, the Regina Santa, the Hours, the Rosary, consecration and imitation of Mary.

The rest of the article by Llamas-Martinez describes and outlines the source and status of various Marian issues during periods of the Middle Ages, including some valuable bibliography of the period just before Ignatius arrived on the earthly scene. 115

114 Ibid., pp. 176f.
Even a few of those points made by Llamas-Martinez help us to realize how much Marian thought and practice, if not systematic Mariological study, was a part of the situation into which Ignatius was born. For example, Our Lady of Montserrat held the most universally known title and became a major center of attraction for all kinds of pilgrims from Kings to poets.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 187f.} Moreover, we learned that various special Offices of Our Lady appeared "throughout" the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At least, two Offices, Officium Beatae Marie and another dedicated to the Visitation, became available in 1486 and 1490, respectively, just before the birth of Inigo.

In his own concluding remarks, Fr. Llamas-Martinez made a very important summary of Mary's role, one that lead into a deeper appreciation of that role when he said,

"Thus, we arrive at a cult of veneration for the Virgin Mary that is converted into a life of intimacy with Her. And, one makes a sweet and tender pledge to imitate her virtues, by feeling her same sorrows and joys in order to imitate the offering that She made of Her life to the Lord: \textit{fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum}.\footnote{A connection between this form of prayer and a form proposed in \textit{Spiritual Exercises} is clear. \textit{Cf. Exercitia Spiritualia}, pp. 316f., nos. 247 and 248, especially. "...y quien quisiere ymitar en el uso de los sentidos a nuestra Señora, en la oración preparatoria se encomende a ella, para que le alcance gracia de su Hijo y Señor para ello,..." \textit{My translation}: "...and the one who wishes to imitate Our Lady in the use of the senses should commend themselves to her in order that she obtain the grace from her Son and Lord for him,..."} The monastic life showed many examples of this imitation of Mary. A devotion and a veneration which filled the moments of the day and which gave life to all everywhere. Definitively, it was a sentiment of love that sweetly subdued the heart of her devoted ones before the image of Mary,...\footnote{Llamas-Martinez, 1979, p. 200.}

In another article,\footnote{Ibid., pp. 178-201.} Fr. Llamas discussed the theme of Mariology in Spain up until the nineteenth century. In his article, he painted sixteenth century Mariology with...
broad, but concrete, in terms of milestones of various types. For example, the author pointed out that,

"The period that runs from the beginnings of the 16th century until the beginning of the 19th is characterized by the guarantee and consolidation of the Marian movement, by a deepening and clarification of the Mariological questions that make up a homogeneous theological tract, by an intense Marian piety and by a diffusion of the devotion which arrives at its insuperable peak in the liturgy and in the practice of (devotional) slavery and filial consecration.

In this period, they engaged in the last battles in favor of the Immaculate One. The most outstanding theologians, and with these the preachers, the historians and, furthermore, the Kings and Princes, took part in those heated polemics that on more than one occasion were excessively passionate. The maculist theory began to lose terrain perceptibly. At the end of this period, the question had arrived at such clarification that it was ready to be solemnly defined. Hardly, did it progress any more. Also the Assumption and the mediation of Mary constituted the framework of the marian history of these centuries."

Along with the Protestant critique, Fr. Llamas mentioned the role of Paul III (the Pope who approved the foundation of the Jesuits on September 27, 1540) played in the approval of the breviary of Cardinal Quiñones in 1536, a breviary "which contained the offices of various Marian feasts with beautiful hymns and prayers."

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120 Narciso Garcia Garces-Enrique Llamas Martinez, p. 42. “El periodo que corre desde principios del siglo XVI hasta iniciado el siglo XIX se caracteriza por el afianzamiento y consolidación del movimiento mariano; por una profundización y esclarecimiento de las cuestiones mariológicas, que vienen a constituir un tratado teológico homogéneo; por una intensa piedad mariana y por difusión del culto, que llegan a cimas insuperables en la liturgia y en la práctica de la esclavitud y de la consagración filial. En este período se libraron las últimas batallas en favor de la Inmaculada. Los más destacados teólogos, y con ellos los predicadores, los historiadores y aun los reyes y príncipes, tomaron parte en esas acaloradas polémicas que en más de una ocasión fueron excesivamente apasionadas. La teoría maculista comenzó a perder sensiblemente terreno. Al final de este período la cuestión había llegado a tal esclarecimiento, que estaba lista para poder ser solemnemente definida. Apenas se progresó más. También la Asunción y la mediación de María constituyen el entramado de la historia mariana de estos siglos.”  
122 Narciso Garcia Garces-Enrique Llamas Martinez, p. 43.
Beside this, the Council of Trent "declared in its fifth session (17-VI-1546) that it was not their intention to include the Virgin Mary in the universal definition of original sin, thus, favoring the immaculist position."\textsuperscript{123}

We learned, also, that Gregory XIII and Sixto V approved the doctrine of mediation and the recitation of the Rosary, respectively. "Clement VIII approved and recommended the catechism composed by Saint Robert Bellarmine, in which the explanation of Marian themes occupies an outstanding place (1598)."\textsuperscript{124} Pope Paul V brought to closure the work done on mediation during the early 17th century by publishing the bull \textit{Inmensae bonitis} (27-X-1615) in 1615.\textsuperscript{125}

Finally, regarding the 16th century as a whole, Fr. Llamas went on to say,

"Mariology flourished from the middle of the 16th century, principally in the countries less infected and contaminated by the Lutheran Reform: in Italy and, above all, in Spain, \textit{<<even, in the highest point of its history—says Laurentin—which designates the model in all domains, from the mystical to the theological, from literature to the current fashion.>> Spain presents the most outstanding figures in the theological world at the time, incorporated into the mariological movement. We cite some names: Alfonso Salmerón (†1559) left various writings on the Virgin Mary. Fr. Suarez (†1617) is the <<founder of mystical mariology>> for whose study he placed at her disposition all the capacity of his theological genius; Saint Peter Canisius (†1597) wrote a most meritorious work on the Virgin Mary, in which he refutes the accusations of the protestants; Saint Robert Bellarmine (†1621), in various of his works speaks with praise and devotedly of the Virgin.... There is an important detail to take into account here. In this time period, Mariology suddenly finds its proper place in the theological frame work, constituted as a tract, or part of Theology, and remains structured scientifically. Also, the title appears: \textit{mariology} after some vacillations—in order to specifically designate marian theology...."\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid. Coincidentally, the year sixteen hundred and fifteen was also the moment in which Fr. Louis de la Puente published the words of Maria Escobar confirming Our Lady's dictation of the \textit{Spiritual Exercises to Ignatius.}" Cf. also, regarding Maria Escobar and Fr. Louis De La Puente, pp. 45 and 148-158 of the article by Juan M. Solá, S.J., entitled, "La intervención de la Virgen en los Ejercicios Espirituales," in \textit{Manresa,} 25 (January 1931), 40-56; 145-169.
Conclusions and Reflections: Llamas-Martínez

In his considerations on Mariology from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Fr. Llamas-Martínez made several points worthy of comment in the Ignatian context.

In support of the claim of the centrality of the chivalric or feudal metaphor in St. Ignatius, in particular, the author made his own deliberate connection between the “amorcortez” of chivalry and the “loving-service” of Marian devotion. He does this by pointing out that the cult of veneration that grew out of this connection “transformed into a life of intimacy with her,” reflecting a “sweet and tender pledge to her in her” virtues, an intimacy reflective of a model of contemplative prayer that blended action and reflection.

For our author, the peak of devotion in this period was termed “devotional slavery” and “filial consecration” which permeated both liturgy and practice. The intensity of devotion, however, translated into the “maculists” loosing out to the “immaculists.” These trends in addition to the definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, along with the ascendancy of the doctrines of the Assumption and Mediation “constituted the framework of the marian history of these centuries.”

Koehler: History of Marian Devotion and Thought

Fr. Koehler’s article127 from the *Dictionaire de Spiritualité* on Marie attempts to cover a much broader terrain than the period just before, during and after Ignatius’ lifetime. Besides offering a rich portrait of the evolution of Marian devotion in the

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126 Ibid., 44f.
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Eastern and Western Churches, the doctrine, the icons, the sanctuaries and the cathedrals, Fr. Koehler touched pointedly upon several persons of importance in the era of Ignatius as well as several issues that were significant during and after Ignatius' lifetime.

Among the contemporaries of St. Ignatius, we observed that Erasmus, Luther and Calvin had documented approaches to Mary. Fr. Koehler described these approaches, respectively, as "offering the traditional homage"...with "correction" of "exaggerations," while writing about Mary's Visitation and, being critically respectful, in part, they were "the most reserved."

Moreover, as the author indicated, the Council of Trent alluded to Mary by means of a reference to the "Immaculate Conception." At the same time, the Council Fathers retrieved the notions of "devotion" to and "invocation of the saints." During this sixteenth century, Catholic Marian doctrine developed due to the controversies that arose and the apologetics that responded to various claims put forth with regard to Mary. Much of the response was also due to a renewal of a "return to the biblical and patristic sources" and to the "concise and clear doctrine on Mary" given in the Roman Catechism. This doctrine included Marian titles like the Mother of God and the New Eve. In addition, he noted that this doctrine was the basis for establishing new Marian feasts like the "Immaculate Conception, the Visitation and the Presentation of Mary in the Temple."128

The author also acknowledged the "Marian piety of Ignatius Loyola" and the speculative work of Fr. Francis Suarez, S.J., who produced the "first synthetic Mariology." Other more or less prominent members of the newly founded Society noted

128 Ibid., p. 457.
for their achievements including contemporaries of Suarez, like Arias, Canisius and Bellarmine, among others.\textsuperscript{129}

In his presentation of the evolution of Marian devotion in the East, Fr. Koehler discussed the symbolism of the Byzantine Eucharist.

The "proskomidia" describes "the mystery of Bethlehem." The "prosphora" refers to a piece of the holy bread detached by the priest. The detached piece represents Christ on the paten, "a symbol of the body of Jesus detached from the Virgin, in the mystery of Bethlehem, in order to become our bread, our victim."

Fr. Koehler made corroborating point of interest about "the evolution of marian piety" in the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{130} The passage he offered to illustrate his point about St. Bernard's Marian Theology was a classic passage that demonstrated a chain of mediation between Mary and the Father through Christ. From Bernard's sermons, the author summarized the legacy of Mary\textsuperscript{131} in terms of the following statements: "Our Lady, mediatrix before the Mediator" and "The Son will listen to his Mother; the Father will listen to his Son."\textsuperscript{132}

In discussing Arnold de Bonneval, a disciple of St. Bernard, Fr. Koehler quoted a succinct presentation of these three relationships which encapsulated the role of Mary in mediation and in salvation history.

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 457f. On the one hand, this specific information was new to me, including the details about Trent and Mary, the Roman Catechism and Mary, the pioneering work of Suarez and the numerous Jesuits who played important roles among his contemporaries and who continued the work of theological reflection on the mystery of Mary. On the other hand, the information opens up new vistas for research, especially, in the work of the "mystical mariology" of Suarez and the unknown (to me) work of Salmeron who was among Ignatius' first companions.

\textsuperscript{130} Koehler, p. 451.

\textsuperscript{131} Jean Leclercq's book on Women and St. Bernard gives us a basis for suggesting the similarities between the language of St. Bernard in his Marian sermons and the language used by St. Ignatius in the Spiritual Diary (SpD).

\textsuperscript{132} Cf. PL 183, 441, "Le Fils exaucera sa Mère; le Père exaucera son Fils."
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"...Arnold concretized his thought in an image evoked to capitalize on popular iconography: Christ intercedes before the Father by showing his wounds, and Mary prays her son by showing him the breasts which nurtured him."

Conclusions and Reflections: Koehler

The insights of both Fr. Koehler and Fr. Llamas-Martinez, help us to realize real and pioneering role of specific Jesuits priests like Salmeron and Suarez in the development of Marian theology during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Until now, only a monumental work of Fr. Jerome Nadal had yielded writings about Marian topics as an apparent afterthought in a tome on Sunday Liturgy and the Bible with engravings to illustrate visual points for meditation not all of which were actually based on Gospel texts, namely, the presence of the passage from the Spiritual Exercises where the Resurrected Jesus appeared to his Mother.

133 Ibid. My translation of Fr. Koehler who was summarizing Arnold De Bonneval: "Arnauld concrétise sa pensée en une image appelée à faire fortune(translated "to capitalize on") dans l'iconographie populaire: le Christ intercède auprès du Père en montrant ses plaies, et Marie prie son fils en lui montrant les seins qui l'allaitèrent." Apparently, Bernard's conversion was linked with an image of Mary offering breast milk and that experience entered into his theological reflection in an important way. Cf. Ceferino Garcia, O.C.S.O., "San Bernardo y la Piedad Española," Estudios Marianos 14 (1954) 371-460, especially, p.p. 385f., where Bernard prayed his "monstra Te esse Matrem" before an image of Most Holy Virgin Mary and she "saw fit to put into his arms her divine Son, saying: <<Bernard, much loved, my chaplain, Take, receive from my hand, The sweet Jesus, Savior of the World.>> And from the virginal breast fell three drops of milk onto the lips of her servant. This is why Bernard loves Our Lady so very much and writes and speaks so much and so well about Her." Some similar words and dynamics seem to be operative in the Triple Colloquy, perhaps, at least, reminiscent of the similar scene at the beginning of Ludolf's Vita Christi, a suggestion that does not seem to have been lost on Fr. Leturia in his "Libros De Horas, Anima Christi Y Ejercicios Espirituales De S. Ignacio," in Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu 17 (1948) 3-50, especially, p. 34. "San Ignacio no presenta los tres coloquios como una cosa desconocida que necesite especiales explicaciones, como los necesitan el método de contemplación de la segunda semana o las elecciones. La novedad está en colocarlos en los momentos cumbres de los Ejercicios. Su propia vida espiritual descubre las alturas místicas a que puede llevar o con las que puede coexistir su práctica devota y constante." My translation: "Saint Ignatius does not present the three colloquies as something unknown which necessitates special explanations, as do the method of contemplation of the second week or the elections. His own spiritual life discovers the mystical heights to which he is able to be raised or with which his devoted and constant practice is able to coexist."

134 Fr. Miguel Nicolau, S.J., wrote a key article which focuses upon the Marian doctrine and
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One part of Fr. Koehler's reference to certain Marian aspects of the Byzantine Eucharist suggested a possible connection with Ignatius' experience of Mary. The passage is a little known Marian locus in his Spiritual Diary for February 15, 1544 where he reported an extraordinary experience of Mary. In the very last line of that entry, Ignatius included the following description of happened to him: "...at the consecration she showed that her flesh was in that of her Son, with such great light that I cannot write about it. I had no doubt of the first oblation already made." In his process of discernment, the offering (of total poverty of the Society) that he had made to God was being confirmed as the correct decision by this experience at the eucharistic consecration. Just prior to this revelation, he reported another experience related to the role or function of Mary in his prayer. This is the way he reported the experience. After seeing a "clear view of Our Lady" as "very propitious before the Father," Ignatius "could not help

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devotion attributed to Fr. Jerome Nadal, S.J., one of the early Fathers of the Society of Jesus, a close associate and deputy of Ignatius in the promulgation of the Constitutions of the Society. The Scriptural and Patristic tact of his multifaceted work might place it in the category of a response to the renewal called for at Trent. Nadal's huge tome, Adnotaciones et Meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto Missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur, cum Evangeliorum concordantia historiae integritati sufficient... , focuses upon the exegesis and commentary of the Fathers on the whole Sunday Liturgical cycle, including pictorial illustrations of Gospel scenes (and including at least one apocryphal scene of the Lord's Resurrection appearance to Our Lady) which included Mary, in addition to, a closing dissertation on the theme of De Virginis Deiparae laudibus. In addition to an introduction to the person Nadal and to his writings, Fr. Nicolau offered a well organized study of the latter Marian document, within the Adnotaciones, and other writings, extracting, in addition to Nadal's Mariological thought, his Marian devotion. Who knows what interesting and helpful statements related to Mary and Ignatius may lie hidden in the works of these theologians? In light of my own focus upon the cultural and theological implications of Marian mediation in the contemplation of the Triple Colloquies, I have to wonder what Father Suarez, "the father of mystical mariology" would have to say about Mary in the colloquies of the Spiritual Exercises. Two additional articles, would lead us into a discussion of Salmeron's Marian thought, based on the scene at the foot of the cross with Mary and John and links with St. Bernard's Mariological thought. Cf. D. Melquiades Andrés, "La compasión de la Virgen al pie de la Cruz, deducida de su triple gracia, según Salmerón," Estudios Marianos 5 (1946) 359-388 and Ignacio Riudor, S.J., "Influencia de San Bernardo en la Mariología de Salmerón y Suárez," Estudios Marianos 14 (1954) 329-352.

135 Cf. Ephemeris for February 15. The experience as reported by Ignatius may take on new and concrete meaning in connection with Salvation History, Christology, Mariology and Ecclesiology, if understood in relationship to the Eucharistic symbolism of the Eastern Church as described by Fr. Koehler.
feeling and seeing her, as though she were part, or the doorway, of all the grace (he) felt in (his) soul...."

To what extent does a report about the sameness of the "flesh" between Mary and Jesus become more understandable because of the way in which the consecration of the bread takes place in the Byzantine eucharist? St. Ignatius reported what was for him a significant spiritual experience, one that happened during the consecration of Mass. The spiritual event involved Mary communicating to him that her flesh is the same as the flesh of her Son. Every mother knows this for each of her children. But, this significant theological point is illustrated and dramatized on the paten at the Byzantine consecration when the "prospora" or detached piece of bread is set aside to represent the flesh of Jesus coming from the flesh of Mary. This suggestion seems to have some relevance when we consider that in the colloquy of the Incarnation contemplation(#109), the Lord is described as "newly incarnate" alluding to his birth at Bethlehem. The very next period of prayer(#110)ends with its third point dedicated to the surroundings in Bethlehem during that birth: "I watch and consider what they are doing, e.g., their travel and efforts, so that Christ comes to be born in extreme poverty and, after so many labours, after hunger, thirst, heat and cold, outrages and affronts, he dies on the cross, and all of this for me, then I reflect within myself to derive some spiritual profit." The coincidence between the discernment of poverty, the dramatization of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem, suggested by the "prophora," and the colloquies and points of the Incarnation/Nativity contemplations in the Spiritual Exercises, all seems to have some congruence in elucidating, if not explaining the mysteries involved here.
Reluctantly though he may have shared his spiritual journal with his followers or anyone else, the report from his Diary offers the reader an opportunity to think about the mystery of the “flesh of Mary” and “the flesh of Jesus” being the same in the Eucharist, perhaps, bringing the reader to reflect on the mystery of the Mystical Body of Christ and their own interconnectedness with this Body. A second realization may be that Mary as Mother “in the order of grace” is somehow the Mother of all graces in our lives or that Mary is the doorway, the birth canal, if you will, through which all the graces of Christ come into the lives of all Christians individually and into the life of the Church as a whole."

Were the Eastern Eucharistic practices and symbols a direct source of mystical inspiration for St. Ignatius? I do not know. I only know the report Ignatius made about the sameness of the flesh of his mediators. Perhaps, we have, at least, a point of departure to ask some further questions about the extent to which Ignatius knew the theologies of the Eastern Fathers and their Marian insights. But, more, this point of departure might also include an opportunity for those interested in Ignatian Spirituality to begin to wake up to, and begin more serious reflection upon, the theological and spiritual connections between Mary, Jesus, the Communion of Saints, the Mystical body of Christ and the eucharistic liturgy.

In focusing upon the classic description quoted above from Arnold De Boonville, Fr. Koehler touched directly upon the heart of the Ignatian insight into the meaning of the role of Mary corroborating again the Cistercian connection though indirectly. For Ignatius, this expression of Marian devotion comes alive in the context and dynamics of
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the Triple Colloquy of the Spiritual Exercises, the tiered, conversational prayer-form found, as well, both explicitly and implicitly operative in the Spiritual Diary.

Just as Fr. Koehler, Fr. Leturia long ago picked up the connection between this prayer of Bernard and the Triple Colloquy. He noted that the dynamics of this prayer were illustrated in certain books of Hours and included photocopies of pictures which illustrate De Bonnville’s description of Mary, Jesus and the Father.  

Elizabeth A. Johnson: Medieval Marian Devotion

Dr. Elizabeth Johnson has provided us with a piece of research that is aimed at giving an overview of Marian devotion in medieval times. In this article, the author inadvertently provides us with an overview of the vocabulary that grounds the deeper understanding of the relationship between St. Ignatius and Mary and potentially any interested disciple.

This article by Dr. Johnson presents a comprehensive description of this background vocabulary and thereby offers the reader an opportunity to make a quick entrance into the major elements of the background to devotion to Mary. For this reason, I thought the article was particularly good from the point of view of those attempting to enter into the Ignatian-Marian spirit without a lot of research into the background material on Mary. The value of the presentation has to do with preparing the imagination

136 In addition to St. Bernard and his disciples, Fr. Koehler pointed out the importance of the Cistercian school in the evolution of Marian piety. Moreover, he also mentioned several other authors who wrote in this vein, some of whom are less well known than others, but who may have influenced Ignatius, i.e., Joseph Clichtove † 1543 (Cf. Ricardo Gracia-Villoslada, Sant'Ignazio di Loyola: Una nuova biographia, Paoline: Torino, 1990, p.395), Jacques de Voragine and Ludolf of Saxony.

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for the reading of a text that is dependent upon medieval terminology for the comprehension of its meaning.138

Before we begin to read, she alerts us to many of the concepts that are behind the text and after we have read the text, we can better imagine points of departure for a new synthesis that respects the old. This process is directly involved in our attempt to read the presence of Mary in the Spiritual Exercises with new eyes.

I have highlighted some parts of her description of medieval Marian devotion that I thought were particularly important for the understanding and adaptation of the presentation of the Spiritual Exercises.

"The trajectory of Marian devotion through the High Middle Ages has several interrelated aspects. The active agents or prime movers of the devotion changed as the torch was passed from the monasteries to the mendicant orders to the simple clergy and to the people themselves. The figure of Mary also changed from the inspiring Virgin Mother of Christ, to the merciful mother of the people who mediated before Christ on their behalf, to the sovereign queen of heaven and earth who protected her faithful ones. The spirituality focused on her person shifted from mystical contemplation to popular imagination, the latter coupled with intense reverence, familiarity, and trust in her merciful and powerful aid(p. 393)...."

Culturally, the advent of the code of chivalry and the experience of courtly love played no little role in shaping the spirit of this devotion(p. 396)...."

"More often, in the age of chivalry, the Virgin functioned for the monk as the spiritual counterpart of the worldly knight's lady, to whom he pledged his enthusiastic and honorable service and love.

138 Raymond Studzinski, "Tutoring the Religious Imagination: Art and Theology as Pedagogues, Horizons 14 (Spring, 1987) : 24-38, especially, pp. 36-37. Studzinski defines prayer in a way that I found most helpful in terms of the relationship between Theology and Spirituality. He suggests that prayer is the place where distortions in our ways of thinking and believing may be reshaped through prayer and discernment. "Indeed, in the light of the classics of both art and theology, people more readily discern their own and other's distortions. Such classics open them more fully to the transcendent which needs to be imaged adequately, but which is paradoxically beyond all images and imagining."
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Both during his life and posthumously, the monk Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), ardent in piety and eloquent in style, was the major influence in developing and fostering this affective approach (p. 397)."

"She was Our Lady, who together with Our Lord immensely edified them and evoked wondering praise (p. 398)."

"In a broad sense, this placed Mary close to Christ in the working of salvation. Christ, like the first Adam, now had his Eve... The attempt to maintain the right proportion between Christ and Mary led to the concept of mediation. This idea was strikingly captured in Bernard's image of the aqueduct: the waters of divine grace have their source in Christ, who is the wellspring of eternal life; they flow down to earth through Mary, the aqueduct. Christ came to earth through her; divine grace comes to earth through her; and human beings should return to God through the same route. The general opinion grew that Mary functioned as the mediatrix between believers and Christ, as Christ in turn was mediator between believers and God (p. 401)."

The sinner should flee to Mary, whose pure humanity the Son also honors, for the Son hears the Mother and the Father hears the Son; this ladder is what gives the sinner hope. Indeed, God should be thanked for giving the human race such a mediatrix (p. 402)."

"Since this glorious Queen was also the merciful Mother of the people, her power would be used to protect the little ones of the world who honored her and called her in their struggles. Heaven, modeled on the analogy of a feudal court, held not only the King but his Queen Mother, privy to his heart and capable of wielding influential power in behalf of her clients. The affection this could inspire was exquisitely captured by Bernard's designation of Mary's devotees as servuli. This diminutive of the word servant signified not so much bonded servanthood as devotedness, humility, and sense of belonging: Mary's devotees are her little pages, who follow their Lady and directly serve their beloved Queen (p. 406)."

"The Queen Mother of the judge drove the devils crazy. Her power was the power of love; although admittedly not always scrupulous in its exercise, she was eminently reliable in her protective instincts. Fervent supplication for her help was the obvious devotional expression of this conviction (p. 409)."

Elizabeth Johnson, op. cit., pp. 396-398, 406 and 409, etc. Underlining emphases mine. This article will be of the greatest help for those who wish to get a summarized view of the broad and the narrow context of the Ignatian approach to Mary. Cf. Ibid., p. 409, for the passage quoted below by Dr. Johnson.
Conclusions and Reflections related to Johnson

The most resonant of these words and phrases included the following: Mother of mercy, code of chivalry, monk's lady, Bernard of Clairveaux, affective approach, Our Lady together with Our Lord, Our Lady of Sorrows, spiritual maternity in the order of grace, mediation, Queen-Mother: privy to king's heart and powerful for clients and the Servuli (little pages, devotees rather than servants) of St. Bernard, who follow their lady and directly serve the Queen Mother of the judge in the feudal courtroom which is an image of Heaven, or as I have asserted, a root image of God for Ignatius.

As the art and literature of Ignatius' times suggest, the vocabulary of chivalry and medieval Marian Devotion seems to have been more or less common in the religious circles found in Spain and was reflected in the libraries and religious artifacts of Arevelo. Ten years of work and study with the sons of Juan Velasquez De Cuellar at Arevalo familiarized Ifingo with at least some of these terms but certainly the spirit of chivalry that permeated the living situation and studies with the sons of De Cuellar who were studying for the priesthood and knighthood, at one and the same time. Until these studies, I was often left the impression that Ifingo was not a scholar in any sense, nor was he interested in books beyond the Romance novels that he professed to enjoy in his Autobiography. Maybe the depiction of Ignatius as a less scholarly priest is true, but his about the Queen Mother's power over devils. The vocabulary of Martin Luther is strangely reminiscent of one of Ignatius' Rules for thinking with the Church: "In Heaven and on earth she is the ruler rather than God. He so loves her and believes in her that he will not contradict her or disavow anything that she says or does. She makes Him believe anything she likes. If she said that black was white and muddy water clear, He would say, "It is true; My Mother says so." For the quote viewed in the author's context, see Johnson, p. 409 and her source cited as, "Martin Luther, "Exhortation to All Clergy Assembled at Augsburg, 1530," Luther's Works (American edition; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955--) 34:27." For the association made with the SpEx, see paragraph #365 in the text of the SpEx.

The numbers in parenthesis refer to pages in Dr. Johnson's article.
eagerness for learning may have put him far ahead of many men who had far more formal educated at that stage of his life. This same eagerness opens up the possibility that he did a good deal more reading and study of religious books than previously thought during his time at court. DeCuellar and family members including Maria Guevarra, religious woman, social activist and a relative of Inigo, had a literary circle during his time at court. Whatever the case, he has somehow assimilated the vocabulary of chivalry a lo divino and has incorporated that spirit into the source of his spirituality, especially, in the text of the Spiritual Diary and the Spiritual Exercises.

The comparison of the text of the Spiritual Exercises with the elements of vocabulary summarized by Dr. Johnson manifest a good deal of direct and indirect help in understand the parts and the whole of the Ignatian texts.

When Ignatius recommended formal methods of meditation and contemplation as methods of prayer over scripture in the Spiritual Exercises, he suggested the use of the imagination.¹⁴¹ For this reason, prayer over the theme of the First Parents,¹⁴² Adam and

¹⁴¹ Exercitio Spiritualia, p. 164, #47, "the first preamble to the First Exercise." "El primer preámbulo es composición viendo el lugar. Aquí es de notar, que en la contemplación o meditación visible, así como contemplar a Xpro nuestro Señor, el cual es visible, la composición será ver con la vista de la ymaginación el lugar corpóreo, donde se halla la cosa que quiero contemplar. Digo el lugar corpóreo, así como un templo o monte, donde se halla Jesu Xpo o nuestra Señora, según lo que quiero contemplar. En la invisible, como es aquí de los pecados, la composición será ver con la vista ymaginativa y considerar mi ánima ser encarcera en este cuerpo corruptible, y todo el compósito en este valle como desterrado, entre brutos animales. Digo todo el compósito de ánima y cuerpo." Ganss' translation: "The First Prelude is a composition made by imagining the place. Here we would take notice of the following. When a contemplation or meditation is about something that can be gazed on, for example, a contemplation of Christ our Lord, who is visible, the composition will be to see in imagination the physical place where that which I want to contemplate is taking place. By physical place I mean, for instance, a temple or a mountain where Jesus Christ or Our Lady happens to be, in accordance with the topic I desire to contemplate. When a contemplation or meditation is about something abstract and invisible, as in the present case about sins, the composition will be to see in imagination and to consider my soul as imprisoned in this corruptible body, and my whole compound self as an exile in this valley [of tears] among brute animals. I mean, my whole self as composed of soul and body."

¹⁴² Exercitio Spiritualia, p. 188, #51. In the previous footnote, we read the first "preamble(#47)" where Ignatius encouraged the use of the imagination. Combining Ignatius' use of the imagination with a traditional interpretation of Genesis Chapter three, may we suppose that Ignatius' use of the First Parents in the context of the First Week Meditations and colloquies would not leave open the interpretation of Mary,
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Eve (cf. p. 401, Johnson), includes the possibility of making connections between Eve, "the mother of all the living," in Genesis Chapter 3: 20, and Mary, Our Lady, the "merciful mother,"143 as the Fathers of the Church had done in centuries before. Thus, the prayer of the First Week of the Spiritual Exercises opens the mental pathway for making similar connections between the sin of the first parents and the recommended prayer of the Triple Colloquy, which links with and depends upon the assessment of personal and cosmic sin.

Early in the Spiritual Exercises,144 St. Ignatius connected the attitude suggested in the "Code of chivalry" and the attitude of the one making the Spiritual Exercises by asking those receiving them to envision themselves as a "knight" who had disgraced himself before the whole heavenly court. This imagined heavenly court includes Mary, Our Lady, as Mother of the King, as Dr. Johnson suggested. In this way, she becomes the retreatant's "spiritual counterpart" of the "knight's lady," the one who goes between the one praying, Jesus and God, the Father.145 Combined with the role of the Queen Mother146, Our Lady takes on a powerful mediatory and intercessory role for the

Our Lady as "merciful mother?"

143 Riatt, James, et. al., eds., Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation (New York: Crossroad, 1988), vol. 17, Marian Devotion in the Western Church, by Elizabeth A. Johnson, 392-414, especially, 393.
144 Ibid., p. 396. Cf also, Exercitia Spiritualia, #74, p. 206, lines 12-18. "...asi como si vn caballero se hallase delante de su rey y de toda su corte, auergonzado y confundido en hauerle mucho ofendido, de quien primero rescibio muchos dones y muchas mercedes." Ganss' translation: "...such as that of a knight who stands before his king and his whole court, shamed and humiliated because he has grievously offended him from whom he has received numerous gifts and favors."
145 Ibid., p. 397. Her part in the "heavenly court" only becomes explicit in the Spiritual Diary while it is assumed in the SpEx. Cf. Ephemeris, p. 99, line 24 which refers to the "throne of the Most Holy Trinity" and line 28 which refers to the "celestial court." "Celestial Father" was referred to in lines 79-80, p. 94, "el Padre celestial." In this same general location, lines 87-88, Our Lady was depicted as being "delante del Padre," "before the Father," therefore, in His presence, the presence of the same "celestial Father" previously mentioned.
146 Ibid. Cf. also, Jean Leclercq, Women and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, translation by Marie-Bernard Said, OSB (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1989), 85-114, especially, 92-98, on the "Queen Mother" and Mary. As indicated by Leclercq, the vocabulary, associated with the Mary as
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Christian penitent, a role that was consistently expressed in terms of a traditional title and image given to her, namely, “Mother of Mercy,” and symbolized by the protective mantle with which she enfolds them.

By means of titles like “Our Lady” for Mary and “Our Lord” for Jesus, St.Bernard made an analogy between the relationship of the Vassal, his Lord and the Lady. The latter could have been either the Queen spouse, or the Queen Mother. For St. Ignatius the titles "Nuestra Señora" for Mary and "Nuestro Señor" for Jesus fulfill the same basic meaning. The best evidence for a parallel use of De Bonville’s expression of Bernard’s affective approach in Ignatian spirituality is the colloquies of the Spiritual Exercises.

In the two models for the Triple Colloquy given in the First and Second Weeks(#63 and 147) of the Spiritual Exercises, the tiered sequence of conversational and its vocal element begins with a request to Our Lady to seek a grace that cannot be acquired by the retreatant alone. The request is repeated to her “Son and Lord” and finally concludes with the same request being made to the Father, the Giver of all gifts.

As Johnson suggested, the theme of the “mater dolorosa,” or “mother of sorrows,” played its role in medieval Marian devotion and was one of the few specific Marian titles found in the text of the Spiritual Exercises.

In the eyes of the Church, Mary’s “spiritual maternity” finds meaning with reference to the "order of grace" and her role at the foot of the cross links her with this

Queen Mother, and analogous titles, permeates St. Bernard’s work. Vocabulary with similar meaning is not foreign to Ignatius' SpP or his SpEx.

147 Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 362, #298.
148 Ignatius used the title "Our Lady" most frequently in the SpEx. Other titles of Mary include "glorious Mother"(Cf. SpEx, #98), "Blessed Mother"(Cf. SpEx #219), etc.
149 Elizabeth Johnson, op. cit., p. 401. Cf. also, Lumen Gentium, # 61.
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mystery where she was called "woman" and named "mother" of the beloved disciple John in the words of her dying Son. The text of the Spiritual Exercises explicitly includes this meditation on John's Gospel, Chapter 19 and verse 27, among the mysteries of Our Lord Jesus Christ. This text, too, becomes a locus for theological reflection upon the conditions for the spiritual rebirth of the retreatant. The title of Mother may be a means of contemplating the maternal aspects of the mission of each Christian in the exercise of their personal and pastoral efforts.

Linked with Bernard's image of the aqueduct, the image of being in the "merciful arms" of Mary, partaking of her fullness, like a baby of his mother's breasts, has special spiritual meaning here. That is, according to the biography of St. Bernard (recorded in Spanish art at least), the Virgin Mary let some milk fall into the mouth of St. Bernard.

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150 The note in the Jerusalem Bible (note 1) brings out the point that I want to make. "The reference to the OT (vv. 24, 28, 36, 37 [in John's Gospel]) and the unusual term 'woman' suggest that the evangelist sees more in this than the gesture of a dutiful son: namely, a declaration that Mary, the new Eve, is the spiritual mother of all the faithful, of whom the beloved disciple is the type and representative, cf. 15:10-15."

151 René Laurentin, Queen of Heaven: A Short Treatise on Marian Theology (Court traité de théologie mariale, Lethielleux, Paris) trans. from the French by Gordon Smith (London: Burns and Oates Ltd., 1961), pp. 87-108. The author attempted to define and show connections between such terms as divine motherhood, virginal motherhood, social motherhood, etc.

152 Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 360, #297.1°. Whatever may be said during a retreat should be subject to the second Annotation of the SpEx(#2), "La segunda es, que la persona que da a otro modo y orden para meditar o contemplar, deue narrar fielmente la historia de la tal contemplación o meditación, discursiendo solamente por los puntos con breue o sumaria declaración; porque la persona que contempla, tomando el fundamento verdadero de la historia, discurrendo y raciocinando por si mismo, hallando alguna cosa que haga un poco más declarar o sentir la historia, quier por la raciocinación propria, quier sea en quanto el entendimiento es illucidado por la virtud divina, [1v] es de más gusto y fructo spiritual, que si el que da los exercicios hubiese mucho declarado y ampliado el sentido de la historia; porque no el mucho saber harta y satisfae al alma, mas el sentir y gustar de la cosas internamente." Ganss' translation: "The Second. The person who gives to another the method and procedure for meditating or contemplating should accurately narrate the history contained in the contemplation or meditation, going over the points with only a brief or summary explanation. For in this way the person who is contemplating, by taking this history as the authentic foundation, and by reflecting on it and reasoning about it for oneself, can thus discover something that will bring better understanding or a more personalized concept of the history--either through one's own reasoning or insofar as the understanding is enlightened by God's grace. This brings more spiritual relish and spiritual fruit than if the one giving the Exercises had lengthily explained and amplified the meaning of the history. For what fills and satisfies the soul consists, not in knowing much, but in our understanding the realities profoundly and in savoring them interiorly."

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This image takes on a spiritual significance linked with God feeding his people through Mary. The significance of this human image, understood in a theological and spiritual way, suggests a means of expressing a spiritual experience pertinent to the personal and pastoral life of the receiver, especially, in terms of the affective spirituality of St. Bernard.

Similarly, Dr. Johnson pointed out that the vocabulary of hope, namely the "ladder of hope," and the vocabulary of mediation linked with Mary as "Mediatrix," need to be understood in a particular context of "heaven" or, one might say, "the order of grace." This insight not only helps focus our reading of the Spiritual Exercises, but also suggests a new image and vocabulary that will help more fully articulate the implications of spiritual experience in the everyday life of the apostles of Jesus Christ, something that a transformed religious imagination will be able to appreciate. The ladder is also suggestive of the tiered colloquies of the Spiritual Exercises.

"Received into heaven by Christ with a welcome commensurate to that which she gave him when he came to earth through her very being, she was crowned Queen of heaven and earth and began to participate in his power over both realms. Since this glorious Queen was also the merciful Mother of the people, her power would be used to protect the little ones of the world who honored her and called to her in their struggles. Heaven, modeled...

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154 Ibid., p. 402.
155 Ibid.
156 At this point, I want to make an observation about a broad aspect of medieval theology described in Johnson's presentation. When she points out the tendency in medieval Marian devotion to imagine human beings moving back to God through Mary, after God has moved toward human beings through the incarnation of His Son in her, the same dynamic exists by means of the juxtaposition of the Contemplation of the Annunciation/Incarnation and the Triple Colloquy. In the Incarnation Contemplation the movement is from the heart of God looking down upon the sinful world and deciding to send His Son through Mary who hears and receives the Word of God. In the Colloquy, the receiver of the Exercises then begins the return journey, their individual or communal spiritual ascent to the Father, by engaging first with Mary for the light of her wisdom about sin, the world and spiritual and actual poverty, before being able to return home to God. The theology is fundamental and presented here without mention of the word theology, Marian or Trinitarian, let alone, Ignatian. Nonetheless, implicit theology is what we have here.
on the analogy of the feudal court, held not only the King but his Queen Mother, privy to his heart and capable of wielding influential power in behalf of her clients. The affection this could inspire was exquisitely captured by Bernard's designation of Mary's devotees as servuli.

Conclusions for Chapter 3

In matters that preoccupy this third Chapter, Llamas-Martinez was in concurrence with Fr. Koehler, although somewhat more explicit than he on the content of the Cistercian contribution. Fr. Llamas-Martinez was also in congruence with Fr. Herran who went into detail about the origins of the expression of "loving service of Mary" linking it with the transformation of the "amor cortés" of the chivalric genre: "It is the amor cortés and the loving service transformed into a form of devotion to the most beautiful of all women." That quotation of Llamas-Martinez regarding chivalry gave a great deal of support to the importance of the chivalric metaphor as a vehicle for authentic Marian devotion in the Spain of St. Ignatius. The passage, already cited above, is a valuable reminder of this perception on the part of an expert in studies of the period.

This focus upon the importance of the chivalric code surfaces forcefully in the writings of Johnson and adds crucial details that clarify some of the more affective

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159 Llamas-Martinez, 1979, p. 199.
160 Llamas-Martinez, p. 176f. "This imposition of the Marian in the very same heart of the Christian life and activity came about precisely in this twelfth century,... In Spain, we have a concrete example in the Portico of Glory of Santiago de Compostela which represents the conceptual end of a way of life in the critical moment of pilgrimage. It reflects that it was the epoch of Cluny, on the one hand—that inundated the Spanish People with Marianism—, and it establishes a relation between the chivalric sense (el sentido caballeresco) and marian devotion, which involves and blends the most noble aspirations of the spirit."
dimensions of the metaphor bound up with the relationship between the knight and the lady, the monk and Our lady, the Christian and the Lord of the Lady. The intimacy of this relationship viewed in terms of the contemplative aspects of Christian prayer best describes the environment of the relationship of Mary and Ignatius.

Gestures developed from demands of a relationship like the one between the monk and Our Lady. They became manifest in the various elements of Marian devotion that were a part of Ignatius' whole life. They probably began in the visits to Our Lady of Olatz with his surrogate mother and continued in the development of his own devotion in times of distress at court. After the visitation at Loyola, they were manifest along the way to Jerusalem in the means of dedicating himself to God through calling upon her protection and standing before her. Lastly, the relationship was shared with his companions as a group when they began their itinerary of faith with him toward Jerusalem, making their pauses for remembrance and commitment at her shrines between Montmartre and St. Paul's Outside-the-Walls as they attempted to complete their quest to fulfill the will of God as a community of reformed priests.

The seeds of these gestures moved on the winds of spiritual contemplation and imagination that swept the souls of Ignatius and his followers. The vineyards in which those seeds were described by the research of Perez, Herran, Montegu, Anasagasti Llamas-Martinez, Koehler and Johnson who contributed both panoramic and microscopic views of the relationship between devotee and Mary. The devotedness manifest in these gestures gradually took hold of the life of Ignatius Loyola and guided him on the way to the One Commander Whom he wanted to serve.
Chapter 3: Historical Research on the Marian Presence during Medieval and Modern Times

From this first part of the research, we have learned in greater detail how and when this devotion to Mary began. We have learned who carried the message to the land of Ignatius and what was the Marian content of their message in word and image. Moreover, we learned how the message was told and applied by the great and the small in the religious culture of the Spanish Provinces in the time of Ignatius. Lastly, in reflection upon the Ignatian sources themselves, we learned how one of the sons of Spain worked out a way to pass on this unique and inspiring message of the Lady. We learned the message of the Lady, Queen, Mother who leads the little ones toward her Son and Lord listening to his story of salvation with them and discovering with them the authentic contours of a unique way of hearing and doing the word of God. That word reflects their own faith experience and a relationship with the Church of which she is the Mother.

Having looked closely at the major periods in the history of Marina devotion in as much as they bore upon the Marian presence in the life and works of St. Ignatius Loyola, let us now turn to Chapter IV on the Early research on the Marian presence in the Jesuit secondary literature.
Chapter 4

Introduction

In Chapter 2, I focused my attention on the analysis of the Marian presence in the original language Ignatian Sources in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*. In addition, I presented my own interpretation of the meaning and significance of that Marian presence in Ignatian spirituality, in the *Spiritual Exercises*, in general, and in the colloquies, in particular. Part of my purpose was to address what I perceived to be a longstanding sense of the misunderstanding of her presence since Vatican II (and perhaps before) and the subsequent neglect of a more integrated view of the implicit theologies of

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Chapter 4: Some Early Research on the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Tradition

the Spiritual Exercises because of her absence. In terms of the reflections drawn from this, another part was the perception of the value of those Exercises as a locus for theological reflection that is necessary and valuable for the proper renewal of the prayer that ought to guide the evangelical, catechetical and apostolic sense of all Christians seeking greater authenticity in living the Christian life. To aid in the further study of the Ignatian Sources, I provided a detailed overview of the events and texts related to the Marian presence in the life and works of St. Ignatius and presented this as the first Appendix with an introduction.²

In Chapter 3, I surveyed selected authors who wrote about the Marian presence in Spain during the centuries leading up to the arrival of St. Ignatius. First, I tried to get as much information as possible on the Marian presence in the geographical area closest to the homeland of St. Ignatius. The aim was to get an understanding of the Marian

² My personal interpretation of the Marian presence in the Ignatian Sources centered on the implications of the most frequently used title of Mary in the Autograph (A) text of the Spiritual Exercises (SpEx) and the Spiritual Diary (SpD). Since the 12th c. there has been an evolution in the notion and practice of the chivalric ideal from a more secular interpretation to one that was more religious. Within the religious notion of chivalry (a lo divino) or divine chivalry (in relationship to secular chivalry) Mary is not only the Lady, in relationship to a knight and her Lord, but also Mother of the Son, Queen, in relationship to her Son who is Eternal Lord, in religious and theological terms. The most effective image of Mary that emerges from the research is that of the Gebira, or Mother of the Lord, whose existence and function may be most clearly derived from her role in relationship to the King who is her Son in the Hebrew Bible, namely, as mediator and intercessor with the Son whom she has groomed for the Throne and for whom she is the deputy until he comes of age. In such a role, the Gebira obtains anything she asks of him for others. Given the image of the knight, “shamed and confused” standing before the King who is his Lord in the SpEx, Ignatius portrays himself as having broken the pledge to his King by his sin (SpEx, #74; see also, #94, in addition to some passages where he talks about “shame” in relation to himself and Our Lady in the SpD. The composite image of the Lady, Queen, Mother that emerges in the Spiritual Exercises may be helpful toward a deeper understanding of Marian Theology in the Ignatian context, if viewed in terms of the role of the Gebira under the restraints of modern scriptural exegesis and imaginative prayer in the Ignatian context. This combination of images may bring a focus to the Marian theology present and juxtaposed to other theologies in the SpEx and Ignatian Spirituality. The presence and absence of appropriate Marian theological content in the SpEx, for example, may be a valuable asset as model to authenticate in a variety of modern discourses that arise in the contemporary situation and influence the process of personal and communal spiritual conversion and formation. Within the Ignatian image of God (Heaven) as the celestial courtroom, Mary is enthroned at the right hand of her Son and Lord, Jesus, the “Creator and Lord,” intimately associated with Him in the mystery of redemption as intercessor and mediatrix of all graces.
experience from which Ignatius' Marian devotion could have developed. Some medieval studies, looked at from the point of view of the history of Marian devotion, provided the basis for this research.

In addition, another aspect of the research in Chapter III focused upon some of the modern issues that developed from the strong influence of medieval devotion. The aim was to surface some of the key issues during those times in order to set in contrast some of the same theological, cultural, faith and religious discourses that go on today. Those issues still fuel debates among Protestants and Catholics, and those who constantly challenge the Church to new openness, about the meaning and significance of the Marian presence, for example, her mediation, her virginity, her role in private and public prayer and in doctrine and dogma.

Here in Chapter IV, I am turning my attention to the Marian presence in the early secondary literature provided mainly by Jesuit scholars who were interested in the issues surrounding the topic of Mary's "dictation" of the text of the Spiritual Exercises to St. Ignatius. I have chosen this emphasis because I believe that the focus of creative energy which emerged in these Jesuit scholars was a prelude to what more scientific and indisciplinary approaches in the later research were beginning to uncover in their further appreciation of the Marian presence. As I believe we will see in the next chapter, the work of these later authors demonstrates and facilitates our appreciation of the potential richness for theological reflection and discourse in terms of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises. They do this by calling for a renewed understanding of the structure and process of the Spiritual Exercises that allows both the giver and the receiver to have a more well grounded understanding of the content and context of Mary's presence. That
presence includes scripture and a sensibility to personal religious experience that reflects the confrontation of and engagement with many varying discourses in terms of the presence of Mary, a presence that balances the response to these discourses in a way that allows them to be tested by the Spirit of Christ for a more authentic Christian decision and life.

The following authors are the fundamental bases for the research done in this chapter: Maas(1895); Sola(1931); Quera(1943); and Marien(1953). The authors fix their attention on the question of the relationship of Mary to St. Ignatius in terms of her influence upon his writing of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The critical issues here are related to hidden private and neglected public revelation in the life of the Church members today, revelations that are thrown into relief in a way that makes possible their address in a context that should be ready to receive them and deal with them proportionately in relation to the Marian presence and delicately in terms of the reverence for the personal spiritual experience of the individual.

**Maas: Mary and the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises**

Fr. Watrigant seems to be the first to address the issue of the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises* around the turn of the twentieth century, 1894, to be exact. Fr. Maas translated and summarized the work of Fr. Watrigant almost immediately after its publication in 1895 in the prestigious and now extinct academic theological journal called the *Woodstock Letters*. Maas’ article was entitled, “Mary and the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises.” After Maas, several other Jesuit authors took up the issue of the role of the Virgin the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises. In this way, these authors fostered a discussion for about fifty years on the issue of the relationship between Mary
and St. Ignatius in the writing of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The other Jesuit authors and commentators were Sola, Quera and Marien who gradually carry on a king of "theological discourse" or conversation among themselves on issues related to the relationship between Mary, Ignatius and the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, its genesis and its content and process.

To begin, Fr. Maas's summary-translation of the long and dense article by Fr. Watrigant surfaced a number of points in the original French article that were more conveniently addressed in the English summary. The title of his article clearly phrased both the question addressed by Fr. Watrigant and the essential reason propelling Fr. Maas's need to summarize the original article: "Did the Blessed Virgin help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?"

Recognizing the importance of Fr. Watrigant's extraordinary work, Fr. Maas decided to go beyond the usual review by summarizing its elements in detail. He described the basic structure of Fr. Watrigant's work as having the form of three "Historical and Critical Letters (Maas, 1895)" and some appendices containing documents which he summarized as follows:

The first letter contains the state of the question and an argument of convenience for the author's thesis; the second letter gives what may be called the argument from tradition; the third adds several confirmatory considerations. The three letters are followed by six appendices containing the more lengthy documents that could not be given in the course of the treatise. We shall follow the author's division of the subject in the following summary of his treatise.

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5 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual
According to Maas, the first letter has two major underlying assumptions. First, "the authenticity of the Spiritual Exercises" and second, "their divine inspiration." From these two points of departure, Fr. Watrigant asked the question, "...what part had the Blessed Virgin (played) in the writing of the Exercises?".

Fr. Watrigant rejected outright the argument "dictante Magistra Religionis," whereby Our Lady would have dictated every word of the Spiritual Exercises directly to Ignatius, as a teacher would speak her pupil would take notes, a proposition also rejected also by Fr. Leturia. Fr. Watrigant did assert, however, "that our Blessed Lady intervened in an special manner in their composition."

Referring to the first proposition regarding the "authenticity of the Spiritual Exercises," Fr. Maas agreed with the author's contention, though he questioned his assumption that "most readers" were acquainted with the literature on this question. Thus, Maas proceeded to outline the literary events involved with early questions about the origin of the Spiritual Exercises, especially, the controversial connections made between those Spiritual Exercises and the work of Cisneros, the Abbot of Montserrat. Though he did not intend to offer a full bibliography on the subject, he did relate the names of some of those who were directly involved in the critical exchange about the

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6 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?", p. 52.
7 P. Leturia, Estudios Ignatianos, II, p. 15, n. 52, citing the works of Fr. Quera and Fr. Calvaras. "No hay rastro en las Fuentes del mandato y menos de un dictado de Dios o de la Virgen." My translation: "There was no trace in the Sources of the mandate and less from a dictate of God or of the Virgin."
8 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?", p. 52.
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origins of the Spiritual Exercises, including, for example, Fr. Pedro Leturia and Fr. Codina who both wrote on their genesis.9

The first of these was the Benedictine Abbot Anthony Yepes (d. 1621) who contended that St. Ignatius had not composed the Spiritual Exercises until after his theological studies and that, when he did, Ignatius actually created a new edition of in the similarly titled work of Cisneros' book,10 the Exercitatorium.11

In his letter of April 18, 1607, Fr. Ribadeniera gracefully refuted these statements. For a long period of time before reconciliation of the Benedictine and Jesuit Orders on this issue in 1646, persons like Abbot Constantine Cajetan (1560-1650), Father Ribadeniera, Father John Rho (d. 1662), Fr. Nieremberg, Friar Leo A. Sancto Thoma and George Argaiz, kept up controversial exchange about the relationship between The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and Cisneros's Exercitatorio.12

The second proposition of Fr. Watrigant related to the "inspiration" of the Spiritual Exercises. Fr. Maas clarified the terms of the discussion on this subject,

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9 P. Leturia, Estudios Ignatianos, II, #22, pp. 1-55.
10 C. De Dalmases, Fones Narrativi De S. Ignatio De Loyola III (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, 1960), 598-601, especially, p. 599f., lines 4-33, for original text. Hereafter abbreviated FN. In a letter to Fr. Girón, Fr. Ribadeniera stated (My translation from the Spanish) that “That which the Father Antonio de Yepes says and wishes to write and to publish about the Exercises of our blessed Father Ignatius is an ancient thing and was received among the fathers of Our Lady of Montserrat. It was many years ago that a father of that convent, called Fray Juan de Lerma, wrote to me about it based upon some of the reasons used by Father Fray Antonio de Yepes. Two things occur to me: the first thing is that it is very probable that the blessed Father Ignatius had taken notice of the book, or the Exercitatorio of Father Fray Garcia de Cisneros at Montserrat. Also, that he profited from the principles of the work for his prayer and meditation and that Father Fray Juan Chanones had instructed him and taught him some things from it. Also, that, after composition, he called his book Exercicios espirituales, taking the name of the book, or Exercitatorio of Father Fray Garcia. The second point is that the book of Father Ignatius is very different from that of Father Fray Garcia. This is so because notwithstanding that in the one and the other they treat some things that are materially the same, they treat them in very different manners.” Cf. Exercitia Spiritualia. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969, 48, where the question of whether Ignatius had read the "Exercitatorio de la Vida Spiritual" was treated. Cf. also, Ruiz Jurado, M., "¿Infuyó en San Ignacio el Ejercitatorio de Cisneros?" Manresa 51 (Enero-Marzo 1979): 65-75.
12 Maas, A., "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?," p. 53.
something that will eventually be important for understanding the array of possible interpretations of Our Lady's specific role.

Inspiration, in its strictly technical meaning, implies that God is the author of the work said to be inspired. Since divine authorship is not claimed for the Exercises in its fullest sense, we need not consider the question, in what relation a fully inspired work, written after the time of the apostles, ought to stand to the Church so as not to increase her deposit of faith. 13

After distinguishing some of the more obvious arguments against and for the inspiration of the SpEx, Fr. Maas concluded that,

If then the Spiritual Exercises have God in some sense for their author, St. Ignatius must have been gifted to some degree with the charisma of inspiration. Fr. W. supposed this fact as generally admitted; but in reality, the tradition-proof contained in his second letter substantially expresses the argument from external evidence usually advanced for the inspiration of the SpEx. From the nature of the case, the internal evidence adduced by the author differs from that for the inspiration in general; an outline of the latter argument may not therefore be out of place here. 14

In turn, Fr. Maas picked up the theme of the "internal evidence for the inspiration" 15 offering, under the title of "God Enlightened the Intellect of St. Ignatius," a general and a more detailed argument using the "method of the Exercises" and the "doctrine of the Exercises" to prove his point. Ending his remarks on Letter I, Fr. Maas outlined several considerations why "God moved the Author's Will."

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13 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?," p. 53f.
14 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?," p. 54.
15 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?," p. 54.
In the last part relating to Letter I, Fr. Maas considered the limits of the thesis and proceeded to distinguish what Fr. Watrigant meant by "dictante B.M. V"\textsuperscript{16} or "dictation by the Blessed Virgin Mary."

Maas treated Letter II briefly on pages 67-69 and developed Fr. Watrigant's thesis for the "tradition-argument" in the second letter. "...(H)e first gives a survey of the actual mental attitude, inside and outside the Society, in regard to this position; then he proceeds to give the human and divine testimony for the same; thirdly, he answers some of the principal difficulties."\textsuperscript{17}

(I)Inside the Society we find that paintings, engravings, and all sorts of artistic representations of the subject, together with poems, dedications of published works and the domestic language of the Society concur in supposing that our Blessed Mother had a special part in the writing of the Exercises. That the same general belief exists outside the Society, Fr. Watrigant proves by citing a Carmelite, a Benedictine, a Dominican, a Cordelier, a Capuchin, and a Theatine.\textsuperscript{18}

Fr. Watrigant also noted the "human testimony" including that of the city of Manresa itself. At the same time, he presumed to say that the apparition of "Our Lady, the Guia" had "nothing to do with her assisting in the writing of the Exercises...," pointing out that the apparition happened "on the afternoon of the saint's arrival in the city (March 25, 1522)." Fr. Maas expressed an agreement with Fr. Watrigant that the earlier traditions in the Society, including even the "least probable" of the artistic signs offered by Fr. General Vittelleschi in 1625, were the foundation of Fr. Watrigant's

\textsuperscript{16} A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" pp. 55-57.

\textsuperscript{17} A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" pp. 67f.

\textsuperscript{18} A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" p. 68.
conclusion that Our Lady had an influence on the writing of the Spiritual Exercises even though the historical evidence was not brought forth.\textsuperscript{19}

It is certainly remarkable that all these testimonies date from about a century after the composition of the Exercises. We may doubt, on this account, whether this general sentiment existing in the beginning of the seventeenth century sprang from an earlier tradition in the Society, or from private revelations published before that period. We think Father Watrigant is right in his belief that his thesis is founded on an earlier tradition in the Society, though he has not succeeded in finding any historical testimony for it. For the general fact that the Exercises are inspired, we have earlier testimony, reaching down to the time and to the person of the holy Father himself.\textsuperscript{20}

Fr. Watrigant reported two apparitions that he considered "divine testimony" to Our Lady's intervention. He thought these affirmed the "special intervention of our Blessed Lady in the writing of the Exercises." The first apparition happened to the "holy virgin Marine de Escobar" (1554-1633)\textsuperscript{21} and the second "to the Canon P. Plagia in Sicily."\textsuperscript{22}

Fr. Maas ended his comments on the second letter with the following comments.

(7)The difficulties, answered by Father Watrigant in the last part of his second letter, call attention to the double thesis that the Exercises are inspired by God, and still written with the special assistance of the Blessed Virgin; that they are inspired, and yet taken from Holy Scripture and experience; that they are inspired, and still were polished and perfected by St. Ignatius in later years; that they are inspired, and yet not dictated in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" p. 68.
\item \textsuperscript{20} A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" p. 68.
\item \textsuperscript{22} A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" p. 69. 3. The divine testimony for the special intervention of our Blessed Lady in the writing of the Exercises rests on a revelation made to the holy virgin Marine de Escobar, and on an apparition of the Blessed Virgin to the Canon P. Plagia in Sicily. Both occurrences are recorded in the pamphlet of Father Watrigant.
\end{itemize}
Fr. Watrigant treated the various appendices in the Letter III on pages 69 and 70, respectively. According to Fr. Maas, in his third letter, Fr. Watrigant attempted to confirm his thesis by two final considerations. First, he referred to "internal evidence that points to the Blessed Virgin as the source of the Exercises..." Second, he noted Fr. Watrigant’s assertion that "the Blessed Virgin is the special patroness of the Exercises whether they be considered actively or passively, i.e., whether they are given to others or made by oneself."  

First, he presents the internal evidence. The Spiritual Exercises teach a solid devotion to our Blessed Lady, as attested to by the Bollandists and others. According to Fr. Maas these testimonies were contrary to the perceptions of Cardinal Newman, though no citation was noted in Fr. Watrigant’s text. Secondly, he noted "that the method of the Exercises is the method of the inner life of our Lady, and that she is the most perfect model of both director and exercitant."

Mary was "Patroness of the Exercises" by means of "her special protection of the directors of others." This special protection included protection of "numerous congregations of men and women, and of the Society of Jesus;..." Secondly, that same "special protection" was claimed for "those that make the Exercises" by means of the

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23 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" p. 69. The vocabulary of tradition, public and private testimony (revelation) have a special relevance in understanding the place of the Virgin in the charism of inspiration of St. Ignatius. Understanding the process for St. Ignatius and Mary will help us understand our own relationship with God in relationship to the prayer of the Spiritual Exercises.

24 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?" p. 69.
example of many "Fathers" and others, including "Blessed Margaret Mary," inside and outside the Society. 25

Fr. Watrigant’s pamphlet contained several provocative appendices. The first is "the Spanish text of the revelation granted to Marine de Escobar" which spoke of the Angel Gabriel revealing something of Mary’s influence in the creation of the Spiritual Exercises. The second is the testimonies of Father Diertins and the Bollandists. The third is Father De La Palma’s devotion to our Blessed Lady according to the Exercises. The fourth is an extract of the "Annales Mariani" by Father Nadasi. The fifth is a list of authors who have composed a book of spiritual exercises based upon the model of St. Ignatius, but have taken our Blessed Mother for their object of meditation. And, finally, the sixth includes the prayers of the Mass of the Holy Cenacle. 26

Conclusions and Reflections: Maas

Fr. Watrigant’s article opens up a series of issues that have significant reverberations in the present moment of the history of Marian devotion. The issues raised have to do with the genesis of the Spiritual Exercises, the meaning of inspiration, the meaning of testimony, the meaning of private and public revelation and, last but not least, the meaning and significance of the Marian presence in the Ignatian sources.

Certainly, Fr. Watrigant’s article presents his thesis about Mary’s role in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises in an understandable phrase when he asks whether she “helped” St. Ignatius in the composition of the Exercises. But the fact that he does a thorough internal and external analysis of what this might mean has opened up areas of

25 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?," p. 69f.
26 A. Maas, "Did the Blessed Virgin Help St. Ignatius in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises?," p. 70.
thought that have significant value for the content and process of the Spiritual Exercises today, but are seldom considered very seriously in terms of the practice of the principles in the text.

On the one hand, the simplicity of his title and question may appeal to and raise some interest for those who may be totally or partially unaware of Mary's presence in the Spiritual Exercises. On the other, his acknowledgement of the dimensions of the external evidence of her presence supports the thesis that Mary's presence pervades the text and is beyond what many have thought or would admit even today. The external evidence includes the colloquies, the meditations and contemplations, the supplemental mysteries of Christ's life and the vocal prayers like the Ave and Salve Regina, etc. For this alone, Fr. Watrigant has done a great service for future generations of faithful Christians who seek to understand the place of Mary in the Spiritual Exercises.

Fr. Watrigant shared an important insight into Mary's role when he stated that the method of the Spiritual Exercises is the method of the "inner life" of Mary. 27 For Watrigant, Mary is the model for the interior life of those giving and those receiving the

27 Erich Przywara, Crucis Mysterium: Das Christliche Heute, Paderborn, Germany: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1939. "Mary as the Inner Form of the Spiritual Exercises..." I have taken the following from an unofficial translation from the German to English by a Maltese Jesuit friend studying with me years ago at St. Robert Bellarmine Jesuit College in Rome. "If 'inner form' is Mary's essential way of being, then we get ever clearer indications of her intrinsic relation to the meaning and function of woman if we look at the mystery of humanity, as it stands in relationship to the redeeming God in the mystery of redemption. On the one hand, we have Augustine's phrase, 'Through the woman death, through the woman life (Sermon 232:2), which goes just one step further than the verses of the Angelus Silesius: 'I must be Mary and give birth to God—he should grant me eternal happiness.' For Mary is the 'gate of heaven' and the unique 'vessel of the Holy Spirit', and so the life of God in Christ (and therefore in every member of Christ and also of each moment of the life of every member) is not just received through her, the Mediatrix, but is actually received "in" her, insofar as she is the form of receiving. On the other hand, in this way her being veiled and not talked-about thereby becomes most intense. As a personality she is now reduced to the inner form of woman in the Church. Here she is reduced even further not just to being the "woman that gives life" (by contrast to man, with his specific meaning), but to being the inner form of humanity in the mystery of the redemption (p. 307)."
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**Spiritual Exercises.** Her interior life models the interior life of those who wish to bring, to bare, Her Son into the world in which they live.

Since she is the one who “treasures” the Word of God in her heart, she teaches those who receive and those who give the **Spiritual Exercises** to do the same. In and through this teaching of the appreciation of Word Who is her Son, she is instrumental in the transformation of the world through her Son who is the love of God. She models the way to transformation for those who will “treasure” the Word through her example. In this way, she is our Mother. She gives a chance human beings a chance for rebirth through a process of treasuring, attending to the word, that makes it possible for the Word to create a new life in us. This new life is the life of the Spirit of God that makes whole and reconciles people to God and to one another. When the Spirit of the Risen Christ comes alive in us through God’s Word, we can say that she gives life in the Spirit of Christ to all baptised Christians as truly as the first mother of humankind “broke water” to give life to the first children.

Fr. Watrigant touches on this theology of redemption that operates through Mary. It is in this way also that one may say that Mary inspired Ignatius in developing his **Spiritual Exercises.** Through her presence and intercession in those **Spiritual Exercises,** individual Christians (whether seeking God directly or helping others to seek God) are prepared to appreciate more fully the Word and, at the same time, are able to bring the word more fully into the world in which they live, especially, in solidarity with those in greatest need.

The process houses all the issues because we are dealing with God’s word in scripture in the process of revelation and with the way God’s word from the scripture
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touches the minds and hearts of the faithful in ways that move to their hands and feet, change their behavior, change their lives in tune with God’s Spirit. Testimony to these changes, dealing with the difficulties that these changes cause directly for the individual and indirectly for others, and expressing this testimony in ways that can be beneficial for others, usually takes up most of the attention of those who are seriously going about trying to know God’s Will in their life.

In this process of formation and transformation of the receiver by God’s word, the individual engages many ways of looking at the called for changes in themselves and in their decisions. The process of the Spiritual Exercises is precisely a method that helps deal with many of competing discourses in a loving dialogue that arises within the individual with God and continues outwardly with the giver of the Spiritual Exercises. In this way, issues can to be sorted out and weighed so that more deliberate decision and action can be taken based upon tested convictions be they spiritual, theological or other.

The question as to whether the Blessed Virgin Mary helped Ignatius in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises raises a question that another Jesuit formulated in recent years: if Mary did not dictate the Spiritual Exercises as some have “piously believed,” then can we speak of her in terms of being a “co-author” of the Spiritual Exercises? The author thinks that Mary is one co-author among several who include the receiver, St. Ignatius, God, themselves and the giver of the Spiritual Exercises. The person who receives the Exercises is both “making” and “authoring” their own text of the Spiritual Exercises, something like the accommodated text that resulted from the interaction of Helyar and the giver of the Spiritual Exercises 28 though at least as much focus upon the text of the Exercises as upon the actual experience making them. It is

assumed that in dialogue and discourse with these other named actors, the individual will be able to compose the most authentic way of becoming and sustaining a Christian life for themselves and themselves in relation to others around them.

What Father Watrigant's article has opened up for us is the possibility that there are many more actors in each individual experience of the Spiritual Exercises. He does not say this although he does speak about authorship of the Spiritual Exercises in the context of how the authorship of St. Ignatius might be inspired after the death of the apostles which brings the reader into the discussion of public and private revelation. What I am suggesting is that Watrigant and the others who follow him, by focusing on the relationship between Ignatius and Mary, they have gradually lead the way for us to consider the multiple authors involved in the writing of our own Exercises. Furthermore, we not only need to consider the mutliple authors throughout history who have brought us to today, but we must consider, test and weigh, the values that arise within us by means of our interactions with these actors from the theological, cultural, faith and religious discourses that saturate our imagination in our world today. In this way, the Marian presence in the Ignatian Sources has been part of something that continues the process of renewal in the Church. The clearer understanding of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises allows the receiver and the giver to move into these areas which are at the foundation of the christianization, the evangelization, the catechesis, the spiritual formation and transformation of Christian consciousness today.

Sola: Mary's Role in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises
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In a comprehensive article, Fr. Juan M. Sola continued the dialogue on the theme of Mary's role in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises. The article that was entitled "the Influence of the Most Holy Virgin in the composition of the book of the Exercises" embraced and savored the key ideas in the debate that began with Fr. Watrigant and those who came before him.29


The author's opening quote referred the reader to a statement made by Pius XI that concerned Mary's role in the production of the book of the Spiritual Exercises.

...in illo Minorissano recessu quemadmodum sibi essent praelia Domini praelianda ab ipsa Deipara didicit, cuius tamquam ex manibus illum accepit...codicem...Exercitia Spiritualia dicimus... 30

29 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," Manresa VII (January 1931) 40-56 and 145-169. The Jesuits of the 16th and 17th century like Salmeron, Caniscius, Bellarmine and Suarez can be considered some of the key precursors of these kinds of discourse in as much as they were related to Mary's presence in the Spiritual Exercises and in the theology of the Church.

30 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 40. At the very end of the paper, the author translated the passage into Spanish and quoted an Apostolic Letter of Pius XI, 3 December, 1922, published in the Acta Apost. Sedis, vol. XIV, 629. "En aquella soledad de Manresa aprendió San Ignacio de la misma Madre de Dios cómo había de pelear, a fuer de buen soldado de Cristo, las batallas del Señor, y de sus manos en cierta manera recibió aquel código militar acabadísimo, que así puede llamarse, el libro digo de los Ejercicios Espirituales." My translation of the Spanish text: "In the solitude of Manresa, St. Ignatius learned from the same Mother of God that he had to fight the
In the solitude of Manresa, St. Ignatius learned from the same Mother of God that he had to fight the battles of the Lord like a good soldier of Christ. And, in a certain way, he received from her hands that most excellent (Christian) soldierly book which thus is able to be called the book of the Spiritual Exercises."

With this pertinent and important affirmation from the Pope, the author proposed a study of the tradition regarding the Virgen's influence in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises and recalled something said by the judges of the Sacred Rota at the end of Ignatius' Process of Canonization:

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Since the Blessed Father Ignatius wrote the Exercises at a time that he was ignorant and without letters, we have a need to confess that the light by which he wrote them was not naturally acquired, but supernaturally infused."
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After confirming this perception about Ignatius' "supernatural infusion" with a quote from Fr. Ribadeniera, he recalled his earlier opinion linking this "infusion" with the intervention of Mary.

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The tradition was not less constant and firm that recognizes the Most Holy Virgin, who has appeared so many times to St. Ignatius in the Cave of Manresa, as inspirer and teacher of the Exercises.
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Original text: "Hace ya cuarenta años escribíamos: "...los Jueces de la Sagrada Rota, en los procesos aprobados para la Canonización del Santo, dicen terminantemente: Como el bienaventurado Padre Ignacio escribió los Ejercicios al tiempo que era ignorante y sin letras, nos vemos necesitados a confesar que la luz con que los escribió, no fué naturalmente adquirida, sino sobrenaturalmente infusa."


Original text: "No ha sido menos constante y firme la tradición, que reconoce por inspiradora y maestra de los Ejercicios a la Santísima Virgen, quien tantas veces se apareció a San Ignacio en la Cueva de Manresa."
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This recapitulation of past opinion that he held was then augmented by his statement of purpose in the present article.

We have studied the issue exhaustively, just as I endured the task of this little work, composed to commemorate the glorious centennial of the coming into the world of the Holy Founder. 33

Then the author proposed a question about whether, after so many years, he had to change his opinion regarding Mary's role of intervention in the composition of Ignatius' book.

By chance do we have to retract or water down this opinion today, with regard to the second point (we all agree already on the first—re: infusion—) about the intervention of the Most Holy Mary in the composition of this marvelous book? 34

And, Fr. Sola answers with a definitive "no."

Certainly not; In the face of each day, we feel more secure in faith and pious belief about this intervention. 35

In bringing to a close his reasons for writing this article, the author drew some distinctions about "faith." Those distinctions aided in our coming to a better understanding of his purpose and showed a broader context of meaning for the notion of the intervention of Our Lady in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises.

I mention the faith and pious belief (if you would permit us to use here what we said not long ago for similar intent), "since it is not concerned with divine faith, reserved to revelation or


34 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," pp. 40-41. Original text: "$\text{Y por ventura hemos de retractar o atenuar hoy este parecer, cuanto al segundo punto (ya que el primero todos concordamos) de la intervención de María Santísima en la composición de este prodigioso libro?}\"

35 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 41. Original text: "$\text{No, ciertamente; antes cada día sentimos más arraigada la fe y pia creencia de esta intervención.}\"
dogmas defined by the Church, like the Immaculate Conception or the Pontifical Infallibility; neither is it of the ecclesiastical faith, owed to images over which the Holy See has spoken with full approbation, as the Virgin of Loreto, or the Apparitions of Lourdes, but of human faith, based on venerated tradition of fathers to sons, or incarnated in institutions worthy of respect and cemented in solid foundations. To negate the tribute and homage of understanding to the first is heresy; to reject the second, rash-ness and scandal; to renounce the third, is imprudence, presumption, many times frivolous judgement. The third, since it neighbors the second, appears to demand our venerating tradition, and is, praise God, more rooted, and gains more ground, in the sons of the Church. 36

At the time, Fr. Anderledy, the general religious superior of the Society of Jesus, said the following:

A pious tradition very worthy of faith assures us that all that our Holy Father (Ignatius) taught, all of it was, inspired by our Most Holy Mother, the Immaculate Virgin Mary. 37

The same Fr. General of the Society was also quoted regarding the need for our "conformity" to Christ by means of "identification" with the heart and mind of Jesus through the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitutions which, from Ignatius' own lips, are also linked with Mary's intervention.

36 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 41. Original text: "Digo la fe y pia creencia (permitiesenos traer aquí lo que estampamos ha poco para un intento semejante); "porque no se trata de fe divina, reservada a la revelación o a dogmas definidos por la Iglesia, como la Concepción Inmaculada o la Infabilidad Pontificia, ni tampoco de la fe eclesiástica, debida a imágenes sobre las cuales ha hablado la Santa Sede con plena aprobación, como la Virgen de Loreto o las Apariciones de Lourdes, sino de fe humana, basada en veneranda tradición de padres a hijos, o encarnada en instituciones dignas de respeto y cimentada en fundamentos sólidos. Negar el tributo y homenaje del entendimiento a lo primero, es herejía; rehusarlo a los segundo, temeridad y escándalo; desechar lo tercero, es imprudencia, presunción, muchas veces liviandad de juicio." La tercera, pero rayana en la segunda, parece demandar nuestra veneranda tradición, y ésta ¡loado Dios! se arraiga más y gana terreno en los hijos de la Iglesia."

Let us consider, first, the firmness of the tradition that not only judges it pious belief, but also assured us in such a way that we are able, and we must, hold it **confidently** for certain. This is why we have said above that this tradition almost entirely enters into the third class of human faith, which resembles the ecclesiastic type. Second, to which it compares the intervention of the Mother of God in the Exercises with that of the Constitutions, and more, consequentially, in the first than in the second, since the Exercises are fount and root of the Constitutions, not the Constitutions of the Exercises. Third, to which this intervention does not call it general assistance, common and ordinary inspiration in all the good works of Christianity, if we admit the already current doctrine of universal mediation, but that it calls it by expressive and **concrete** diction: *Credimus S. Ignatium quae docuit quaeque praep epit suggerentem sibi habuisse optimam Matrem nostram*...

Making an investigation of the use of the word "suggerentem" in some Latin authors, and in the usage of Fr. General Anderledy, the author concluded that the word "suggero" conveyed a specific meaning about Mary's intervention in the Spiritual Exercises. He summed up his sentiments in a question and in some comments that attempted to distinguish what he was saying from what he was not trying to say. Yet, in the end of this part of his work, he felt incapable of explaining how this intervention actually took place.

What does the word *suggerentem* mean as used by Anderledy? Is this voice full of the mere assistance of Our Lady, or her pleasure in contemplating the labor of her Servant, or the general inspiration to all virtuous works? No. This is not the preparing, the assisting, the succoring, the reminding of a person,

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38 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 42. "Paremos mientes, primero, a la firmeza de la tradición, que no sólo la juzga creencia piadosa, mas también segura; de suerte que podemos y debemos tenerla **confiadamente** por cierta. He aquí por qué decíamos arriba que esta tradición casi entra de lleno en la tercera clase de la fe humana, que frisa con la eclesiástica. Segundo, a que equipara la intervención de la Madre de Dios en los Ejercicios con la de las Constituciones, y mayor de consiguiente en los primeros que en las segundas, pues los Ejercicios son fuente y raíz de las Constituciones, no éstas de los Ejercicios. // Tercero, a que esa intervención no la llama asistencia general, inspiración común y ordinaria en todas las obras buenas del cristianismo, si admitimos la doctrina ya corriente de la Mediación universal, sino que la llama por término expresivo y obrador: *Credimus S. Ignatium quae docuit quaeque praep epit suggerentem sibi habuisse optimam Matrem nostram*..."
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or the using of the memory, inspiring it with the useful, helping it, impelling it, inciting it. Neither may it be said that it is the vocabulary of vernacular Latin because neither would it be honorable for Our Father, nor will it be found in the age of silver, nor of iron one *suggero* that does not signify an effective action, an operation and real effectiveness in the person or thing which it inspires.

We believe, then, with Our Father General, not only with a pious belief, but confidently and securely, that St. Ignatius, in the composition of the Exercises, had at his side *Optimum Matrem nostram Virginem Immaculatam*, our sweet sovereign Mother, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, who used to help him efficaciously, in an exquisite, real and most regal manner, which we are unsuccessful in explaining, when he sketched, wrote and composed the golden book of the Holy Exercises. 39

Section III began with the story about how Pius XI wrote an "Apostolic Letter" to Fr. General Ledóchowski on the 300th anniversary of the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Fr. Xavier. Fr. Solá wanted us to listen to the words the Pope was echoing and giving nuance to his previous reflections:

Let us listen to the Vicar of Christ: "... in that apartment in Manresa he learned from the same Virgin and how he received from her hands that most perfect manuel of military rules —thus we are able to call it truthfully — which he himself tells every good soldier of Christ to use in order to fight the battles of the Lord: I MEAN THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES, such as St. Ignatius himself tells us were delivered to him from heaven. 40

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39 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 43. Original text: "... ¿qué significa el suggerentem de Anderledy? ¿Llena esta voz la mera asistencia de la Señora, o su complacimiento al contemplar la labor de su Siervo, o la inspiración general a todas las obras virtuosas? No; eso no es el proveer, acudir, socorrer, recordar a uno o traerle a la memoria, darle lo conveniente, coadyuvar, moverle, incitarle." // Ni se diga que es vocablo de la baja latinidad: porque ni sería honroso a N.P. ni se hallará en la edad de plata, ni de hierro un suggero que no signifique una acción eficaz, una operación y eficiencia real en la persona o cosa que sugiere. // Creamos, pues, con N.P. no sólo con pia creencia, sino confiada y seguramente, que San Ignacio, en la composición de los Ejercicios, tuvo a su lado *Optimum Matrem nostram, Virginem Immaculatam*, a nuestra dulce soberana Madre, la Inmaculada Virgen María, que la ayudaba eficazmente, de manera equísita, real, regalisima, que no acertamos a declarar, cuando trazaba, escribía y componía el áureo libro de los Santos Ejercicios."

40 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 43. "Oigamos al Vicario de Cristo: "...en aquel apartamiento de Manresa aprendió de la misma Virgen y como recibió de sus manos aquel perfectísimo código de leyes militares — así lo podemos con verdad llamar — de que se ha de valer todo buen soldado de Cristo, para pelear las batallas del Señor: LOS EJERCICIOS ESPIRITUALES DIGO, tales como se narra le fueron entregados del cielo a San Ignacio."
At this stage, the author seems to have espoused an understanding of the Spiritual Exercises as "a battle manual" that was actually "narrated" to St. Ignatius "from heaven."

The author then turned to a closer consideration of the quality of intervention by Mary as suggested in the literary instrument and by the words chosen by the Pope.

In order that the value of this sentence and thought of the Pope shine and excel more clearly, let us study it according to the four causes that intervene in its meaning and composition: the efficient or operational (obra dora), the material or significant, the formal which gives life and splendor to every sentence and the final or blank (blanco) to which every one refers (a que toda ella se endereza?). The author is not able to be of greater competence, wisdom and dignity. And he does not speak in private conversation, nor in an individual letter, but in public writing, in an official document, in an act of apostolic jurisdiction, and so entitles it Apostolic Letter to Reverend Father General Provincial. 41

After alluding to the exhaustive deliberative process, and the particular linguistic resources and discrimination that would have gone into the Pope’s choice of words, he went on to ask a question meant to begin distinguishing the meaning of the intervention of Our Lady according to the four "causes" that he outlined above.

But what does the Most Holy Pope Pius XI affirm in this paragraph and how is it the material cause? Two things: the first, that Saint Ignatius learned from the same Mother of God, the God-bearer, who told him by herself; the second, that he received, as from her own hands, the book of the Exercises: just as from whose hands he received that book of the most absolute law, the Spiritual Exercises. 42

42 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 44. Original text: "Mas ¿qué afirma S. S. el Papa Pio XI en este párrafo, y es como la causa material? Dos cosas: La primera, que San Ignacio aprendió de la misma Madre de Dios ab ipsa Deipara didicit; la segunda, que recibió, como de sus propias manos, el libro de los Ejercicios: cuius tamquam ex manibus illum accepit absolutissimum legum codicem, Exercitio spiritualia..."
In this way, the author focused attention upon the two words by which the Pope attempted to describe the realm of intervention, namely, the first being, *aprendió*, he "learned" and, the second, *recibió*, that he "received" from her. The first word, our author pointed out, had more weight than the second, thus, telling us that,

...The teaching of the Queen of the Angels is certain; what is not so certain is the form and plan (forma y traza) of this teaching: since it was a real teaching, true, efficacious, clear, most powerful, so much that one is almost able to say that with her maternal hands she transferred the wonderful book and put it into those of Ignatius.\(^\text{43}\)

At this point, the author attempted to describe the "formal" cause.

We pass to the greater value: the *formal* cause: the particular disposition and origin (la indole y linaje) of this divine teaching, enclosed in the book of the Exercises. What did the inexperienced captain learn from the invincible Capitana, crusher of the infernal serpent, in her Conception? The art of making war and always arising victor in the battles of the spirit: *cuius tamquam ex manibus illium accepit absolutis-simum legum Codicem*. And it confirms itself and just as it gives a zest and it repeats it with that quotation --*for thus we are truly able to name it* --military manual, art of making war, war discipline, tactics of a soldier of Christ, ordinances of the Christian army, celestial armory and science of fighting well and always winning.\(^\text{44}\)

The author went on to describe the particular excellence of this manual of spiritual warfare in terms of the specific contributions of Christ and Mary.

From the earthly militia, Christ and his mother passed to the heavenly. And to deliver the New Book, He and She provide it by their aid and all powerful grace. From here, the advantages of this Book over all the books of common warfare are immense. Those teach the art of conquering other men. The one that comes from Mary, teaches the art of conquering oneself, and once conquered, of the *good that I want*, the art of conquering and

\(^{43}\) Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 44.

\(^{44}\) Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 45.
mastering the world and the devil. The first, though they observe their laws, they lead many times to great loss. This one (Mary's) always carries to victory. "...the earthly books, that much more, do they terminate in a crown or medal, in the conquest of a piece of land. That of Ignatius, in the conquest of grace and of glory. Those kill, this one gives life; those destroy and burn. This one builds up and enlarges the kingdom of God which is justice, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. 45

Thus, the author understood how the Pope could depict the book of the Spiritual Exercises in such glowing terms. Then, he went on to describe what Ignatius received in terms of the "final or highest cause."

The final cause is the highest, according to the Roman Pontiff: the greater glory of God in the salvation of the world, as final end; the most devoted spirit and exemplar of the virtue of obedience, as immediate end of the Holy Exercises, gift of heaven through the hands of the creature most obedient, the Sovereign Queen of the angels. The modern world is lost principally (our leader the Vicar of Christ says) through disobedience, rebellion, stubbornness. Protestantism proclaimed religious rebellion. Revolution, at the frenzied exaggeration of the laws of man, negated the inviolable and eternal laws of Divinity. Rationalism, is the pride of human reason haughtily freed from God; naturalism in governance of the public thing (cosa), engendered liberalism. And, the relations between capital and work, untied from the divine law, have produced socialism, communism and sovietism, which like burning lava, has diffused itself more and more over the whole face of the earth. 46

In part four, Fr. Solá turned to other witnesses to the pious tradition about Mary's intervention. The ancients gathered two documents that support Mary's intervention.

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45 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 46f. "De la milicia terrena le pasó Cristo y su Madre a la milicia del cielo; y, al entregarle el nuevo Código, le provee El y Ella de su auxilio y gracia omnipotente. De aquí las ventajas inmensas de este Código sobre todos los Códigos de la vulgar milicia. Estos enseñan el arte de vencer a otros hombres; el de María, el arte de vencerse a sí mismo, y vencido el bien me quiero, el arte de vencer y señorar al mundo y al demonio. Aquellos, aunque se guarden sus leyes, conducen muchas veces al descalabro; éste siempre lleva a la victoria.// Y qué ventajas en los éxitos! El de los Códigos terrenos, cuando más, se rematan en una corona o condecoración, en la conquista de un pedazo de tierra; el de Ignacio, en la conquista de la gracia y de la gloria. Aquellos matan, éste vivifica; aquellos destruyen an asuelan; éste edifica y dilata el reino de Dios, que es justicia, paz y gozo en el Espíritu Santo."

The first came to us in the "Manuscript History of the College of Bethlehem of Barcelona in 1606" and brought with it some questions about its authenticity. Fr. Fita's researches with the Royal Academy of History brought to light this story involving the Amigant family of Manresa.

Passing through Manresa, P. Lorenzo de San Juan learned from Mr. Amigant that the Virgin had dictated the Exercises to our Fr. St. Ignatius, after a rapture (which the Saint had) in the Annunciation Chapel of his house, as he had noted and learned from the Saint when he was there.\(^{47}\)

After the Amigant family, the author turned to other prominent literary witnesses for support. He focused upon several including Fr. Watrigant, Codina, Drive, Manuel Tarré, Poiré, Turchi and, finally, Fathers Ruiz Amado and Juan Creixell.\(^{48}\) All of these seemed to defend the "pious tradition" except Amado and Creixell who were too "timid and vague" in the way they embraced the words of the Pope and the General. The words of Fr. Poiré sum up the subject:

> The feeling of all those who rejoice with me in this task (of belonging to the least Company of Jesus) has always been that, after the One whose name it bears, the Most Holy Virgin is the one who has had the greatest part in their institution, since She is the one who procured our foundation, establishment and undertakings, blessed our growth and defended without ceasing on a thousand occasions our Company... Ignatius took Mary as companion in his daily works, as teacher in his studies,

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\(^{47}\) Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 48. Cf. also, La Santa Cueva De Manresa. Reseña histórica por el P. Fidel Fita y Colomé, de las Reales Academia Española y de la Historia.—Manresa. Imprenta de Roca, 1872, p. 17, cited as the source of this sentence by the author. If this statement means—as it seems to mean—that Ignatius related to Mr. Amigant a story about how the Virgin dictated the SpEx to him in the chapel while he was still at Loyola castle, then he must have been referring to whatever early written form the SpEx took during his convalescence as having come from the Virgin as confirmed by the vision of the Mother and the Holy Child Jesus and he these later known facts to John Amigant as the SpEx having come from Our Lady. Ignatius later confirmed that the SpEx were not written all at one time.

\(^{48}\) Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," pp. 48-50, for the bibliographical citations related to these authors.
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as goal of his devotions. She was, as was believed, the one who inspired him and dictated the excellent book of the Spiritual Exercises, composed by Ignatius, when he had not studied more than the science of the Saints.49

In section five, the author stated the root of the problem that had caused the rupture of the "chain" of the ancient pious tradition about Mary. Everything was fine from Fr. Vitelleschi until Fr. Anderledy. Things started to change in the 20th century with a "famous(Jesuit) writer," Fr. Antonio Astrain.

Fr. Sola then presented Fr. Astrain's arguments in five parts(section #s VI-X).

Without going into all of the pros and cons mentioned, the arguments presented by Fr. Solá were as follows:

The "first observation," number VI, was presented as follows:

The reader desires to know what there is about the pious belief how Most Holy Mary inspired the the Exercises of St. Ignatius, belief that we see reproduced in many pictures, which represent the Saint writing his book before the Mother of God who is shown in the air.50

The "Second Observation"(VII):

Fr. Watrigant has written a little work of 110 pages about this point (Has the Very Holy Virgin helped St.Ignatius to compose the book of the Spiritual Exercises?). But after reading this little work and consulting the historical sources which I was able

49 Cf. Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 49f, for the words of Fr. Poire from his La triple Couronne de le bienheureuse Vierge, Mère de Dieu, tract 1, Chater XII, p. 940, as cited by Solá. Solá's Spanish text of Poire: "El sentir de todos los que gozan connujo de esta dicha (de pertenecer a la mínima Compañía de Jesús) ha sido siempre que, después de Aquel cuyo nombre lleva, la Santísima Virgen es la que más parte ha tenido en su institución, pues que Ella es la que ha procurado nuestra fundación, establecimiento y empresas, bendecido nuestros acrecentamientos y defendido sin cesar en mil ocasiones nuestra Compañía... A María tomó Ignacio por compañera en sus jornadas, por maestra en sus estudios, por blanco preferido de sus devociones. Ella fué, según se cree, la que le inspiró y como dictó el excelente libro de los Ejercicios Espirituales, compuesto por Ignacio, cuando aún no había estudiado más que la ciencia de los Santos." The citation was taken, Fr. Solá noted, from the Spanish version of Drive's book. Cf. Solá, p. 59, footnote 17.

50 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 52. "Deseará saber el lector qué hay sobre la piadosa creencia de que María Santísima inspiró los Ejercicios a San Ignacio, creencia que vemos reproduceda en tantos cuadros, que representan al Santo escribiendo su libro delante de la Madre de Dios que se le muestra en los aires."
to have at hand, I come to publish, in substance, that during
a century no document appears that proves such a thing.\footnote{Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 53. "El P. Watrigant ha escrita un opúsculo de 110 páginas sobre este punto(Las tres Sainte Vierge a-t-elle aidé Saint Ignace à composer le libre des Exercices Spirituels? )... Pero después de leer ese opúsculo y de consultar las fuentes históricas que he podido haber a las manos, vengo a sacar en limpio, que durante un siglo no aparece ningún documento que pruebe tal cosa."}

First, Fr. Solá recalled the testimony of Lainez and Polanco regarding Mary's role in the production of the \textit{Spiritual Exercises}. He immediately added a mention of the historic manuscript, discovered by Fr. Fita. This manuscript document told about the "rapture in the Annunciation Chapel of his house" at Loyola and the "dictation" of the \textit{Spiritual Exercises} to Iñigo during that time.\footnote{Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 56. "La afirmación de esta historia no puede tomarse en serio, pues es de aquellas que quedan refutadas por su misma enormidad. Un hombre tan cauto como San Ignacio en ocultar los favores celestiales; un hombre que por huir la vanagloria no quería a los principios manifestar ni siquiera su apellido y su patria (Polanco, \textit{Vita S. Igni,} p. 23); un hombre que resistió meses y meses a los súplicas de sus hijos que deseaban conocerlo interiormente, y sólo al fin de su vida se decidió a comunicar las breves noticias que escribió el Padre Cámara; un hombre que guardaba tanta reserva con sus hijos más queridos, ¿había de descubrir sin más ni más a un seglar un prodigio tan estupendo y jamás visto en el mundo, como sería un libro dictado por María Santísima? Este excede los límites de todo lo verosímil y razonable."}

"Observation Three" of Fr. Astrain, however, was the following:

The affirmation of this history cannot be taken seriously, since it \textit{is} from those who remain refuted for this very same enormous claim. A man as cautious as St. Ignatius hid the celestial favors. One who fled vainglory did not want to show off nor would he follow his family name or his country (Polanco, \textit{Life of St. Igni.}, p. 23). He was a man that resisted months And months the entreaties of his sons who wanted to know him interiorly, and only at the end of his life did he decide to communicate the brief notes written by Father Cámara. He, a man that used to observe great reserve with his most loved sons, shared, heedlessly, to a layman, such a marvelous wonder, never seen in the world, a book dictated by the Most Holy Mary. This exceeds the limits of all that is probable and reasonable.\footnote{Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 145. "La afirmación de esta historia no puede tomarse en serio, pues es de aquellas que quedan refutadas por su misma enormidad. Un hombre tan cauto como San Ignacio en ocultar los favores celestiales; un hombre que por huir la vanagloria no quería a los principios manifestar ni siquiera su apellido y su patria (Polanco, \textit{Vita S. Igni,} p. 23); un hombre que resistió meses y meses a los súplicas de sus hijos que deseaban conocerle interiormente, y sólo al fin de su vida se decidió a comunicar las breves noticias que escribió el Padre Cámara; un hombre que guardaba tanta reserva con sus hijos más queridos, ¿había de descubrir sin más ni más a un seglar un prodigio tan estupendo y jamás visto en el mundo, como sería un libro dictado por María Santísima? Este excede los límites de todo lo verosímil y razonable."}
Neither in Lainez, nor in Câmara, nor in Polanco, nor in Nadal, nor in Ribadeneira, nor in the historians that immediately succeeded them, like Orlandini and Maffei, nor in the letters of the Provincials and Superiors of the 16c who spoke of the Exercises, were we able to discover the slightest indication that Mary Most Holy had intervened in the composition of them. 54

At the same time, in this observation, the author assumes an implicit acceptance of the intervention by Our Lady among Ignatius' contemporaries given, he pointed out, her actual presence in the "Elections" and in "the first colloquy."

Then, all admit, at least implicitly, the intervention of the Most Holy Mary in the famous book... in almost all of the Exercises and much more in the period of the elections, the Most Holy Virgin always intervenes in the first colloquy. How, then, can one affirm that he is not able to discover the least indication that the Mother of God intervenes in the Exercises? 55

The "Fifth Observation" alludes to Fr. Astrain's problem with the sources of the claim regarding Our Lady's intervention:

The first to publish this idea was the Venerable Louis de la Puente, in 1615, in the celebrated Life that he wrote of Fr. Baltasar Alvarez. One may read in Chapter XLII, where the act is affirmed, not proving with historical testimonies, but with a certain revelation by the Archangel Saint Gabriel to a person that is not named. 56

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54 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 147. "Ni en Lainez, ni en Câmara, ni en Polanco, ni en Nadal, ni en Ribadeneira, ni en los historiadores que inmediatamente les sucedieron, como Orlandini y Maffei, ni en las cartas de los Provinciales y Superiores del siglo XVI, que hablan de los Ejercicios, he podido descubrir la menor indicación de que María Santísima interveniese en la composición de ellos."

55 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 148, see second and third arguments. Interestingly, there is a shift in the focus of the search for evidence from the external to the internal textual. "Luego, todos admiten, al menos implícitamente, la intervención de María Santísima en el famoso libro... en casi todos los Ejercicios, y mucho más en el período de las elecciones, siempre interviene en el primer coloquio la Virgen Sacratísima. ¿Como, pues, puede afirmarse que no ha podido descubrir la menor indicación de que la Madre de Dios intervenga en los Ejercicios?"

56 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 148. "El primero en estampar esta idea fue el Ven. P. Luis de la Puente, el año 1615, en la célebre Vida que escribió del P. Baltasar Alvarez. Léase el capítulo XLII, donde se afirma el hecho, probándolo no con testimonios históricos, sino con cierta revelación del Arcángel San Gabriel a una persona que no se
Fr. Sola named Fr. Jerome Domenech from Palermo as a witness. Fr. Domenech told the story about Pedro Plagia, a holy man.

We have another testimony from the Venerable Fr. Jerome de Palermo, as he told in his Life of the canon of the Church of Panormitana, illustrious in sanctity and miracles. Accordingly he states in the authentic Processes in Rome for his canonization. I have here the case. Already near death another canon of the same Cathedral Church, D. Pedro Plagia, outstanding in all virtue: when repenting, the dying man turned his face to Fr. Jerome, who was present there, and said to him:

The Most Holy Virgin has just appeared to me and gives you the graces for the solicitude and diligence you need in preaching the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius to many people. She encourages you through me to follow and pursue diligently this work so very useful (in the utmost degree) to the salvation of souls, and, at the same time, she makes known that she is the Author of this manner of meditating, and that She revealed it to St. Ignatius, founder of the Company of Jesus. And, that those, who practice the Exercises by this method, know that they are making a gift and very singular service to the Mother of God.\(^{57}\)

These having been recorded, he pointed out the "The Last Observation" of Fr. Astrain:

The act may be true, but up until now nothing has been discovered before 1615 to prove it.\(^{58}\)


\(^{58}\) Juan M. Sola, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 158. "El hecho podrá ser verdadero, pero hasta ahora no se ha descubierto nada antes del 1615 para probarlo."
Chapter 4: Some Early Research on the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Tradition

In section XV, Fr. Sola turns his attention to the main critic whose authority, he believes, has done great damage, not only to the reputation of Marina de Escobar and Fr. Luis de la Puente, but also to the apostolic works that were going on at the "Santa Cueva" and through the Spiritual Exercises. Fr. Astrain, the critic, was critiqued because his "authority" as an author has caused the "ancient, certain, universal tradition to the glory of God and the Most Holy Virgin Mary" to suffer great damage and even ridicule\(^59\) in the perception of Fr. Sola.

In section XVI, Fr. Sola closed his comments with what he termed, "...the key of gold: the majestic palace of the marian tradition regarding the Exercises."\(^60\) What he actually did was to take up the defense of the tradition once again.

He focused in upon another issue which tended to "diminish and devalue" the importance of the tradition, namely, Louis De Palma's failure to mention la Puente's book, especially, the revelation that Marina de Escobar talked about there, with its fourfold depiction of Our Lady as "Patrona, Fundadora, Ayudadora and Enseñadora."

Fr. Sola showed how Fr. De Palma could not have commented upon the subject of Fr. Puente's book written in 1615, since his was printed several years before. Therefore, De Palma could not have commented upon it even if he would have wanted to. Thus, Fr. Sola, refuted the objections of Fr. Astrain regarding De Palma.

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\(^{59}\) Juan M. Sola, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 161. "Y que sea grande el dano que ha hecho, no con sus argumentos, que son nulos, sino con su grande autoridad, ¿quién no lo reconoce y lamenta? Dejo las pláticas privadas, las sopechas y rumores: hay revistas de Ascética y de Mística que no se recatan en impugnar la tradición antigua a banderas desplegadas, y aún hacen donaire de cosa tan grave y altamente regiosa." My translation: "And, the damage that he has done may be great, not by means of his arguments, which are nothing, but by means of his great authority. Who does not recognize and lament it? End the private conversations, the suspicion and rumors: there are magazines of Asceticism and Mysticism that do not take care in opposing the ancient tradition with flags unfurled, and still they laugh wittily at such a lofty and highly religious thing."

\(^{60}\) Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 162.
Fr. Solá then took those four titles used by Marina de Escobar and looked at them in terms of what they might say about her influence upon the book of the Spiritual Exercises (A) and about what they might say about her possible influence upon Ignatius (B).

In the first case, point A, the author began with a question about the nature of this influence and finished with a further question about whether the inspiration he discovered was "simple" or not. 61

It has to be such that the one who practices it is able to call himself its patron and founder with just claim. Let us allow that She herself states it by her divine mouth: "for this reason, the source of this work had been held to be in Her." In Mary, then, was the principle and foundation of this marvelous work, Mary contracted it, Mary established it in the Church of God by means of her servant, Ignatius. 62

In his second point, Fr. Solá considered the "influence upon the author." She was "ayudadora" and "enseñadora," respectively, "helper" and "teacher" of Ignatius.

Before she confirmed her patronage and spiritual maternity with respect to the Exercises, she reveals here to us that she was, (at the time that she said this in Valladolid), and had been from the beginning at Loyola and Manresa, the one who had helped the Saint and taught him the outline and order of this book and the most substantial parts of it. 63

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62 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 165. Original text: "...Ha de ser tal que el que lo ejerce pueda con derecho llamarse su patrón y fundador. Dejémosla que Ella misma lo declare por su divina boca: "en esta razón habia tenido en Ella principio esta obra". En Maria, pues, tuvo principio y fundamento esta obra maravillosa, María la asentó, María la estableció en la Iglesia de Dios por medio de su siervo, Ignacio."
63 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 166. "Antes nos afirmó su patronazgo y maternidad espiritual respecto de los Ejercicios; aquí nos revela que era, (a la sazón que esto decia en Valladolid), y había sido desde los comienzos de Loyola y Manresa la que había ayudado al Santo y enseñadole la traza y orden de este libro y las partes más substanciales de él."
Even within these roles, Mary did not say that she actually was "the Founder," etc., of the *Exercises*, but that she was "like" the Founder, etc. Rather, she did not put herself in the place of God, but in her proper place between God and the creature, as Fr. Solá described it.

First, let us take notice that she did not say absolutely that "I am the Foundress, I am the Teacher." Rather, she said that she was *like* the Patron, and Foundress, the Helper and like the Teacher, in order to give place to the action of God and to the cooperation of Ignatius. She puts herself in her place, between God and Ignatius, between the creator and the creature, between the head, who is the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and the body, which in this place is Ignatius and his work.64

From her place "in between," the author went on to point out that the intervention of Mary could have been by "apparition." He cited some of the important Christological and Mariological events in Ignatius' life as reported by Ribadeniera. We are familiar with all of these citations from our consideration of Mary in the *Autobiography* of St. Ignatius. In this case, the citations were an attempt by Fr. Solá to use the documented facts of Ignatius' spiritual experience of Our Lady to demonstrate that the term apparition or vision could describe the experience.

For example, among several of his examples from Ribadeniera's life of St. Ignatius, the language describing the event makes his point.

It was thus that being awake one night, the noble and sovereign Queen of the Angels appeared to him. She bore in her arms her most precious Son. And, the radiance of its clarity illuminated

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"Advirtamos lo primero, que no dice absolutamente "Yo soy la Fundadora, Yo soy la Enseñadora”; sino como la Patrona y Fundadora, la Ayudadora y como la Enseñadora; para dar su lugar a la acción de Dios y a la cooperación de Ignacio. Ella se pone en su puesto, entre Dios e Ignacio, entre el creador y la criatura, entre la cabeza, que es la divinidad del Espíritu Santo, y el cuerpo, que es aquí Ignacio y su obra."
Emphases mine.
him and the sweetness of its presence regenerated him and strengthened him. This vision endured a good length of time. 65

Moving away from the topic of apparitions, the author then addressed the issue of "dictation." Going to the Latin root of the word for "dictate." He cited an unnamed dictionary which defined the word as, "est aliquid tractim pronunctiare, ut calamo excipi possit. Accipitur etiam dictare pro suggerere. Ratio dictat, hoc est, suggerit." That is, to dictate something is "to announce something part by part so that one is able to receive it in succession from another by writing it down. The verb "to dictate" is also accepted for the verb "to supply." For example, reason dictates or supplies."

One may take it in the sense that one wishes, but raising ourselves to higher thoughts, let us confess that the one who gloried and had the sovereign gentleness to call herself and be Patron, Foundress, Helper and like a Teacher of the Holy Exercises, would know how to communicate with her disciple already through internal or external locution, already with a high or low voice, now flowing and ordinary, now slowly, so that Ignatius would be able to take some note, now through herself, now through the ministry of the angels, especially, by the angel of the Company. Already in vigil, already in dreams as in the prophets and in St. Joseph the Patriarch. Now in ecstasy or rapture, and these, one time brief and another time long, sometimes by imaginary vision, other times intellectual, or by a thousand other forms, words or sentiments, concealed in our coarseness and timidity. 66

65 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," p. 167, emphases mine. Cf. also, FN, IV, Book I, Chapter II, #10, p. 93, lines 41-45 and Ibid., #32, p. 125, lines 67-70, etc. Original Spanish Text of lines 41-45, p. 93 of FN, IV: "Y fue así, que estando él velando una noche, le apareció la esclarecida y soberana Reyna de los Angeles, que traía en brazos a su preciosísimo Hijo, y con el resplandor de su claridad le alumbrava, y con la suavidad de su presencia le recreava y esforçava. Y duró buen espacio de tiempo esta visión;..." Solá's citation of the above text has one difference. The last word in his citation was "visita", whereas, the Spanish text has the word "vision." This particular inaccuracy of transcription does not create a major problem with his point about the use of the term "apparition" as a possible means of describing Our Lady's intervention. A "visit" by the Mother and the Child could only be interpreted as a spiritual event which included apparitions.

66 Juan M. Solá, S.J. "La Intervención De La Virgen En Los Ejercicios Espirituales," pp. 167f. "Tómase en el sentido que se quiera; pero, levantándonos a más altos pensamientos, confesemos que la hizo gala y tuvo la soberana gentileza de llamarse y ser Patrona y Fundadora, Ayudadora y como Enseñadora de los Santos Ejercicios, sabría comunicarse con su discípulo ya por locución interna o externa,
In the very last section of his paper, the author turned to a consideration of the respect that we owe our "forefathers or superiors (mayores)" in faith. Seeing the "precious tradition" that they have passed on to us as a kind of "relic," he went on to discuss the value of Mary's intervention in the *Spiritual Exercises* as one of these relics that needs to be guarded and defended against "mere conjecture or only probable arguments" which put into doubt "the sense of authenticity of sacred relics." Here, too, the author connected this important Marian tradition of influence upon the *Spiritual Exercises* with the "maternal influence of the most serene Queen of the Angels.

Affirmation of the connection between Mary's spiritual maternity and the *Spiritual Exercises* is as important for our understanding of Mary's role in our personal and communal salvation history as it is for our understanding of role of the *Spiritual Exercises* in the renewal and transformation of our spirit of love for God and neighbor.

**Conclusions and Reflections: Sola**

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Father Sola's article brings the story of Mary's influence on the Spiritual Exercises and upon St. Ignatius to a more highly developed level. He calls into consideration different definitions of faith, including, the "divine faith," the "ecclesiastical faith," and "human faith" that come to bear in different instances that call for belief. He based "human faith" on "venerated traditions of the fathers and sons incorporated into institutions worthy of respect." Whereas, the "divine faith" refers to that belief given to revelations or dogmas, "ecclesiastical faith" refers to that given to "images or apparitions with full approbation of the Church." The first of these kinds of faith, the human, seems to be in play when we consider how Mary influenced St. Ignatius in the writing of the Spiritual Exercises. Here he seems to clarify the fact that we are dealing with a tradition being handed down by people, but people who are responsible about their faith. This description of the faith in play during assessment of the relationship between Ignatius and Mary involves an understanding of tradition that respects the valid and tested religious experience of Christians who are following Christ in the Holy Spirit through Mary.

His argumentation, however, goes beyond "human faith" touching upon issues that arise within his whole presentation. He refers to Fr. Fita's research on the documentation of the "dictation," he critiqued Fr. Astrain as abusing his authority as a respected historian, and thereby doing damage to the apostolate of the Spiritual Exercises at Manresa, he reported the revelations to Marina de Escular with her fourfold depiction of Patrona, Fundadora, Ayudora and Ensenadora. He also reported how Fr. Domenech, S.J., of Palermo, attested to the fact that Pedro Palagia, "a holy man," saw Our Lady and she told him to encourage a priest who was giving the Spiritual Exercises. She told
Palagia to say that those *Exercises* are her way of meditating and she revealed them to St. Ignatius. The seer conveys that making the *Exercises* is a "gift and very singular service to the Mother of God."

Apparitions are a means that she has already used to communicate with St. Ignatius. For Sola, Mary used the imagination, the intellect and internal and external locutions or words to communicate. Sometimes she spoke "through herself," sometimes through the "ministry of the angels," especially, by the "angel of the Company," but other times in dreams like the "prophets and St. Joseph," "now in ecstasy, now in rapture," now in a "thousand" other "words or sentiments," even through some things "concealed in our courseness and timidity."

The issues that arose related to the rich experience taken from Marian prayer. It also says that these issues throw into relief issues in our own situation that can bear fruit that builds the Kingdom. Fr. Sola's reflection on the possible means of dictation offers a description of what goes on in a person when they engage the text of scripture related to Mary in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In and through the texts, issues involving Mary cause discourses within and between persons just because of who Mary is.

In the interior response to these discourses, Mary sees herself as patron, founder, helper and teacher of the one praying over scripture as she does. Through the structure of the *Exercises*, she is precisely sharing her way of meditating with us, by grounding us in her experience and skill, her "yes," and helping us in our time of need by teaching us interiorly through an interior word, that scripture releases in us, as it did in Ignatius in his *Spiritual Diary*. All of this may be summed up under her "maternal influence," that of the "most serene Queen of angels."
Quera: Influence of the Virgin in the Composition of the Spiritual Exercises


In attempting to establish the "State of the Question" on this subject, Fr. Quera reverted to Fr. Astrain's reaction to the work of Fr. Watrigant. As an historian of the Society of Jesus, Astrain, in essence, could not accept the lack of historical documentation of these events during the period of a century. After that long gap, he noted that we only have a single instance of unconfirmed evidence in the "celebrated" work of Louis de la Puente on the Life of Baltasar Alvares in 1615. Fr. Quera described the reaction of Fr. Astrain to the arguments put forth to support Our Lady's intervention.

Here one speaks of a revelation by the Archangel Gabriel to the Venerable Marina de Escobar, spiritual daughter of P. La Puente, in which the Most Holy Virgin presented herself as Patron, Foundress, Helper and Teacher of St. Ignatius in the composition of the Exercises. Without conceding the importance of the revelation, Fr. Astrain adds that the belief, that the Virgin had dictated the book of the Exercises to St. Ignatius owed being published to the celebrated picture which Fr. Mucio Vitelleschi had commissioned for the Cave of Manresa, when he was General of the Company of Jesus in

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Fr. Quera contended that Astrain's words had an "enormous influence (un influjo enorme)." For one thing, Fr. Tacchi Venturi cited Fr. Astrain in his *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, in effect also rejecting the pious tradition in a footnote. Apparently, Fr. Tacchi Venturi defended his position by saying that only a small part of the *SpEx* were written at Manresa, something that Fr. Quera said was refuted by the work of Fr. Codina, in *Los Orígenes de los Ejercicios espirituales de S. Ignacio de Loyola*, when he made the following observation, one that he recognized was supported by several key contemporaries of Ignatius:

"Having practiced the Exercises substantially completed at Manresa under the direction of God our Lord, Ignatius had no sufficient reason to doubt that he likewise wrote them substantially complete in Manresa in the said mode, at least we have not seen this treated anywhere up to now."
Chapter 4: Some Early Research on the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Tradition

At this point, Fr. Quera treated the issue of "dictation." To do this he responded to the book by Fr. Dudon which had appeared about a decade before, and which, in effect, attempted to defend the strict understanding of the word "dictate" in the sense that Mary actually gave the words of the book of the Spiritual Exercises to Ignatius.

Fr. Quera criticized Fr. Dudon for framing the question in the way that he did: "Has the Virgin dictated the Exercises to Ignatius?" "Naturally," according to Quera, Fr. Dudon had decided to answer the specific question of dictation in the negative, "citing as witnesses in favor, Astrain, Tacchi Venturi and Watrigant." Nevertheless, Fr. Dudon made his point for "dictation" notwithstanding the qualification by Watrigant that such statements had to have been made "hyperbolically."

Quera pointed out that those who came forth in defense of the pious tradition have, therefore, had to make the case that they were not necessarily speaking about "dictation properly speaking" (un dictado propriamente tal), even though they were aware of instances in the past that "locutions" were "dictated," as such, by the "Virgin" or the "Divine Majesty." It is clear that the image of dictation that was being talked about in this case is not that of "a professor lecturing and the student taking notes."

Then it is clear that his interpretation, taken as if the Most Holy Virgin had dictated the book of the Exercises to Ignatius, in the manner that a professor dictated his thesis or his explanations to his disciples, was in contradiction with what St Ignatius said when Fr. Cámara asked him how he made the Exercises. The holy Father responded with the following words that were stated in the Autobiography and which we are translating from the Italian: "that he had not made the Exercises all at once, but

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that he wrote down some things that he observed in his soul and found useful, and seemed that they might be useful to others, as he wrote them..." One sees, then, through these very words of St. Ignatius that "he used to observe" those things that profited himself and that were able to be useful to others and "he wrote them down." He does not frame all this as a dictation from the Virgin in Manresa. And we say that such an interpretation was opposed to that which St. Ignatius did. Then, it is enough to observe the manuscripts that remain in order to see how many corrections he himself was making over the text until its definitive approbation by the Apostolic See. And, it is clear that he himself would not have dared to correct it if it had been dictated by the most Holy Virgin herself. So, then, we believe that P. Dudon, in planting the question about whether the Most Holy Virgin dictated or not the book of the Exercises, planted an idle question, and focused poorly the question, making his readers believe that the defenders of the pious tradition were defending dictation as such, being so that we sincerely do not know anyone who has published anything written in order to defend such a outlandish thesis. Apart from this, Fr. Dudon does not add any argument to the one brought by Fr. Astrain.

Therefore, the provocative title-question in the appendix put forth in Fr. Dudon's book, said to be essentially that of Fr. Astrain, was judged not only to have "planted a useless or frivolous question (inutil, y enfocó mal)", but also to have offered a question

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76 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influs de la Santísima Virgen de la Composición del Libro de los Ejercicios," pp. 65f. "Pues es claro que esta interpretación tomada así como si la Virgen Santísima hubiese dictado el libro de los Ejercicios a Ignacio, a la manera que un profesor dicta sus tesis o sus explicaciones a sus discípulos, estaría en contradicción con lo que dijo, pues habiendo preguntado el P. Cámara a San Ignacio cómo hizo los Ejercicios, el santo Padre le respondió con las siguientes palabras que constan en la Autobiografía y traducimos del italiano: "que no había hecho los Ejercicios todos de una vez, sino que algunas cosas que él observaba en su alma, y las hallaba útiles, le parecía que también serían útiles a otros, y así las escribía..." Se ve, pues, por estas palabras del mismo San Ignacio que "observaba" aquellas cosas que le aprovechaban a él y podían ser útiles a otros y "les escribía". No cuadra todo esto con un dictado de la Virgen en Manresa. Y decimos que tal interpretación se oponía a los que hizo San Ignacio, pues, basta observar los manuscritos que nos quedan para ver cuántas correcciones fue haciendo el mismo sobre el texto hasta su definitiva aprobación por la Sede Apostólica, y es claro que no se hubiera atrevido a corregirlo se se lo hubiera dictado la Virgen Santísima. Así, pues, creemos que el P. Dudon, al plantear la cuestión de si la Virgen Santísima dictó o no el libro de los Ejercicios, planteó una cuestión inútil, y enfocó mal la cuestión, haciendo creer a sus lectores que los defensores de la pía tradición dedienden el tal dictado, siendo así que sinceramente no sabemos de nadie que haya publicado algún escrito para defender una tesis tan extraña. Por lo demás el P. Dudon no añade ningún argumento a los aducido por el P. Astrain." Cf. also, FN, I, #99, pp. 502f, lines 36-40, for the quotation from the Autobiography in the original Italian: "Io, dipoi queste cose narrate, alli di Ottobre domandai al pelegrino degli exercitii et delle constitutioni, volendo intendere come l'havea fatte. Lui mi disse che gli essercitii non gli haveva fatti tutti in una volta, senonché alcune cose, che lui osservava nell'animala sua, et le trovava utili, gli pareva che potrebbero anche essere utili ad altri, et così le metteva in scritto,..."
that did not add anything positive to the argument. Neither did he lessen the confusion started by the insinuation of Fr. Astrain, who stated that the suggestion that Mary actually gave the words of the book of the Spiritual Exercises to Ignatius, in a word for word manner, was preposterous. In essence, Fr. Quera questioned why Fr. Astrain could not bring himself to accept the possibility of such a dictation by the Virgin considering all of the "locutions encountered in ancient documents" which did not pass for "exaggeration or hyperbolic speech."  

Fr. Quera went on to attempt to interpret Fr. Astrain's contention that "no documents appeared at all during a century." He saw two possible interpretations.

First, that "nobody thought of such a thing" until time had elapsed and only then did people begin to write about it and others followed the lead of the latter. "But, in this sense one is not able to admit the affirmation of Fr. Astrain." Fr. Astrain himself does not say that "nobody mentions" the issue in their writings. Many writings were lost and did not come down to us. Moreover, Fr. Quera referred to the reference to Lainez in Fr. Watrigant and the enthusiastic defense of the "pious tradition" in an earlier study by Fr. Solá, as we have already seen.

Fr. Quera qualified further the reasons for his inability to accept the statement of Fr. Astrain. The references made by Quera seem to keep Fr. Astrain from being able to prove clearly that such writings do not exist. At the same time, no one has been able to point to anyone who has tried to create a legend, nor show that others followed such a legend unquestioningly.

On the one hand, what we were not able to put forward with regard to this text does not prove that it does not exist. On the other hand, nobody will be able to indicate who forged or when he began to invent for himself this legend which then the rest admitted blindly, without adverting to the lack of foundation for its content. In this sense, then, one is not able to admit the proposal of Fr. Astrain. 79

The second possible interpretation was not a question of no one having thought of the point. Rather, it was a question of not having "discovered any document which clearly mentions the tradition." 80 As Fr. Quera pointed out, the fact is that the tradition of the Cave where Ignatius prayed had a similar early lack of documentation until testimony was found in the beatification documentation, and until Fr. Leturia discovered documentation referring to the Cave, as a place of prayer of Ignatius, in a Latin work by Juan Alberto Widmanstadt in 1556. 81

In his second section of the article, Fr. Quera turned to his consideration of this "pious tradition in light of the Autobiography of St. Ignatius and the writings of his companions." First, he attempted to ask whether this "pious tradition" was congruent with "what St. Ignatius and his companions" had said.

It is not the purpose here to ponder the importance of the

79 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influido De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 67. "El que ahora no podamos dar con este texto no prueba que no existiese. Por otra parte nadie podrá señalar quién forjó o cuando comenzó a inventarse esta leyenda, que luego los demás admitieron ciegamente sin advertir en la falta de fundamento de su contenido. En este sentido, pues, no puede admitirse la frase del P. Astrain."

80 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influido De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 68. "Pero puede tomarse en el sentido de que durante cerca de un siglo(a contar desde la estancia de San Ignacio en Manresa en 1522) no hemos descubierto ningún documento que mencione claramente la tradición. In este sentido puede admitirse, si se añade que no nos faltan documentos que muestran fué viva la tradición oral, derivada de personas que tuvieron trato con el santo, como veremos después. Pero nótese bien que hasta hace poco habíamos de decir lo mismo acerca de la tradición sobre la Santa Cueva de Manresa, como lugar a donde acudía con frecuencia el santo a hacer oración."

81 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influido De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 68.
declarations which St. Ignatius made some years before his death to Fr. Louis González de Cámara, the ones that are commonly accustomed to be designated with the name of the Autobiography of St. Ignatius. From this writing and the one (to) which Lainez, Polanco and Ribadeniera refer, it follows that the holy penitent from Manresa passed through three very distinct steps ... peace and tranquility of conscience ... then scruples ... and, finally, ... great visions and spiritual illustrations, ... After a consideration of several texts which spoke about the content of the "third step" in Ignatius' process of conversion and the visions that went with this, Fr. Quera concluded that the intervention of the Virgin in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises was "more direct" than simple "intercession. He deduced this " since the Autobiography "says that during this time period Jesus Christ and the Most Holy Virgin appeared to him." 

Fr. Quera quoted a biographer of Ignatius regarding graphic expressions of his religious experiences. He said, "This is not more than the graphic expression of what Ignatius told us in the Autobiography." In this case, Fr. Casanovas was speaking about

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82 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 69. "No es de este lugar el ponderar la importancia de las declaraciones que el mismo San Ignacio, pocos años antes de su muerte, hizo a P. Guis González de Cámara, y que comunmente suelen designarse con el nombre de Autobiografía de San Ignacio. De este escrito y de lo que refieren Lainez, Polanco y Ribadeniera se infiere que el santo penitente de Manresa pasó por tres etapas muy distintas ... paz y sosiego de conciencia ... luego los escúpulos, y, finalmente ... grandes visiones e ilustraciones espirituales, ...

83 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 71. "Tenemos, pues, que los compañeros de San Ignacio daban por inconcuso que escribió el libro de los Ejercicios con una ilustración extraordinaria de Dios, lo cual por otra parte está perfectamente de acuerdo con la Autobiografía. Claro que, según la doctrina de la Mediación universal de María, no podemos negar que a su intercesión debió San Ignacio esta gracia extraordinaria. Pero (aun sin investigar más testimonios) puede colegirse que la Virgen intervino en la composición, pues en la Autobiografía se dice que en este tiempo se le aparecieron Jesucristo y la Virgen Santísima." My translation: "We hold, then, that the companions of St. Ignatius (saw) as incontestable that he wrote the book of the Exercises with an extraordinary enlightenment by god, which was, on the other hand, perfectly in accord with the Autobiography. It clear that, according to the doctrine of the universal Mediation of Mary, we are not able to deny that St. Ignatius owed this extraordinary grace to her intercession. But, (nevertheless without investigating more testimonies) one is able to gather for oneself that the Virgen intervened in the composition of the Exercises more directly than with intercession alone, since in the Autobiography it is said that in this time Jesus Christ and the Most Holy Virgin themselves appeared to him."
the artistic tradition which depicted Ignatius on his knees composing the *Spiritual Exercises* before "Jesus and the Mother of God as if under their inspiration."

Lastly, in this second section, Fr. Quera considered the question of why Ignatius' companions did not mention the intervention of the Virgin explicitly. As his response to the question, the author expanded the question to include why Jesus Christ was not explicitly mentioned either. In essence, his argument was grounded in the divine inspiration of the *Spiritual Exercises* made manifest by the illuminations at Manresa.

Given that at Manresa, Christ and the Virgin Mary both appeared to St. Ignatius with their humanity, there is no doubt that they also were influential in the composition of this book, without wishing to investigate whether the book owed more to the influence of one or the other. Those illuminations and visions, according to St. Ignatius himself, confirm it then and always in the faith, and above all in the truths of the faith, what the book of the Exercises teach. What is owed to divine illumination and to what kind of divine illumination on each page of the Exercises, is impossible to investigate. To us it appears clear enough, deduced from the same Autobiography that God put his hand into this book and more particularly also (so did) Christ and the Most Holy Virgin.84

In the third part of his double article, Fr. Quera talked about "the oral transmission of the pious tradition." Beginning that discussion, Fr. Quera moved immediately to the heart of the argument. Some could not accept that Ignatius would have told the Amigants about the intervention of the Virgin in the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises*. This

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84 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 72. "Dado que en Manresa apreció a San Ignacio Cristo con su humanidad y también la Virgen Santísima, no dudarían que ellos también influirían en la composición de este libro, sin querer investigar si el libro se debía más al influjo del uno o del otro. Aquellas ilustraciones y visiones, según dice el mismo San Ignacio, le confirmaron entonces y siempre en la fe, y por tanto en las verdades de fe que enseña en el libro de los Ejercicios. En cada página de ellos qué cosa se deba a la ilustración divina y a qué clase de ilustración divina, y qué cosa se deba a la experiencia propia que en sí mismo notaba San Ignacio, es imposible investigarlo. A nosotros nos parece bastante claro, deducido de la misma Autobiografía, que en este libro pusieron su mano Dios, y más en particular también Cristo y la Virgen Santísima."
was supposed to be so since Ignatius was so private about the spiritual things in his life, sharing them only with difficulty. In no way could he have shared the spiritual intimacies related to the Virgin with the Amigant family.

Notwithstanding the argument against his sharing, a quote from the letter of Fr. Ribadeniera to Fr. Gil touched conclusively upon the validity of the tradition that was handed on to Fr. Lorenzo de San Juan from Señor Amigant, and noted in the *Annales* of the College of Barcelona.

Ribadeniera knew that Ignatius had this kind of spiritual exchange with the Amigants and confirmed that he did have the desire to share spiritual things with them. Thus, Ignatius could have shared with them about Mary’s role in the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises*, as reported in the *Annales*. The key part of the letter from Ribadeniera to Gil clarified the kind of relationship the Amigants shared with Ignatius.

When our holy Father Ignatius was asked, he used to communicate and open up the things that went on in his soul to Señor Peter Amigant and to the Lady Angela Amigant, that is, the raptures, the visions from heaven, the elevations and other interiors things, because he found these persons to be very devoted and very much to his satisfaction and consolation. Dr. Sarrovira clearly recounted all of this to me, being the one to whom the Saint prophesied the whole course of his life. And, not with little grounds, did I sometimes gather the same thing from Fr. Ignatius, although he was very cautious in pointing out the favors that he had received from God our Lord in Manresa. ⁸⁵

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⁸⁵ Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 164. "Preguntado nuestro santo Padre Ignacio, les comunicaba y franqueaba al señor Pedro de Amigant y a la señora Angela de Amigant las cosas que pasaban por su alma; esto es, los raptos, las visiones del cielo, las elevaciones y otras cosas interiores, por ver a estas personas muy devotas y tan de su satisfacción y consuelo. Todo esto me lo ha contado claramente el Sr. Dr. Sarrovira, a quien el santo profetizó todo el decurso de su vida; y no con pequeño fundamento lo colegí yo alguna vez en el mismo P. Ignacio, si bien iba muy cauteloso en apuntar los favores que había recibido de Dios nuestro Señor en Manresa." Cf. also, Marien, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
Fr. Quera then turned to look at two additional documents. The Amigant family preserved both. They told about the tradition that the "Most Holy Virgin was the maestra of Ignatius who taught him the practice of the Spiritual Exercises."

The first document was the one published in the Annales of the College of Barcelona. The author felt that this document was a "proof of the oral tradition held in the Amigant family" and a proof that the "book of the Exercises was a favor of the Most Holy Virgin." Quera then went on to provide some details about this document. First, Fr. Fita was the first to call attention to the document. At present, the original document does not exist. It was destroyed, along with many others, during the "vandalism of the reds in the recent revolution of 1936." One manuscript copy escaped destruction. And, the text "is contained on the 21 folia page... in the anales(sic)of the year 1606."

The document described how Fr. Lorenzo de San Juan arrived in Barcelona during Lent to preach at the Church of Saint Michael. After speaking about his ministries, especially how he moved the people to frequent the sacraments, the document included an added paragraph telling about the "dictation" by Our Lady.

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87 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 167. "Hemos mencionado el texto de los Anales del Colegio de Belén, como prueba de la tradición oral que había en la familia Amigant, de que el libro de los Ejercicios fué un favor del la Virgen Santísima." My translation: "We have mentioned the text of the Annals of the College of Bethlehem as proof of the oral tradition held in the Amigant family that the book of the Exercises was a favor of the Most Holy Virgin." Fr. Quera also cited the passage from the Annals: "Pasando por Manresa [el P. Lorenzo de San Juan] supo del Sr. Amigant que la Virgen había dictado los Ejercicios a N.P.S. Ignacio después de un rapto en la Anunciata de su casa, como lo tenían notado y sabido de boca del Santo cuando estuvo allí." My translation: "Passing through Manresa[Fr. Lorenzo de San Juan] he learned from the Lord Amigant that the Virgin had dictated the Exercises to Our Holy Father Ignatius after a rapture in the Chapel of the Annunciation in his house, as they learned and noted from the mouth of the Saint when he was there." Cf. also, Annales de Collegio de Barcelona, 1606, folia 21.
Fr. Quera also touched upon the identity of Fr. Lorenzo de San Juan, the priest who received the oral tradition about Our Lady from Angela Amigant. The author suggested how this transfer of oral tradition probably took place.

That which they referred to Fr. Lorenzo de San Juan was derived from the oral tradition of Lady Angela de Amigant who heard it from the lips of St. Ignatius that the Exercises were the fruit of a grace and special illumination that God and the Most Holy Virgin had given to him. The penitent, Lady Angela, reducing it to its simplest form (concretar) in popular phrase, told her daughter that the Exercises had been dictated to Ignatius by the Most Holy Virgin.

Quera cited "a difficulty" that went against the text presented in the Annales. The problem came down to the fact that the witnesses were asked about the "spiritual experiences" of Ignatius, specifically, his "prayer and illuminations (oracion y illustraciones). Translated from the Latin, Fr. Quera described the question asked of the witnesses.

The said Fr. Ignatius being nevertheless contrite and uneducated, and occupying himself in Manresa in continuous prayers and meditations, had many divine illuminations, and illuminated by them, and with daily experience and the exercise of the virtues, he wrote a book...which he called Spiritual Exercises.

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88 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influyo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 168. Cf. also, Scripta II, 709, regarding the reception of the Spiritual Exercises by some women of Manresa including Angela Amigant. "Canyelles eidem testi, se una cum Dna. Amiganta, Dna. Rouiralta, Dna. Clauera, et aliiis honestis multieribus uitae exemplaris huius oppidi, solitam esse accedere ad sacellum Sancte Luciae, situm ad latus et iuxta hospitale pauperum insfirmorum, tunc in hoc oppidum declinantium, et tibi audire a dicto Patre Ignatio spiritualia exercitia, in quibus exercitiois precipue hortabantur auditores ut fugerent peccata et uirtutem amplecterentur,..." My translation: "Canyelles herself one of the witnesses, united with Lady Amigant, Lady Rouiralta, Lady Clavera and all of the women of honest and exemplary life of the town, were accustomed to come to the chapel of Saint Lucy, situated at the side and next to the hospital of the sick-poor, then in this nearby town. And, in whose special exercises, it was exhorted that they flee sins and embrace virtue,..."


The problem that Fr. Quera saw was that there was no mention "of the influence of the Most Holy Mary on the book of the Exercises." Yet, he seems to go forward toward answering his own difficulty when he outlines the two main elements involved in the request for a response made to the witnesses in "article 29" of the canonization process of St. Ignatius.

There it spoke only generally of the divine illuminations and the author of the articles questioned only two things: 1. If Ignatius had had divine illuminations at Manresa. 2. If he had composed the book of the Exercises while illuminated with these. Certainly Mr. Juan de Amigant responded in complete conformity to this. What were these illuminations, and what, more or less, they contributed to the genesis of the book, are points around which nothing was asked and, naturally, the witness did not have to respond.\footnote{Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 167. "Allí solamente se hablaba en general de las ilustraciones divinas, y preguntaba se hablaba en general de las ilustraciones divinas, y preguntaba el autor de los artículos dos cosas: 1. Si había tenido Ignacio ilustraciones divinas en Manresa. 2. Si iluminado con ellas había compuesto el libro de los Ejercicios. Pues a esto respondió en completa conformidad el señor Juan de Amigant. Cuáles fueron estas ilustraciones, y cuáles más o menos contribuyeron a la génesis del libro, son puntos acerca de los cuales nada se preguntaba y, naturalmente, no tenía para qué responder el testigo."}

In addition to the one in the Annales, another document surfaced, a manuscript entitled "Piety of the Amigants in the Canonization of St Ignatius." In 1918, the editors of \textit{Monumenta Ignatiana} published a letter found in that manuscript from Fr. Ribadeniera to Fr. Hernando Ponce in 1605. Ribadeniera was informing the Provincial, Fr. Ponce, of his renewed appointment by Fr. General and to take charge of the preparations for the part of the canonization process that would take place in 1606.
In 1922, Fr. Creixell discovered another letter in this same manuscript of the Amigants. In this instance, the letter was from Fr. Ribadeniera to Fr. Gil, dated April 6, 1595, in which he urged Fr. Gil to gather depositions from the Paschual and Amigant families in preparation for the processes of Manresa and Barcelona. Fr. Creixell perceived that Fr. Francisco Castells went immediately on this information-gathering mission as a direct result of Ribadeniera's letter.

The notes taken by Fr. Castells are significant even though the originals were lost. The confessor of the Amigant family, Fr. José Poch, had made a summarized copy of "textual words of Fr. Castells" for which we now depend upon Fr. Quera.

(17)Saint Ignatius gave the spiritual exercises to the Lady Angela Amigant as soon as the Virgin had dictated to him.

It is clear that the most holy Virgin taught St. Ignatius the spiritual exercises which today the Company of Jesus practices. Knowing the abundant fruit that he gathered from them, the saint communicated them to the Lady Angela Amigant since she was also a disciple of his teaching. Thus, declares the process of the canonization of St. Ignatius, fol. 377.\(^\text{92}\)

Fr. Quera believed that this text went largely unappreciated. He admitted that it was written at the end of the "XVII century" (sic), "but it is a copy-summary of some notes taken by Fr. Castells at the beginning of this century." This, Fr. Quera proposes, gives the document special weight because of its connection with the source in the Amigant family.

We sincerely believe that the force of this manuscript text has not been properly heeded. It is true that it was written at the end of the 17th century, but it is a copy-summary of some notes.

taken from P. Castells at the beginning of the century. The principal force was in that deposition because within the Amigant family the belief in the pious tradition was sustained alive and that which is affirmed in this text is in agreement with the text of the *Anales* of the college of Belén. In spite of the both texts proceeding from manuscript sources so disparate and diverse, though one does not have anything to do with the other, they are in agreement in what they affirm.

At the same time, in Fr. Quera’s perception, the oral tradition regarding Our Lady’s intervention did not exist solely among the Amigant family members. There were other manifestations. For one he quoted the letter of a Fr. Pucci who wrote "that in Manresa and in the whole region it was considered as a certain tradition transmitted from fathers to sons that St. Ignatius had written his book in the solitude of Manresa with the help of the Mother of God and conspicuous for particular illuminations from heaven." The references in the *Life of Ignatius* by Fr. Andrés Lucas seem to overlap with two other major responses to the oral tradition, including the confirmatory revelations presented by Fr. Louis de la Puente and the painting commissioned by Fr. Vitelleschi. Since Fr. de la Puente’s story will be told in Quera's fourth and last section of his article, let us, briefly, consider the situation related to Fr. Vitelleschi’s artistic commission.

Fr. Lucas made the following observation about this painting:

> Today the cave has a different disposition...A bit above the cave, to one side of its crest, is a dedicated Chapel adorned

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93 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influyó De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," pp. 168f. "Creemos sinceramente que no se ha reparado bastante en la fuerza de este texto manuscrito. Es verdad que fue escrito a fines del siglo XVII, pero es una copia-resumen de unos Apuntes tomados por el P. Castells a principios de este siglo. La Fuerza principal está en que atestigua cómo dentro de la familia de Amigant se mantenía viva la creencia en la pia tradición, y lo que se afirma en este texto está de acuerdo con el texto de los Anales del colegio de Belén. A pesar de que ambos textos proceden de fuentes manuscritas tan dispares y diversas, que no tiene nada que ver la una con la otra, están concordes en las afirman."

with a large, well-painted Altarpiece, where one sees St. Ignatius, kneeling, dressed in sackcloth and chain, writing the book of the spiritual exercises, praying with his eyes raised to a most beautiful Image of Our Lady with the Son in her arms, which (exercises) (as it is certain tradition) the same Virgin gave him and dictated. On the border and frame of the picture, one reads these words: In this place in the year 1522, St. Ignatius composed the book of the Exercises, which was the first that was written in the Company of Jesus and it was approved by the Bull of His Holiness Paul III.

With this description of the situation at Manresa from Fr. Andres, Fr. Quera went on to describe the circumstances around the painting. In essence, Fr. Vitelleschi, the fifth General of the Society of Jesus, commissioned the painting. He would not have done so if it were not in confirmation of a "living tradition." Moreover, representatives from all of the different provinces of Spain gathered at Manresa in 1625 (three years after the canonization of Ignatius) and they not only did not object to anything there, but they made a large donation toward the construction of "the chapel of the Rapture of St. Ignatius," as others have noted.

As part of his conclusion to the third part of his double article, Fr. Quera added some further perceptions about the tradition of the dictation by the Virgin. These perceptions raise questions about the symbolism of the painting, they could also lead into a discussion on Mary and symbolism (e.g., the hearts of Jesus and Mary, Apparitions, the Church, etc.). Although symbolisms cannot be pursued here, the topic of symbolism is intimately linked with the kinds of discourse that arise in various forms resulting from the presence of the Virgin in the Spiritual Exercises.

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It is true that the artist painted as if she were dictating the book of the Exercises to St. Ignatius. But, it is not more than a symbolism, expressed so for the voice of the people. It is impossible to explain with words and to represent graphically that which went on in the interior of the penitent of Manresa when he composed the book of the Exercises with the anointing of the Holy Spirit, overshadowed with the protection and under the teaching of Mary. The popular voice expressed this spiritual and hidden action with the symbolism of the dictation. But it appears so ridiculous to us to interpret this symbolism of the dictation materially because of the other symbolism of the flames that spring from an image of the Sacred Heart, as if these were material fire which comes out in order to set on fire and consume the world. Would a theologian that we meet be embarrassed if we had demanded from him that he precise and define for us in what consisted the special grace that the Lord and the Virgin granted to Ignatius in order to write the book of the Exercises, and will we demand from the populace and from a painter exactness in representing symbolically the process of this action of spiritual and supernatural order? Let it stand, then, well settled that one treats only of a symbolic representation. 97

Quera found support on this point of symbolic representation in the perceptions of Fr. Watrigant.

The image, which represents the Most Holy Virgin before St. Ignatius, at the moment in which he writes the Exercises, appears to us personally, rather, the expression of a positive and special assistance of the Mistress of spiritual teaching than the expression of the material fact of the dictation of the Exercises. 98

97 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," pp. 170f. "Es verdad que el artista pintó a la Virgen Santísima como si dictase a San Ignacio el libro de los Ejercicios; pero no es más que un simbolismo, expresando ya por la voz popular. Es imposible explicar con palabras y representar gráficamente lo que pasó en el interior del penitente de Manresa, cuando con la unción del Espíritu Santo, y cubierto con la protección y bajo la enseñanza de María, compuso el libro de los Ejercicios. La voz popular y el pincel expresaron esta acción espiritual y recóndita con el simbolismo del dictado. Pero tan ridículo nos parece tomar materialmente este simbolismo, como el otro de las llamas que salen de una imagen del Sagrado Corazón, como si éstas fuesen de fuego material, que salen para abrasar y consumir el mundo. Embarazado se encontraría un teólogo si exigiéramos de él que nos precisara y definiera en qué consistió la gracia especial que el Señor y la Virgen concedieron a Ignacio para escribir el libro de los Ejercicios, y exigiríamos del vulgo y de un pintor exactitud para representar simbólicamente el proceso de esta acción de orden espiritual y sobrenatural? Quede, pues, bien sentado que se trata sólo de una representación simbólica."

98 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 171, footnote 49. "L'image qui représente la très sainte Vierge devant saint Ignace, au
Bringing this third section to conclusion, Fr. Quera recognized the image commissioned by Fr. Vitelleschi as the source of various similar images inside and outside the Cave of Ignatius. Notwithstanding this realization, he pointed out that, 

These without doubt contribute to the popularization of the pious tradition. But, let it be very clear that said tradition did not begin with the picture of Fr. Vitelleschi. But, this was no more than a graphic representation of the same tradition that already existed, ancient, firm and certain, and with this it ended by being published abroad and popularized.  

99 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," p. 171. "Ellos, sin duda, contribuyen a vulgarizar la pia tradición; per conste bien que dicha tradición no comenzó con el cuadro del PP. Vitelleschi, sino que éste no era más que una representación gráfica de la misma tradición que ya existía, antiqua, firme y cierta, y con esto acabó de difundirse y popularizarse."
Fr. Quera dedicated the fourth and last section of his article to the topic of "Confirmation of the pious tradition." The presentation focused upon several critical questions involved with the confirmation of this tradition. It ended with an appeal to the confirmations presented by the Fr. General Anderledy, in his letter of 1888 and the one from Pope Pius XI in his Apostolic Letter of December 3, 1622 to Fr. General Ledóchowski. The Apostolic Letter was sent on the three hundredth anniversary of the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier.

Not having de la Puente's Life Fr. Baltasar Alverez accessible, I looked to the extensive quotation from that text cited by Quera with regard to the revelation made by Marina de Escobar (left unnamed in the quote) regarding Our Lady's role in the Spiritual Exercises. I made the English translation that follows:

This was the revelation, of whose truth (as he says) all of the circumstances of the person who had it, I have no doubt. And, I believe with certainty that she did not do it for herself, as much as for us, in order that those from the Company, and the rest who exercise themselves in these holy meditations, spending some time in those sovereign exercises, esteem them greatly, and are inspired to continue them, then that they have such a Foundress, Protectress and Helper as the Most Holy Virgin. She boasts of making them, though with incomparably greater excellence than ourselves. She wanted to give us notice of this in order that we might follow her most illustrious and most holy example.

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100 Quera, Manuel, S.J. "Influjo De La Santísima Virgen De La Composición Del Libro De Los Ejercicios," pp. 172f. "En cuya confirmación me ha parecido poner aquí una especial revelación, que creo será para todos de mucho consuelo. Entre las personas que he tratado de muy alta, y levantada oración, que no han sido pocas después que trato almas, una de ellas, a quien nuestro Señor, y su Santa Madre hacían muy extraordinarias misericordias, de cuya verdad en lo que dice tengo la certeza moral que los hombres podemos tener de cosas semejantes, me contó lo que aquí diré. Sabiendo esta persona que los de la Compañía se recogían a hacer estos ejercicios el año de mil y seiscientos, como tenían de costumbre, quiso ella también recogerse, para hacerlos en su casa de modo que pudiese; y habiendo ya comenzado, estando una mañana con nuestro Señor en su oración, vió con los ojos del alma venir, y llegarse cerca de ella un Santo Ángel de grande majestad; y admirada de verle, y no sabiendo quien pudiese ser, la dijo cómo era el Arcángel San Gabriel, que venía a traerle un recaudo de parte de la Sacratísima Virgen nuestra Señora. Ella, que era humilde, en oyendo esto se admiró mucho más, y se encogió, y pidió al Angel, que ante de daría tal recaudo, la diese licencia para que tratase de espacio con nuestro Señor de cosa tan grande, como
From this quote, Fr. Quera stood behind the woman who made the revelation, especially, because of the man who stood behind her. That man was Fr. Louis de la Puente, S.J., who was one of the major spiritual authorities of his day. Notwithstanding the fact that the Church had not made a final judgement upon the seer, Marina de Escobar, Quera decided with de la Puente.

Fr. Quera then brought up the objection of Fr. Astrain. In essence, Fr. Astrain held that something should have been said in the book published around that same time by Fr. Louis de la Palma, S.J., *Camino espiritual.* Fr. Quera figured that there were two strong arguments against Fr. Astrain's contention. First, there was a "probability"...
that the *Camino Espiritual* of de Palma had been "composed but not printed" when the *Life of P. Baltasar Alvarez* appeared. Quera credited Fr. Solá with demonstrating this argument.

Moreover, Fr. Quera made the second point that de Palma may not have felt as comfortable with mentioning Maria de Escobar's revelation since he did not know her as well as de la Puente. De la Puente's *Marvelous Life of the Venerable Virgin Lady Marina de Escobar* [*Vida maravillosa de la Venerable Virgen Doña Marina de Escobar*] came out only in 1665, while de Palma's book in 1626. According to Fr. Quera, Fr. Andrés Lucas' *Life of St. Ignatius of Loyola* [*Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*], published in 1633, did make mention of the revelation by Marina de Escobar. 103

Closing with the words of Pope Pius XI to Fr. General Anderledy in 1888, Fr. Quera said that the Pope's symbolism did not seem to be lost on people at that time. It was only with the advent of "modern historians" who have shown an "unmerited disdain (un desden inmerecido)" for pious tradition that an "environment of indifference" (ambiente de indiferencia) began to prevail.

In that retreat at Manresa he learned from the same Virgin and received from her hands that most perfect book of laws--so we are able to call it truthfully--which every good soldier of Christ has to value in order to fight the battles of the Lord: we say, the Spiritual Exercises, (such as were delivered to Ignatius from heaven). 104

**Conclusions and Reflections: Quera**

Fr. Quera surfaced the actors in the drama of whether Mary aided in the composition and how it happened. He was critical of Fr. Astrain for using his authority

104 Cf. footnote 75, above.
in such a negative way. He pointed to other Jesuits who produced documentation that refuted Astrain's premise that Ignatius would not have shared with this family. The documentation from Fr. Ribadeniera, Fr. Gil and Fr. Castells, seemed to solidly refute Astrain's cautions. Moreover, Quera really desired proper respect given to the seers, but especially because of the witness of Fr. De la Puente and Fr. Domenech. The latter was an esteemed Jesuit superior in Sicily, whereas de la Puente was a spiritual director of stature recognized as "heroic" by Pope Clement XIII. Quera was most dismayed by the "historians" who showed "unmerited disdain" for "pious tradition."

In addition to addressing the issues involved in the controversy between the Jesuit historians and theologians, Quera tried to address the issue of Mary's intervention. He focused upon the word "infusion" though he did not go beyond saying this meant an "inspirer and teacher" at Manresa. He continued to refine the focus upon interior experience as an explanation of Mary's intervention. At one point, he interjected a point about the intervention of Mary being more "direct" than "intercession" placing the emphasis on the fact that "Jesus and the Virgin" appeared to him at this time. Being "before" them suggested that he was "inspired" by or "under the inspiration of" of them. I was reminded of his writing poetry or prayers during his time at Arevalo "before" the Virgin as reported by Fr. Araoz and quoted in the first chapter. Summing up, he simply accepted from the reports in the Autobiography that "God's hand" was in the book of the Spiritual Exercises.

In another part of his discussion, he moved on to treat the "oral transmission of of the pious tradition." He focused upon the documentation preserved in the Amigant family, one spoke of the tradition of the Maestra teaching Ignatius the practice of the
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Spiritual Exercises while the other pointed out that the Spiritual Exercises were the fruit of a grace and special illumination that God and the Most Holy Virgin gave to him. St. Ignatius told her these things because she was a “disciple” of his, having received them from him and because the Exercises were such a “fruitful” instrument.

In his discussion of the painting commissioned by Fr. General Vitelleschi, he spoke of how the image of dictation represented a “spiritual and hidden action.” He spoke of how ridiculous it would be to interpret it literally. That would be like saying that the flames around the picture of the Sacred Heart image were actually a “material fire” set to incinerate the world rather than bring the “fire” of God’s love to the whole world. It was more an expression of “positive and special assistance” given by the “Mistress of spiritual teaching” rather than “the expression of material fact of the dictation of the Spiritual Exercises.”

The importance of the image of Vitelleschi was that it helped to popularize the pious tradition. The tradition existed first and the “prophetic representation” came afterwards to publish and publicize the “ancient, firm and certain” event.

This may be a valid criticism of these historians of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus. They are the ones who deal with these traditions and related communications. But it may also be an invalid criticism in the sense that historians cannot be expected to express and affirm more than they feel they can substantiate according to their method of historical criticism. Or, can they? To what degree do we expect the historian to allow faith to influence the way a historian or any “social scientist” does their job? Can we say, in no way? Or, is it in some ways. To what degree can or ought a theologian do so? To what degree can a spiritual director do so? Can efforts to base the biography of St.
Ignatius on solid historical facts negate one’s faith? Is anything of the faith removed by a strictly historical-critical method?

At least part of the evidence for a positive interpretation of the events that transpired between Íñigo and Mary was that seers reported the intervention of Mary. Thus, we have the need to apply certain criteria to understand the weight of a given apparition\(^{105}\) in a process of spiritual validation or confirmation. Such criteria would not only be applied to the words of the seers, but also to the symbol or signs of an apparition that by its existence claims that some privileged communication has taken place between God and human beings, in our case, between Ignatius and Mary at the time of the writing of the **Spiritual Exercises**. Fr. Quera suggested that people cannot expect a theologian to be able to give a precise and definite meaning to a painting by a given artist, any more than we can ask the artist-painter to give a precise and definite expression to a spiritual event or object that inspires their artistic production. Both the image and the verbal expression are only attempts to approach a description of that spiritual object or event.

Fr. Quera draws us closer to and deeper into the relationship of Ignatius and Mary by addressing the issues that arose to discredit the event. In addition, he began to get uncover the meaning of the Marian presence in some more explicit ways. He came up with the term “Maestra of spiritual teaching” from the Amigant documentation, linked, I suspect, with the title of Mary as “Seat of Wisdom.”

Going deeper yet, he began to explore the painting of the dictation scene to show what it was not saying and what it might be getting at in terms of inspiration. In this way, he was moving in a positive direction. He attempted by his analysis to refocus our

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\(^{105}\) The Church provides criteria for making a sound judgment on specific apparitions. Cf. *Dictionary of Mary*, 1997, s.v. “Apparitions after Vatican II,” pp. 35-40, described the situation surrounding the approbation of apparitions by the Church since Vatican II.
understanding from a "material" to a more "spiritual" understanding of her role, one that Fr. Marien seems to nuance a bit more in the next article and one that Fr. Giuliani seems to take to new level in the next body of research.

**Marien: Our Lady and the Spiritual Exercises**

With this article by Fr. Marien, the cycle of interpretation of the event surrounding the relationship between Mary and Ignatius returns to to the text of the Spiritual Exercises in a more focused way. In compiling his significant article, Fr. Marien reacted to an appendix in Fr. Dudon's book entitled *St. Ignatius Loyola*. He made this appendix the point of departure for his work entitled, "Our Lady and the Exercises."

Fr. Marien attempted to distinguish his work from the others by suggesting a way of formulating the question that was less misleading. He put it this way:

> It is the purpose of this article to suggest that such a question may be misleading. It is one thing to affirm or to deny that the

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107 Paul Dudon, S.J., *St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. by William J. Young, S.J. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949), pp. 455-457, appendix VII, part B, entitled, "Did the Blessed Virgin Dictate the Exercises to Ignatius?" In this appendix, Fr. Dudon noted that Astrain, Tacchi Venturi and Watrigant answered the question with a resounding "No." Others, who were not named, were said to have declared the "ancient tradition" (Cf. Sola) worthy of respect. Dudon embraced the parameters of the question with four points: (1) Ignatius called himself the author of the book of *Exercises*; (2) the common opinion of his generation attributes the authorship to him; (3) the Church speaks as these men and as Ignatius spoke; (4) the tradition invoked goes back to 1606." Dudon pointed out that "none of the early historians speak of such tradition." Nor did any of the articles treated in the canonical processes include such thoughts. The first mention came in 1606 in "the manuscript Annales of the College of Barcelona." Even then, the related point was "after the fashion of an addition to the primitive text." According to the tradition, "Juan Amigant," of Amigant family of Manresa, "told the story to Father Lorenzo de San Juan at Manresa." From Barcelona, the message arrived in Rome where it was received by Fr. Lancius and "given a place...in his work *Gloria Sancti Ignatii*, appearing in 1622." Father Mutius Vitelleschi sent a picture to Manresa in 1626 representing the scene of Mary's dictation to Ignatius, entitled "Dictante Deipara, discit et docet." According to Dudon, the assertion made in the Annales was "deserving of no credit." Furthermore, Jesuits interviewed the Amigants regarding their recollections of Ignatius in 1573 and "no word of the dictation" was mentioned. Finally, the same Juan Amigant, who would have spoken to Fr. Lorenzo de San Juan, was "a witness in the process of Manresa in 1606" and said nothing of the dictation.
Blessed Virgin dictated the Exercises. It is another thing to ask whether or not Our Lady played a unique part, intervened in some special manner, in their composition.\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 224.}

In this way, the author distinguishes the literal image of dictation from the issue of what that image might mean in terms of some kind of influence. He then recalled that "scarcely a house or church of the Society" lacked "a picture or a stained glass window depicting Our Lady presenting St. Ignatius with the book of the Exercises or hovering beneficently over the penitent of Manresa, approving his work, instructing him as he composes his immortal manual." "It is a fair question to ask what historical fact these pictures represent."\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 224.}

Limiting himself to the period between 1894(?) and 1943, Fr. Marien made the following statement of his purpose. "In this article we shall briefly review the controversy about the part Our Lady played in the composition of the Exercises as it appears in the writings of Jesuit historians from 1897 to 1943."

Fr. Marien pointed out that Fr. Watrigant produced a four part booklet in 1894 that formulated its arguments in the form of a dialogue with a correspondent interested in knowing what foundation there was for the tradition about the "special intervention of Our Lady in the composition of the Exercises...."\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 224.} According to Fr. Marien, Fr. Watrigant made two helpful distinctions in that dialogue. First, he discussed the word "inspiration" in relationship to the Spiritual Exercises and distinguished the term from the use made in Fundamental Theology. Second, Fr. Watrigant saw that "the idea of a word..."
for word dictation could be nothing but a pious hyperbole" and, therefore, determined that the legend of the picture of Fr. Vitelleschi ought to have read "Deipara docente instead of dictante." At the same time, the author asserted that Fr. Watrigant gave enough evidence to support Fr. General Anderledy's statement maintaining: "...non solum pie, sed fidenter credimus, S. Ignatium quae docuit quaequae praecipit, suggerentem sibi habuisse optimam matrem, Virginem Immaculatam."111

Skipping over the first letter that dealt with "Reasons of Convenience," he approached the second letter concerned with historical evidence. In the latter case, he pointed out the "general persuasion" that permeated the Society in the first "three centuries." Although he could not find an explicit document in support of the tradition among a group called upon to support the tradition in the seventeenth century, Watrigant cited one letter from 1640 "as evidence of the antiquity of the tradition...." Marien cited Watrigant as follows: "At Manresa and in all that region it is regarded as a certain tradition transmitted from parents to children that St. Ignatius wrote his book in Manresa with the aid of the mother of God and was enlightened by particular heavenly illuminations."

Again in the second letter, Fr. Watrigant considered the "evidence of the manuscript history of the old college of Belén at Barcelona..." and its discovery by Fr. Fita in 1872. Fr. Marien cited the pertinent words from the Annales.

Father Laurence of Saint-John passing through Manresa learned from Señor Amigant that the Blessed Virgin dictated the Exercises to our Blessed Father Ignatius following an ecstasy that he had before the Virgin of the Annunciation (a domestic shrine) in his house...(this) they learned from the mouth of the Saint himself when he was staying with

his family.\textsuperscript{112}

Fr. Marien commented that "this document was considered to be the principle piece of evidence for the local tradition. But (Watrigant) insists that the word "dictation" is not to be taken in our modern strict sense."\textsuperscript{113} In addition to citations by other writers who claim the testimony of Polanco and Lainez on these matters, Fr. Watrigant argued that the painting, commissioned by Fr. Vittelleschi, and sent to Manresa in 1626, "can hardly be explained unless one supposes at least an oral tradition of Mary's special intervention."\textsuperscript{114}

After this point, Marien indicated that Fr. Watrigant's cited two forms of divine testimony affirming Mary's intervention. One form of intervention was the revelation by the Archangel to Marina Escobar,\textsuperscript{115} and, the other was "the heavenly visitation reputedly accorded to the Venerable Canon Jerome of Palermo."\textsuperscript{116}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 225.}
\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 226.}
\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 226.}
\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 226.}
\footnote{Solá's article on \textit{La Intervención de la Virgen en Los Ejercicios}, section XI, where he quoted the revelation given by Marina de Escobar to Fr. De la Puente about Mary's comments, as cited in his \textit{Vida of Baltasar Álvares}, pp. 464-466.}
\footnote{Francis J. Marien, S.J., "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 227. Cf. also, Fr. Solá's article on \textit{La Intervención de la Virgen en Los Ejercicios}, especially, pp. 157f., in which the author seems to tell a slightly different story. Fr. Solá pointed out that the testimony came from one "Ven. Don Jerónimo de Palermo (Fr. Jerome Domenech, S.J., we thought...) heard the confession of Don Pedro Plagia who told him from his deathbed the following words: \textit{La Santísima Virgen se me ha aparecido ahora, y te da las gracias por la solicitud y diligencia en platicar los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio a tante gente. Ella te alegria por mi a proseguir y llevar adelante esta obra tan por extremo utilísimá a la salvación de las almas, y juntamente hace saber cómo es la Autora de esta manera de meditar, y que Ella la reveló a San Ignacio, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús; y que sepan cuantos practican los Ejercicios por este método, que hacen un obsequio y servicio muy singular a la Madre de Dios." My translation: The Most Holy Virgen has just appeared to me and gives you the graces for the solicitude and diligence you need in preaching the \textit{Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius} to many people. She encourages you through me to follow and pursue diligently this work so very useful (in the utmost degree) to the salvation of souls, and, at the same time, she makes known that she is the Author of this manner of meditating, and that She revealed it to St. Ignatius, founder of the Company of Jesus. And, that those, who practice the Exercises by this method, know that they are making an gift and very singular service to the Mother of God." More would need to be done with Fr. Watrigant's article to verify these apparent incongruities, but the pamphlet has remained unavailable to me at this writing.}
\end{footnotes}
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Constantin Cajetan, a Benedictine monk, pointed out certain problematic evidence about the claim. Cajetan’s outlined his principle arguments as follows:

1. If the Exercises were revealed by Our Lady, why does Paul III in his approbation say they were composed from Scripture and the practice of the spiritual life? 2) Why does Polanco say they were written by Ignatius out of his own internal experience and the wisdom gained from the direction of souls? 3) Why does Orlandini say they resulted from usage and daily observation? 4) Why does Ribadeniera say: Ex accurata observatione eorum quae sibi contigerant, conscrispsit?117

The author reported that Fr. Watrigant’s response was "simple,"

No one of these influences necessarily rules out the others. Mary is a cause, an important cause, not the only cause.118

Fr. Watrigant’s conclusion was clear to Fr. Marien:

For Father Watrigant the evidence he has presented is sufficient, looked at in its entirety, to justify moral certitude in the special intervention of Our Lady.119

Fr. Watrigant also surveyed the story of the influential Jesuit historian Fr. Astrain. This Jesuit had a relative dampening effect upon further thought about the role of the “pious belief” in relationship to Our Lady’s inspiration in the composition of the SpEx.

The distinguished historian, Father Antonio Astrain, by a single footnote in his well known history of the Society in the Spanish Assistancy exerted "an enormous influence" that served to lessen in many minds the certainty and even the probability of what he called the "pious belief" that Our Lady inspired the Exercises.120

Fr. Marien summarized Fr. Astrain's arguments indicating that they were substantially the arguments of Fr. Tacchi Venturi, as we heard earlier in Fr. Sola's presentation suggesting that Tacchi Venturi took his lead from Astrain.  

In summary fashion the belief is rejected because there is no sound documentary proof of it to be found during the century immediately following Ignatius' stay at Manresa. No allusion in the writings of Laynez himself justifies using his name in favor of the belief. The evidence of Señor Amigant and the Belén manuscript fails by the enormity of its claim: a book written by the Blessed Virgin. One cannot suppose that St. Ignatius, so cautious about mentioning spiritual gifts and experiences even to his closest sons in the Society, would have divulged them to comparative strangers. Father da Camera, first biographer and close confidant of Ignatius, would certainly have mentioned it if he knew of it. In none of the writings that we possess of Laynez, Da Camara, Polanco, Nadal, Ribadeneira, Orlandini and Maffei, is there any mention of it. Father de la Puente does not give historical testimony but mentions only certain revelations of the Archangel Gabriel to an unnamed person.

At the same time, however, Fr. Codina perceptions, reflected in both the volume of the Monumenta that contained the text of the Spiritual Exercises, and in his own book on The Origin of the Spiritual Exercises of S. Ignatius of Loyola--Historical Study, "uphold(s) the validity of the tradition." As opposed to the strictly historical approach of Fr. Astrain and Fr. Tacchi Venturi, Fr. Codina was "disposed to see (something) in


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this implicit evidence of Our Lady's intervention. That is, he interpreted the events associated with Mary's intervention differently. The picture commissioned by Fr. Vitelleschi "presupposed" the tradition of Marian intervention rather than simply referring to some kind of unsubstantiated "pious belief," as Astrain and Tacchi Venturi were quoted as holding.

Fr. Marien called for similar freedom of interpretation on other points of evidence related to Mary's intervention.

He (Codina) suspects that some historians find it difficult to accept the tradition because they give the picture commissioned by Fr. Vitelleschi a rather too material interpretation. As for the evidence given by Marina de Escobar (the "unnamed person" in Astrain's account), Codina points out that De la Puente who records the revelation was a wise and prudent man, whose own virtues have been declared heroic by Clement XIII. His judgement cannot easily be set aside.

In his critical investigation of the manuscript of the College of Belén, Codina remarks that although the passage in question was an addition on the original script, it is contemporaneous to the rest of the manuscript and is written by the same hand.

On the point related to Ignatius' inability to share with strangers what he was unable to share with his sons in the Lord, Fr. Codina pointed out simply that Ignatius had given the Spiritual Exercises to "Angela Amigant and other pious women." For this reason alone, he could well have entered into conversation with her about Mary.

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129 Marien, "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 229. From the processes of Alcala and several of his letters to women, we see that Ignatius actually did carry on conversations that included Mary in an intercessory role with Maria del Flor, Ines Paschal, Isabel Roser, and other women with whom he shared "indulged" rosaries, all within the explicit or implicit prayer-structure of the Triple Colloquy. Moreover, the Amigant family, most especially Angela, as Lady of the house, was instrumental in caring for him during various illnesses while he was at Manresa. These were far from being strangers and would have been close enough to him to share about his experience of Our Lady, as Solá stated, pp. 145-6.
On the story about how Señor Amigant wrote about the "dictation" of Our Lady to Ignatius, Codina sided with Fr. Watrigant and accepted this term understood in a "wide sense." During the canonization process, however, Codina admitted a "serious difficulty" since a "certain Señor Amigant' did not take the clear opportunity to make a statement about Our Lady's intervention when he was confronted with "article 29" which reflected "revelations and supernatural illuminations," suggesting, nevertheless, "that in this particular the record is inexact or incomplete." 130

At the same time, Fr. Marien noted that Fr. Codina had referred to a document belonging to the history of the Amigant family, on the "Piedad de los Amigant (the piety of the Amigant family)," which noted that "St. Ignatius gave the Exercises to Angela Amigant after the Blessed Virgin had dictated them." 131

Avoiding the category of "moral certitude" used by Watrigant, Codina was content, rather, "to declare that the venerable tradition has solid probability in its favor. It contradicts nothing that is certain and agrees with all that is known of Ignatius." 132

Fr. Marien also felt that Codina's conclusion was worthy of note:

He concludes by saying that we are certain there are many undiscovered letters written by and about Ignatius, and that one day the discovery of one of these may throw new light on the tradition. In any case Ignatius did not want the approval of the Exercises to depend on a revelation but on the judgement of the Church. 133

ciertamente, no excede los limites de lo verosimil y razonable, ... My translation: This, certainly, does not exceed the limits of the probable and reasonable, ....

Fr. Marien next took up the article that we presented earlier by Fr. Sola. He viewed Fr. Solá as the "most enthusiastic protagonist for the tradition" of Mary's intervention. "Though his defense in some particulars will seem more vigorous than conclusive, he has offered some forceful considerations. In two articles published in 1931, he advances fearlessly against the attack on the tradition."

The quotations from Pius XI and Fr. Anderledy were "brandished effectively" according to Fr. Codina. These two seem to point to some unspecified qualification which the author would like to place upon Fr. Solá's argument, not quite to the point of patronizing him. In summarized form, Codina saw Fr. Solá's argument as an appeal to the tradition over personal judgement.

The venerable author, who had already written in defense of the tradition forty years previously, asks in the light of such solemn documents, if it would not give scandal and disedification to resist publicly or not to conform with these pronouncements. Moreover, since this pious belief singularly honors the mother of God and St. Ignatius, places the Exercises in high esteem, and gives a more exalted notion of the Society—"should I (in opposition to tradition) follow my own proper judgment or that of a few who bring together only a collection of negative arguments."

Thus, the author judged that Fr. Solá accepted the traditions related to Mary's intervention. Invoking Canon Law, Fr. Solá pleaded that the traditions deserve proper respect because of the status that they have as "precious" relics.

137 Marien, "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 231. (Cf. The Code of Canon Law, # 1190.) In this case, the application of the code would apply to those copies of the painting of Mary and Ignatius in communication which are housed, for example, on the Tabernacle door in the Ignatius Chapel at Manresa, in the sculptures surrounding the altar of St. Ignatius Church in Rome and in the pictures of Ignatius and Mary that were distributed to the houses of the Society throughout the world.
Fr. Marian then took up Dudon's consideration of Mary's intervention. The critique of Dudon seems right on target in its attempt to blunt the "strict sense" of interpretation which Fr. Dudon seems to place upon Mary's role. In Marien's view, Fr. Dudon, thus, accepts the interpretations of Fr. Astrain and Fr. Tacchi Venturi.

However, the leading modern defenders of the tradition hold for a special intervention on the part of Our Lady and not for a dictation as Dudon understands it. The question for Fathers Watrigant and Codina is this: Did Our Lady intervene in some special way in the composition of the Exercises? They believe there is solid reason for concurring with a tradition admittedly three centuries old which maintains that she did.

Fr. Marien then considered the two articles published by Fr. Quera in 1943. Here he does the important service of entering the conversations about the interpretation of the event that occurred between Ignatius and Mary and offered his opinion. In essence, Fr. Marien described Fr. Quera as performing a reexamination and reaffirmation of the tradition while entering into a dialogue with various authors on the various points of interpretation. In his pages, Fr. Quera attacked Dudon on his understanding of the term "dictation." Quera claimed that, "None of the defenders of the tradition hold for a dictation as he understands it." That is, no one, who defends the tradition, holds the strict interpretation of the term dictation as suggested by the comment of Fr. Astrain.


Following Astrain, Quera also perceived that Fr. Dudon was holding, in effect, that Mary actually composed the book of the *Spiritual Exercises* by giving the exact words to Ignatius who copied them down. Andres Lucas’s writings refuted Fr. Astrain’s comments on the lack of documentary evidence. Lucas referred to the tradition as "certain," "constant," and "ancient." Thus, Fr. Marien invoked "the right of prescription" on behalf of the tradition, namely, a right to something acquired by long usage.\(^{143}\)

Quera did not accept the argument of Astrain and Dudon when they held "that no mention of the tradition is found in the writings of DaCamara, Laynez, Polanco, Nadal, and Ribadeneira...." Father Quera rejects “merely negative” arguments like this because similar arguments have no weight with other accepted popular religious beliefs like the tradition of the cave where Ignatius prayed.\(^{144}\)

At the same time, Quera found evidence in a letter of Ribadeniera to Fr. Gil, the rector of the college at Barcelona. A portion of the letter which Quera quoted directly refuted "the aprioristic argument of Astrain" which was set against what was reported in the Belén document stating that Ignatius had communicated what happened in his "soul, visions, raptures and other interior things" to the Ami gants.

When our holy Father Ignatius was asked, he used to communicate and open up the things that went on in his soul to Señor Peter Amigant and to the Lady Angela Amigant, that is, the raptures, the visions from heaven, the elevations and other interiors things, because he found these persons(to be) very devoted and very much to his satisfaction and consolation. Dr. Sarrovira clearly recounted all this to me, he being the one to whom the Saint prophesied the whole course of his life. And, not with little grounds, did I sometimes gather the same thing from Fr. Ignatius, although he was very cautious in pointing out the favorsthat he had received from God our Lord

Regarding "the silence of Juan Amigant at the process of beatification, Quera gives the surprising answer that Amigant and the rest of the witnesses said nothing about the "dictation" or intervention of Our Lady for the simple reason that they had no opportunity to say anything about it. The questions were vague that were related to the credibility of the response of John Amigant. It is not legitimate to expect a more complete and focused response than is reasonable within the circumstances of the situation and the question asked.

This article did not ask if the witnesses knew of any specific revelations, but simply asked the rather vague and general question: Did they know that Ignatius had such experiences?

Moreover, Fr. Marien felt that the argument as to why John Amigant did not mention Our Lady lost its force based, as it was, simply on John's silence. Marien claimed that "the John Amigant of the process, a close relative of the Amigants who befriended Ignatius, did know of such experiences as the letter of Ribadeniera indicates."

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145 Quera, *Influjo*, p. 164. "Preguntado nuestro santo Padre Ignacio, les comunicaba y franqueaba al señor Pedro de Amigant y a la señora Angela de Amigant las cosas que pasaban por su alma; esto es, los raptos, llas visiones del cielo, las elevaciones y otras cosas interiores, por ver a estas personas muy devotas y tan de su satisfacción y consuelo. Todo esto me lo ha contado claramente el Sr. Dr. Sarrovira, a quien el santo profetizó todo el decurso de su vida; y no con pequeño fundamento lo colegí yo alguna vez en el mismo P. Ignacio, si bien iba muy cauteloso en apuntar los favores que había recibido de Dios nuestro Señor en Manresa." Cf. *Monumenta Ribadenierana (Epistulae Addendas)* II, p. 502, the source of the whole letter which was unavailable to me at this writing.


147 Marien, "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 234. Cf. also, *Scripta, II, Processus Remissorialis Minorissensus*, p. 697-753. This process does not seem to offer a separate section specifying the actual questions that were asked before presenting the testimony of the witnesses. The testimony of the first witness seems to indicate that the response to article 29 was to be focused upon "oraciones et illustrationibus," thus, prayer and spiritual illustrations, such as, visions. Cf. Ibid., p. 699.
Marien, however, did not relate what those specific experiences were beyond suggesting that the letter of Fr. Gil spoke to their existence.\(^{148}\)

Before giving his own final assessment of the topic, Fr. Marien referred to a hope expressed by Quera. That is, "that his effort may serve to dissipate the cloud of suspicion and indifference that surrounds the tradition, a cloud created by modern historians who in treating it so lightly have shown an unwarranted disdain of it."\(^{149}\)

Marien’s final assessment took the form of a statement and a further question as follows.

In the light of the evidence presented in the controversy, it seems reasonable to maintain that, while the proof for the special intervention of Our Lady may not be absolutely established by documentary evidence at our disposal, nevertheless, such evidence as we have, favors the tradition. The argument advanced by those who oppose the validity of the tradition is merely negative and in some instances groundless. Finally there remains the undeniable fact of the tradition itself carries with it the prestige of prescription.\(^{150}\)

For his "further question," Fr. Marien formulated a more profound question using terms that everyone was trying implicitly to articulate and address all along. Everyone assumed that they knew what the "dictation" meant, a word for word exchange between Ignigo and Mary. Some actually construed this as Mary writing the book of the Spiritual Exercises.

\(^{148}\) Marien, "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 234. By referring to "the John Amigant of the process," it becomes clear to the casual reader that we were obviously dealing with a relative of the John Amigant who knew Ignatius in 1522-23. In 1606, when this process in preparation for Ignatius' canonization took place in Manresa, the John Amigant who was giving witness was 35 years old (Cf. Scripta, II, 716f.). Even if we accept the fact that John was a "close relative of the Amigants," can we expect that he would be able to make a specific reference to something that he was to have heard second hand from his mother, when the question asked was so vague (probably not to be leading) to begin with? Because of their apparent intimacy with Ignatius, as indicated by Ribadeniera in his letter to Fr. Gil, we might have been able to expect a specific reference to Our Lady from the original John or his wife Angela, but, perhaps, not from their distant relative given the level of vagueness of the question.


Granting that Our Lady did intervene, what was the nature of the intervention? In what way was Mary responsible for the Exercises? How shall we understand her "dictation"? 

The most interesting aspect of this question came in the last sentences of his last paragraph. There he suggested that the answer to the actual "nature" of Mary's intervention was in the text of the "Ephemeris S.P.N. Ignatii," namely, the Spiritual Diary of St. Ignatius.

The reason he gave for this statement lead us into an inquiry about the actual meaning of Mary's intervention as "confirmatory," in the case of the Spiritual Exercises. His basic argument was that what was good enough for the Constitutions was sufficient for the Exercises.

Probably the best explanation of our problem is in the "Ephemeris S. P. N. Ignatii." Here the Saint's constant recourse to Our Lady and his mystical union with her are clearly in evidence. We have Ignatius' own testimony in these pages about the help he sought and received from the Blessed Virgin in composing certain parts of the Constitutions. It seems quite legitimate to conclude that Our Lady's intervention in the composition of the Exercises took a somewhat similar form.

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153 Marien, "Our Lady and the Exercises," p. 235. The citation in this sentence did not sound correct to me. In fact, Fr. Marien cited the "Monumenta Ignatiana, series tertia, tomus I, 86-158," in his final footnote in relationship to his mention of the "Ephemeris" in this quotation. The Monumenta Ignatiana or Scripta, I, that he referred to actually holds the "Acta S.P. Ignatii" on pages 31-98. Ignatius did constantly have recourse to Our Lady in the Ephemeris or Spiritual Diary, but his reference to "...Ignatius' own testimony in these pages about the help he sought and received from the Blessed Virgin in composing certain parts of the Constitutions..." cannot be found in the Ephemeris. Rather, the reference may be found in the "Acta." Cf. FN, I, Acta P. Ignatii, p. 506, lines 68-72: "Il più erano visioni, che lui vedeva in confirmazione di alcuna delle constitutioni, et vedendo alle volte dio Padre, alle volte tutte le tre persone della Trinità, alle volte la Madonna che intercedeva, alle volte che confirmava." My translation: "Most were visions which he saw in confirmation of some of the constitutions, seeing sometimes God the Father, other times all three persons of the Trinity, and yet other times the Madonna who interceded and sometimes confirmed."
Conclusions and Reflections: Marien

If there was anything different about Fr. Marien's approach, it seemed to be that he picked up where Fr. Quera and the other left off. Certainly, he recapitulated the work of the others and brought together the particularly sound judgements of each, but he began with asking what was behind the image of dictation painted for Fr. Vitelleschi? Immediately, he went to the twofold distinction of Fr. Watrigant when he referred to the revelation of the Archangel Gabriel to Maria Escobar and the revelation to "Jerome of Palermo" but which I believe he meant "Fr. Palagia," who was the holy man and seer. Jerome Domenech was the Jesuit superior in Sicily at the time.

By quoting the accurate points of a Benedictine monk about the text of the Exercises, he contrasted these kinds of revelation with the preceptions of a number of eminent witnesses who talked about the composition of the Spiritual Exercises in different terms while still speaking about the composition of the text. Pope Paul III said that they were composed from scripture and the spiritual life; Polanco was quoted as saying that Ignatius wrote them out of his own experience and wisdom gained from directing others; Orlandini, the historian, said they resulted from "usage and daily observation."

Beyond the interpretation of apparitions and the interpretations by important witnesses on how the Spiritual Exercises got constructed, he turned to Fr. Codina to look at the studies related to the genesis of the Spiritual Exercises with some interesting results. Codina recapped a number of realistic positions related to interpretation of events, calling for "freedom of interpretation." He simply presupposed a tradition that the painting referred to and dubbed the interpretation of the historians too "material."
gave respect to every other position. De la Puente was a man of integrity; the documentation was not a fake but comment contemporary to the period. Even the “pious hyperbole” was to be understood in a wide sense.” What we have in the description of “dictation” is a venerable tradition of “solid probability.” He said it so well: “It contradicts nothing that is certain and agrees with all that is known about Ignatius.”

Fr. Marien pointed out that Ignatius did not want the approbation of the Exercises to depend on a revelation, but on “the judgement of the Church.”

Sola’s judgement, that tradition was before personal judgement, appealed to him. Regarding solemn documents, Sola pointed out that rejection of these can bring scandal if resisted publically. In this case, everything said honors Mary, St. Ignatius, the Exercises and the Society. So, why not accept the tradition rather than following your own judgement based on the few negative judgements.

Marien did not stop with these valid complaints of Sola. He went on to “blunt the strict interpretation of dictation” but reform the question to ask “did Our Lady intervene in some special way in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises?” For Sola, the answer was in the “dialogue” of theologians. For Marien, the tradition already had the “right of perscription,” meaning, it lasted and was therefore worthy of respect. So, Marien went the ‘further” step by asking about the “nature” of her intervention if we assume that it took place.

Conclusions for Chapter 4

Maas, Sola, Quera and Marien have clarified the broad question about a legendary role that Mary had in the composition of the Spiritual Exercises. The work of Fr.
Watrigant seems to be at the foundation (or one of them) of each inquiry even though each author brought individual and unique solutions to issues raised by others before them. One of the key values of reading this literature is to see the hope in the reflections upon the presence or absence of what the person considered proper evidence for the phenomenon of Mary’s role. Fr. Sola and Fr. Quera were reverent in their approach to “pious tradition” without being extremely sentimental, energetic and imaginative in their approach without dodging the difficult questions, poised in the face of seemingly more sophisticated approaches, especially, those of the more critically minded historians, but, in the end, willing to wait and trust that some new evidence would arise as it did.

The attentiveness of these authors to what other viewed as “pious” at best, indiscriminate choice of words at worst. The patience of these men help scholarship to come to a new level of understanding of Mary’s presence putting some distance between a less scientific method of studies, but also reverencing those things that could easily be lost by a heavier hand ed person. These men took the first step in a direction that will help us appreciate more fully the Marian presence and the role of that presence our relationship with God. In this scholarly pursuit, the relationship between Ignatius and Mary can become a valuable analogue for understanding of what goes on in the Spiritual Exercises between giver and receiver, but also between receiver and Our Lady, Mary.

With these points in mind, we move on to the next and last chapter beginning with the classic work of Fr. Giuliani.
Introduction

I have focused upon a legendary and sometimes controversial topic in the last Chapter. Not every author I came across focused in this way, but enough of them did so that I desired to consider the small body of literature as as the first step in a longer journey of reconciliation between the Marian aspects of Ignatian spirituality and other more prominent forms. Some authors are conscious of the arguments in the earlier literature summed up in the phrase “pious hyperbole,” while others did their work without much consciousness of the previous work or simply chose not to attend to that dimension of Marian presence.

In this last chapter, I focus upon the group of Ignatian scholars who are aware of the earlier pious tradition in the literature and are willing to acknowledge it though they do not espouse that tradition in its literal form. Among these authors, and some others, the research on the Marian presence in Ignatian spirituality has moved into a deeper analysis of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises. This deeper analysis includes at least two different kinds of research thrusts, the one almost strictly intratextual and the other adding an interdisciplinary aspect to the intratextual material about Mary.

Giuliani,\(^1\) La Fontaine,\(^2\) Brien\(^3\) and Roy\(^4\) maintained an “intra-textual” approach to the Exercises, while Durana,\(^5\) Von Kolvenbach\(^6\) and others moved into a more

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"interdisciplinary" approach, while not avoiding totally the "intra-textual" awareness of Mary's presence. By "intra-textual," I mean a stricter adherence to the content of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* without going outside the text for any further explanation of the meaning of the Marian content. By "interdisciplinary," I mean accepting the insights of different disciplines, like philosophy, theology, history, linguistics, etc., to help understand and communicate the meaning and purpose of the Marian presence in the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

A major contribution of Fr. Giuliani to Ignatian Marian studies seems to be the insight that he had regarding the dual presence of Mary in the Spiritual Exercises. The textual concreteness of his argument took the attention away from the more ambiguous, though not unimportant, formulation that took place in the earlier research about the Marian dictation. Alluding to the "dictation" only at the very end of his classic article, Giuliani pointed out that the phenomenon of the Marian presence in the *Spiritual Exercises* has two major forms of expression, Mary in the Mysteries of the Life of Christ and Mary in the colloquies, as I mentioned above. The author used mostly intratextual arguments to explain this Marian presence. These intratextual manifestations of Marian presence in the *Exercises* are fundamentally the scriptural and the colloquial presence of Mary. The scriptural presence of Mary derives from the scriptural references found in the text of the *Exercises* as well as the section containing the Mysteries of the Life of

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Christ. The list of texts from the New Testament texts included virtually all of the text that refer to Mary except, perhaps, the traditional references to Mary in Galatians 4 and Revelations 12. The Old Testament Text referring to the Creation and Fall implicitly contain reference to the New Woman by connection with the New Man, Adam. The colloquies involving Mary have been show to permeate the text of the Exercises beginning with the model first colloquies in the First and Second Weeks and extending through the colloquies of the special meditations.

Giuliani—The Mystery of Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises

The methodological tact of Fr. Maurice Giuliani was more direct and focused upon the Marian presence within the whole of the Spiritual Exercises. By going beyond the previous realization that Mary was present, and pervasively so in the Exercises, Fr. Giuliani focused on what that presence means in relationship to the text of the Exercises and some doctrines of the Church.

Since Giuliani’s article is such a valuable source for Ignatian-Marian studies, I felt a need to translate the whole text for my own use and I provided my translation in Appendix IV. From what I recall, an abbreviated translation of the article was available in Progressio, but that text did not meet my need at the time. The richness of the content of Fr. Giuliani’s article made it an important goal to include commentary here on every part of the document.

Including the introduction, the author divided the article into five major parts in each of which he presented a major connection between Mary and the Spiritual Exercises. The introduction included some testimonies by Ignatius’ contemporaries about his
devotion to Mary in addition to a thumbnail sketch of the Ignatian journey in Mary’s presence proclaiming the pervasiveness of her presence in his life and works. His proclamation went out, for the last time, to those who have no idea that her presence was greater than mere perfunctory reference, as well as to those who had some idea that her presence was significant, but who had not realized the full extent of her importance for Ignatius.

In the second part, Fr. Giuliani made his important distinction that Mary appeared in two kinds of texts: in the “mysteries of her life viewed in relationship to those of her Son” in the scriptures and in certain “privileged encounters” between the exercitant or retreatant (the one making or doing the Spiritual Exercises). In the third part, the author addressed the meaning of these “privileged encounters,” related as they were to the spiritual journey of the retreatant announced earlier, in this way showing how the life affected the works. In the fourth part, the author extracted certain “characteristic traits” of an “Ignatian attitude.” In the fifth and last part, Fr. Giuliani reflected upon the quality of the love borne by Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises.

According to Fr. Giuliani, Ignatius had a “preferential love” for Mary. The testimony of those closest to him including Fr. Lainez, Fr. Polanco and others affirmed that love when they noted his “special devotion” to the Virgin. According to Giuliani, this special devotion to Mary yielded a twofold spiritual attitude in Ignatius, “a spiritual instinct which was enlightening and purifying.” Was this insight suggestive of the two major Marian dogmas—Immaculate Conception and Assumption—taken as sequential bookends in the overall process of spiritual formation characteristic of the Christian’s intellectual and spiritual conversion?
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According to Giuliani, as a "knight,"7 "the sign of Our Lady" marked the whole life of St. Ignatius. First, he noted the infrequency with which Ignatius referred to Mary in his own letters. Giuliani also pointed out the last paragraph of the letter to Ines Paschual in which Ignatius mentioned Mary in the context of the structure of the Triple Colloquy. This citation may have been the first recommendation for Marian intercession8 for the benefit of others or at least the first extant. Additional indications of her presence came only with the mention of the quasi vow that Iñigo made "to her" while on the road to Montserrat. This was a vow of chastity made "to Mary" instead of "to God," the only one to whom a vow can be made. The attempt at such a vow on the part of Ignatius indicated some possible lack of specific theological knowledge. As a result, some contemporaries have declared him "without theological knowledge or understanding" prior to his visit to Montserrat.

Nonetheless, Fr. Giuliani pointed out how vows were associated with all of the subsequent liturgies of dedication and consecration that St. Ignatius and his first followers celebrated throughout the foundational period of the Society of Jesus at

7 In the less historically critical Ignatian literature, and in the general opinion held in most discussions, the assumption is that St. Ignatius was a "knight" as such. In the work of a critical scholar like Rogelio Garcia Mateo, however, the author claims that Ignatius was never formally invested as a knight, for example, a Templar or knight of Malta, or other kind, as far as we know. At the same time, we do know that he was trained as a "page" to Juan Velasquez De Cuellar, the Chief Accountant of Ferdinand, the Catholic, during the time he spent working and studying at Arevalo (and the Court circuit) and that he served the Duke of Najera represented King Charles, at the battle of Pamplona against the French, though it seems with some reservations about taking for himself the spoils of war as others did. Nevertheless, more recent scholarship places him at the investiture ceremony of a companion of his on pilgrimage at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher where by the time he arrived on the scene such incorporations into the knightly rank had a different meaning than we would imagine and was generally granted as a reward for "noble men" making the journey to Jerusalem.

8 Monumenta Ignatiana, Epistolae et Instructiones. Eds. M. Lecina, V. Augusti, F. Cervós, D. Restrepo. 12 vols., Madrid, 1903-1911, vol. I, 71-73, the first extant written in December, 1524 or 25. For the English translation, see Aloysius Owens, S.J., Trans. Letters to St. Ignatius (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959, pp. 3 and 4, esp., p. 4, the last paragraph of the letter where it says: "May it please our Lady to intercede with her Son for us poor sinners and obtain this grace for us, that with the cooperation of our own toil and effort she may change our weak and sorry spirits and make them strong and joyful to praise God."
prominent Benedictine monasteries like Montserrat, Montmartre, St. Mary Major and St. Paul's Outside-the-Walls. Respectively, these sanctuaries, within or near the cities of Barcelona, Paris and Rome, marked his journey with Mary.

In essence, Fr. Giuliani offered the profound concluding remark for each pilgrim and seeker in the Ignatian tradition: we are able to follow St. Ignatius' "spiritual ascension" by means of the events of self-offering made in these temples. The events that happened "in the presence of the most Holy Virgin Mary" throughout the stages of his journey, were depicted sequentially by Giuliani, as "knight," "pilgrim," and "mystic."

The author then went on to indicate the "marian loci" in the text of the Spiritual Exercises(Cf. Chapter 2 and Appendix I for my compilations of these citations), noting at the same time that these texts included references to her "life" as well as to certain "privileged encounters" which, "follow the states of love" called forth by the rhythm of the Ignatian method. From these texts and encounters, Fr. Giuliani hoped to bring forth certain "spiritual ways" reflected in them.

Beginning with the Second Week of the Spiritual Exercises, the author outlined the series of texts in which Mary appeared within the "Gospel cycle," after the transitional "contemplation of the life of the Eternal King."

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9 In the eighth of Fr. George Schmel's series of sixteen videos on "Ignatian Spirituality and the Directed Retreat," produced at Institute for Contempoary Spirituality at the University of Scranton before his recent death, he spoke about the "rhythm of prayer" during the Four Weeks of the SpEx in familiar terms like Creation/Sin, Following Christ, Passion and Resurrection, respectively. At the same time, he pointed out that these themes may be articulated in different terms like Purification, Illumination, Confirmation in sufferings and Confirmation in joy. Fr. Giuliani, therefore, seems to be suggesting that Mary enters into each of these thematic, or rhythms of prayer, in terms of the retreatant's stage of love as they engage these scriptural passages and pursue these "privileged encounters" from the "outside." At each moment, she invites them "inside," as only she, by her fiat, can, in order "to treasure" God's Word, namely, in the contemplations, meditations, colloquies, vocal and other methods of prayer suggested in the text of the SpEx.

10 Exercitii Spiritualia, # 91.
introduced to the “adoration of Our Lord newly incarnate for us”\textsuperscript{11} by means of the first contemplation on the mystery of the Annunciation. This contemplation was presented by Giuliani within the perspectives of Ignatius, a “broad portrait of the history of the salvation of the world in which the two persons (Mary and the Angel) and the little house of Nazareth itself” stood out. “Viewed in its plenitude,” in this “moment of human time,” “the room of Our Lady is the place of encounter between the God who gives himself and humanity who receives.”\textsuperscript{12} “Each step in the contemplation obliges us to keep our eyes fixed at once on the Trinity who saves, on the world plunged into sin and on the Virgin in whom is being brought about, and who brings about, the union of the God savior and man saved (Giuliani, 33).”

Contrasting the retreatant with Our Lady, Fr. Giuliani described sin as “spiritual blindness”\textsuperscript{13} in the one receiving the Spiritual Exercises. He did this without reference to the three colloquies of the First Week.\textsuperscript{14} This colloquy is, in fact, a familiar conversation about coming to awareness of sin through the “intercession” of Mary. The receiver of the Exercises calls upon her to obtain the grace from her “Son and Lord” for three things. First, the exercitant asks to feel or sense internal knowledge of their sins and abhor them. Second, he or she asks to sense the disorder in their own behavior so that abhorring it, they will amend and order their lives. Third, he or she asks knowledge or understanding of the world so that abhorring the things of the world, one will separate themselves from the worldly and vain things in life. Renewed sensibility with regard to one’s own sins,

\textsuperscript{11} Exercitia Spiritualia, # 101ff.
\textsuperscript{12} This depiction suggests an image like that of Fraangelico’s Annunciation, but connecting these encounters with the colloquies of the retreatant, the author suggests similar privileged encounters may take place there.
\textsuperscript{13} Exercitia Spiritualia, # 106.
\textsuperscript{14} Exercitia Spiritualia, # 63.
renewed ability to sense one's disordered behavior, and ability to sense one's worldly and vain attachments and attitudes, these are the profitable insights sought by the one who places herself or himself in intercessory and mediatory relationship with Mary. She is the human being who is so close to God, the one who is so in love with God that she conceived and gave birth to Jesus. Through her love, He continues to bring the way, the truth and the life to all men and women. The spiritual blindness of the one whose sins "hardens hearts in the hatred of God\textsuperscript{15} is "death and power of death\textsuperscript{16} for the retreatant. In this way, sin contrasts with the behavior of the Virgin Mary whom the angel of "all light" greets. Her essential activity is to "humiliate herself and give thanks," speaking only "in order to accept God's gift (Giuliani, bottom of pp. 33f).

Fr. Giuliani then provided the reader with a profound description of the mystery of Mary in relationship to the mystery of salvation. "The mystery of Mary affirms itself, therefore, only in relationship to the universality of sin and the universality of salvation, being the mystery of the Church, that is, being the mystery of humanity believing and saved. In order to remain Ignatian, this meditation must never dissociate the two scenes of the Incarnation and the Annunciation, but must continually enlarge itself to the dimensions of the created and redeemed universe. It is not at all a question of delaying in psychological or moral analyses, but of living in Mary and the messianic mystery of God awaited, desired and given (Giuliani, 34)."

Mary is also part of the final colloquy in this contemplation of the Annunciation/Incarnation. The colloquy encourages the one receiving the Spiritual Exercises to appropriate "definitively" "this history of salvation in the world" by "imitating and

\textsuperscript{15} Exercitia Spiritualia, # 107.
\textsuperscript{16} Exercitia Spiritualia, # 108.
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following Our Lord” in communion with the “three Persons, the Word Incarnate or Our Lady,” depending upon the point of view called for by the rhythm of the prayer of the individual exercitant (“the self-exerciser”).

Conclusions and Reflections: Giuliani

Giuliani seems to have been the first to go beyond the discussions about the “dictation” of the Spiritual Exercises to the phenomenology of Marian presence. At first, his observations seem astonishingly simple. But his further reflections on the two kinds of presence prove to be profound insights into the mystery of Mary in general and into her presence in the Spiritual Exercises in particular. In this way, the author set the stage for further reflection upon the significance of Mary’s presence and significance of the Spiritual Exercises as an instrument of balance and discernment in the spiritual life.

Distinguishing the scriptural from the personal and colloquial presence of Mary makes it possible to understand more explicitly the role of Mary where the theological discourse that comes when prayerful and knowledgeable engagement of the scriptures meet the personal faith of the individual person. Here is where the contributions of Fr. Kolvenbach and Fr. Roten add a further dimension. We will see this as we continue to report on the recent research among the Ignatian commentators on the Spiritual Exercises and other Ignatian writings.

In this instance, I want to bring another method of analysis to bear upon the content of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises. My approach combines elements of the approaches of Fr. Giuliani, Fr. Lafontaine and Fr. Kolvenbach in the interpretation of the Marian presence in the text of the Spiritual Exercises and moves in
the direction of combining the results of this Ignatian research with a method taken from
the mainstream of Modern Marian research for the purpose of mutual enrichment.

In this approach, I am suggesting that the intra-textual and the interdisciplinary
approaches be combined with the research of Fr. Johann Roten, S.M. The latter study
sifts out an array of discourses that have emerged from the efforts of German
Mariological thought in the past century. Fr. Roten’s study offers a breakdown of the
diverse discourses. He spoke in terms of theological, cultural, faith and religious
discourses that arise in relationship to the Marian presence. Thereby, I am suggesting
that the Marian presence within the Spiritual Exercises has the potential to allow the giver
and the receiver of the Spiritual Exercises to recognize, name, sort and integrate various
discourses within the discussions affecting the Election in the individual process of the
Spiritual Exercises.

At the very least, the discourses that emerge around Marian content and process,
potentially, ought to be part of the discussions that go on during the Election depending
upon the devotional experience of the individual or community. I believe that these
discussions would not be out of place if conducted within the spirit of the dialogue
between giver and receiver recommended by the Rules for Thinking with the Church. 17

The potential significance for the Ignatian Exercises lies in the nature of the dual
Marian presence, in the scripture and the colloquies. These circumscribe, respectively,
the narrative and functional role of Mary in Ignatian spirituality, the first referring to the
Mary’s role in the Mysteries of the life of Christ with her Son and the second to the
colloquies, especially, to the model colloquies of the First and Second Weeks, but also
the Third and Fourth Weeks.

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In the Ignatian context, the discourses that arise do so within a context of spiritual direction that allows them to be identified, sorted, tested and diffused by means of the Ignatian instrument of the Spiritual Exercises for individuals and communities.

The possibility of the giver of the Ignatian Exercises developing responses to these emerging discourses begins with two things, respect for the Autograph text of the Spiritual Exercises and respect for the needs of the receiver. Respect for the text of the Spiritual Exercises means that the giver recognizes, acknowledges, understands and willingly uses the Mariological presence according to the needs of individuals or communities in proportion to the use of Christological, Trinitarian and Pneumatological presences and other theologies.

Fr. Giuliani brought us to the point of recognition of those two kinds of Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises. They were depicted as “the mysteries of Mary within the mysteries of her Son” and the colloquies. Fr. Kolvenbach’s linguistic studies depicted those two forms of presence as the “narrative” and “functional” presence of Mary in the Spiritual Exercises.

Qualifying these examples of her presence as “narrative” and “functional” presences makes possible a dialogue between these two presences in the emergence of the “fuller” presence of Mary for the individual or community.

The realization of this “fuller presence” of Mary in the individual experiencing the Exercises opens up the matter for discussion between God and the receiver, and, by necessity, between the receiver and giver. In relationship to the interpretation of the scripture passages, or the interpretation of the results of the colloquies related to Mary’s scriptural presence, the responses of the receiver either lie fallow in the realm of the
unspoken or they become opportunities for colloquy and then discussion at some point with the spiritual director.

What is this “fuller presence” that is the result of the interaction of Marian scripture and the personal colloquy of the receiver with Mary? For one thing, this presence includes the “spiritual fruit” of contemplative prayer, and the “repetitions” done over the proposed Marian scripture, the “spiritual fruit” of the Marian colloquy combined with the needs for grace expressed by the receiver of the Exercises who has chosen to enter into a spiritual conversation with Mary, Jesus and the Father.

In the two model colloquies of the First and Second Weeks of the Exercises, the “fuller sense” of Marian presence includes the narrative, functional and personal “colloquial presence” of Mary. This “colloquial presence” combines distilled religious experience or “spiritual fruit” derived from the “repeated” contemplation of the subjects of cosmic and personal sin in the First Week. In the Second Week, a cumulative presence of Mary includes the “spiritual fruit” of joining with her in spiritual poverty and actual poverty, in a self-perceived level of committed action and in a degree of humility that is unique to the individual or community that chooses to pray in familiar conversation with “the Lady, Queen, Mother.”

My contention is that what arises as the “colloquial” or “fuller sense” of Mary’s presence is a “tropological or moral sense” which aids the individual or community in recognizing, sorting, testing and confirming the authenticity of the discourses in as much as they have to do with my own mission and ministry within the Church. Let us look first at the individual contributions of the various authors and how they relate to the fuller Marian presence.
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Brien: Our Lady in the Ignatian Spiritual Experience

Under this title, Fr. Ludger Brien has offered us a view of "Our Lady in the Ignatian Spiritual Experience." Fr. Brien included among his first points some citations that lead us to a deeper appreciation of Fr. Paul Dudon's position regarding the issue of Mary's "dictation" of the Spiritual Exercises. 19

Fr. Brien stated categorically that the image commissioned by Fr. Vitelleschi was a "symbol expressive of a certain truth." 20 From the articles surrounding this issue, and Fr. Dudon's appendix, one did not get the impression that he was able to make such a statement on this issue. Fr. Dudon seemed to have chosen a position closer to the group of Jesuit historians who wanted documentation without which they tended not to give much credence to the tradition behind the creation of the image by Fr. Vitelleschi. The French version, quoted by Fr. Brien, stated "elles sont un symbole expressif d'une vérité certaine; à la condition de ne point les interpréter dans un sens grossièrement littéral...," that is, "They( these representations) are symbolic expressions of a definite truth, provided they are not interpreted in a grossly literal sense...." 21 And, from Fr. Dudon himself, we also learned that he refused to accept any kind of "conspiracy" in the "dictation" theory. 22

Before sharing his reflection on the first colloquy of the Triple Colloquy, Fr. Brien talked about Mary being a "discrete Model" in addition to being a "Mediatrix." In

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19 Paul Dudon, S.J., St. Ignatius of Loyola, translated by William J. Young, S.J., Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949), 203-214. Cf. also, his appendix on Manresa and the Exercises which addresses the question posed: "Did the Blessed Virgin Dictate the Exercises to Ignatius?"
21 Ibid. Cf. also, Dudon, op. cit., p. 203, for English translation by Young.
22 Dudon, op. cit., p.203. "These representations of the seventeenth century are not a deliberate attempt at deception."
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the context of the colloquies, the author saw Mary as "Queen" and "Sovereign," something that was not explicit but inferred, from the text, though I would have said "Mother and Queen" in line with "Son and Lord."

At the very least, the author's claim and choice of vocabulary tells us about his assumptions regarding the role of Mary in Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises.

Now, who more than the Virgin is able to obtain these precious graces for us? Is she not the Mother of the Word made flesh? It is therefore to her that St. Ignatius confides the responsibility to introduce us into the service of her Son and Lord(#63). But Mary is not only our Mediatrix, she is also our discrete Model. Already, in the first colloquy with her, in this conversation, if not yet between an infant with his Mother, at least, between a servant with his Queen, the retreatant senses his misery more. He also understands better the ugliness of sin in the presence of this one who sings that she is without blemish. Likewise, retreatants know better the disorder of their actions before the one who was exempt from original sin(de la faute originelle) and from the deadly consequences that he now knows(#51). Finally, one senses being born in himself the horror of the world which appears to him as if contemptible in relationship to the one who commands him as Sovereign....

In other words, Fr. Brien assumed(without making explicit) the dynamics of the relationship between the Queen, Her Lord and Her knight, in explaining how Mary was "not only a mediatrix, but a model." This assumption became evident from the use of titles like Queen, Lord, Sovereign and the use of words like "introduce," "obtain grace,"

23 Brien, op. cit., p. 34. "Or, qui peut mieux que la Vierge nous obtenir des grâces aussi précieuses? N'est-elle pas la Mère du Verbe fait chair? C'est donc à elle que saint Ignace confie la charge de nous introduire auprès << de son Fils et Seigneur(SpEx, #63) >>. Mais Marie n'est pas que notre Médiate, elle est aussi notre discret Modèle. Déjà, en ce premier colloque avec elle, dans cet entretien sinon encore d'un enfant avec sa Mère, du moins d'un serviteur avec sa Reine, le retraitant sent mieux sa misère; il comprend aussi davantage la laideur du péché en présence de celle dont on chante qu'elle est sans tache; de même, le retraitant saisit-il mieux le désordre de ses actions devant celle qui fut exempte de la faute originelle et des suites funestes que maintenant il connaît(SpEx, #51); enfin, sent-il naitre en lui-même l'horreur du monde qui lui apparaît si méprisable auprès de celle qui lui commande en Souveraine...." (emphasis mine)
etc., in referring to Mary's function. All of these functions are indicative of the Queen-
Mother. The words suggest that the image of the Queen-Mother is operative in this
colloquy, if only as an unarticulated detail of the feudal metaphor assumed by the author.

Fr. Brien made the further point related to the Ignatian data. The resumé prayer
of the Spiritual Exercises was termed "affective prayer." Automatically, then, the
colloquy at the end of this prayer would also be "affective." The resumé, by its nature,
involves "reminiscing" over those things, especially, "spiritual experiences," that have
already been contemplated. 24

In the context of the First Week prayer activity, Fr. Brien suggested two operative
titles for Mary, namely, "Refuge of Sinners" and "Full of Grace." 25 In the space between
these two titles, the author attempted to encompass the whole horizon of the Marian
Mystery, from Immaculate Conception to Assumption. In this way, he assumed a similar
interpretation by Fr. Giuliani who was discussing the same reality and thereby connecting
the teachings of the Church with the bare text of the Spiritual Exercises, a connection
which indeed seems appropriate but which is implied but not made explicit by these
important Marian titles.

24 Exercitia Spiritualia, p. 200, #64. "Quarto exercicio es Resumiendo este mismo tercero. Dixe
resumiendo, porque el entendimiento sin diuagar discurra assiduamente por la reminiscencia de las cosas
contempladas en los exercicios passados; y haciendo los mismos tres colloquios." Ganss, op. cit., p. 46,
#64, for the following translation: "The Fourth Exercise is to make a Repetition of the Third. I have used
the word repetition because of the intellect, aided by the memory, will without digressing reflect on the
matters contemplated in the previous exercises. It concludes with the same three colloquies." Cf. also,
Ganss, p. 45, #63, "The Third Exercise is a Repetition of the First and the Second Exercises by making
Three Colloquies. After the preparatory prayer and two preludes, this exercise will be a repetition of the
first and the second exercises. I should notice and dwell on those points where I felt greater consolation
or desolation, or had a greater spiritual experience. Then I will make three colloquies in the manner which
follows." Emphasis mine, regarding the meaning of the "repetition." Fr. Gans's additional note, Ibid., p.
157, n. 43, focused precisely on the connection between his prayer and affectivity: "The descriptions given
here and in 63 make clear that the repetitions are not a mere reviewing of the preceding meditation or
contemplation, but rather an affective assimilation, a deepening personalization of one's previous interior
experiences." Regarding "repetition" in the prayer of the SpEx, cf. also, #s 73, 131 and 206.
25 Brien, op. cit., p. 34.
Specifically, in the colloquies of the Third and Fourth Exercises of the First Week, the author named Mary "Virgin in Heaven." It was up to the retreatants to raise themselves up to her level through faith.\textsuperscript{26}

Notwithstanding the necessary connections between Mary and the prayer of the First Week, and even the significant titles that the author saw emerge from Mary's role and function there, Fr. Brien was quick to point out the objection that some people may have already begun to formulate in their minds regarding the diminishment of the centrality of Christ.\textsuperscript{27} We have already seen this issue addressed at its source in the research of the early sixteenth century in Chapter II.

Fr. Brien's point is that Mary is important in her own right.

The Virgin has an important, indeed essential, place in the Exercises and, as we have seen, it is a place that the Holy Spirit himself has made in the Gospel, one that the Trinity himself has wanted for her in the economy of Redemption.\textsuperscript{28}

In fact, he says that Mary, the Virgin, is "the mirror of the divinity."\textsuperscript{29}

Well understood, it is not necessary to stop mid-way since it is necessary that we search for Jesus through and in the other persons. He remains their reason for being, their center and their achievement. And, this is above all true of Mary. At the same time, in effect, Mary

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 36. "Dans les colloques des troisième et quatrième Exercices, la Vierge était au ciel. Par la foi, nous nous étions élevés jusqu'à elle." My translation: "In the colloquies of the 3rd and 4th Exercises of the First Week, the Virgin was in heaven. By faith, we ourselves were elevated to her."

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 45. "On pourra faire ici l'objection, et peut-être l'a-t-on déjà formulée, que la Vierge n'est pas le personnage central des Exercices et que c'est fausser la pensée de saint Ignace d'employer à la contemplation de Marie des méthodes avant tout destinées à faire croître dans la connaissance et l'amour du Seigneur." My translation: "Here one will be able to make the objection, and perhaps, one has already formulated it, that the Virgin is not the central personality of the Exercises and that is to falsify the thought of St. Ignatius to use the contemplation of Mary by methods above all destined to make the consciousness and love of the Lord grow."

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 46. "....La Vierge a une place importante, voire essentielle, dans le Exercices et, nous l'avons vu, c'est la place que l'Esprit-Saint lui a faite dans l'Evangile, celle que la Trinité même a voulue pour elle dans l'économie de la Rédemption."

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p. 46. "Comme l'a écrit une mystique, la Vierge est le miroir de la divinité." My translation: "As one mystic wrote, the Virgin is the mirror of the divinity."
does not exist without Jesus, any more than Jesus exists without Mary. Indispensable to each other, they cannot be understood perfectly, the one without the other. To stress Mary, is therefore to linger on Jesus. To study Mary, is also to learn about Jesus. One does not falsify, therefore, the thought of St. Ignatius in bringing to light the person of Mary.  

In going a step further, Fr. Brien quoted the Canadian Bishops who proclaimed the essential importance of Mary in the "mechanism of salvation." We are to do this without accepting anything and everything that has been said about her.

In fact, as the Canadian Bishops recalled, "the devotion to the Virgin is not a poetry which eases the austerity of religion, nor an ornament which adorns the nudity of the faith. She is not, any longer, as certain strong spirits believe, a sublimation of courtly love or an idealization of the mother. Mary is an essential piece in the mechanism of salvation. She belongs to the intimate structure of the faith. She is the object of dogmatic definitions and one speaks of the mysteries of Mary as one speaks of the mysteries of Jesus."  

Conclusions and Reflections: Brien

Fr. Brien raises several points worthy of reflection in the context of our interest in the meaning and significance of Mary’s presence in the Spiritual Exercises. Fr. Brien made a very clear interpretation of the Marian presence though he did not fully explain the source of his reasons for his choice of interpretation. I fully agree with his
interpretation, but I would like to suggest that his assumptions may lie in the acceptance of the “divine chivalric” interpretation that is assumed in his reference to Mary as “Queen and Sovereign” and in his neglect of the aspect of her “motherhood” in this particular instance.

One of Fr. Brien’s most important statements told of the importance of Mary in her own right and the fact that this assertion did not diminish the significance of Christ. Christ and Mary are indispensable to the understanding of the other. In my perception, to understand the affectivity and action of Jesus, Mary has major importance.

Although I have not been able to see a copy of the whole statement of the Canadian Bishops as referred to by Fr. Brien, it was enough for them to state that devotion to Mary was “no longer” as “strong spirits suggest” “a sublimation of courtly love.” With the prefix, “no longer,” I must agree, but what this devotion is in our own culture cannot negate what had great significance in earlier times. Cannot aspects of “divine chivalry” manifest God’s love in the world? The question is whether we can learn anything about the love of God from “divine chivalry” or the attitude of “spiritual courtesy” in the world today.

When the author called Mary “Queen and Sovereign” he was making an interpretation of Mary’s role that involved an important aspect of chivalric imagery as applied to Mary. Of course, our contention all along has been to make the reasons for making that inference from the Marian titles explicit. To give reason for the “feudal” and "divine chivalric" image of Mary’s presence grounds the Marian theology of Ignatius and allows one to more readily draw upon those grounds in trying to understand the role of Mary in such prayers as the "Triple Colloquy" and in other parts of his writings.
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Roy: The Virgin Mary in the Ignatian Experience

This lengthy study by Fr. Lucien Roy focuses upon "The Virgin Mary in the Ignatian Experience." As one would have hoped, the article places particular emphasis upon examples of Iñigo's mystical experience at Manresa and upon the principle Marian loci in his Spiritual Exercises.

At least part of his clear purpose for writing was to enhance retreatants' participation in the mystery of Mary through sharing Ignatius' experience of Mary in his life and works. At the same time, he pointed out some of the pitfalls in approaching God through Mary.

Several points in Fr. Roy's presentation speak to the point of Ignatius' having a relationship with Mary in terms of the image of the "Lady-Queen-Mother" in his vision of God and the "heavenly court." The author made the argument that the titles "Our Lady" and "Our Lord" reflect the respect that Ignatius had for the Virgin Mary because of the "unifying association" which those titles make between Mary and her Son Jesus.


34 Lucien Roy, S.J., "La Vierge Marie dans l'expérience ignatienne," p. 55. The author pointed out the reservations of Vatican Council II in discussing the "mediation of Mary." At the same time, in his conclusion, he also pointed out the importance of the "mystery of Mary" in helping the person to find a "balanced piety," something the author believed that Ignatius had offered when he chose Marian prayers, like the Ave Maria and the Salve Regina, as points of departure in his suggested Methods of Prayer (SpEx, #s 253, etc.). Cf. also, Austin Flannery, O.P., ed., Vatican II: Counciliar and Post-Councilor Documents (New York: Costello Publishing, 1977), Chapter 8 of Lumen Gentium, especially, n. 60, p. 418, which attempts to make the basic clarifications about Mary's relationship with her Son.

35 Lucien Roy, S.J., "La Vierge Marie dans l'expérience ignatienne," p. 40f. "Ce n'est toujours qu'avec un infini respect que saint Ignace parle de la Vierge Marie. "<Our-Dame>>, formule équivalente, en déférence, au "<Notre Seigneur>> que nous n'attribuons qu'à Jésus-Christ. Sans confondre la nature des personnes, dont l'une est divine et l'autre ne l'est pas, nous croyons percevoir déjà, sous les mots, un commencement de conscience de l'association unissant, dans l'histoire du salut, Jésus et Marie. La Théologie catholique se sent à l'aise pour parler de Marie comme le "<l'Associée>> du Christ Sauveur, et nous verrons un peu plus loin que saint Ignace s'approche de cette conceptions naturellement." My translation: "It is always only with an infinite respect that St. Ignatius speaks of the
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Roy noted the "equivalent deference" connoted by the two titles, but focused upon making an intellectual connection with the valuable theological tradition of "Mary as the <<The Associate>> of Christ-Savior"\(^{36}\) rather than touching upon the tradition of the "Mother of the King," which may have equal potential for theological reflection.

At this point, however, Fr. Roy did not get into any reflections about the implications of Ignatius' image of the "heavenly court" and his relationship with Mary in that context. In the author's later reflections, however, he did make a curious connection between the "apostolic field or vineyard of the Lord" and the "celestial vault" which, he suggested, can never be separated in the mind of Ignatius.\(^{37}\) In other words, the author did not explicitly link Mary with the role of the "The Mother of the King," placing her

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Virgin Mary. "Our Lady", formulates equivalently, in deference, to "Our Lord" which we attribute only to Jesus Christ. Without confusing the nature of the persons, of which the one is divine and the other is not, we perceive already, under the words, a beginning of consciousness of the unifying association, in the history of salvation, Jesus and Mary. The catholic theology feels at ease to speak of Mary as "the Associate" of Christ Savior, and we will see a little later on that St. Ignatius approaches this conception naturally.\(^{36}\)


\(^{37}\) Lucien Roy, S.J., "La Vierge Marie dans l'expérience ignatienne," p. 47. "(La solennité du décor enveloppant le retraitant au moment où il a découvert le Christ <<Souverain Seigneur>>, perçu son appel, éprouvé l'immense désir de lui répondre de tout son être, ne fait que le rendre plus conscient du gest qu'il pose. La détermination de l'offrant est capitale, mais plus encore le bon plaisir de Dieu et la souveraine grâce qui seule peut mouvoir à un engagement aussi sérieux. (Ceux que prononcent de Vœux dans la Compagnie de Jésus se retrouvent devant le même tableau. Const. 525, 532, 535. Plus qu'un tableau, un milieu de vie, leur milieu de vie avec tout le champ d'apostolat qui les attend dans leur future mission. Trouver Dieu en toutes choses n'est pas qu'une expression banale pour Ignace. Le champ apostolique où la vigne du Christ, ainsi qu'il aime à dire, n'est pas dissociable de ce monde céleste, pas plus que la <<voute céleste>> ne pourrait être séparée du monde que nous habitons)." My translation: "The solemnity of the scene envelopping the retraitant, in the moment in which he has discovered Christ the "Sovereign Lord", when he has perceived his call, tested the immense desire to respond to him with all his being, is necessary only to render him more conscious of the gesture that he presents. The determination of the offering is the main thing, but yet more important is what pleases God and the sovereign grace which alone is able to move one to such a serious involvement. (Those who pronounce vows in the Company of Jesus find themselves before the same scene. Const. 525, 532, 535. More than a scene, a center of life, their habitat of life with all the space of their apostolate which awaits them in their future mission. The apostolic space or the vine of Christ, at the same time, he loves to say, is not separable from the celestial world, any more than the "celestial vault or canopy" may not be able to be separated from the world which we inhabit.)." Emphasis mine.
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within Ignatius' image of the heavenly court, thereby specifying her spiritual function in terms of the feudal and biblical analogue.

From there, the author went on to reflect upon the "Contemplation to Attain Divine Love" in relationship to the "offering" of the Kingdom meditation. In these two reflections, the author touched upon Mary's role in the "celestial court" and the significance of her titles, "glorious mother" and "The Mother of Mercy." These paragraphs are worth reading in their entirety to see exactly how he tied together a number of Marian concepts in the Exercises.

In the "Contemplation to Obtain Divine Love", the celestial court will be present in the place in which one conveys his greatness of soul in order to give true dimension to his prayer.... The contemplation is finally centered upon intimacy with God and all living beings who gravitate and lose themselves in the radiance of the glory of God, uniting themselves to me and to my prayer as intercessors who dwell there in order to give it a greater hearing. The juncture is established between heaven and earth. Just like in the fourth point, this ladder of Jacob stands erect assuring constant circulation, the going-return of my humble perfections to the divine perfections, of the divine perfections to the gifts that the Lord has deposited in myself. It is a kind of perichoresis. In this space, the glory of the Virgin Mother herself is lost in the glory of the divine Majesty.

At the time of the offering of the Kingdom, we were not yet at the perfect moment in which "God is all in all"(1 Cor 15.28). The Virgin used to have there a privileged role of intercession. It is she who came to support and accompany her new knight. Her stimulating presence affected the rest of the celestial court in which she is Queen and the center at the side of the King, himself at the center of our free and healed desires; at the center of the identification that one comes to have with him in his mission, the object of his whole Passion. Passion for us (is) a transfigured moment which permits this profound aspiration of every being to provoke beyond endurance the "Mecum"....

The glorious Mother of Jesus Christ and the Mother of Compassion

38 Exercitia Spiritualia, # 98.
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(Misericordia) will remain at the heart of the Christian experience, if this is true. In every hypothesis, Mary remains involved (partie prenante, "payee") in the mystical and apostolic transformation which St. Ignatius offers us to live in the measure that he proposes to us. 39

These three paragraphs are particularly significant because they show some of the author's attraction to the broader context of Our Lady's role within Ignatius' Exercises. Without naming the source of his thought the author has used the image of God associated with the heavenly court including the chivalric connections. This was one of the rare times during my research that any author made a connection between Our Lady and the heavenly court and suggesting that her role was in that context. The author saw that the "celestial court" brought a "true dimension" to Ignatius' prayer. 40 For him, the process of "perichoresis" described the communication between the individual, the

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39 Lucien Roy, S.J., "La Vierge Marie dans l'expérience ignatienne," p. 48. "...La contemplation est finalement axée sur l'intime de Dieu et tous les êtres vivants qui y gravitent se perdent dans le rayonnement de la gloire de Dieu, se fusionnant à moi et à ma prière comme des intercesseurs qui l'habitent pour lui donner une plus grande portée. La jonction s'établit entre le ciel et la terre. Tout comme au quatrième point se dresse cette échelle de Jacob assurant la circulation constante, l'allier-retour de mes humbles perforctions aux perforctions divines, et des perforctions divines aux dons que le Seigneur a déposés en moi. Une sorte de perichorese. Dans ce milieu, la gloire de la Vierge Marie elle-même se perd dans la gloire de la Majesté divine. C'est elle qui venait soutenir et accompagner son nouveau chevalier. Sa présence stimulante tranche sur le reste de la cour céleste dont elle est la Reine et le centre à côté du Roi, lui-même au centre de nos désirs libérés et guéris; au centre de l'identification que l'on veut avoir avec lui dans sa mission, objet de toute sa Passion. Passion pour nous un moment transformée, qui permet cette profonde aspiration de tout l'être à pousser jusqu'au bout le << Mecum>>...//La glorieuse Mère de Jésus-Christ et la Mère de Miséricordes restera au coeur de l'expérience chrétienne, si celle-ci est vraie. En toute hypothèse, Marie reste partie prenante de la transformation mystique et apostolique que nous offre de vivre saint Ignace dans la démarche qu'il nous propose."

40 Lucien Roy, S.J., "La Vierge Marie dans l'expérience ignatienne," p. 48. Cf. paragraph [I] in cited text. Emphasis mine. The "jonction established between heaven and earth," between the retreatant and God, finds both a supplementary and complementary expression in connection with the Contemplation of the Incarnation and the Triple Colloquy. The elements of this "ladder" of prayer have their fullest Ignatian articulation in the SpD of St. Ignatius. Cf. DS, vol. IV, s. v., "Echelle Spirituelle," by Emile Bertaud and Andre Rayez, pp. 62-86, especially, p. 74f., on 16c. To my surprise, the Triple Colloquy of the SpEx of St. Ignatius was not considered part of the mystical tradition associated with the "staircase." However, Cisneros's Ejercitatorio and works to two prominent Jesuits of the times were seen as part of this tradition.
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intercessors and the gifts of God recognized in the Contemplation to Attain Divine Love (SpEx, # 230ff.). The author seems to suggest a mode of communication between the intercessors and the retreatant that is reminiscent of the "divine perichoresis" among the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

This communication, firstly, places the relationship between Mary and the retreatant in the realm of Trinitarian prayer and secondly initiates a reflection upon how the fruit of this particular trinitarian prayer becomes incarnate in the world through the retreatant. This contribution to our understanding of the process of Mary's mediation is outstanding because it concretizes the actual intercession that she brings on behalf of the disposed individual or community.

Assuming the aptness of my emphasis on the chivalric metaphor, the author assumed an understanding of "intercession" of the Lady in terms of her relationship with the knight, of the Virgin for the "new knight," in these expressions. In this way, by means of her effective presence in the "celestial court," as "Queen and center at the side of the King, himself at the center of our free and healed desires,"\(^{1}\) she intercedes. Without stating it, the author see the intercessory role of Mary in terms of the role of the gebira or Mother of the King,\(^{2}\) with roots in the Hebrew bible. These images, I contend, can link Mary and Ignatius' understanding of her function in the process of spiritual formation and transformation, with the biblical tradition of the Church for those giving and receiving the Spiritual Exercises.

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However, the author did not describe the role of Mary in Ignatius' prayer in terms of the notion of the gebira in the Hebrew Bible. Nor did he attempt to explain the connection between the image of the celestial court and Mary's role as "glorious Mother of Jesus-Christ" and "Mother of Mercy" in a theological approach to salvation. At the same time, he correctly noted that both titles were "at the heart of the Christian experience.... and they have their own connection with the image of Mary as "Queen-Mother," although he used only the analogous titles of the "glorious" and "merciful" mother. 43

By referring to the Ignatian experience of Mary at Manresa and in the Spiritual Exercises, the author gave us a helpful opportunity to distinguish these two experiences. The experience that Ifiigo had of Mary at Manresa was his own religious experience. Even though the text of the Spiritual Exercises contains reference to Mary, references which in general fall within the realm of Ignatius' experience since he wrote the Spiritual Exercises, the experience of Mary described there, and that which a given person can expect to have, is different than Ignatius' own experience.

Fr. Roy also spoke of possible pitfalls in using Mary as the pathway to God. The reality is that people abuse the best instruments. Chapter VIII in Lumen Gentium sets a tone and calls for people to have a "balanced piety" in reaction to what was perceived by many bishops to be an "imbalanced" emphasis on Marian piety prior to the Second Vatican Council.

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**Durana: Our Lady in the Principle and Foundation?**

The article by Fr. Durana focused upon the key meditation of the Principle and Foundation of the *Spiritual Exercises* (#23) and asked whether Our Lady's presence was implied in that meditation or not. Appropriately, he entitled the article, "Is Our Lady in the Principle and Foundation?"

With Fr. Durana's article, the focus of our attention zooms from the macro to the micro perspective on Mary in the *Spiritual Exercises*. While Fr. Giuliani, Fr. Brien and Fr. Roy seemed to focus upon the major textual manifestations of Marian presence, Fr. Durana speaks about Mary's presence in a special meditation where her name does not appear but which is crucial in setting a fundamental attitude with which one is to approach the experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

To this end, the author pointed out what is obvious to those familiar with the text of this meditation in the *Spiritual Exercises*: Jesus is not mentioned explicitly in the meditation on the Principle and Foundation. Yet, as the author pointed out, the text does mention "Dios Nuestro Señor" which, for Ignatius, means "Jesus Christ."

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44 José G. de Durana, S.J., "¿Nuestra Señora en el principio y fundamento?,” *Maresia* 59 (1987): 225. The author refers to the content of the Meditation on the Principle and Foundation (PF) throughout his article, referring to various verses in the text and highlighting them in boldface type. The boldface in our textual translations and in the original text, as quoted by Durana, refer to the original Spanish or Autograph (A) text of the meditation, namely, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, op. cit., p. 164 and 166. The (A) text of the PF is as follows: "El hombre e criado para alabar, hazer reuerencia y seruir a Dios nuestro Señor y, mediante esto, salbar su ánima; y las otras cosas sobre la haz de la tierra son criadas para el hombre, y para que le ayuden en la prosecución del fin para que es criado. De donde se sigue, que el hombre tanto a de vsar dellas, quanto le ayudan para su fin, y tanto deue quitarse dellas, quanto para ello le impiden. Por lo qual es menester hazernos indiferentes a todas las cosas criadas, en todo lo que es concedido a la libertad de nuestro libre albedrio, y no le está prohibido; en tal manera, que no queramos de nuestra parte más salud que enfermedad, riqueza que pobreza, honor que desonor, vida larga que corta, [6r] y por consiguiente en todo los demás; solamente deseando y eligiendo lo que más nos conduce para el fin que somos criados."
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"The literary arguments taken from the comparative studies of the texts of the book of the Spiritual Exercises and the letters of St. Ignatius which were redacted by Ignatius himself, not by secretaries, conclude that the name "God Our Lord" refers to Jesus Christ. But, the absence of the explicit mention of Jesus Christ is not explained."45

By means of a similar argument, the author concluded that Mary also had to be present in this meditation.

"Sometimes the reason for this omission is found in making mention of man being created, if it has already made reference to Christ as last Adam and as Body of Christ, that is, saved Humanity. Equal reason includes Mary, the New Eve, together with Christ, both implicitly and eminently referred to in the total man, masculine and feminine (Genesis 1:27)."46

For Durana, then, the language of man that leads to the Adam/Christ analogy in the meditation entitled the Principle and Foundation leads inevitably to the language of Eve/Mary.47 Assuming this connection, Fr. Durana speaks of Mary, the woman of

Consequently, on our part we ought not to seek health rather than sickness, wealth rather than poverty, honor rather than dishonor, a long life rather than a short one, and so on in all other matters(6). Rather, we ought to desire and choose only that which is more conducive to the end for which we are created(7)."

45 Durana, op. cit., p. 230. "Los argumentos literarios sacados del estudio comparativo de los textos del libro de los Ejercicios Espirituales y de las cartas de S. Ignacio que fueron reeditadas por él mismo, no por sus secretarios, concluyen en que (el) denominación "Dios Nuestro Señor" se refiere a Jesucristo. Pero no se explica la ausencia de la mención explícita de Jesucristo." Cf. also, Ganss, The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, p. 150, note 18, regarding the title "Dios Nuestro Señor" which for him means the "Triune God." The note goes into the numerous titles and their interchangeability as suggested by Fr. Durana.

46 Ibid. "Tal vez la razón de esta omisión se halla en que al hacer mención del hombre creado ya se ha hecho referencia a Cristo como postre Adán y al Cuerpo de Cristo, que es la Humanidad salvada. Igual razón se aduciría para incluir aquí a María, nueva Eva, juntamente con Cristo, ambos implicitamente y eminentemente referidos en el hombre total, masculino y femenino(Gn 1,27)." In our Chapter on Mary in the SpEx, we argued similarly from the traditional connection between the Adam-Christ to a presence of Mary, as New Eve, within the meditation on Adam and Eve in the second point of the First Exercise of the First Week of the SpEx(#51).

47 Ibid. "Porque si el viejo Adán despertó a su dinámica finalista, creciente y multiplicadora, ante la presencia de Eva, también Cristo, nuevo Adán, alcanzará su consumación, su finalización (Jn 19,28.30/Heb 2,10) desde aquella hora (v. 27), joánica y gloriosa, en que Jesús vio en a madre(v. 26) -- hueso de sus huesos y carne de su carne-- que estaba en pie --vertical-- delante del árbol de la cruz (v. 25) y al discípulo amado, también en pie, le dice a la madre dándole nombre: "Mujer, mira, es tu hijo"(v. 26)."

My translation: "Because if the old Adam awakened to his ultimate dynamic, growing and multiplying, in
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Genesis 2, as "helper," as "socorro para el que clama," i.e., "help for the one who calls." She becomes a living, the personal symbol of the "perfection, salvation, pleroma," called for in this meditation on "indifference." She becomes "the feminine figure of the Church." If Christ is the "door" as Durana suggested, then Mary is the "the door to the Door." She is the "via incarnationis," the "most concrete mediation" leading us to "praise, love and serve" God in a wholly integrated manner. 48

For Fr. Durana, the Virgin Mary "obtains grace," "accompanies" and "places" the individual with God, as stated in the first colloquy of the first repetition of the First Week of the Spiritual Exercises, the first expression of the Triple Colloquy. 49 This is her role as mediator with the Son of God and with God, and she intercedes, in this way, on behalf of all those who wish to communicate with God through the Son whose "flesh is the same as her's."

Regarding Mary's connection with the meditation of the Principle and Foundation (SpEx, #23), Fr. Durana presented several additional points that were equally as significant when taken individually, as they were when viewed together. Durana spoke of a role for Mary within an "asceticism of indifference," within a "liberation," within a "covenant" in which persons are "created," "engendered" and "disposed" within the affectivity of their hearts.

front of the presence of Eve, Christ also, the new Adam, will complete his consumation, his finalization (Jn 19: 28.30/Heb 2: 10) from that hour (v. 27), joannine and glorious, in which Jesus seeing the mother (v. 26)--bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh--who was standing--vertical--before the tree of the cross (v. 25) and the beloved disciple, also standing, says to the mother naming her: "Woman, see, it is your son" (v. 26)." For this same reasoning, Mary belongs in the

48 Ibid., p. 239.
49 Exercitia Spiritualia, op. cit., (A) version, p. 198, #63. "1º colloquio. El primer colloquio a nuestra Señora, para que me alcance[13r] gracia de su Hijo y Señor para tres cosas: la primera, para que sienta intimo conocimiento de mis pecados y aborrescimiento dellos, la 2ª, para que sienta el desorden de mis operaciones, para que, aborresciendo, me enmiende y me ordene; la 3ª, pedir conocimiento del mundo, para que, aborresciendo, aparte de my las cosas mundanas y vanas; y con esto vn Aue María." This text from the SpEx has been translated in the previous section dedicated to Fr. Giuliani's article.
Durana began by describing the specific need of human beings.

"In this section of the PF the literary style changes passing from a didactic tone to an exhortative and negotiating tone. The subject before was man, the whole man, as a project of God. Now the verbal subject is "we". We are wounded by sin so that it has made us men, solitary, loveless, without country, without roots, confused, rebellious, sterile, persons whose end is death, intimately severed, immature, excessive, unjust, deceived by vanity and by carnal knowledge."\(^{50}\)

From this profound description of the human condition in sin, the author went on to pinpoint the problem of mankind defined in terms of the lack of "indifference," or, put another way, the perennial inclination toward "inordinate attachments" as the source of human happiness, when, on the contrary, they are the source of many, if not all, human problems.

"For which (because man ought to be ruled by the Spirit of Truth, by Wisdom) it is necessary to make ourselves indifferent," continues the PF. "It is necessary" because the "Principle" urges, signals the necessity of a "Foundation", which is a new heart, stripped of false loves in a first movement, a repentant heart, crushed and humiliated, that does not want to determine what to do with itself nor allow itself to be carried away (indefero) by disordered affection to things, since in this consists "making oneself indifferent", in freeing ourselves and being free."\(^{51}\)

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\(^{50}\) Durana, *op. cit.*, p. 235. "En esta sección del PF cambia el estilo literario, pasando de un tono didáctico a un tono exhortativo y comprometido. El sujeto era antes el hombre, todo hombre, como proyecto de Dios, ahora el sujeto verbal somos "nosotros", seres heridos por el pecado que nos ha hecho hombres solitarios, desamorados, apátridas, sin raíces, hombres oscurcidos, rebeldes, estériles, cuyo fin es la muerte, intimamente escindidos, abortados, desmesurados, injustos, engañados por la vanidad y por la sabiduría carnal."

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p. 235f. "Por lo cual (porque el hombre debe ser regido por el Espíritu de la Verdad, por la Sabiduría) es menester hacernos indiferentes", prosigue el PF. "Es menester" porque el "Principio" exige, señala la necesidad de un "Fundamento", que es un corazón nuevo, despojado en un primer movimiento de falsos amores, un corazón arrepentido, quebrantado y humillado, que no se quiere determinar, ni dejarse llevar (indefero) por la afición desordenada a las cosas, porque en esto consiste el "hacernos indiferentes", en liberarnos y ser libres."
The intriguing choice of the word "immaculate" this foundational condition of the heart suggested a connection between Our Lady and the attitude of indifference.

"This "indifference" or indetermination, or liberation of my created and possible liberty ("that which is conceived as the liberty of our free will, and is not prohibited by it"), this genuineness of balance of the predetermining affect, in order to measure in the balance of the spirit, the "tanto cuanto"("in as much as"), requires that one be absolutely immaculate with respect to all created things and as a whole, not in part." 52

This fundamental attitude seems to resonate with the attitudinal assessments called for in the special meditations of the Exercises which call the retreatant into dialogue with himself or herself about attitudes toward poverty, attitudes toward commitment, and attitudes toward humility.

And, after discussing the place of justice and mercy in the Ignatian vision of the Principle and Foundation meditation, the author described the specific role of Our Lady in the following way:

"Certainly therefore the saints who have been interceding and praying have exercised the function, not of making God propitious, but of disposing us, of "conduciendo us" through their mediation to the source of mercy, and the one who conducts us most is the Virgin Mary...." 53

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52 Ibid. "Esta "indiferencia" o indeterminación o liberación de mi libertad creada y posible ("lo que es concedido a la libertad de nuestro libre albedrío, y no le está prohibido"), esta pureza del peso del afecto predeterminante para medir en la balanza del espíritu el "tanto cuanto", se requiere que sea inmaculada, absoluta, respecto a todas las cosas criadas y en todo, no en parte." Italic emphasis mine.

53 Ibid. "Pues bien, los santos que han sido en interceder y rogar han ejercido la función no de hacer propicio a Dios, sino de disponernos, de "conducirnos" por su mediación a la fuente de la misericordia, y quien más nos conduce es la Virgen María."
The meaning of her role, therefore, depends upon the meaning of this "conduction" (lo que más conduce")\(^{54}\) or this "leading" which Mary carries out. Fr. Durana offers "negative" and "positive" descriptions for this kind of "leading."

First, he gives the "negative" description.

"Negatively, it signifies that which offers no Resistance, to whatsoever that passes through its part, that which neither retains nor derives anything from what passes through its channel in course to the end. However, the things and persons of this world do not possess this perfect ability to conduct, since many times they hold our heart or we attach ourselves to them: only the realities of the Kingdom of God, the angels and the saints do not try to take possession of us, but conduct us in the full liberty of our self-giving to the Lord."\(^{55}\)

Then, he gave his "positive" description of this conduction.

"Positively "that which conducts us more" is able to signify either that conductive means which most rapidly and immediately supports to the end, or better, that means which conducts to the highest end: it is evident that the Virgin Mary is, among all the mediators, the one who holds the maximum proximity and immediacy with respect to Christ Our Lord, while being carried-jointly through Her, we are configured to Her, who is the most excellent work of God's creation, thus reaching the greatest perfection of our created design."\(^{56}\)

\(^{54}\) Cf. Exercitia Spiritualia, op. cit., Autographum(=A), p. 166, #23, line 80 or Ganss, line 7.

\(^{55}\) Durana, op. cit., p. 237. "Negativamente significa lo que no ofrece ninguna resistencia al paso por su medio, lo que ni retiene ni deriva nada de aquello que pasa por su conducto en dirección al fin. Pero las cosas y personas de este mundo no poseen esta perfecta conductibilidad, sino que tantas veces retienen nuestro corazón o nos apegamos a ellas: solamente las realidades del Reino de Dios, los ángeles y los santos no pretenden apoderarse de nosotros, sino conduciéndonos a la plena libertad de nuestra donación al Señor."

\(^{56}\) Ibid. "Positivamente "lo que más nos conduce" puede significar o bien aquel medio conductivo que más rápida e inmediatamente conlleva al fin, o bien aquel medio que conduce a los más alta del fin: es evidente que la Virgen María es entre todos los mediadores quien tiene la máxima cercanía e inmediatez respecto de Cristo Nuestro Señor, a la vez que siendo comportados por Ella, somos configurados a Ella, que es la obra más excelsa de la creación de Dios, alcanzando así la mayor perfección de nuestro proyecto creado."
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The author then pointed to "personal liberty" as the reason for Ignatius' precision in the use of the term indifference. And, he added that this kind of liberty is the personal signature of the Virgin Mary's mediation.

"The terminological precision of S. Ignatius makes use of the word "to conduct" in place of "to transport or convey," with the shade, perhaps, of the determinist or illuminist, in the sense of to orient, to set off on a journey, to guide. The expression, "to conduct towards the end," included, perhaps, "conduct to the end." It fits better for a permanent service of the free will, delicate stroke that corresponds to the mediation of the Virgin Mary.

Also from another perspective, the sweet and humble countenance of the Virgin Mary appears to make itself known in the PF. In this second section of the PF St. Ignatius establishes the "Foundation" over which God Our Lord works in the "creation" of man according to the "Principle" of his Wisdom. Certainly, the Wisdom of the Creator has a "foundation, a land and a native country, it has its roots in a people, resides in a city, has a house where dwells the one who is full of glory, it is the Virgin Mary in the secular sense of the Church: she is the mother of beautiful love, in whom exists all the grace of the way and the truth, the hope of life and of virtue, in order to satiate us with its fruits(Sirach 24: 8-12; 18f.)." 57

Lastly, the author included several additional final reflections upon Our Lady in the context of the PF. They are worth translating in order to bring to a close our summary on this author’s article.

57 Ibid. p. 238. "La precision terminológica de S. Ignacio hace que use el verbo "conducir", en vez del verbo "llevar" con matiz quizás determinista o iluminista, en el sentido de orientar, poner en camino, guiar: incluso la expresión "conducir para el fin" tal vez por "conducir al fin", se adecúa mejor a un servicio permanente a la libertad personal, rasgo delicado que corresponde a la mediación de la Virgen María./También desde otra perspectiva parece descubrirse en el PF el rostro dulce y humilde de la Virgen María. En esta segunda sección S. Ignacio establece el "Fundamento" sobre el que Dios Nuestro Señor trabaja en la "crianza" del hombre según el "Principio" de su Sabiduría: pues bien, la Sabiduría del Creador tiene un "fundamento, una tierra y una patria, tiene sus raíces en un pueblo, reside en una ciudad, tiene una casa donde mora a la que llena de gloria, es la Virgen María en el sentir secular de la Iglesia: ella es la madre del amor hermoso, en quien está toda la gracia del camino y de la verdad, la esperanza de vida y de virtud, para saciaros de sus frutos(Sir 24, 8-12; 18s.)."
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"Then in a similar form St. Ignatius exhorts us in the PF, that overcoming indifference, to "desire and elect" the Foundation, that which conducts us more towards the end, in order to praise, to reverence and to serve Christ our Lord: this more conducive concrete mediation is the Virgin Mary.

Here one is able to have the most perfect expression of that ancient knight who used to dream about feats for a high Lady, converted now into a pilgrim and lover of the Virgin Mary of Montserrat: "only desiring and choosing Our Lady."

Since a heart liberated by the asceticism of indifference is capable of such a total and faithful love, and it is called to a bond (compromiso) of love with this new Woman, the blessed one among women, the Virgin Mary: only desiring, thinking, dreaming with much concern(affecto) for Her, and choosing, endeavoring, loving, consecrating oneself to Our Lady...

But now Christ, Creator God, presents the new woman to the disciple in order that she be his inspirer to actions, his encourager, his companion: "Look, she is your Mother"(John 19:27), the one who is conducts more to the Master of true Wisdom.

Mary as Mother is producer and "creator" of "living" persons (los hombres), as Woman she prepares the table for putting in the leaven (Luke 13: 20f.), that is to say, she disposes the indifferent heart and as Virgin she is the betrothed one (promitida) in the end of man, who neither eye has seen nor ear has heard nor the heart of man dreamt (1 Cor 2:9).

58 Ibid., pp. 239ff. [I] "Pues en forma semejante S. Ignacio en el PF nos exhorta, superando la indiferencia, a "desear y elegir" el Fundamento, lo que más nos conduce para el fin, para alabar, hacer reverencia y servir a Cristo Nuestro Señor: esta concreta mediación más conducente es la Virgen María./[II]Y siguiendo la estructura bimembre del PF, así como el fin del hombre, su consumación en el Hombre Dios, tiene como "Principio" o Ley la imitación de Cristo Nuestro Señor, así el medio que más nos conduce a este fin, la humildad o "Fundamento" es el amor y la imitación de la Virgen María Nuestra Señora, que es la esclava del Señor./[III] Aquí puede estar la expresión más cabal de aquel antiguo caballero que soñaba en hazañas por una alta dama, convertido ahora en peregrino y enamorado de la Virgen María en Monserrat: "solamente deseando y eligiendo a Nuestra Señora". Porque un corazón liberado por la ascética de la indiferencia es capaz de un amor así, total y fiel, y es llamado a un compromiso de amor con esta Mujer nueva, la bendita de las mujeres, la Virgen María: solamente deseando, pensando, soñando con mucho afecto en Ella, y eligiendo, queriendo, amando, consagrándose a Nuestra Señora....//Resumiendo lo dicho hasta aquí: la crianza creational del hombre postula un Criador con rostro materno; los ejercicios espirituales que son pasos del hombre ordenados y encaminados al fin de la crianza, necesitan de una gracia sugestiva, de un don de vida bella, que es la mujer original, la compañera; la salvación de ánima con término final del proceso de la creación, contrariamente a la muerte como fin dispregador del la existencia humana, exige la plena unidad originaria del hombre, que es varón y
Conclusions and Reflections: Durana

Fr. Durana’s article is an example of theological discourse that has engaged the cultural and theological expressions of Marian presence in the text of the Spiritual Exercises. Not only has he engaged in this difficult course of theological and cultural discourse, in relationship to Ignatian spirituality, Marian theology and Psychology, but he expressed a whole new language in which to talk about the spiritual transformation that involves Mary and speaks cross disciplinary lines to Ignatian, Marian and other theologians.

The work of Fr. Durana is, perhaps, the most profound contribution of all the authors. He goes far beyond the simple content of the “dictation” of the Spiritual Exercises to reach more deeply into the heart of the relationship between Ignatius and Mary. In this way, he also expresses in the most concrete way the reality in the exercitant’s life that places him or her in relationship with Mary, Jesus and God, the Father. Yet, again, his contribution gives an immediate focus to the place of Mary, Our Lady, in the Spiritual Exercises although the original meditation on the PR makes no explicit mention of her name.

As the "Foundation," the Virgin Mary offers the "more conductive mediation."
His treatment of the "negative" and "positive" understanding of "indifference" as "conduction." By conduction, he means "disposing us," "conducting us," through her mediation to the source that is God, God's mercy, etc. Negatively, this conduction means that the mediator offers no resistance. Some conductors offer more resistance than others like the difference between iron and platinum in conducting electricity, the latter being the most conductive. The more conductive mediator, unlike certain creatures that hold onto our hearts, takes no possession of us allowing the Kingdom alone to be available to us and conducting us "in full liberty of our self giving to the Lord." Positively, this conduction refers to the "ability" of the mediator "to signify the conductive means which most rapidly and immediately leads to the end." In the case of Mary, "while being carried jointly through her, we are configured to Her, who is the most excellent work of God's creation," reaching thereby "the greatest perfection of our created design" as human beings.

The "Principle or Law" refers to the "Wisdom" for our "imitation of Christ Our Lord." The "most conductive means" to this "end" of "imitation of Christ" is the attitude of "humility" suggested in the "Foundation" which is the Virgin Mary. Fr. Durana calls this attitude, in addition, "love and imitation of the Virgin Mary, Our Lady."

The author added to this description of the Virgin the words, "slave of the Lord." We do not have the time nor space here to pursue this long and valuable tradition of "schiavitù." But, the author, himself, connected his explanation directly with the
The bond between the two is the "compromiso" which also suggests a bond as Christians to the Church represented by Mary, beginning with our Baptism.

The image of Mary, Our Lady, as "Lady-Queen-Mother," is not out of place in the context described by Fr. Durana. Mary as the "Lady-Queen-Mother" offers at once a broader and yet a more concrete metaphorical ground for the idea that Fr. Durana seems to be developing. But, further work would have to be done to see whether the relationship between the knight and the Lady, as Fr. Durana seemed to be suggesting, was what Beatrice da Silva and/or Louis de Montfort had in mind when they, respectively, originated and developed the concept of Marian "slavery." But, no doubt whatever the

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60 FN, I, Acta P. lgnatii, p. 370, #6, lines70-79. "Y de muchas cosas vanas que se le ofrecían, una tenía tanto poseído su corazón, que se estaba luego embevido en pensar en ella dos y tres y 4 horas sin sentirlo, imaginando lo que habia de hacer en servicio de una señora, los medios que tomaría para poder ir a la tierra donde ella estaba, los motes, las palabras que le diría, los hechos de armas que haría en su servicio. Y estaba con esto tan envanecido, que no miraba qué imposible era poderlo alcanzar; porque la señora no era de vulgar nobleza: no condesa, ni duquesa, mas era su estado más alto que ninguno de estas." Tylenda's translation: "Of the many idle things that came to him, one took such a hold on his heart that, without his realizing it, engrossed him for two or three hours at a time. He dreamed what he would achieve in the service of a certain lady and thought of the means he would take to go to the land where she lived, the clever saying and words he would speak to her, and the knightly deeds he would perform for her. He was so enraptured with these thoughts of his that he never considered how impossible it was for him to accomplish them, for the lady was not one of the lesser nobility, neither was she a countess, nor a duchess, but her station was much higher than any of these." By this connection with slavery, Fr. Durana seems to equate the "lady" of Ignatius' dreams with Mary or at least suggest such a connection. A substantial amount of research and speculation has taken place around the topic of who this "señora" was. Cf. Ibid., pp. 371f., n. 15, for some of the basic studies about who this woman was.
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source, the concept of knighthood understood as holy, a lo divino, must play a role in Fr. Durana’s understanding of her intercession and mediation.

Fr. Durana’s begins with the suggestion that Ignatius first converted into a "pilgrim and lover of the Virgin Mary of Montserrat." Whatever the expression of the initial relationship between Ignatius and Mary, the foundational expression of that relationship lies in Ignatius’ relationship with the "Lady-Queen-Mother" left implied in his life and writings, but manifest in the images of Our Lady that companioned him on his way.

In this context, Fr. Durana articulated something that is not easy to put in words. The Spiritual Exercises attempt to articulate a process and way of spiritual growth and development that involves Mary's mediation. The author calls this process "la crianza creational"("creational upbringing"), a kind of creation of human beings in the order of grace, one brought about by offering "ordered" and "guiding" "steps" toward the goal of growth and development in the human person's soul and life. The "suggestive grace", "the gift of beautiful love," "the original woman," "the female companion," all in this process of "cultivation" and "salvation" of the soul, is the Virgin Mary, Our Lady.

Getting back to the "original unity" for men and women involves the "unity" between man and woman reflected in the union between the hearts of Jesus and Mary.

The profoundness of Fr. Durana's vision comes out in his further articulation of this process of cultivation. He pointed out that God carries on this special kind of creation, the process going on in human persons, by "engaging and embracing" human persons "as a maternal womb" and as a mother "anxious for the birth" of her child. 61

61 These words may remind the reader of the “creation scene” in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel where God, the Father, touches with the tip of the index finger on the right hand the tip of the index finger
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Durana articulated Mary's specific role in this process of cultivation of the "new man" in terms of the "son of the serpent" and the "son of the Woman." These two came into the world as part of every human being. The "son of the Woman" wants to proceed according to the Divine Wisdom, or in terms of the "tantum quantum" traditionally recommended in the PF meditation, "using things in as much as they help us achieve our end of praising, loving and serving God." Thus, the need for conversion in each person is a need for "indifference," for the "asceticism of indifference" against concupiscence in which the individual person learns to "crush the head" of the serpent and the serpent's offspring in "imitation of the woman (Genesis 3:15)."

Fr. Durana's last pages spoke about the "heart" "healed of concupiscence." He seemed to mean that the heart of the person would be "strengthened," in the sense that, the human heart "recovers the strength of the original affectivity and the unique love and fidelity in the New Woman," in this way, "finding for oneself, the road lost when the woman lost herself through sin."

Fr. Durana's development of the meaning of the notion of the New Woman does not put blame on a notion of "the Woman," or even upon the historical Eve, or some other contemporary woman, blaming them for the "fall" of men. Rather, his insight seems to offer the possibility of an alternative interpretation that seems to come from Jungian psychology.

The "Woman" refers to the psychological feminine in both men and women. Each person has to develop their proper balance between the two aspects of the feminine and the masculine. The balance will show in choices. These choices reflect either "the
inordinate” choices, which are in line with the “old Woman,” or “old Man,” within, or, in line with the “New Man” and “New Woman,” who are more integrated, more free to choose “tantum quantum” (in as much as creatures lead to our end as human beings) in terms of the use of creatures in our lives (our properly Christian or spiritual consumerism).

The recovery of the "original affectivity" seems to go a long way toward describing the experience that Ignatius had on his bed of convalescence at Loyola when he began to read his consolations and desolations in a way that changed the direction of his life. He "experienced" consolation which rearranged his own affective constitution, seeming to overcome concupiscence into the future, so that, years later, he was able to claim that, as a result of that experience, he had not deliberately given even the slightest consent (minimo consenso) to the things of “the flesh”, far beyond genital sexual expressions along, during the intervening years.  

In the Spiritual Diary, that "original affectivity" was perhaps, the "Foundation" and backdrop for St. Ignatius to feel the "shame" and her shame when he came before his Eternal King and His Mother, the Eternal Queen and Lady.

In the context of the prayer of shame reported in the Spiritual Diary, the affective exchange between Ignatius and Our Lady may be the model for assessing and reassessing the parameters for the most effective kind of prayer in Her presence. The "chivalric metaphor" offers both historical and mystical elements that help focus the attention of the individual retreatant in such prayer and give concrete existential meaning to the abstract notions often perceived in the Exercises.

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62 FN, 1, Acta P. Ignatii, p. 376, #10, lines 40f. "...nunca mas tuvo ni un minimo consenso en cosas de carne; y por este efeto se puede juzgar haber sido la cosa de Dios..." Emphasis mine.
Moreover, it seems to me that Fr. Durana saw these events correctly in the context of another key Marian scriptural text taken from John's Gospel, namely, Chapter 19, verse 17, "Mira, es tu Madre, (Jn 19,27)". "Look, it is your Mother," as he quoted it. Therein, Christ presented "the new woman to the disciple in order that she can be the inspirer of his actions, his encourager, (and) his companion."

This connection with the "woman" of John's Gospel is also reminiscent of the working of the psychological Feminine. Christ presented her to the Disciple because she was the one who would be most "conductive," the one who would lead the disciple most easily to Himself, "to the Master of true Wisdom."

In this sense, the notion of the psychological Feminine could enrich our understanding of how the New Woman, Mary, Our Lady, Queen and Mother, operates within our souls to bring new life, to "create us anew" as those who are "alive in Christ."

On the one hand, when she is ignored, she is no longer inspirer, encourager and companion in the order of grace and, just as with the psychological Feminine, the door is opened for the "dark side" to emerge. On the other hand, when she is allowed to inspire, to encourage and to companion us in grace, we are strengthened by her Son so as to overcome any and all inclinations that would cause us to deviate from Him, the Way, the Truth and the Life.

In this situation, Our Lady took on roles reminiscent of the knight-Lady relationship for Fr. Durana. She did this in terms of the title of the "Gestadora," "the incitor to heroic actions." As "Lady," she was the "directress of feats or tasks to be carried out." Here she suggests the actions that the knight must complete to please her
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Lord. Might not the Cana passage apply here also? "Do whatever he tells you (John 2.6)."

At the same time, she is the knight’s "nurturer" or supporter. She does this by having him constantly in her thoughts and prayers throughout his quest. In this way, she would be his constant "companion" as does she by means of the token object or scarf the lady leaves with him.

Lastly, Fr. Durana offered several additional images and roles that sum up Mary’s place and role in the process of the "cultivation" of the soul toward "salvation." In this way, he spoke of the "engendradora," the "generator," the "female generator" or female producer of a certain kind of offspring. She was, in this same sense, "la criadora," "female creator" (New Eve) of these beings made "alive" or given the same life as her Son.

The author's third image is the best use of the "leavening" metaphor that I have ever heard to express Mary's mediation. By means of this metaphor, he attempted to illustrate the meaning of these two previous titles associating them with the process of "leavening" bread dough. Mary as "Mujer" was linked with the woman of the Gospel of Luke 13: 20, ("To what should I compare the kingdom of God?), it is like yeast that a woman took and mixed in with three measures of flour until all of it was leavened."

This "leavening" of the bread described how, as Woman, she disposed "the indifferent heart" and, as Virgin, she signifies the "promised one," the one who is part of

64 Whether Fr. Durana meant the connection or not, one arises with the Eucharist by means of this image of bread-making. Leavening, too, may well give us some deeper insight into Mary's role not only in the Eucharist, but also in the Church of the Eucharistic Christ, Crucified and Risen. If we were to attempt to see this "leavening" in terms of her previously associated titles in this context, we see her work of leaving as "engendering" and "creating." But, more, that engendering and creating, that inspiration and support, are linked inextricably with disposing the "indifferent" individual to follow the will of God as
the "end" of man. As such, she is the one whom we can hardly imagine, or believe what others might say about her, let alone the dreams dreamt about Her in the hearts of men and women.

**Lafontaine: Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola**

Fr. Lafontaine\(^{65}\) aimed at discovering the presence of Mary precisely and comprehensively. He began with the insight of Fr. Giuliani as his point of departure, namely the two types of prayer recommended in the *Exercises* that include Mary, the scriptural and the colloquial forms, or more precisely, "the body of certain contemplations including the preambles and points and the colloquies. These two presences distinguish her presence as "at once autonomous and interdependent."

Ignatius "situates her in the course of evangelical history to be contemplated." That place her in the "glory of the Eternal King at the heart of the current affairs of the Church in which she intercedes in favor of the retreatant." These two perspectives on the Marian presence "find their unity in the dynamic structure of the Weeks of the Exercises because of the grace to obtain through the intercession of Mary... which corresponds to the 'tropological sense(interpreting scripture in a figurative, moralistic sense rather than in a literal sense) that Ignatius assigns to the contemplated history." The author pointed out that this "tropological sense" in the Autograph version of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* becomes the "literal sense" in the Vulgate version.

After an in-depth analysis of the title, Our Lady, and her place and function in the Triple Colloquy throughout the *Exercises*, the author discussed the meaning of manifest in Christ, poor and humble. And, his Eucharistic flesh is indeed made up of the "poor" and "humble" in the Church and in the World around us. Through Mary, we come to realize that this Eucharistic flesh of her Son is the same in her in as much as Her flesh is like His own.

contemplation as a means for the exercitant to literally “place themselves in ecstasy” with regard to the “evangelical or gospel history” and then reflect on himself or herself in light of that history. For the author, the loss of the title Our Lady makes the exercitant lose the “sovereignty of Mary.” This title is “privileged” in that it reminds us that “literal history is charged with a spiritual sense.” Yet, the original inspiration of the Spanish pilgrim, Ignatius, was “secondary,” including the footnote which made explicit that he was talking about any influence by St. Bernard in the choice of the Triple Colloquy, etc.

Lastly, the author characterized the “Mariology” of the Spiritual Exercises in terms of three presences. First, the “praying-presence”(priante) of the “glorious mother” who intercedes as “Our Lady.” Second, the “virginal and maternal presence” at the “paschal hour announced by the mysteries of the infancy.” Third, the “spiritual presence” in the Church, “Bride of Christ and Our Mother.” As such, she is involved in the “enterprise of conversion,” in “discernment,” in “conformation to Cross and Glory.” She is he “door that opens the Door,” namely, the “port” that “opens the spiritual way in its Trinitarian analogy—the triple colloquy.” She teaches us through “mortal birth” about “immortal rebirth.”

Conclusions and Reflections: Lafontaine

Lafontaine’s presentation was a significant intratextual analysis of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises. His abundant insights show the significance of his method and grasp of the material connecting at least at couple of points with the poetry of Hopkins and the theology of Thomas Aquinas, Przywara, de la Margarie and several other contemporary french theologians.
I concurred with his conclusion about the importance of the title, Our Lady, for Mary and his contention that the differences between the Autograph and Vulgate versions of the Spiritual Exercises are noteworthy and significant in their implications for the appropriation of the messages of the Exercises. If I understood him correctly, however, for the same reasons he gives in support of the title “Our Lady,” I did not agree with discarding the “feudal” metaphor as it is key in giving a precise meaning to role of Mary associated with the title of Mary as Our Lady. The very existential and historical realism that he hopes to retain by means of the title “Our Lady,” and that he feels is so absolutely necessary for interpreting the Exercises, is not diminished by association with the “historical feudal” category of “lady” but, in my estimation, is enhanced for the exercitant familiar with the implications of the “feudal” metaphor. The “feudal metaphor,” in my estimation, is an essential element in characterizing the Marian presence as “intercessory” and “mediatory” in terms of the actual text of the Exercises viewed in conjunction with other writings, especially, the Spiritual Diary.

The author’s characterization of the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises is a wonderful synthesis of Mary’s presence in the contemplations, encompassing both the mortal and the immortal aspects expressed in Church teaching, Our Lady and the Glorious Mother praying, the virginal and maternal in the infancy and passion narratives and “our mother” and “Bride,” as “spiritual presence” in Holy mother heirarchical Church.
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Kolvenbach: Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises and Linguistic Analysis

Fr. Kolvenbach has gifted us with two articles of particular interest with regard to the Marian presence in the Spiritual Exercises.

In the first article, he studies Mary in under the title of Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises touching upon most of the points that Giuliani, Lafontaine and others have considered in the text. The new material that he brought to the text was the linguistic terms "narrative" and "functional" presence to describe the dual presence named earlier by Giuliani and Lafontaine. Barthes insight about the four authors of the text of the Exercises leads the author to name Mary a "co-author" of the text in terms of her "functional role" and as a more reasonable interpretation of the influence wielded upon Ignatius than what was suggested in the "pious hyperbole" of the "dictation" metaphor.

His second article was a linguistic interpretation of the Spiritual Exercises in which the author proceeded to point out the "four actors associated with utilizing and practicing the text of the Exercises." One theory, he noted would describe these "actors" as "co-authors" in writing the text anew here and now. First, the one who produced the text, Inigo de Loyola. Second, the one who uses the text in order to pass it on (the giver). Three, the one who appropriates personally what given to him from the text (the receiver). Four, "the Lord who has been petitioned to complete the challenge which the text facilitates."

Conclusions and Reflections: Kolvenbach

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The point that is of key importance here is that Fr. Kolvenbach develops the work of Giuliani and Lafontaine by elaborating their finding in linguistic terms that suggest the possibility of making other associations between the Marian presence in Ignatian spirituality and Marian Theology.

The “mystery of Mary in the mysteries of the Son” and the “colloquies” become the “narrative” and “functional” presence of Mary, respectively. Moreover, seeing Mary as a “co-author” of the Spiritual Exercises, means, primarily, that she is involved with the “receiver” (she is secondarily involved with the other authors who feed into the receiver’s authorship) in facilitating the authorship of the receiver’s own particular experience of the Spiritual Exercises.

As a co-author of the Exercises, the Marian presence generates a number of threads of discourse that makes up her line of communication with the receiver of the Exercises. The work of Fr. Giuliani, Fr. Kolvenbach and Fr. Roten helps us to recognize progressively and to name and understand, to some degree, the variety of discourse involved in this dialogue carried on in colloquy between Mary and the receiver of the Exercises. The receiver contemplates the “mysteries of Mary in those of her Son.” As we will see in the article by Fr. Roten, those threads of discourse include theological, cultural, faith and religious discourse linked with the images of Mary.

Roten: The Theological Image of Mary
Today, Faith and Culture

As my last address of the more recent secondary literature, I decided to include an article that allows me to bring another dimension to the work of Giuliani, Lafontaine and Kolvenbach, bringing a perspective of Marian Theology into Ignatian spirituality. Fr.
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Johann Roten, Director of the International Marian Research Institute at the University of Dayton is the director of my dissertation.

Originally, I avoided addressing this article for one major reason. The article did not have as its primary focus the relationship between St. Ignatius and Mary. The topic under discussion was German Mariology and, although an earlier reading proved to be quite interesting, it did not seem to have any particular application to the present task. I had not yet clarified for myself the significance of the distinction between the “narrative” and the “functional” texts in the Spiritual Exercises. I had not yet seen the dual Marian presence in relationship to theological and spiritual discourse, whether theological, cultural, faith or religious discourse. Neither did I see yet the significance of this variety of discourses in relationship to doing contextual theology, theology “grounded in scripture, taking its measure from tradition, further qualified by culture in its most general acceptation and actualized in a specific social setting.” When I began to see connections between these terms, the article took on greater significance for Marian theology within the context of Ignatian spirituality.

Once the distinction became clear between the two dimensions of Marian presence and these categories of theological, faith, culture and religious discourse combined, something new began to happen. The three entities, scripture, colloquy and discourse combined to form a flow chart of what goes on in the process of the Spiritual Exercises. At the same time, three dimensional chart allows us to imagine (in the best sense of the term) some of the elements involved in the “fuller Marian presence,” when these three entities emerge animating the minds and hearts of individual exercitants or groups who view themselves as “self-exercising.” That is, the unification of these two
contexts—the contemplations of scriptural passages that include Mary and the colloquies that include Mary—together with the categories used to approach and describe the resulting “spiritual experience” in the receiver of the *Exercises* actually indicate the boundaries of a context that describes the “fuller animating sense” in which Mary is present in the experience of the Exercises as “actor” and “co-author” with the exercitant in the creation or production of the their personalized spiritual exercises. As exploratory subjects in relation to Ignatian spirituality, for example, Feminist Theological reflection on Marian Theological discourse and Marian Theological reflection on Jungian Psychological discourse bring new theological and cultural findings from inquiries from both sides that both disturb and enrich the theological reflection and elective choices of individuals and communities.

In any case, upon re-reading the article, I recently decided that there could be a significant application made to the Spanish, French, Italian and North American Mariologies. The author’s depiction of the cultures that interacted with German Mariology, or those with which this theology needed to interact in the perception of the author, seemed to clarify for me the kind of dialogue that has to go on in any given Church, country (gathering of cultures), or community between Mariology (Marian Theology) and the plurality of cultures present. As the author indicated in at least one place, North American theologians, among others, can make their own helpful applications of this dynamic effort regarding elements of “theology, faith, culture and religion” in their own situations. Fr. Roten succeeded in articulating an important point that seems to apply fully in relationship to the Marian presence in Ignatian spirituality.

“...isn’t the contemporary discussion about faith and culture, faith and inculturation reflective in the first place (especially in
central European and North Atlantic countries) of the necessity to make faith again a living reality in our societies? We would like to restore its transformative character and retrieve its incarnational and eschatological meaningfulness. If such is the real thrust of inculturation, then contextualized mariology needs to develop or maintain a high cultural profile. Genuine theological discourse is in itself cultural, meaning among other things a largely independent history of ideas and their destiny. In a similar way, we have to make sure that the mariological discourse remains and/or becomes truly cultural in the sense of the above explained cultural analogy.\textsuperscript{67}

He went on to establish the broader and narrower contexts in which “inculturation” must take place if faith and culture are to be properly reconciled.

The parameters of inculturation, as used since the Synod of Bishops in 1977, oscillate between a sympathetic adaptation and/or appropriation of local culture and uncompromising fidelity to the basic faith in Christ. It reflects the age old problem of the relation of Christianity and culture. This rapport can be viewed as essentially confrontational, synthetic or Transformational (Niebuhr, Dulles).\textsuperscript{68}

From this first step at contextualization, the author focused upon the transformational model noting “that this model of transmission reveals a double concept of culture” operating “either with a concept of cultural relativism or with a concept of cultural analogy.”\textsuperscript{69} He then described these two concepts with examples and went on to offer some suggestions with regard to Mariology.

Respectively, the descriptions of cultural relativism and cultural analogy follow.

First,

\textsuperscript{67} J. Roten, S.M. L'Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, Atti del 10\textsuperscript{th} Simposio Internazionale Mariologico (Roma, 4-7 ottobre 1994), an English translation abstract a cura di Elio Peretto, Edizioni <<Marianum>> Roma, 1996, pp.93-137, especially, p. 101. It occurs to me that the recent(with the arrival of Fr. Roten especially) emphasis on Mary in Art represent an attempt of the Institute beyong the areas of theological discourse) to do what Fr. Roten is suggesting with regard to placing Mary in high cultural profile.

\textsuperscript{68} J. Roten, S.M. L'Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, p. 98.

\textsuperscript{69} J. Roten, S.M. L'Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, p. 99.
Cultural relativism tends to promote alienation between holders of different mariological cultures, for example, between the Mary of women and the Mary of men, between the Mary of South America and that of Europe. Continuity and communion in marian discourse are weakened.\(^70\)

In addition to these examples of cultural relativism within mariological cultures, similar alienation can arise between holders of different theologies or even different views held by religious orders, as history has shown among Jesuits and Dominicans. Thus, in the case of Ignatian spirituality, we have ask ourselves whether, as theologicans, preachers and teachers, conflict, neglect and/or isolationism have crept into our disciplines so that we emphasize Christological, Trinitarian and Social theologies to the exclusion of Marian discourse. These attitudes exist to the detriment of an “ecological” approach to theology where each theology has its niche in addressing the divine Mystery. For example, Marian theology seems somewhat more neglected in many local, regional and national expressions of North American Ignatian Spirituality and in other significant theological discourses outside of Marian centers. Relevance and ignorance more than malice, or even academic pride, seem to animate most who could give Marian Theology its proper place and function.

Cultural analogy attempts to reverse the trajectory of cultural relativism. It does not consider culture as normative. It recognizes the originality of each culture, but underlines at the same time the inadequacy of each... It also holds that there is a qualitative difference between cultures, depending in part on the degree of harmony with the divine order. In this sense, compatibility with the Gospel and Communion with the universal Church constitute two of the most important principles to assess cultures and promote inculturation... Cultural analogy attempts to strike a delicate balance between <<concrete universality>> and <<inclusive particularity>>(A. Dulles).\(^71\)

\(^70\) J. Roten, S.M. L’Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, p. 100.
And, in the interaction between the Gospel and persons in communion with the Church, between this “concrete universality” of the Gospel and “inclusive particularity” of the faith-response of individuals in communion with the Church, this qualitative “compatibility” and “inculturation” takes shape.

Second, the author made the following suggestions which lead him to two provisional conclusions about German Mariology and “four organizational principles” or “concentric” areas of concern that “have been used to situate the various levels of relationship” between “culture and Christianity.” These principles and areas of concern include theological culture, faith-culture, culture-oriented theological discourse and religious culture, which he then goes on to describe.

These four “principles” offer a means of structuring remarks about the material presented in previous chapters. The chapters include: 1) the presence of Mary in the life and works of St. Ignatius, 2) the historical research on the Marian Presence, 3) the two different perspectives on Mary’s presence in the earlier and more recent secondary Ignatian literature and, 3) the presence of Mary in Ignatian spirituality in relationship to Feminist Theology and Jungian Psychology.

A presentation, first of the author’s suggestions, then of his preliminary conclusions and lastly of his “principles” will clarify the attraction to this material and its relevance to the way of proceeding chosen in this final chapter and conclusions.

Since, in Fr. Roten’s opinion, “genuine theological discourse” is cultural, “among other things, meaning a largely independent history of ideas and their destiny....”, the “mariological discourse” must have the following characteristics. First, the image of

71 J. Roten, S.M. L’Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, pp. 100f.
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Mary must be "perceived, explored and expounded upon as a *concrete universal* where particularity avoids devisiveness and inclusiveness abstraction..." Second, the "particular cultural expressions of mariology should not be absolutized at the expense of doctrinal unity..." Third, the "Faith, confidence or trust in the transformative power of the theological person of Mary" is "integral" to any "genuinely cultural expression of mariological discourse." Mary's "concrete reality" as a person, and "the presence of her action" together, "constitute an eminently important factor of mariological inculturation."

Fourth, since liturgy "is one of the foremost expressions of Church culture...", "Historians, dogmaticians and theological anthropologists need to make regular reference to the liturgical dimension of mariology."

Fifth, the "integration" and "presence" of "liturgical reflection on Mary" into "...mariological discourse represents cultural relevance on two accounts. First, this liturgical reflection promotes and warrants the integration of mariology in genuine Church culture. Second, it connects the intellectual discourse about Mary with faith-culture, meaning a more popular expression of marian thought and praxis....".

He added a point about the spiritual dimension of Marian theology. "The liturgical dimension needs to be paralleled with the spiritual dimension. In fact, kneeling theology constitutes the litmus test of mariological discourse and its genuine inculturation. The personal spiritual relationship with Mary not only purifies and elevates theological thinking, it also establishes an effective link with faith-culture...."

About the Marian theologian and the spiritual dimension, he added. "The personal spiritual involvement of the mariologist is one of the only and most effective means to overcome the <<ivory tower>> mentality of academic theology, to
make theological discourse culturally relevant and to promote cultural reciprocity between faith-culture and theological culture."

Sixth, the failure to integrate Marian theological discipline into "the concert of theological disciplines" diminishes the importance of marilological discourse. "In other words, as mariology booms and flourishes... it also seems to be increasingly in danger of becoming an independent theological variable, which it is evidently not..."

Seventh, "...when we deal explicitly with the relation between theology (read here mariology) and culture the understanding of culture should be in the first place mainly that of religious culture." "Naturally, the escatological attitudes of any society are related in some way to the socio-political aspects of its culture. Nonetheless, it remains proper to theology to deal with culture mainly in its eschatological forms and expressions."

Two preliminary conclusions resulted from these suggestions. The second of these contains the "four principles" or "areas of concern" indicated by Fr. Roten and important for the application of his thought.

In the first preliminary conclusion, Fr. Roten makes the point that "German mariology is reflected positively and/or negatively in most of the seven suggestions." In his studies, the author was "able to pinpoint mariological reflections(made by various theologians)...operating with the model of cultural relativism as well as with the model of cultural analogy." 72

On a number of different levels, according to Fr. Roten, German Mariology focuses upon "Mary as concrete universal" and it "can also be characterized as being highly sensitive to particular cultural expressions of Mary, and their evaluation and

72 J. Roten, S.M. L’Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, p. 103.
critique in the light of doctrinal unity.” Available German publications, as well as faith-culture itself, seem to him to offer encouraging signs of giving “proper attention” to “spiritual and liturgical considerations” and growth in “marian piety.”

Under his second preliminary conclusion, Fr. Roten offered four terms that for him underlie these “developments about the relationship between culture and Christianity and the place of mariology therein.” The following list names the terms and they are described below in Fr. Roten’s words: theological culture, faith-culture, culture-oriented theological discourse and religious culture.

These four terms, and their descriptions, are important patterns of thought to keep in mind as background for our own analysis of the elements of Marian presence that appear in the different bodies of literature and appear in the various contexts so far in this dissertation.

One, the term “Theological culture designates the explicit mariological discourse, conducted by theologicans for theologians, and its recent history.... This discourse is mainly intra-theological, however it encompasses inter-theological dialogue (scil. Ecumenical dialogue) as well. The main points of reference of theological culture are those that constitute contextualized theology, namely, grounding in scripture, taking its measure for the tradition, qualified by generally accepted culture and actualized in a specific social setting, recalling Fr. Roten references.

Mariological discourse, thus understood, operates with a model of cultural analogy.” (p. 104)

“... theology, and thus mariology, need to be contextualized according to the guidelines derived from cultural analogy.

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73 J. Roten, S.M. L’Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, p. 104.
74 J. Roten, S.M. L’Immagine Teologica di Maria, oggi Fede e Cultura, p. 104.
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We can easily agree that contextualized mariology is grounded in scripture, takes its measure from ecclesial tradition, is further qualified by culture in its most general acceptation and actualized in a specific social setting (p. 101; cites Bevans, 1992).

Two, the author said that “Faith-culture”

“... contrasts [with] theological culture in so far as it is the expression of consciously lived and expressed marian faith.... Largely non-reflective, faith-culture does not oppose theological culture, but it does not necessarily relate to it either, at least not in an ongoing and mutually beneficial way. Faith-culture is the world of devotion as it is lived—with and without the Church—by the people. The doctrinal orthodoxy of faith-culture is not necessarily questioned or questionable.”

Three, “…culture-oriented theological discourse (hereafter “c.o.t.d.”)…” remains at a different level. “The self understanding of this marian discourse is primarily theological, however its primary concern, point of departure, articulation and final result is and remains cultural.”

According to Fr. Roten, when we talk about c.o.t.d., it is important to remember “… that this approach to Mary operates with the model of cultural relativism. It is neither theological culture nor faith-culture, because it is neither scripturally or ecclesially grounded, nor is its purpose to foster marian devotion (p. 105).”

Four, the term “religious culture designates a climate of pervasive religiosity difficult to ascertain and therefore difficult to deal with. Religious culture is not proper or exclusive to a specific denomination. It could also be characterized as absence of religious culture. Absent or present, what are contemporary expressions of religious culture in... countries and to which extent are they conducive to marian reality or at least to its cultural image?”(p. 105)
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Before attempting to apply these four "principles" as "criteria to the situation of marian and mariological discourse in German-speaking countries....", Fr. Roten pointed out some things he observed about these terms. He noted that

"theological culture (criterion 1) and "faith-culture (criterion 2) are naturally oriented toward each other. They complement each other, at least theoretically. Together, understood as axis of theological culture and faith-culture they constitute two important criteria to critically assess and evaluate the marian contents of criterion 3(culture-oriented theological discourse) and 4 (religious culture)(p. 105)."

As designated by Fr. Roten, "theoretical complementarity" exists between these two entities found in this dual "axis of theological culture and faith-culture." These two contextual axes combine with their "determinative and evaluative functions" for Marian theology. The content and function of these two cultural axes, along with the realization of their determinative and evaluative function, parallel the "narrative" and "functional" presence of Mary in the Spiritual Exercises. Thus, the "narrative" and "functional" presence of Mary make up the "axis of two cultures," namely, "theological culture" and "faith-culture," in the Spiritual Exercises. They are also "two criteria" used to "assess and evaluate" two other criteria namely, the "culture-oriented theological discourse" and the "religious culture."

Conclusions on Chapter 5

Respectively, the subjects of Jungian psychology and Feminist Theology qualify as "culturally oriented-theological discourse." In part, these two disciplines can be included within "religious cultural discourse" when those carrying on the discourse in these fields turn the light of one field upon the darkness in another. b Durana, for example, carries on an Marian theological discourse with other Jesuit religious priests and followers of Ignatius when he uses the term "woman" to refer to the presence of the
"old woman" and "old man" who are parallel to a "new woman" and "new man" in a human being, the latter being more "integrated" than the former. The new man and new woman have reached out for their "original affectivity" and arrived there through a process of conversion and an "asceticism of indifference" in which the "old man" or "old woman" crush the head of the "serpent" within themselves in imitation of the "New Woman" who leads the way. Two types of discourses emerge that raise questions and issues related to Marian theology and culture. In this discourse, interested parties can avail themselves of the fruits of both Psychology and Feminist Theology while remaining sensitive to the Church and the Tradition through the context of the Spiritual Exercises as a means of election(choice) and renewal in mission and ministry. More examples, need to be worked out in greater detail to show how, when and where to diminish cultural relativism and the alienation and division that comes with it by by addressing the compatibility of the interdisciplinary proposal with the delicate balance of Gospel and tradition normative in the Catholic community. Whether in retreats or spiritual direction, or some other time, the evaluation of the culturally relative, alienating elements, in a variety of disciplines, need to be addressed to test the balance between the "concrete universality" and the "inclusive particularity" of each. This can be done in a process of election and discernment when applied within the spirit of Ignatian principles offered within the Spiritual Exercises.

This kind of activity reaches into the boundaries of the relationship between Christianity and culture. But, the Marian presence may offer the best guide that we have to lead us through the maze of relativisms that tend to crush the hearts of the little ones who are left untended in the fields.
By articulating the Marian presence in terms beyond the legendary image of "dictation," Fr. Giuliani has cleared the way for us to deal with the Marian presence in terms of the Gospel that is personally appropriated. Fr. Kolvenbach may have given us an additional vocabulary to help us think about the scriptural narrative and appropriative colloquies of the Exercises in a way that can help us become more productive co-authors of a new and more authentic way through the mazes of life.
Conclusions

Chapter I: The Analysis of the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Sources

The analysis of the Marian presence in the Ignatian Sources confirmed the medieval aspects of Ignatian spirituality embedded in the life and writings of St. Ignatius Loyola. At Loyola and Arevalo, the atmosphere was in tune with the Spanish affection for devotion to Mary and was manifest in terms of artifacts and attitudes passed on to Inigo and eventually manifest in the life and works of St. Ignatius.

The medieval aspects of the devotion that were assimilated at Loyola and Arevalo, manifest themselves in his later “Saturday devotion” (attested to at Inquisition and by Araoz), his writing poetry or prayers to Mary and his post-Pamplona gesture to refurbish a Marian image and make vigils of arms at two major regional shrines.

The noble religious and Marian culture within which he lived continued to offer him support to live out his Marian devotion after his recovery from his Pamplona wounds and his conversion at Loyola. He continued to share his devotion to Mary, first, by writing the first draft of the Spiritual Exercises at Manresa, the text that was intimately linked with and principally derived from his spiritual reading and his personal spiritual experience at Loyola and Manresa. Jerusalem and Rome, among other places also became opportunities to share his devotion exemplified by sharing a specific formula linked with St. Bernard regarding Marian intercessory prayer that Inigo apparently adapted to form the Triple Colloquy of the Spiritual Exercises. Later, he also used
specially indulgenced Rosaries to share his devotion with lay and religious persons alike who could best benefit from them and benefit others as well.

In addition to these expressions and sharings, his other writings manifest the strong intercessory presence of Mary. In his Diary, though others were not meant to read the text, he allows outsiders to see how he experienced the colloquies with Mary in a personal way. His way of experiencing those colloquies was more reflective of the classic iconostasis of the Eastern Christian churches than of the models he used in the Spiritual Exercises, although the similarity with the Exercises was unmistakable in the parade of interceding angels and saints standing before the throne of God. This flexibility that he expressed in his use of the colloquies and his announcement of his shame and the shame of Our Lady on his behalf give ample reason to support the contention that his intercessor was the Mother of the King with impetrate power to support him. The reports here of her being "part and port" of all graces that he received and that her flesh was the same as her Son's reflect the intimacy of the Mother of the King and her Son.

The final versions of the colloquies expressed her intercessory role in a more formal and structured style, but added topics like knowledge of sin and the World and poverty, actual and spiritual, to the colloquies of the First and Second Weeks that enhanced the meaning of her presence in the spiritual life of individual Christians. These same Exercises include numerous titles of Mary and textual evidence that seem to support the image of the Mother of the King as the primary incessory image in the Exercises. These include Our Lady, Mother and Lady (parallel to Son and Lord), "the Mother," the glorious mother, Dolorosa and Blessed Mother in addition to phrases like "ignoble knight."
All of these findings confirmed the image of Mary, Mother of the King, personal intercessor for Ignatius and potential intercessor for those who feel comfortable in recommending themselves to her within this metaphor. The metaphor opens up the traditional Marian presence in scripture and colloquies of the Spiritual Exercises to new avenue linked with the age-old Christian task of authentically and creatively uniting Christianity and culture. The predominant images of Mary in those Exercises have a strategic place among the scriptures linked with the Election. These images and these texts can be instrumental in creating an environment that makes possible the articulation of a larger Marian presence that includes the cultures assimilated in each personality. In this way, the Marian presence may have a role in the discernment of the connection between Christianity and culture as initiated in the interaction involved in the prayer of the Spiritual Exercises.

Chapter II: The Historical Research on the Marian Presence During Medieval and Modern Times

After making an analysis and assessment of the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Sources, I turned my attention to some historical research on the Marian Presence during the medieval and modern times in order to look at the roots and the flowering of Marian theology between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.

The historical search placed roots firmly in the twelfth century with the eventual arrival of the Cluniac monks who brought with them the whole gamut of artifacts, shrines, monasteries, iconography, Christian fraternities, hymnology, privileges, titles, feasts, prayers, even devotion to the heart of Mary. It was a further delight to hear
the medieval contribution developed more keenly in the vocabulary of St. Bernard who
developed the relationships of chivalry in terms of “loving service” of the Lady Mary. At
the same time, it was most enlightening to realize how some other modern religious
scholars delved into the sixteenth century problems with this kind of application of
chivalric metaphor especially for Protestant brethren.

At the same time, two key themes arose that seemed quite helpful in very specific
ways with regard to the role of Mary in Ignatian spirituality. Those two themes were “the
feudal-courtroom” and the image of the “Mother of the King” or Gebira. If the analysis
of the Ignatian sources that reveal the importance of the Autograph text of the Spiritual
Exercises for the interpretation of the text, then the text sums up the cumulative images of
Mary in the image of Gebira or Mother of the King in terms of the “Lady, Queen and
Mother.” The image of the Mother of the King gives valuable content and context to
place and role of Mary within the scripture and colloquies of the Spiritual Exercises.
Moreover, the image of the Mother of the King takes on its full meaning in the context
of the “feudal courtroom,” while the place and role of Mary becomes more clear with the
courtroom as a context in which she acts as impetrate “intercessor.”

All of these efforts to plant the seeds of Marian devotion took root in the Spanish
souls. Leaders and the average persons very dedicated to Mary. Testimonies to this
devotion and affection grew up all over the nation as certain titles like Assumption and
Immaculate Conception, certain shrines and monasteries like Aranzazu and Montserrat,
extreme gestures of devotion against non-believers, developed into the Marian spirit of a
nation.
Thus, in the sixteenth century, it should have been no surprise that Spanish priests like Salmeron, Suarez, among others like Canisius and Bellarmine, were among the most first to develop the Mariology or Marian Theology as a discipline in itself and develop ways to promulgate this new knowledge by means of Catechetical tools called cathecisms. In the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation, some recent Jesuit scholars have picked up the themes of the renovation of prayer, scripture, intercession, the Gebira, Eastern Eucharistic practice, among other topics, to infuse new life into the Marian theology in this Post Vatican II era.

Chapter III: The Early Research on the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Tradition

The most focused early research on the Marian presence in the Ignatian commentators gradually moved to a consideration of the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the composition of the the Spiritual Exercises to St. Ignatius. In its most literal terms, the word came to mean that Mary “dictated” the Spiritual Exercises to St. Ignatius like a teacher dictating notes to a student who in turn writes them down in a word for word fashion. Questions arose in the literature about the exact meaning of this word “dictation,” but conflict also arose among Jesuit historians and Jesuit theologians, Jesuit spiritual directors and superiors over the observed fact that there was not clear documentation that this dictation actually took place in Ignatius’ life.

The body of literature addressed all of these issues. The conflict seemed to come down to the acceptance or rejection of a “pious tradition” in the Church. The rejection by some Jesuit Historians looking for valid documentation brought up numerous additional issues including, the inspiration of Ignatius, the inspiration of the Spiritual Exercises, the
authoritative statements of the Popes, the value of the testimonies of his close contemporaries, the veracity of renowned spiritual directors, the validity of reported apparitions that spoke to the issue and the authority of Jesuit Superiors who had just endorsed the event by the promulgation of a painted image of the event and spread the image throughout the Society.

"Primitive," in the sense of original, crude, but nonetheless fundamental, is one key ways of interpreting the relationship between Ignatius and Mary that has been termed "dictation" in the formulation of the Spiritual Exercises. In my estimation, it is most helpful to see this term as a first crude exploration of the meaning of prayer (exemplified by the relationship between Ignatius and Mary) in the Spiritual Exercises. That is, this attempt is primitive in relationship to the efforts that began here and extended from here to become the point of departure for a much more well articulated example of the meaning of the Marian presence and Marian prayer, the means by which that presence was determined in the context of the Spiritual Exercises. That is the story of Chapter IV.

Chapter IV: The More Recent Research on the Marian Presence in the Ignatian Tradition

Preliminary Remarks:

In this attempt to draw conclusions from the more recent research on the Marian presence in the Ignatian commentators, Fr. Giuliani’s classic article seems to be the point of departure. Giuliani’s article manifests a seachange in the way the text of the Exercises was examined with regard to Mary’s presence. Among the articles that I have read on Ignatius and Mary, he provides a break with focus upon the issue of "dictation" providing a new and concrete way of looking at the text of the Spiritual Exercises, the phenomenon
of Marian presence and the relationship between the receiver of the Exercises and Mary.

Giuliani takes the first step to get beyond the more primitive designation of the relationship between Ignatius and Mary implied in the meaning of "dictation." In this way, he opened the way for those who came after him to begin with the phenomenon of Mary's presence as it is and move from there in a variety of interdisciplinary ways as more recent authors have done.

**Beginning with Hyperbole**

This progress in Ignatian studies does not attempt to degrade or erase the work of the past. It only tries to step off the work of the past into the proper direction for the future. This metaphor of dictation was simply an earlier form of thinking about the relationship between Ignatius and Mary as much as it was an attempt to understand the origin of the Spiritual Exercises and their authority in spiritual matters in an age that looked for and expected that kind of certainty. The metaphor was effective in holding the attention of scholars long enough to make the necessary transition to more in-depth studies made possible by the progress and renewed interest in the theology of the Spiritual Exercises. That interest being stimulated, perhaps, to some degree, by the writings and comments of the Rahner brothers.

In essence, the "pious hyperbole" suggested by Fr. Watrigant did the job of creating the exchange between a teacher and student in a form that could be read in a multitude of ways from inspiration to influence, from influence to word for word instructions that became the text of the Exercises. The more scientifically minded historians of the times, however, did not accept the findings of those involved with the documentation nor the image of Ignatius and Mary that emerged during that period and spread throughout the Society. The dismissal of the existing documentation and the
spiritual authority of seers and their authoritative religious advocates was tempered by some actual studies of the text of the *Exercises* that showed an overwhelming presence of Mary which had to come from somewhere. The best insight recognized that an experience that took place in order for the verbal description and image to emerge. The insight itself was a classic description of the two major currents in Western spirituality known as the apophatic and kataphatic approaches, the former recommending the absence of images as the way to the experience of God and the latter recommends the use of images as the way to the experience of God. What saves us as we hang on the horns of the dilemma is the fact that the two ways seem to be complementary in that either will lead to the other if allowed.

**Beyond Hyperbole in the More Recent Research**

The more recent research still recalls the designation “pious hyperbole” in reference to the term “dictation.” Fr. Giuliani led later authors more deeply into the implications of the metaphor by exposing more the actual content of Mary’s presence in terms of its content, context and dynamics in the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*. With the emergence of the parallel texts of *Spiritual Exercises*, more authors have noticed the differences in the titles of Mary and have begun to extrapolate their meaning in the context of the *Exercises*, as did Fr. Giuliani.

On the one hand, Fr. Giuliani exposed the Marian presence in terms of the mysteries of Mary within the mystery of her Son and the Marian presence in the colloquies. On the other, Fr. Lafontaine studied Mary’s title “Our Lady” in the context of the contemplations and colloquies placing a great deal of emphasis on the presence of the title Our Lady for his understanding of her place, as I believe he should have done.
differed, however, with Fr. Lafontaine only in as much as I do not think he went far enough by simply dismissing the feudal and Bernardian dimensions of Ignatius' prayer.

Fr. Kolvenbach took up the same baton and carried it through with his own analysis of the text. Significantly, he added a few interdisciplinary categories of his own to increase the understanding of the place of Mary in the text. Taking his depiction of Marian presence as an additional "actor" with the receiver in the colloquies, she may also be, as he seems to suggest, a "co-author" in relationship to the "receiver" who writes his or her own Exercises as they go through the experience.

Fr. Kolvenbach added yet another set of important linguistic terms to describe the Marian presence in the mysteries and in the colloquies in terms of a "narrative" and the "functional" presence related to a dialogue with Mary in the course of the prayer of the Exercises. It is my contention that this description shows how the interaction of the scriptural and colloquial presence of Mary in the receiver can lay open the possibility of naming the results of this internal discourse in terms of interaction of "theology" and "personal faith." The spiritual experience arises from a personal dialogue of faith with the mystery of Mary within the mystery of her Son in the scripture. Add to the interaction of Marian scripture and personal faith, the internal and external spiritual experiences that result for engaging the scripture in faith and fuller expression of the Marian presence in the Exercises in action. This threefold interaction takes place within a process of discernment of spirits assumed in the Exercises for those attempting to make decisions without being under the influence of inordinate attachments and thus make an authentic Christian choice or election linked with God's plan for us.
This process is true, especially, when one uses the Third Time of Election in the reform of one’s life in relationship to the Rules for Thinking with the Church, especially, respect for tradition, relics, etc. This combination of mysteries, colloquies, spiritual experience and discernment make possible a “fuller sense” yet of the presence of Mary than has previously been articulated, one that brings her love to and touches the mystical body of her Son in terms of the internal experiential recognition of cosmic and personal sin, the world and spiritual and actual poverty in the process of “being placed with the Son” in mission and ministry.

An Attempt at Addition

A “fuller sense” of the Marian presence attempts to go beyond the interpretations of Fr. Giuliani and Fr. Kolvenbach though not without dependence upon their analysis and that of Fr. Lafontaine, let alone the previous medieval and modern research on the Marian presence. By combining their descriptions of the structure of the Marian presence with the dynamics of “repetition” and “colloquial” prayer, this “fulle sense” of Marian presence can emerge in the increased spiritual sensibility of the receiver. The resulting spiritual experience of the prayerful encounter with scripture, engaged in further by means of the colloquies, combines with a series of repetitions and additional colloquial prayers to create in a purifying internal dialogue between Mary and the individual that overflows into the external dialogue with the giver of the Spiritual Exercises.

Marian theological discourse is embedded in the interpretation of the scriptural passage related to Mary. The faith-discourse interacts with the theological discourse in personal prayer over the a scriptural passage. An internal response of the individual person or community to the theological discourse in the text emerges within the
individual or community. The interaction of the theological and faith discourses produces a personalized appropriation of the theological discourse on the part of the receiver who sorts and discerns the results of their prayer. In the case of theological and personal faith discourse calling for culturally oriented theological discourse in response, a response that brings about the reformation of a state in life, the receiver has to take the first opportunity to interact with one of the several actors in the text, but also with Mary who brings a balancing effect to the culturally oriented theological and religious discourse that can emerge from that encounter within the Exercises.

The election or choice in the Spiritual Exercises is the fertile ground where the seed of the fuller sense of the Marian presence may take root and multiply. The process of the election generates a variety of discourses within the exercitant who places them under scrutiny with the help of Jesus, first, but also with the help of their relationship with Ignatius and other co-authors of the Exercises, including the giver, their own faith, and God, the Father and Trinity, actors described by Fr. Kolvenbach in his linguistic approach.

Marian Presence and Cultures

Fr. Roten, a Marianist priest, articulated the variety of discourses that arose in a theological culture we know as Marian Theology. He studied the work of German Marian theologians in the twentieth century. His findings suggest that efforts in Marian theology are constituted by similar kinds of discourse that are being addressed differently depending upon the climate of theology and culture within a country.

From the work of Fr. Roten, discourses may emerge from the narrative and functional engagement with the presence of Mary to create a fuller sense of Marian
presence that incorporates or rejects the influences of theological, cultural, faith and religious cultures brought into play by the broader Church and world. In the encounter with the Marian presence within the context of the *Spiritual Exercises*, especially, the election, the exercitant has the opportunity to engage the reactions to the variety of cultures that emerge within the process of discernment of spirits. In this way, individuals and communities can throw into relief a variety of ordered or disordered affections that may influence decision-making.

**Interdisciplinary plus Intratextual**

Fr. Durana and Fr. Kolvenbach seemed to offer articulate new “interdisciplinary” approaches to addressing the Marian presence in the Ignatian context. Their findings do help in the “attempt to reverse the trajectory of cultural relativism.” Together with Fr. Giuliani, Fr. Lafontaine, and, to some degree, Fr. Brien and Fr. Roy, these authors provided helpful approaches to the text in itself, while articulating the Marian presence in some new ways, though not always making fully clear how they understood the Ignatian application of the regal metaphors which they seemed to assume as part of their assessment. Where this “chivalric metaphor” is neglected, side tracked or eliminated, the understanding of the *Spiritual Exercises* is diminished.

Fr. Kolvenbach’s description of the Marian presence in narrative and functional terms and his insight into the multiple “authors” of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* contribute greatly to the individual’s sense of the relevance of the Marian presence and the value of that presence in establishing criteria for evaluating the authentic Christian path that they hope to traverse. Fr. Kolvenbach developed an interpretation of the text that involves Mary which will make possible a culturally oriented theological discourse
arising from the normal prayer activity linked with the Election in the Exercises. Fr. Durana has done something similar by finding Mary where she had no apparent role namely in the text of the Principle and Foundation of the *Spiritual Exercises* to which he adds a viable element of Jungian interpretation. In this way, the Marian presence can become a part of numerous discourses that arise among theologians, lay persons, religious persons, in relationship to their prayer in finding an authentic reform of Christian life as part of their election.
Appendix I

The Cloth of Loyola's Allegiance:
The Marian Presence From Private Revelation to Spiritual Exercises

The Marian Citations at a glance
in the Life and Works of St. Ignatius Loyola

1. Introduction to Marian Citations at a glance

The appendix entitled, "Marian Citations at a glance in the Life and Works of St. Ignatius Loyola," synthesizes the Marian citations presented in Chapter Two of the published part of this dissertation. Chapter Two gathered and analyzed all of the pertinent texts related to Mary's presence in the life experiences and major written works of St. Ignatius Loyola. The footnotes in Chapter Two document the sources of the indicated Marian citations.

2. The Categories in the Summary of Citations at a Glance
   a. List of categories: At the top of the first page of citations, the terms "Locations," "Approximate and Exact Dates," "Events or Texts," and "Perceived images" appear in bold print.

   These categories indicate the main criteria used to analyze Marian citations in the Ignatian texts. The citations noting Marian presence take different forms and numerous Marian images emerge from these sources. The interpretation of the Marian images in these sources come depend upon, and are influenced by, the situations and the contexts of the various genres of writings in which they appear.

   b. Bold Headings: Locations: Geographical, Textual

   The heading termed "Locations" refers to the geographical and textual citations where the Marian events took place. Under the heading termed "Approximate and Exact Dates," the term "Approximate Dates" refers to an approximate year in which or after
which the noted events could have taken place. These “approximated” dates are in italicized print. The “exact dates” refer to textual citations easily known by means of publication dates for the document or intra-textual information. The latter dates appear in regular print. The bold heading termed “Events and Texts” refers to the experiences and textual citations that indicate, and/or describe, an experience of Mary by Ignatius, or a written reference to her in his works. And, the “Percieved Images” refer to my perceptions of the images associated with the various titles and descriptions of Mary reported by St. Ignatius in his life and works. The predominant images of Mary in the Ignatian experience and writings suggest the characteristic content of Marian theology in Ignatian spirituality.

The bold headings in the margins termed, “The Early Years,” or “The Courtly Life and aftermath,” or “the Journey Toward Jerusalem and Rome,” try to situate the details of the Marian presence in Ignatius’ life and works within the somewhat broader context of regional and global geography.

The events within the section on “The Early Years” are a diverse body of experiences that center around and derive from opportunities for Marian experiences. These Marian opportunities were part of the religious culture that existed during the childhood of Ignatius. To acknowledge the existence of these opportunities does not force the conclusion that these Marian events noted actually happened.

These experiences seem important not because Ignatius necessarily entered into them in a conscious manner, but because they were part of the religious imagination of the Castilian people around him. Most North American readers might be surprised to see the number of Marian devotions and amount of Marian devotion expressed among the people
surrounding Ignatius during his childhood. Other persons, with European and Spanish roots, may be somewhat less impressed thinking that these events were simply conventions carried on by the people. The historical devotion of Mediterranean peoples to Mary has been well documented to question here. Nonetheless, cultural circumstances and parental responsibilities of Ignatius' father and mother still carry a good deal of weight in determining what a child and a young son might experience by way of religious events. The availability and accessibility of these devotions suggests that devotion to Mary was part of the air breathe by Ignatius throughout his childhood and early youth.

The second period of Ignatius' life, "II. Courtly Life and Aftermath," includes the added dimension personal choice of Marian devotion. Newer studies have indicated some of the religious aspects of Ignatius life at court in terms of the DeCuellar Family that he lived with, the atmosphere of their home, the education of their sons for the priesthood and their circle of friends and relatives with a religious, indeed, a Franciscan spirit that seems to have been a significant influence among a number of Ignatius' relatives.

Two documented experiences depict a different stage of Ignatian devotion to Mary. The first experience took place during his experience at Court. Through trusted companions, we learned that he expressed a clear devotion to Mary by means of "prayers" or poetry that he composed "before" Our Lady in times of stress. The second occurred while he was recovering at Loyola from his wounds at Pamplona. His holy reading seems to have lead him to begin having holy desires related to imitating the generosity of the saints and to traveling to Jerusalem. As an apparent confirmation of these, he reported in his Autobiography that he experienced what he called a "visitation"
which he described as a "vision" or likeness of "Our Lady and the Holy Child, Jesus," one that gave him "great consolation." Not only did this religious image appear, but he experienced a kind of cleansing of his imagination which he described as the removal of all past images associated with "the flesh." This description suggests a profound conversion linked with the image of the Mother and the Son, one that penetrated to the point of origin ("the flesh") of sinful choices and suggested a total transformation of his soul.

The third period in his life, "Journey toward Jerusalem and Rome," began with his journey to Jerusalem via Naverette, Aranzazu, Montserrat and Manresa. The journey extended from there to Rome where he spent the last twelve years of his life. These specific citations reflect yet another stage in the development of Ignatius' Marian devotion.

This development seems to have progressed from his earlier more passive experiences as a child and youth to his own choices for Marian devotion in his writing during his young adulthood. Beginning with Manresa, Ignatius continued the contemplative relationship with Mary that began at Loyola. He began to use that experience apostolically in his conversations and letters and in his reports of Marian experience in his Spiritual Diary, experience that reflected the highest development of his Marian devotion. In combination with his previous work on the development of the text of the Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius then shared the sacred scripture and colloquies that make up the essence of the Marian presence in his life. The text of the Exercises reveal his preferred images of Mary as Our Lady, Queen and Glorious Mother, images that predominate in the Autograph version.
Lastly, there is the column indicating "Perceived images of Mary." This column of listing and descriptions of images have numerous sources. First, there are images that emerge from, or are associated with, religious artistic images of Mary and Jesus found in locations frequented by St. Ignatius, known by him or created by him, like his "rooms." Images of paintings, sculptures and mosaics, and various other kinds of artifacts, like the rosaries, the books of the Hours, the Little Office, etc., provide graphic images of Mary that are commonly known to all Catholic people except the most uneducated.

These categories indicate the main criteria used to analyze Marian citations in the Ignatian texts. The citations noting Marian presence take different forms and numerous Marian images emerge from these sources. The interpretation of the Marian images in these sources come depend upon, and are influenced by, the situations and the contexts of the various genres of writings in which they appear.

The graphic references to the titles of Mary in Ignatius' writings also suggest mental images, linked either to the artistic artifacts they refer to, or to titles like Our Lady, Queen, Mother, etc., used to describe Mary in a particular context in his writings. The exercise of the religious imagination plays a role in the interpretation of which images comes from which artifacts and titles of Mary.

The cumulative presence of these artifacts and titles found among the citations at a glance demonstrate the development of the consciousness of Ignatius with regard to the Marian presence and his reponse to her presence. The perception of Marian images in these sources become the basis for suggesting the worthiness of renewed attention given to the expressions of Ignatian expression of Marian devotion in the Spiritual Exercises.
The perception of these images in the contexts of the spiritual writings of St. Ignatius suggest implicit theologies of Mary like the "intercessory" theology/spirituality suggested mentally and verbally by the notion of the "The Mother of the King."

When applied to Mary under the images of Our Lady, Queen and Glorious Mother, the image and notion of the "Mother of the King" offers two points for consideration. The first point consists in noting the common title that Ignatius uses for Mary, "Our Lady" and specific women, "Ladies in the Lord." The second point includes several issues linked with the relationship between Ignatius and women. The first issue is the contention by some authors that the "images of Mary" are detrimental to the images of Christian women because these images cause them to become less assertive as persons with the consequences of second-class membership in the Church. The second issue builds upon the conclusion that I have drawn from the Ignatian citations that document his relationship with both Mary and specific women. That is, the greeting "Ladies in the Lord" suggests culturally-oriented faith-expression by Ignatius that expresses both respect, strength and religious conviction in his relationships with the women. Exactly, the reverse of the above contention that Marian images are detrimental, this and other images of Mary, especially, that of the "Mother of the King," properly understood and taught in context, have the evangelical and catechetical advantage of presenting at once the image of a powerfully assertive and socially sensitive woman in close motherly relationship with her son, for the benefit of all women and men. This was the imaginal and conceptual basis for the attitude toward Marian devotion and apostolic relationship with the women that developed during his lifetime.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approximate and exact Dates</th>
<th>Events or Texts</th>
<th>Perceived Images of Mary</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>I. Early Years:</strong></td>
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<td>Shrine of Our Lady of Olaz</td>
<td><em>After 1491</em></td>
<td>Legendary Visits to Hermitage/Shrine by Basque nurse, Maria Garin accompanied by Inigo;</td>
<td>Our Lady of Olaz; Mother and Son;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shrine of Our Lady of Elosiaga</td>
<td><em>After 1491</em></td>
<td>Possible personal Visit to Hermitage /Shrine administered by Sisters/Frielas;</td>
<td>Our Lady of Elosiaga; Mother and Son;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Loyola Chapel</td>
<td><em>After 1491</em></td>
<td>Visit to family chapel at Loyola castle with nave painting of the <em>Siete Angustias</em> (SA);</td>
<td>Painted image of the Mater Dolorosa /Sword and Pietá;</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Sebastian Soreasu (Inigo’s parish church)</td>
<td><em>After 1491</em></td>
<td>Marian Liturgies: Masses for Marian feasts, Offices, Rosaries, “Saturday Devotions,” Hymns dedicated to Mary, etc.</td>
<td>Marian Images in the Church</td>
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<td>New Loyola Castle Chapel</td>
<td><em>After 1498</em></td>
<td>Visit to family chapel during his convalescence from wounds;</td>
<td>Main altarpiece: Painting of the Annunciation—Mary and Angel;</td>
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<td>II. Courtly Life and Aftermath</td>
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<td><strong>Arevalo:</strong> home town of Juan Velasquez De Cuellar, Chief Accountant of Catholic Kings and host of Inigo Loyola</td>
<td><strong>1504-7 to 1518</strong></td>
<td>Living with religious artifacts, tapestries, libraries, teachers, sons studying for the priesthood and knighthood (Pages of Ferdinand), himself Page of Juan DeCuellar; in times of difficulty, he is reported to have written &quot;prayers&quot; before an image of Our Lady;</td>
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<td>Tapestries, artifacts included chivalric and Marian themes; painted and sculpted images; Franciscan influence; Our Lady of Angustias, patron of the town of Arevalo;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Najera</strong></td>
<td><strong>1516-1521</strong></td>
<td>Family Miracle stories and devotions to Our Lady of Montserrat;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Battle against the French army at Pamplona</strong></td>
<td><strong>1521</strong></td>
<td>Chapel of Our Lady in the Citadel; Proxy confession to lay colleague (St. Thomas) before battle;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Return home to Loyola Castle for recuperation</strong></td>
<td><strong>August-September 1521</strong></td>
<td>&quot;Visitation and vision:&quot; Vision of Mary and Child Jesus; Recording excerpts from Ludolf of Saxony and J. Voragine in blue ink for Our Lady's sayings and red for Our Lord's;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;Our Lady and the Holy Child Jesus&quot;;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Departure from Loyola after recovery from Pamplona injuries</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem in imitation of the saints; Wearing religious image of Our Lady on inner garment for protection and devotion;</td>
<td>“Siete Angustias”: one sword in heart—genre of Mater Dolorosa or Our Lady of Sorrows;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>III. Journey toward Jerusalem and Rome</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>a. Experiences along the Way to Jerusalem and Rome</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Navarette</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Renovation of an image of Our Lady in the Church of Our Lady in Navarette on the way to Montserrat and Jerusalem;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ofiáte</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Visit with priest-brother Pedro to Franciscan Sanctuary of Our Lady of Aranzazu possibly in attempt to be reconciled after youthful crimes;</td>
<td>“Black” Madonna and Child statue in stone, crowned, enthroned; Queen, Mother image suggested;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road to Montserrat</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Dialogue with Moor on Perpetual Virginity of Mary and with self on personal behavior toward the Moor;</td>
<td>Perpetual Virgin and Mother Mary;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Pilgrimage to Benedictine sanctuary of the “La Morenita”; Ceremony of knightly dedication to Our Lady before her altar and offering of <em>ex votos</em>—dagger &amp; sword;</td>
<td>Renaissance style, “Black” Madonna, la Morenita, carved wood, crowned, enthroned with</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Location Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>Town of Manresa</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Recitation of Little Office of Our Lady on steps of Dominican Church; Recitation of Hours; Liturgical music; visions of Our Lady like those of Jesus but &quot;without members;&quot; Our Lady leading to image of Trinity as three musical keys;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Divine Liturgy; Our Lady of the Holy Trinity;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit to the statue or image of Our Lady of the Guide at Manresa</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>Prayer of the Pilgrim along the way;</td>
<td>Image of Our Lady of the Way;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit to the Church of Our Lady of Villadordis</td>
<td>September of 1522</td>
<td>&quot;Swoon&quot; of Iñigo reported to result from a week of fasting and prayer at this church of Our Lady; the village women saved him from self-imposed extremes of behavior regarding food and clothing;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the poor; of prayer and fasting; Our Lady of Villadordis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit to Israel and Holy City of Jerusalem</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>Cave Chapel of the Nativity in Bethlehem; Holy Sepulcher Church and the doubing of knights among the men of his party; Tomb of Jesus; Mary and Resurrection; The Dormition or Transitus Church;</td>
<td>Pieta; Mater Dolorosa; Mother of Sorrows; Stabat Mater (Our Lady at the foot of the Cross); Our Lady of the Assumption;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcalá</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td>Encounter with Maria del Flor, penitent—recommendation of saint Mary of Egypt to Maria, and through Saint Mary of Egypt, Our Lady who was key in the reformation of Maria del Flor's life, was also recommended;</td>
<td>Our Lady of Divine Mercy?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Germain, Suburb of Paris</td>
<td>Before 1534</td>
<td>Inigo frequented this church along with his first Jesuit companions on Church Feasts and Sundays during the time of his studies at Paris;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Fields (Notre Dame des Champs);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>August 15, 1534</td>
<td>Private vows of poverty and chastity taken by the first Jesuits in the Church of Queen of Angels at Montmartre and in the chapel of St. Denis and companions, martyrs of the third century; church under the care of Benedictine nuns;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Assumption; Our Lady, Queen of Angels;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Azpeitia</td>
<td>1535</td>
<td>Visited Basque homeland after finishing studies at Paris; Preached at Shrine of Our Lady of Elosiaga: Using his part of the Loyola inheritance, Ignatius inaugurated the triple daily ringing of the Angelus Prayer at Loyola estate shrines as in Rome;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Elosiaga and Our Lady of the Annunciation or of the Angelus;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Storta</td>
<td>June 24, 1537</td>
<td>Mystical experience of being “placed with the Son” by the Father through the intercession of Our Lady on the road to Rome;</td>
<td>Our Lady, Mother of the Son and Lord; Mother of the Risen and Crucified Son;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Church of Spain in Rome</td>
<td>After Lent, 1538</td>
<td>Preaching in Castilian language at Hispanic National Church of Santa Maria de Montserrat;</td>
<td>Our Lady of Montserrat;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome in the Subterranean chapel containing the crib of Jesus in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore;</td>
<td>December 25, 1538</td>
<td>Ignatius celebrated his first Mass one and one half years after his ordination in Venice;</td>
<td>Mother and Child; Holy Family; Bethlehem of the Roman Church;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rome, in the Church of Santa Maria della Strada</td>
<td>February, 1541</td>
<td>First parish Church of the Society of Jesus; This first church was displaced by the erection of the Gesu Church of Rome in which the chapel of Our Lady of the Way was established in its place; The chapel of Our Lady lies on the left side of main altar, between the main altar and the altar where St. Ignatius is buried;</td>
<td>Santa Maria della Strada or Our Lady of the Street or Way: Cf. Hodogitria icon of Mother and Child, Jesus;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome, in the rooms of St. Ignatius at the Gesu Church, where he wrote</td>
<td>February, 1541</td>
<td>Mary interceded and confirmed the writing of parts of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus;</td>
<td>Madonna della Scrivania;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome, in as chapel of the Eucharist of the Basilica of St. Paul-Outside-the-Walls, cared for by Benedictine priests</td>
<td>April 22, 1541</td>
<td>First Jesuits made Solemn vows for the first time before the mosaic of the “Mother of the Lord” or “Mater Domini” mosaic image;</td>
<td>Hodegitria of the Mother and Son: The Mother of the Lord;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>b. Writings on the Journey to Rome and at Rome</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Letters to Women</td>
<td>December 6, 1524 from Venice</td>
<td>The letter to Inés Pascual is the first extant letter written by Ignatius and the first extant use of the Triple Colloquy format in print. In the letter, he uses the pattern of the three colloquies with emphasis on the first colloquy with Mary as intercessor. In the colloquy, he recommended recourse to Mary for intercession: “Pray to Our Lady to intercede between us sinners and her Son and to obtain for us in our labours and toil that our weak and sorry hearts may be changed into strong and joyful ones, to his praise.”</td>
<td>Our Lady, Queen-Mother of Mercy and Hope;</td>
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<td>November 10, 1532</td>
<td>Letter to Isabel Roser; Ignatius used the title “Mother of God” to whom Isabel might prayer to “merit more and more” injuries, thus, engrafting herself ever closer to Christ who suffered injuries for her and placing her in the context of the colloquy of the Two Standards meditation.</td>
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<td>May 24, 1541</td>
<td>Specially indulgenced Rosaries sent by Ignatius to his blood sister, Madalena de Loyola y Galaiztegui; he invited her to confession and Eucharist so that she would be united to God through faith, hope and charity; he sent a total of 18 rosaries to her as one means of doing what she desired, namely, “serving her Creator and Lord” and he sent specific additional instructions (unfortunately lost) about how “to enjoy such great treasures” and he wanted to be informed about her “spiritual profit.”</td>
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<td>July 24, 1545</td>
<td>Letter to the Anchoresses at Salamanca; Send them a “greater treasure” than can be “found in the whole earth and the whole of human power” for those who “seek only the love of their Creator and Lord and the salvation of their souls...” The rosaries contained graces granted to the Society by the Pope who blessed and touched them. He gave instructions about how they could be used as instruments of “grace and mission (unfortunately lost):” Beads from these rosaries placed on other rosaries may gather other indulgences and with repetitions linked to the age of Christ (30 X), their recitation would release a “soul from purgatory.” Two additional rosaries were given for “the most devout” sisters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 28, 1545</td>
<td>Letter to Leonor Mascarenhas; recommends Frs. Faber and Araoz for spiritual conversation and adds additional indulgences to her rosary as per written instructions (apparently lost as the others).</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Rosary;</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 24, 1545</td>
<td>Letter sent to Leonor Mascarenhas; acknowledged her thanks for the present of the beads which she keeps close to her; Ignatius saw the latter as a sign she was not forgetting the &quot;giver and fount of all good.&quot;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Rosary;</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 11, 1548</td>
<td>Letter to Leonor de Vega Osorio; wife of Regent of Sicily who was the former ambassador of Spain to the Vatican; Ignatius recounted the difficulties he had in discovering whether the indulgences had been removed from her rosaries by the Pope. He was happy to report that they had never been lost and that the indulgences were confirmed again for Ignatius by Pope himself.</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Rosary;</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 16, 1545</td>
<td>Letter of Juana de Cardona to Ignatius about her spiritual life including an extraordinary request for admission to the Society of Jesus; She was denied entry; In her request, she referred to Jesus and Mary as her &quot;mediators (medios).&quot; Mary viewed as Jesus' &quot;most sacred Mother&quot; and as the Immaculate Conception, &quot;by her holy conception.&quot;</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Rosary; Lady and Mother; Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception and Mary as mediator along with her Son, Jesus;</td>
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<tr>
<td>February, 1549</td>
<td>Letter from Heironima Oluja and Teresa Rejadella who were appealing to the &quot;glorious&quot; and &quot;blessed&quot; Mother of God as intercessor and as their hope. &quot;May the most glorious and blessed Mother of almighty God be our intercessor in so holy a business--that is our hope.&quot;</td>
<td>Glorious and Blessed Mother of God; Intercessor; Our Lady of Hope; Mother of God;</td>
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<td>February 5, 1550</td>
<td>Letter from Isabel Roser reported about her new life in the “holy monastery of Jerusalem” in Barcelona (Heironimite nuns). She referred to her confession to Ignatius in “the chapel of our Lady of the Wayside” and to the day she took her habit as “on the day of our Lady of Good Hope.” The full story of Isabel Roser requires more detail that can be provided here.</td>
<td>Our Lady of the Way; Our Lady of Good Hope;</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 18, 1552</td>
<td>Letter from Jeronima Pezzani reporting that she and a group of sisters have vowed obedience to Ignatius in the Society &quot;Before the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, before my Lord Jesus Christ and his holy and blessed Mother ever Virgin, and the court of heaven,...&quot;</td>
<td>Holy and blessed Mother ever Virgin;</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 15, 1554 &amp; April 20, 1554, respectively</td>
<td>Letters to Ignatius with header suggesting Jesus and Mary as mediators: “Jhs. Maria—by Maria del Gesso and Jesus Maria—by Sister Isabel Roser.</td>
<td>Mary as mediator;</td>
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</table>
Recorded in new residence of the Society adjoining the Church of Santa Maria della Strada, the first Church of the Society of Jesus

**1544-1545**

*Note*: The subject of these several extant pages of the Spiritual Diary of St. Ignatius is the process of discernment of spirits in deciding the parameters of evangelical poverty that ought to characterize the Society of Jesus. The question was should the funding of the Church and its ministries be separate from the funding of the Jesuit ministers who carry out the ministries. The end result was that the funding of the Church ought to be separate from that of the Jesuits who serve there.

February 2-6, 8, 9+13, 1544;

Our Lady and Poverty: Our Lady is interceding for him for “perfect poverty (5th and 6th of February) for the communities of the Society;” He celebrated a Mass of Our Lady; He experienced the mediation and prayers of the Mother present & offering to the Father: first he prayed to ask her for the grace of interceding with her Son and with the Father; then prayed to the Son to help with the Father in company with the Mother and then he felt the impulse to go to the Father (8th; emphasis mine). He prayed to Our Lady and the Holy Spirit regarding perfect poverty and was confirmed (11th). He took the Mother and the Son as his intercessors (13th);

Mother and the Son; Mother in company with the Son helping with the Father; Our Lady and the Holy Spirit related to perfect poverty; Mother and Son as intercessors;
| Mass of Our Lady in the Temple. Simeon. | February 15, 1544 | "I saw a likeness of our Lady, and realized how serious had been my fault of the other day, thinking that the Blessed Virgin felt ashamed at asking for me so often after my many failings, so much so, that our Lady hid herself from me, and I found no devotion either in her or from high. After this, as I did not find our Lady, I sought comfort on high, and there came upon me a great movement of tears and sobbing with a certain assurance that the Heavenly Father was showing Himself favorable and kindly, so much so, that He gave a sign that it would be pleasing to Him to be asked through our Lady, whom I could not see." | Our Lady(4X); the Blessed Virgin(1X); Our Lady of the Temple(of Jerusalem); Votive Mass of the the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple with the Gospel account of Simeon; Intercession with the Heavenly Father requested by Him to go through Our Lady; |
| The Text of the Spiritual Diary (cont.) | | | |
| Ibid. | "While preparing the altar, and after vesting, and during the Mass, very intense interior movements, and many and intense tears and sobbing, with frequent loss of speech, and also after the end of Mass, and for long periods during the Mass, preparing and afterwards, the clear view of our Lady, very propitious before the Father, to such an extent, that in the prayers to the Father, to the Son, and at the consecration, I could not help feeling and seeing her, as though she were a part, or the doorway, of all the grace I felt in my soul. At the consecration she showed that her flesh was in that of her Son, with such great light that I cannot write about it...." | Our Lady propitious before God the Father; Our Lady as "part or doorway of all grace in his soul (Mediatrix?); Gate of Heaven in Litany of Loreto? At the consecration of the Mass, Mary showed that her flesh was in that of the Son; Physical and Spiritual motherhood of Mary; Mary and the |
| The Text of the Spiritual Diary (cont.) | February 16th | “Finally, I determined to go on as usual, but was in some doubt as to where I should begin to commend myself, feeling a certain shame, or something of the kind, before our Mother.... While I made this offering and oblation (possessing nothing for the Church), once more the tears were of such a kind and so copious, the sobs so violent and the spiritual gifts so great, that after I had made it—to the Father in the presence of Our Lady, the Angels, etc—as the tears etc. continued, I felt no desire to rise but on the contrary longed to continue in that state which I was experiencing so intensely. Then at last, feeling great satisfaction, I rose, devotion and tears continuing all the while, with firm resolve to fulfill the oblation and all that had been offered. |

| Consecration of the Mass: Mother of the Mystical Body and Mother of Consecration to Christ through Baptism, Eucharist and Confirmation? | Our Lady, the Mother; The Father very favorable to an oblation (consecration) made in the presence of Our Lady and the Angels....; Ignatius moved by experience to make my offering of perfect poverty for the Church (della Strada?); Image of Our Lady with the Angels at the right hand of the Father in Heaven interceding for Ignatius? |
February 18th

"A moment later, thinking where I should begin, and recalling all the saints, I commended myself to them to ask our Lady and her Son to intercede for me with the Most Blessed Trinity, and with much devotion I found myself covered with tears. This I took as a confirmation of past offerings, meanwhile saying many things, beseeching and placing as intercessors the angels, the holy fathers, the apostles and disciples and all the saints, and so on, to intercede with our Lady and her Son, and again asking and begging them with long colloquies that my final confirmation and my thanks rise before the throne of the Most Holy Trinity; .... both at this moment and later with a great flood of tears... I made the final confirmation to the Most Holy Trinity, in the presence of the whole heavenly court, giving thanks with great affection, first to the Divine Persons, then to our Lady and to her Son, then to the angels, the holy fathers, the apostles and disciples(to all male and female saints, and to all persons for the help they had given me in this matter."

The Text of the Spiritual Diary (cont.)

Feb. 23rd

"While preparing the altar, the thought of Jesus occurring to me, I felt a movement to follow Him, it seemed to me interiorly, since He was the head of the Society, a greater argument to proceed in complete poverty than all the other human reasons, although I thought that all the reasons of the past elections tended towards the same decision... this feeling was enough to keep me firm in time of temptation or trial."

"I went along with these thoughts and vested while they increased, and took them as a confirmation, although I received no consolations on this point, because of its association with being placed with the Son, the La Storta event confirmed him in complete poverty following Jesus in this way.... The mention of La Storta as confirmation here harkens back to the intercessory role Our Lady played there..."
and thinking that the appearance of Jesus was in some way from the Most Holy Trinity, I recalled the day when the Father placed me with the Son.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Text of the Spiritual Diary (cont.)</th>
<th>March 7th</th>
<th>12th Mass of the Trinity with Triple Colloquy within; “At this time I felt these consolations indifferently, as they terminated now to the Most Holy Trinity, now to the Father, now to the Son, now to our Lady, now to particular saints with many tears.”</th>
<th>Our Lady of the Triple Colloquy;</th>
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<tr>
<td>March 9th, Mass of Second Sunday of Lent</td>
<td>“Wishing to apply myself to the Father, the Holy Spirit and our Lady, I found neither devotion nor any vision, the understanding or vision of the Most Holy Trinity and of Jesus remaining for some time.”</td>
<td>Desiring to be with Our Lady, the Father and the Holy Spirit.... Our Lady;</td>
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<td>March 11th</td>
<td>Devotion directed to Our Lady, but without seeing her</td>
<td>Mass “of Our Lady;”</td>
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<td>March 14th</td>
<td>Mass “of Our Lady;”</td>
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<td>March 16th</td>
<td>Last proposal before God Our Lord and all his Court, etc.</td>
<td>Sunday, Mass of the Day</td>
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<td>March 17th</td>
<td>Mass “of Our Lady”</td>
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<td>March 20th</td>
<td>Mass of “Lady”</td>
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<td>Text of the SpEx</td>
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<td>March 25th</td>
<td>&quot;...a vision of the Divine Essence, terminating in the Father, a circular figure several times, and all leading to respect (Vision).&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>The Text of the Spiritual Diary (cont.)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>March 29th</td>
<td><strong>Mass of &quot;Lady&quot;</strong></td>
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<td>April 21st</td>
<td><strong>Mass of &quot;Lady&quot;</strong></td>
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<td>May 14th</td>
<td><strong>Mass of &quot;Concepción Senora&quot;—Conception—Lady</strong></td>
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<td>May 21st</td>
<td><strong>Mass of &quot;Lady&quot;</strong></td>
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<td>July 2nd</td>
<td><strong>Mass of &quot;Visitation—Our Lady&quot;</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Spiritual Exercises (SpEx)</strong></td>
<td>Note: the text of the SpEx was put together over a long period of time beginning as early as his note taking on his bed of convalescence at Loyola and extending to Rome where a final version was approved by Paul III and promulgated in 1548.</td>
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<td><strong>The First Week: Text of the SpExs</strong></td>
<td>#47: First Exercise: Preparatory Prayer: First Prelude, prayer of composition of place; Our Lady or Jesus suggested as subjects</td>
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</table>
The Text of the First Week (cont.)

#62: Third Exercise: First Colloquy (familiar conversation with God, Persons of the Trinity, saints, Our Lady, etc.):

#63—prayer for knowledge of sins and abhorrence of the disorder of sin; obtain grace from the Son and Lord; obtain knowledge of the World... Colloquy and Ave Maria

The Second Week: Text of the SpExs

#91: "THE CALL OF THE TEMPORAL KING, AS AN AID TOWARD CONTtemplating THE LIFE OF THE ETERNAL KING"

Note: the textual headings and instructions recommend the use of the image of the feudal King as model for contemplating the Eternal Lord, Jesus Christ;

"...before your glorious mother..."

'Functional' context

'Narrative' content from within the text of the SpEx, but based upon Luke's Gospel

#98: Colloquy

#101: First Day, First Contemplation is of the Incarnation

#102: First Preamble:
Calling to mind the history of the subject... how the Three Divine Persons look down upon the whole expanse or circuit of all

Our Lady of the Incarnation;

Our Lady of the Annunciation;
The Text of the Second Week (cont.)

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<tr>
<th>The Text of the Second Week (cont.)</th>
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<td>the earth, filled with human beings... going down to the fire... (in) the fullness of time... they determined to make the Second Person Man to save human kind... in the fullness of time... they sent the Angel Gabriel to our Lady (Cf SpEx. #262, the Annunciation of Our Lady from the first chapter of Luke).”</td>
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<td># 103: Second Preamble: Composition of Place: see the whole world with so many and so diverse peoples and likewise afterwards, see in particular the house and room of Our Lady, in the city of Nazaret and the province of Galilee</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td># 106: First Point: See the persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>“...in such great diversity in dress and in manner of acting... Some are white, some black; some at peace, and some at war; ... weeping, some laughing; well, sick, some being born, some dying, etc... consider the Three Divine Persons seated on the royal dais or throne of Divine Majesty...”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>“...see Our Lady and the angel saluting her...”</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Our Lady of Loreto?

Our Lady of Loreto?

Image of people on earth in all their light and darkness;

Three Divine Persons enthroned in Heaven;

Our Lady greeted by the angel;
#107: Hear what people are saying

"... listen to what the persons on the face of the earth say, how they speak with one another, curse, blaspheme, etc., in the same way, listen to what the divine persons say... redemption,... etc. what the angel and Our Lady say and reflect and draw profit from their words."

#108: see what the persons do on the face of the earth, wound, kill, go down to hell, etc.

what the divine persons do, working the most holy incarnation, etc.;

the same for the angel and Our Lady, ....

"... the angel carrying out his office of legate and Our Lady humbling herself and giving thanks to the Divine Majesty, reflect, draw profit...”

#109: Colloquy "... what to say to the divine persons, the eternal incarnate World, or to the Mother and Our Lady, asking according to what one feels in order to better follow and imitate Our Lord, thus, newly
Supplemental scriptural content based upon the Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx #261ff.

#262: Of the Annunciation of Our Lady in the First chapter of Luke...

"The first point is that the angel Saint Gabriel, greeting Our Lady, announced the conception of Christ Our Lord. (Entering where Mary was, the angel greeted her, saying to her: you, full of grace, you will conceive in your womb and you will bear a son).

"The second, the angel confirms what he said to Our Lady, signifying the conception of St. John Baptist, saying to her: (And you will see that Elizabeth, your relative, has conceived a son in her old age)."

"The third, Our Lady responded to the angel: (I am here, the servant of the Lord; let it happen to me according to your word)."

#110: "The Second Contemplation is the Nativity"
Second Week contemplations (cont.)

#111: "The First Prelude is the history. Here it will be to recall how Our Lady, pregnant almost nine months and, as we may piously meditate, seated on an ass, together with Joseph and a servant girl leading an ox, set forth from Nazareth to go to Bethlehem and pay the tribute that Caesar imposed on all those lands."

#112: The Second Prelude. The composition, by imagining the place. Here it will be to see in imagination the road from Nazareth to Bethlehem. Consider Its length and breath, whether it is Level or winds through valleys And hills. Similarly, look at the Place or cave of the Nativity: How Big it is, or small? How low or High? And how is it furnished?

#113: The Third Prelude. The third will be the same as in the preceding contemplation, and made with the same procedure.

#114: The First Point. This is to see Our Lady, Joseph, the maidservant, and the infant Jesus after his birth. I will make Myself a poor, little, and Unworthy slave, gazing at them, Contemplating them, and serving them in their needs, just as if I were there, with all possible respect and reverence....reflect...draw profit....

Our Lady of Advent?
Our Lady Pregnant, with Joseph, the servant girl and ox set out for Bethlehem;

Our Lady pregnant on the road to Bethlehem; Our Lady pregnant in the cave;

Madonna and child;

Our Lady, Joseph, the maidservant and infant after his birth;
### The Text of the Second Week (cont.)

115: *The Second Point.* I will observe, consider, and contemplate what they are saying. Then, reflecting on myself, I will draw some profit.

116: *The Third Point.* This is to behold and consider what they are doing; for example, journeying and toiling, in order that the Lord may be born in greatest poverty, and that after so many hardships of hunger, thirst, heat, cold, injuries, and insults, he may die on the cross! And all this for me! Then I will reflect and draw some spiritual profit.

117: *"Colloquy. Conclude with a colloquy as in the preceding contemplation, and with an Our Father.*

### 'Functional' context

The scriptural image of the flight into Egypt by the pregnant Mary and her husband, Joseph; The scriptural image of the Birth of Jesus; The scriptural image of the "Heavenly army";

### Supplemental scriptural content based upon the Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx

264: *"First Point.* Our Lady and her spouse St. Joseph journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem (Joseph also went up from Galilee to Bethlehem, to express his obedience to Caesar, with Mary his espoused wife, who was with child.) *Luke 2: 4-5*

264: *Second Point.* And, she brought forth her first-born Son, and wrapped him up in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger. *Luke 2: 7*

264: *Third Point.* There was...a multitude of the heavenly army saying (Glory to God in the heavens.) *Luke 2: 14*
### #132: THE SECOND DAY

On the second day, for the first and second contemplation the exercitant should take the Presentation in the Temple [268] and the Flight into exile in Egypt [269]. The two repetitions will be made about this pair of contemplations, and then an application of the senses to them. This is done in the same way as on the preceding day [101-126].


**First Point.** They carry the infant Jesus to the temple, to present him to the Lord as the first-born son, and they offer for him "a pair of turtledoves and two young pigeons."

**Second Point.** Simeon, coming to the temple, "took him into his arms" and said: "Now you dismiss your servant, O Lord, in peace."

**Third Point.** Afterwards Anna, "coming in, confessed to the Lord and spoke of him to all who look for the redemption of Israel."

### #269: THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT St. Matthew 2:13-18

**First Point.** Herod wanted to kill the infant Jesus and therefore slew the Innocents. But before their death an angel warned Joseph to flee into Egypt: "Arise, and take the child and his Mother, and flee into..."
| Text of the Second Week(cont.) | Egypt."
<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Second Point.</strong> He arose by night, and departed for Egypt.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Third Point.</strong> He remained there until the death of Herod.</td>
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<tr>
<td>#270: &quot;HOW CHRIST OUR LORD RETURNED FROM EGYPT. St. Matthew 2:19-23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Supplemental scriptural content based on Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| **First Point.** The angel tells Joseph to return to Israel: "Arise and take the child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel." |
| **Second Point.** He arose and went into the land of Israel. |
| **Third Point.** Because Archelaus, son of Herod, was reigning in Judea, he retired to Nazareth." |
| Image of the Angel telling Joseph to return to Israel with the child and his mother; |
| Image of Joseph settling his family in Nazareth because of threat; |

| Supplemental scriptural content based on Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| **THE THIRD DAY:** On the third day the exercitant will contemplate amazed at what he said about him taken with the image of Mary perplexed by his absence without telling the parents; |
First Point. He was obedient to his parents, and "Jesus advanced in wisdom, age and grace." ....

Second Point. Christ our Lord at the Age of twelve went up from Nazareth to Jerusalem.

Third Point. After three days, they found him seated among the doctors and conversing with them. When his parents asked him where he had been, he replied: (Did you not know that I ought to be concerned with my Father’s business?) St. Luke 2: 49ff.


#147: A Colloquy should be made with Our Lady. I beg her to obtain for me grace from her Son and Lord that I may be received under his standard; and first, in the most perfect spiritual poverty; and also, if his Divine Majesty should be served and if he should
wish to choose me for it, to no less a degree of actual poverty; and second, in bearing reproaches and injuries, that through them I may imitate him more, if only I can do this without win of anyone's part and without displeasure to the Divine Majesty. Then I will say a Hail Mary.

**Note**: Images within the text of this suggested vocal prayer: Hail Mary; Our Lady of grace; Blessed Mary; Holy Mary; Mother of God;

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Text of the Second Week (cont.)</th>
<th>Additional 'Functional' content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additional 'Functional' content</strong></td>
<td><strong>'Functional' content</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional instruction related to Discernment within the context of the colloquies</td>
<td>Image of actual Poverty in relationship to discerning one's service to the Lord;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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#147: Note. When we feel an inclination or repugnance against actual poverty, or when we are not indifferent to poverty or riches, a great help toward overcoming this disordered attachment is to beg the Lord in the colloquies to choose oneself to serve him in actual poverty (even though it is contrary to our lower nature); and further
that one desires it, begs for it, and
pleads for it, provided only that it
would be for the service and
praise of the Divine Majesty.

#158: "SECOND WEEK, THE
FIFTH DAY:

The contemplation will be on the
departure of Christ our Lord
from Nazareth for the river
Jordan, and how he was baptized
[273]. [Cf. 259 below]

#159: "First Note. This
contemplation will be made once
at midnight, and a second time in
the early morning. Then there will
be two repetitions of it, one near
the hour of Mass and one near that
of Vespers, and an application of
the five senses before the evening
meal. In each of these five
exercises the usual preparatory
prayer and three preludes will be
used, in the manner explained for
the contemplation on the
Incarnation[102] and the Nativity
[111. Moreover, the triple
colloquy should be that of the
Three Classes of Persons[147], or
according to the note which
follows that meditation[157].

Image of Christ
Our Lord saying
goodbye to his
Mother;

Image of Mary at
the Annunciation
/Incarnation
combined with
image of Mary
giving birth to the
Child considered
in the context of
the Triple
Colloquy(from
the point of view
of the first
colloquy
with
Mary) and
perspective of
those colloquies
as presented in
the meditation on
the Three kinds of
Persons which is
the perspective of
the Two
Standards (cf.
#156);
#273: "HOW CHRIST WAS BAPTIZED St. Matthew 3: 13-17:

First Point. Christ Our Lord, after his farewell to his Blessed Mother, came from Nazareth to the river Jordan, where St. John the Baptist was....

#276: THE FIRST MIRACLE WORKED AT THE MARRIAGE FEAST IN CANA OF GALILEE St. John 2:1-12

First Point. Christ our Lord was invited with his disciples to the wedding feast.

Second Point. His(cf. A*, the Mother)Mother points out to her Son the shortage of the wine, “They have no wine,” then she orders the waiters, “Do whatever he tells you to do.”

Third Point. “He changed the water into wine, and he manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him.”

*A=Autograph Version of SpEx

Image of “the Blessed Mother” before Jesus left for the Jordan;

Image of the Mother pointing to the shortage of wine and instructing the waiters to do what her Son says;
The Text of the Second Week (cont.)

#162: "First Note. In the Second Week the number of contemplations can be increased or lessened, according to the number of days each exercitant wants to spend in this Week or finds profitable. If the Week is to be prolonged, one can take the mysteries of Our Lady’s visitation to Elizabeth, the Shepherds, the Circumcision of the Infant Jesus, the Three Kings, and others similar. If the Week is shortened, even some of those which were assigned can be omitted. For the purpose of these meditations is to furnish an introduction and a method for meditating and contemplating, that one may do this better and more completely later on."

#263: "THE VISITATION OF OUR LADY TO ELIZABETH St. Luke 1:39-56

First Point. When Our Lady visited Elizabeth, St. John the Baptist, still in his mother’s womb, perceived the visitation Our Lady made. “When Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the infant leaped for joy in her womb. And Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Spirit, cried out with a loud voice and said: “Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb.”"

Additional images of Mary as mountain traveler, as visitor of Elizabeth, with the shepherds, with the three kings, with the Child during circumcision, in the images of the Magnificat;

Supplemental scriptural content based on Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx

Image of the pregnant woman traveling to visit her also pregnant relative;
Image of the Pregnant Virgin and Our Lady of Advent;
Image of Mary as sharer of the Holy Spirit with Elizabeth;
Image of Mary, blessed among women;
The Text of the Second Week (cont.)

Second Point. Our Lady breaks into her canticle, exclaiming: “My soul magnifies the Lord.”

Third Point. Mary abode with Elizabeth about three months; and then she returned to her own house.”

#265: “THE SHEPHERDS St. Luke 2:8-20

Second Point. The shepherds go to Bethlehem: “They came with haste; and they found Mary and Joseph and the Infant lying in the manger.”

#266: “THE CIRCUMCISON St. Luke 2:21

First Point. They circumcised the child Jesus.”

Second Point. His name was called Jesus, which was called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.”

Third Point. They handed the child back to his mother, who felt compassion because of the blood which was flowing from her Son.”
The Text of the Third Week

Supplemental scriptural content based on Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx

#208: "THIRD WEEK, SIXTH DAY"

At midnight, from the taking down from the cross to the burial in the sepulcher, exclusively; and in the morning, from the placing in the tomb[298] to the house where Our Lady went after the burial of her Son.


First Point. He spoke seven words on the cross; he prayed for those who were crucifying him; he forgave the thief; he commended St. John to his mother and his mother to St. John; he said with a loud voice, "I thirst," and they gave him gall and vinegar; he said that he was forsaken; he said, "It is finished"; he said, "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit."

#298: "THE MYSTERIES FROM THE CROSS TO THE SEPULCHER, INCLUSIVELY St. John 19: 38-42

First Point. He was taken down from the cross by Joseph and Nicodemus in the presence of his sorrowful Mother.
Second Point. His body was carried to the tomb, anointed, and buried.

#218: "THE FOURTH WEEK, THE FIRST CONTEMPLATION. HOW CHRIST OUR LORD APPEARED TO OUR LADY[299].

The First Prelude is the history. Here it is how, after Christ died on the cross, his body remained separated from his soul but always united with his divinity. His blessed soul, also united with his divinity, descended to hell. Then, releasing the souls of the just from there, returning to the sepulcher, and rising again, he appeared in body and soul to his Blessed Mother."

#220: "The Second Prelude. A composition, by imagining the place. Here it will be to see the arrangement of the holy sepulcher; also, the place or house where Our Lady was, including its various parts, such as a room, an oratory, and the like."

Image of Our Lady experiencing the Appearance of her Son after the Resurrection; Our Lady of the Resurrection?

Also Image of the Risen Christ appearing body and soul to his Blessed Mother;

Image of Our Lady of the Tomb and of the House of Nazareth (Loreto?);
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Functional' context on connection between the colloquies and the subject matter or 'narrative'</th>
<th>#225: &quot;Colloquy. Finish with a colloquy, or colloquies, according to the subject matter and an Our Father.&quot;</th>
<th>Image of Our Lady of the Colloquy or Colloquies;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supplemental scriptural content based on Mysteries of the Life of Christ from the SpEx</td>
<td>#299: &quot;THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST OUR LORD, AND HIS FIRST APPARITION</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

First Point. He appeared to the Virgin Mary. Although this is not stated in Scripture, still it is considered as understood by the statement that he appeared to many others (1 Cor 15:5-11). For Scripture supposes that we have understanding, as it is written: "Are you also without understanding Matthew 15:16." |

Image of Our Lady of the First Apparition; |
| Additional Scripture content presuming a "spiritual sense" of understanding? | #248: ON THE FIVE SENSES OF THE BODY |

"Note. If I wish to imitate Christ our Lord in the use of my five senses, I should commend myself to his Divine Majesty in the Preparatory Prayer, and after the consideration of each sense, recite a Hail Mary and an Our Father. If I wish to imitate Our Lady Image of Christ Crucified and Risen, Our Lord appearing to the Virgin Mary; |
| 'Functional' context on a method of prayer using the senses including those of Mary and Jesus; |  |  |
in the use of the senses, I should commend myself to her in the Preparatory Prayer, and ask her to obtain for me that grace from her Son(AND LORD, A, P1, P2*).

Then after the consideration of each sense I should recite a Hail Mary."

*{A=Autograph, P1= Versio Prima(1541), P2= Versio Prima(1546)}

#249: "THE SECOND METHOD OF PRAYING CONSISTS IN CONTEMPLATING THE MEANING OF EACH WORD OF A PRAYER

#253: "First rule. The person will remain for an hour in this manner of praying, going through the whole of the Our Father. At the end he or she should say a Hail Mary, Creed, Soul of Christ, and Hail Holy Queen, vocally or mentally in the customary way."

Images of Our Lady in the Hail Mary prayer: Our Lady with the Angel; Our Lady with Elizabeth; Our Lady praying for sinners; Our Lady, as Holy and Mother of God;
Supplemental mode of prayer involving contemplating words of vocal prayers but with rhythmic breathing added between words

#258: “THE THIRD METHOD OF PRAYING IS TO PRAY ACCORDING TO RHYTHMIC MEASURES

In this Third Method of Praying, with each breath taken in or expelled, one should pray mentally, by saying a word of the Our Father, or of any other prayer which is recited. This is done in such a manner that one word of the prayer is said between one breath and another. In between these two breaths one reflects especially on the meaning of that word, or on the person to whom the prayer is being recited, or on one’s own lowliness, or on the distance between that person’s dignity and our lack of it. The same
procedure and rule will be used on the words of the Our Father; and the other prayers—the Hail Mary, Soul of Christ, Creed, and Hail Holy Queen—will be recited in the usual manner.”

| The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus |  
| Rome, rooms of Ignatius |  
| 1558, first printed version |  

Note: Ignatius mentioned in his Autobiography that Our Lady was active in confirming parts of the Constitutions that he wrote.

1. Injunction to Jesuit Scholastics:

“#3 Concerning vocal prayer, those who are not obligated to say the office may say the hours of Our Lady on Sundays and Saturdays; Mondays, those of the dead; Tuesdays and Thursdays, the penitential Psalms; Wednesdays and Fridays, the hours of the Cross. Even though this order is for all, the confessor or rector may change it as it seems convenient (Textus Hispanus).” Underline mine.

Images of Our Lady associated with the various Hours of prayer celebrated on different days as outlined, e.g., Fridays, Pieta or Sorrowing Mother, etc.

2. Religious Vows in Part IV, Chapter 4, (Textus Hispanus).

3. Vows in three forms for Professed Fathers (including 4th vow of obedience to the Pope), Coadjutors (included both spiritual and material assistants) and Scholastics (men in training as priests and brothers):
Our Lady is included in each of the above three formulae in terms like those that follow:

"Ego N. professionem facio et promitto omnipotenti Deo coram eius Virgine Matre..." and "...coram sacratissima Virgine Maria... (Textus Hispanus)."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acta S. Ignatii or Autobiography</th>
<th>Sept., 1553-Oct. 20, 1555</th>
<th>#5 Chivalric Romance novels, Vita Christi and Lives of Saints; Image of Our Lady of the Mantle; of Mercy, etc.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Image of Our Lady with the Holy Child, Jesus;</td>
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<td>Image of Our Lady Speaking to Ignatius;</td>
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<td>Sculpted Stone image of Our Lady of Aranzazu enthroned with Son;</td>
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<td>Image of Our Lady of Perpetual Virginity;</td>
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<td>Image of Our Lady of Monserrat enthroned,</td>
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before the altar of Our Lady of Montserrat, having put on the clothing and way of life identifying him with Jesus Christ;

Madonna and Child in wood, black or brown, Lady, Queen, Mother;

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<tr>
<th>Acta S. Ignatii(cont.)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#18 It was the eve of Our Lady of March, or Our Lady of the Annunciation, when he knelt before the altar of Our Lady in his desired garment;</td>
<td>Image of Our Lady of the Annunciation; Image of Our Lady of the Heavenly Court;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#20 During the Mass he read the Passion (probably from a book of Hours)</td>
<td>Images of Our Lady at the foot of the cross—Stabat Mater and/or Dolorosa;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#28 Praying the Hours of Our Lady on the steps of the same monastery, he saw the Most Holy Trinity under the appearance of three keys on a musical instrument;</td>
<td>Images of Our Lady of the Hours; of Our Lady of the Trinity;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#29 At Manresa and several other places, he saw the humanity of Christ with interior eyes in the appearance of medium sized white body with distinction of parts and the same for Our Lady;</td>
<td>Image of Our Lady with the same bodily appearance as Jesus;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#45 Itiigo experienced great consolation and devotion in visiting the holy places—Bethlehem, Church of the Assumption, Holy Sepulcher, etc., included;</td>
<td>Images of Our Lady associated with the ancient Churches of Jerusalem: Our Lady, Daughter of Zion; Mother; Glorious Mother; Sorrowful Mother, etc.;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix II

Women of Alcalá

Introduction

Our purpose in investigating these documents is the same as for what has gone before, namely, to identify and contextualize the impact of women upon the life and decision-making of Ignatius Loyola.

The depositions of the men and women called forth for these trials, including Inigo himself, give us a more detailed and apostolically intimate view of Inigo's relationships with women than anything that has gone before, perhaps, even more intimate than the letters which we may have referred to up to this point in our overall study.¹

¹The extant letters of Ignatius to and from women are most abundant for the period after 1538 while he was in Rome. However, there were several letters from Ignatius to women from as early as 1524 that marked a certain depth of spiritual intimacy and structured approach to prayer.
As a result of certain apostolic activities at Alcalá, during 1526 and 1527, three ecclesiastical trials\(^2\) were brought against Iñigo and his companions and we have the textual evidence. Besides these documents, the Autobiography of St. Ignatius contains some information pertinent to our consideration of the events of Alcalá.\(^3\)

In addition to the women whose depositions appear in these documents, we are also interested in the way Iñigo interacted with the representatives of the institutional church (la santa madre Iglesia) and how they interacted with him. Our speculation was that the quality of that interaction may very well help us to understand some additional aspects of the psychological feminine reflected by the representatives of the institutional church who were, for the greater part, involved with or representative of the Inquisition of Toledo\(^4\) in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church of Spain.

At this time, then, beginning with an overview of the female witnesses and male participants in the three trials, let us say a few words of orientation before we take a more detailed look at the contents of these documents.

**The Female Witnesses**

Ten of the thirteen witnesses called were women. These include Beatrice Ramírez, María Martínez, Mencia Benevente, Anna de Benevente, Eleonor de Mena Lopez, María de la Flor, Anna Diez, Luisa Veláquez, María del Vado and Catherine de Trillo. Three women gave testimony in both the Second (began March 6, 1527) and Third

\(^2\) FD, 321. The text cited below indicated three processes or trials by the Inquisition that took place in Alcalá. However, only two sentences were given, the First and Third. As a result, one could say that the Second and Third processes were two parts of the same trial. Indeed, the only three witnesses during the Second process were female and they were interrogated for a second time in the Third process.

\(^3\) FN, 1, 338-452.

\(^4\) FN, 1, 442, #58, lines 80f.
Trials (began May 10, 1527): Mencia de Benevente, Anna de Benevente and Eleonora de Mena.

Beatrice Ramírez was a “beata” or “holy woman.” Maria Martínez was the wife of the custodian of the Anteçana, the hospital where Ifiigo stayed while he was in Alcalá. Mencia de Benevente was a follower of Ifiigo who allowed meetings at her house and who experienced fainting spells in relation to the comments made by Ifiigo and his companions. Mencia Benevente’s sixteen year-old daughter, Anna de Benevente also experienced fainting spells after listening to Ifiigo. Eleonor, the daughter of Anna de Mena, also suffered from these spells (mal de desmayos) after she spoke to Ifiigo (FD, 338).

Maria de la Flor was quite knowledgeable about what went on at the meetings because she spoke to many of the women who were involved before talking to and interacting with Ifiigo and Calisto themselves. She gave detailed descriptions of her own experiences, including spells, and her interactions with Ifiigo and his companion Calisto.

Anna Diaz described her own hysterical reaction (mal de madre) and others’ reactions after speaking to Ifiigo. Luisa Velásquez, Maria del Vado and Catherine de Trillo spoke about their pilgrimage to Jaén and to Guadalupe in Spain. Their decision to leave town was instrumental in placing Ifiigo in prison for forty-two until they returned to clear his name.

The Male Witnesses

The three men who testified in front of the Inquistorial committee. Two during the First Trial were Ferdinand di Rubio, a Franciscan priest and Julian Martínez, custodian of the hospital of Our Lady of Mercy or Anteçana. Ifiigo himself was the third
man to testify and that was during the Third Trial. We will look more closely at these testimonies along with the sentences given by the chief Inquisitorial officer, Figueroa, after considering the depositions of the women.

The Judges

in addition to Juan Rodríguez Figueroa, archepiscopal vicar and governor of the diocese of Toledo, two other clerics were involved in the first of these trials. First there was Michael Carrasco, former Rector and member of the faculty of Theology at Alcalá and later confessor (1523-1534) to the Archbishop Alfonsus de Fonseca. Then, Alfonsus Mejía, Inquistor of the Archdiocese of Toledo and Inquisitorial visitor at the University of Alcalá for the processes against Iñigo. Vicar Figueroa handed down the sentence at the end of the first and third trials. 

The Text of the Trials

By means of the critical apparatus, the manuscript tradition of the text of these trials has been incorporated into a single version published in Fontes Documentales (FD hereafter). The trials include three processes against Iñigo and his companions held between November 19, 1526 and June 1, 1527, when the vicar Figueroa handed down the final sentence. In the seventeenth century, a compendium of these trials was published and has also been provided at the end of the FD version as compiled by the scribe Juan de Quintarnaya.

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5 FD, 321 and 322, footnotes 1 and 2 about Carrasco and Mejía. Cf. also FN, 442 and 444.
6 FD, 330, #5, 331 and #18, 342, respectively.
7 FD, 319-349. "Processus Complutenses De Sancti Ignatii Sociorumque Vita et Doctrina—Compluti (Alcalá De Henares) 1526-1527." Cf. also, FD, 319 and 320, on manuscript tradition.
8 FD, 322-349.
9 FD, 344-346. The section was entitled “Compendium Processus Factum A Scriba Ioanne De Quintarnaya—Compluti, 19 Augusti 1613.” In this text, either Juan or his helper made a major error by listing Iñigo’s name as “Iñigo López de Recalde” among those on trial.
The First Trial

In the First Trial, Beatrice Ramírez and Maria Martínez were the first two women who gave their formal depositions to the representatives of the Inquisition.

Beatrice Ramírez

Beatrice Ramírez offered testimony as one who knew Iñigo’s teaching and who was his follower. She was the “prototype” of the “beata” of that day.

By answering questions of the Inquisition about the life and teachings of Iñigo and his companions, Beatrice gave us some insight into his style of life, the ministry and the kind of people to he and his companions ministered during those early days. She described a meeting that took place at the house of Andrés Dávila, a baker.

10 L.F. Martin, “Iñigo de Loyola y Los Alumbrados,” p. 653. According to J.E. Longhurst, “Saint Ignatius at Alcalá,” p. 254, Beatrice was “denounced in 1532 to the Toledo Inquisition as an active participant in the illuminist movement of Alcalá.” In “Iñigo de Loyola y Los Alumbrados,” L. F. Martin qualified the statement that Beatrice was an alumbrado along with Luisa Velázquez and Luisa Arenas. He pointed out that all were disciples of Iñatius between 1526-1527 and she was accused of alumbrado activity by a priest of questionable character, Diego Hernández(p. 679). He also said that Diego Hernández, whose testimony is disregarded by some authors that, “Este cleric fue un sujeto singular, extralafario, extravagante y cinico, uno de tantos clérigos alegres y chanceros que con frecuencia daban una imagen poco respectable del estamento al que pertenecian.” My translation: “This cleric was a singular subject, eccentric, extravagant and cynical, one of many merry and sportive clerics who frequently gave a less respectable image to the estate to which they belonged.” Cf. L.F. Martin in “Iñigo de Loyola y Los Alumbrados,” p. 640, quoted three clerics from Guadalajara, who were his peers, described his character as “desenvolturas morales y de falta de letras,” “lewd morals and lack of education.” Maria de Cazalla, an noted alumbrada, had many more “descriptive” things to say about D. Hernández, one thing was that he was “…mas de loco que de hombre cuerdo,” “…more a crazy man than one of prudence(L.F. Martin, p. 640).”

11 L.F. Marin, “Iñigo de Loyola y Los Alumbrados,” p. 653. “Esta mujer era un prototipo del género de <<beatas>> que tanto florecieron en las primeras décadas del siglo XVI.” My translation: “This woman was a prototype of the genre of “holy women” that flourished so much in the first decades of the 16th century.” Her confessor was Miguel Miona, a close friend of Iñigo, who later become a prominent Jesuit priest.

12 FD, p. 325, n. 14. In fact, there are two different estimates, three (FN, #79, 472, line 20) and four (FD, p. 331, first paragraph: Vicar Figueroa named four along with Iñigo), for the original number of people who followed Iñigo at Alcalá. Lupi(Lope) de Cáceres or Caçres(Cf. FN, 1, 170, n. 9 and FD, p. 325, n. 12), Callisto de Sa(Cf. FN, 1, 171, n. 10 and FD, p., 325, n. 14, Joannes de Arteaga(Cf. FN, 1, # 79, p. 472, line 20, n. 13 and FD, p. 325, n. 13), and Juanico Reynalde(Cf. FD, p. 326, no. 15). After some
Iñigo was there with a companion, probably, Calisto. Besides Andrés, she reported various people present for the conversations with Iñigo, some known to her and other unknown. She reported that there were certain women present at that meeting. Among these were Isabel Sanchez, Ana del Vado, Senorita de Villarejo (14 years old), Señora Dávila, the wife of Andrés, the baker, and a “very reserved man” who claimed to be a “vineyard keeper (viñadero).”

Regarding Iñigo’s teaching of Christian Doctrine, Beatrice said that it included a long consideration on the first two commandments, “loving God and neighbor,” a teaching that “grieved (afligió)” her because there was “nothing new” in it for her.

In addition to indicating the names of most of those who were present and the doctrine that was taught there, Beatrice answered questions about the additional things that Iñigo might have said, whether the group lived together, who met in Iñigo’s room, what he gave them and what they gave him as a result of his teaching.

In response to the question about what else he might have said, Beatrice indicated that he also conversed with and taught some people in the hospital called the Anteçana, Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia, Our Lady of Mercy.

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13 FD, pp. 324f.
14 FD, p. 325. “a los quales todos el dicho Ynigo estaba doctrinando los dos mandamientos primeros, conviene a saber, amar a Dios, etc., y sobresto habló muy largamente; y de queste testigo se halló allí entre aquella gente, se afligió, por ver que lo quel dicho Ynigo dezia eran cosas que no heran nuevas a este testigo, de amar a Dios y el próximo, etc.” My translation: “... to all these, Iñigo was teaching the first two commandments, that is, to love God, etc., and about this he spoke at length; and from what the witness saw there among that group of people, she was grieved to see that what Iñigo said were things that were not new to this witness, to love God and neighbor.”
15 FD, p. 323, n. 7. The Anteçana was a free hospital founded in 1483 under the title of Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia.
After indicating exactly where Íñigo's male companions lived in pairs, she pointed out that Íñigo, lived alone in the hospital. When the five people met there in a room, she added, they were all "men and boys."\(^{16}\)

Regarding the exchange of goods that happened as a result of his teachings, the witness indicated that he gave them some food, including a bunch of grapes and a little bacon, which they were said to have been "forced" to eat even when they did not want it. The witness noted that she had agreed to negotiate with some rich ladies (se acuerda que a negociado este testigo con algunas dueñas ricas) to obtain about four "yards" of cloth for the clothes that Íñigo was wearing and that one mattress was given to him. Another was loaned, along with two sheets ("sábanas") and wool-filled pillows for Callisto and Juanico.\(^{17}\)

Maria Martinez

After being sworn in as the second female witness and given a description of the young men, Maria Martinez, wife of Julian, the custodian of the Anteçana, indicated that she knew the men to whom the panel referred.\(^{18}\) She was then able to name all of them except Artiaga (y el otro no sabe cómo se llama).\(^{19}\) She, specifically, pointed out the name of one of the families with whom two unidentified men lived, namely, "Hernanado de Parras, escudero."\(^{20}\) She then mentioned that Íñigo lived at the hospital.\(^{21}\) When asked

\(^{16}\) FD, p. 326, paragraph 2.
\(^{17}\) FD, p. 326, paragraph 3.
\(^{18}\) FD, p. 327, paragraph 2.
\(^{19}\) FD, p. 327, paragraph 3. The nineteenth note in the text of the process named Artiaga as the one absent from her list.
\(^{20}\) FD, p. 327, paragraph 4.
\(^{21}\) FD, p. 327, paragraph 4.
whether these men got together in the hospital on some days, or at some other place, she answered that Calisto ate breakfast and dinner at the hospital and then went to study.22

Sometimes she said, Calisto came to speak with Inigo.23 Sometimes she saw them meet on the patio of the hospital and sometimes in Inigo's room but she did not know what they said.24

When asked whether some of them slept with Inigo some nights, she indicated that sometimes they stayed to sleep with him, one time one, another time, another of them. And, before, Inigo(ésto) would give them clothes in which to sleep. Afterwards, he gave (away) the clothes to them for the love of God...25

When asked how long these men have been in the town, she indicated that Inigo and Calisto had been there for a period of four months.26

When asked about their similar style and color of clothes, she affirmed that they did go about dressed in one style and one color and that they wore shoes, except for Inigo.27 She was unable to tell the reason why they went about dressed in this manner.28

When asked if she knew whether Inigo or Calisto, or any of the others, had solicited among the other men(con los otros) or other women(otras personas algunas) in order that they might take the habit, she said that she didn't know except that the

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22 FD, p. 327, paragraph 5.
23 FD, p. 327, paragraph 5.
24 FD, p. 327, paragraph 5.
25 FD, p. 327, paragraph 6. The last part of the sentence quoted here might be translated as follows: "no duermen allá de solo el Ynigo." My translation: "...they do not sleep there anymore(;) Inigo sleep alone."
Since this process is taking place on November 16, 1526, this means that Inigo decided to go to the "new" hospital around mid-June after an attempt to live the mendicant life-style for some days until he decided to accept an invitation or was pressured by local clergy to go there(Cf. also, FN, I, 438, #56, lines 44-52.).
27 FD, p. 327, paragraph 8.
wounded man Juanico came well dressed to the hospital. After he healed, one day the witness saw him dressed in that way.29

When asked whether she knew any women, or men, or boys or girls who had gone to the hospital to hear Iñigo's teaching, she said that she had seen "some women, young girls, students and frayles who came to question Iñigo."30 She added that she saw women (las dichas mugeres) and other persons there listening to what Iñigo was saying to them. But, she did not know about what he conversed with them. She admitted that she sometimes denied entrance to men and women who came to the door for him, especially, five or six who had come wearing "headresses."

The Second Process

Three women were the only witnesses called forth in the Second Process: Mencia de Benevente, Anna de Benevente and Eleonor de Trillo.

Mencia de Benevente

Mencia spoke about how she knew, how she had spoken to and how she had interacted with Iñigo and Calisto while she knew the others only by sight. She was asked whether she knew whether Iñigo or his companions taught people gathered in houses and churches or other places, and what and how they taught them. She pointed out that Iñigo held conversations in her home with some of the women to whom he explained and talked about subjects that she went on to name.

Among the women-followers whom she knew were the following: Maria Dias and her daughter; a widow with a newborn child; Francisca, servant of the chaplain of

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29 FD, p. 327, paragraph 10.
30 FD, p. 327f., paragraph 11 and 12, respectively.
St. Juste; Ynés, servant of Luisa Velasquez; another Maria who lives in the house of Ana Días; Marina Días, la d'Ocaña, whom she had saved from attempted suicide; other women and young girls; her daughter, Anna Benevente; and, another Leonor.

She was very specific when she said that Iñigo spoke with these women teaching them many things including the following subjects: "the commandments, the mortal sins, the five senses and the powers of the soul." He also explained, very well, "the gospels, St. Paul and other saints." Iñigo said that they should make the "examen of conscience" twice a day, applying the memory to their sins, before an image." He was "counseling them that they should confess every eight days and receive the sacrament at the same time."31

Anna de Benevente

According to Anna's deposition, Iñigo "explained the articles of the faith, the mortal sins, five senses, the three powers of the soul, other things good for the service of God and 'things about the Gospels.'"32 Sometimes women were gathered with other and sometime alone.33

31 FD, p. 332, note 25, spoke about the Eighteenth Annotation of the Spiritual Exercises. "E con estas a hablado enseñándoles los mandamientos e los pecados mortales e los cinco sentidos e las potencias del ánima; e lo declara muy bien; e lo declara por los evangelios e con sant Pablo e otros santos; e dice que cada día fagan examen de su conciencia, dos veces cada día, traiendo a la memoria en lo que a[a] pecado, ante un ymagen; e les conseja que se confesen de ocho a ocho días e reciban el sacramento en el mesmo tiempo." Emphasis mine. My translation: "And with these he had spoken(above named women associates), teaching them the commandments(Cf. Spiritual Exercises, #s 238-243) and the mortal sins(Cf. Spiritual Exercises, #s 244-245) and the five senses(Cf. Spiritual Exercises, #s 247-248: regarding Mary's role in this form of prayer) and the powers of the soul(Cf. Spiritual Exercises, #246); and he explained these very well; and he explained through the Gospels and with St. Paul and other saints; and said that each day one should do the examine of his conscience, twice each day, remembering in what ways they had sinned, before an image; and counseled them to confess every eight days and receive the sacrament at the same time." Parenthesis with citations from the Spiritual Exercises added for optional reference. Cf. J. Calveras and C. De Dalmases, Exercitia Spiritualia, # 18, 156 and 158.

32 The sixteen year old (Cf. FD, p. 333) Anna's deposition confirmed aspects of her mother's report about the teaching and recovered the notion of the "service of God"(Cf. FD, p. 332, #7, footnote 25, showing the link between these teachings and the outline of activities recommended for the Eighteenth Annotation of the Spiritual Exercises. (Cf. J. Calveras, op. cit., #18, 158c, which indicated the persons for whom these exercises were designed. "Esta manera es más propia para personas más rudas o sin letras,
Anna confirmed when asked what her mother had said about where the meetings took place, namely, her house, the hospital and other places. She added two points of interest regarding the location and manner of gathering. That is, on the one hand, she indicated that the “other places” were in the neighborhood (barrio), where neighbors (vecinas) gathered. And, on the other hand, she pointed out that when the meetings were held at the hospital there were many women (muchas mugeres) present and when the people gathered in other places, for example in the neighborhoods, sometimes women were not present (otras non [ha] avido mugeres). She also recalled being exhorted to go to confession every eight days. Iñigo’s use of the phrase “service of God” seemed to be a catch phrase for the teachings he offered, “e otras cosas buenas de servicio de Dios,” “and other good things about the service of God.”

Eleonor de Mena

In the deposition of the sixteen-year-old Eleonor, she reported that she had heard Iñigo teach “the commandments of the Church,” “the five senses,” and “other things of (the) service of God.” She also responded to questions about her age and about the locations of the meetings, indicating that they took place in the hospital where many women gathered together to hear him speak to them.

The Third Process

As with the others, the Third Process or trial took place at the Anteçana, beginning on May 10, 1527 and ending on May 21, 1527. The three witnesses from the declarándoles cada mandamieno, y así de los peccados mortales, preceptos mortales, preceptos de la Iglesia, V sentidos, y obras de misericordia.” My translation: “This way of proceeding is more appropriate for young or uneducated persons, telling them each commandment, the mortal sins, the precepts of the Church, the Five senses and the works of mercy.”

33 FD, p. 332, paragraph 7.
34 FD, p. 332f.
35 FD, p. 333.
Second Process were interviewed for a second time, while several new witnesses were called forth including Maria de la Flor, Ana Diaz, Luisa Velázquez, Maria del Vado and Catherine de Trillo.  

_Maria de la Flor_

“They told her that he expounded on the service of God.” They told him about their sufferings (penas) and he consoled them.” These enigmatic statements came from Maria de la Flor’s questioning of the women who were familiar with the teaching of Inigo and his companions, including his aunt, Mencia de Benevente and her daughter Anna.

Inigo went on to explain many things to her. These things included the use of the sacraments of confession and communion, an understanding of how to profit from the apostolic discernment of affectivities and an understanding of various aspects of apostolic prayer that included the powers of the soul, dealing with temptations, dealing with venial and mortal sin, dealing with the ten commandments, dealing with the mortal (capital) sins and with the five senses.

He also gave her a practical example to help her visualize the concept of sin. He told her a story about two women, one older and one younger. The older woman had some evil things to share with the younger woman. At first, the younger one would not even hear what the older one had to say and, thus, did not sin at all, mortally or venially.

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36 FD, 339. During this same period, Inigo himself was also questioned in prison by the Vicar Figueroa. As indicated in the FD, his interview took place after Anna Diaz and before Luisa Velásquez on May 18, 1527. Cf. also, FN, I, #61, 448, line 38, which states that he was in prison for eighteen days before Vicar Figueroa came to interview him. We will leave the interviews with the men and the sentences of Figueroa for consideration after those of the women involved.

37 FD, p. 334. “...le desían las penas que tenían e las consolava.” My translation: “...and they told him about the sufferings that they had and he consoled them.”

38 FD, p. 334.
Then, another time, she heard and listened and, thus, sinned venially. And, another time she spoke to her and did what she said and sinned mortally.\(^{39}\)

In addition to illustrating to her how she could avoid sin, he told her how she had to love God.\(^{40}\)

He then told her about the temptations of the enemy that came when one entered the "service of God" and talked about the twice daily use of the "examen of conscience" in conjunction with a prayer before the crucifix: <<My God, My Father, My Creator! I give thanks and praise to you for so many favors that you have done for me and that I hope that you are going to do for me. I implore you by the merits of your passion to give me the grace that I may know how to examine my conscience well>>.\(^{41}\)

He also talked to her about the sacrament of confession and what did and did not need to be confessed, based upon an incident she related about confessing a "thought" that she had. He concluded that it was not sin at all, "neither mortal or venial but, rather, a good thought." He consulted with Calisto and they came to the same conclusion.\(^{42}\)

Iñigo sent Calisto off to deal with a similar problem with Leonor, a disciple of Mencia de Benevente. Apparently, Leonor had told the confessor what she had communicated to Iñigo and Calisto in order to get a resolution. Another time, Iñigo told her that she did not need to tell the confessors what she had discussed with them.\(^{43}\)

\(^{39}\) FD, p. 334.

\(^{40}\) FD, p. 334.

\(^{41}\) FD, p. 334. "Dios mío, padre mío, creador mío! Gracias y alabanzas te hago por tantas mercedes que me has hecho y espero que me los darás. Suplico por los méritos de tu pasión me des gracia que sepa examinar bien mi conciencia."

\(^{42}\) FD, p. 335.

\(^{43}\) FD, p. 335. "E otra vez Ynigo le dijo que lo que con ellos platicaba no era necesidad de decírselo a los confesores."
Maria suffered from deep sadness several times, so much so, that she could not even raise her eyes to look at Iñigo. Being so sad, she went to speak with Iñigo and Calisto and she got rid of it (se le quitava). 44

The same was true from Mencia de Benevente and her daughter (Anna). Iñigo said, that when one enters into the service of God, the devil (el diablo) places sadness in their path. One would have to be “strong in the service of God.” This attitude of strength would “make way (pasasen) for the love of God.”

Maria de la Flor then spoke of how one might pray the Ave Maria. One would take a breath and contemplate on the words, Ave Maria and then on gracia plena, and contemplate each word. 45

At this point in her deposition, Maria mentioned that Iñigo and Calisto had taken great pleasure (tenian mucho placer) when the women experienced these “sadnesses and faintings” (estas tristesas e amortizamientos) because when this happened the effects showed that the women were entering into the service of God. 46

She said that he would neither swear oaths about his own salvation, nor swear by his own life. 47 Rather, he would only glory in a readiness to serve God out of zeal (çelo) not out of envy (enbidia). 48

44 FD, p. 335. “E que quatro veses le vino a éstaque declara muy grand tristesa, que cosa ninguna le parecía bien, e not podia alçar los ojos a mirar al Ynigo; e estando con esta tristesa, hablando con el Ynigo e con el Calisto se le quitava.”
46 FD, p. 335. “El el Ynigo e Calisto tenian mucho placer desque les vian estas tristesas e amortizamientos, porque decía que yvan entrando en el servicio de Dios.”
47 FD, p. 335. “E la deçía que non jurase ninguno juramento ni dixese: <<Asy Dios me salve>>, ni <<por mi vida>>, synon: <<sy, çiento>>.” Cf. Spiritual Exercises, #s 38; 39; also, #3, under the General Examen of one’s words, etc.
48 FD, p. 335. “E que sy alguna persona viesen en servicio de Dios, non avesen enbidia, syno çelo.”
She then reported how she saw another Maria, who had accompanied Mencia de Benevente, on the floor in a spell. Maria de la Flor reported that this other Maria “saw the devil visibly.” He was “a very large black thing.” She also called Calisto and he came and he lifted her up.

María de la Flor described herself as a “bad woman (mala muger).” What she meant by this was that she “traveled with many students” and went “into their room” and “she was lost.”

Apparently, a one point, a thought came to her to speak to Ifiigo but he was not available to speak immediately. A fainting spell came. Her heart took strength (le cobría el corazón) only when she spoke with him (fasta que le hablava).

She heard Ifiigo and Calisto say that they had make a vow of chastity. They were sure that even if either of them were to sleep with a girl in a bed, they were sure that they would not sin. And, whatever evil thought (came), they were sure that it would not vanguish them.

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49 FD, p. 335, paragraph 6. “E esta que declara vio a María qu’estava con la de Benavente amortecida en el suelo; ed decía que avia visto al diablo visyblemente, una cosa negra mu[u]y grande;…”

50 FD, p. 335, paragraph 6. “…e estando asy llamaron al Calisto; e entonces ésta se fue a su casa, e le dixerón avía venido Calisto e la avía levantado.”

51 FD, p. 335f. “E esta hera antes mala muger, que andava con muchos estudiantes en el estudio, que hera perdida.”

52 FD, p. 336. “E que quando le venia pensamiento de hablar al Ynigo e non le hablava presto, le venia amortecimiento e se le cobría el corazón fasta que le hablava.” My translation: “And that when she came thinking to speak to Íñigo and did not speak to him quickly, she went faint and recovered her strength only when he spoke to her.”

53 FD, p. 336, paragraph 1. “E que a oydo desir al Ynigo e a Calisto que ellos an fecho voto de castidad, que seguros estavan que aunque durmiese cualquiera dellos con una doncella en una cama, que estavan seguros que non pecarian, e que de cualquier pensamiento malo estavan seguros que no les vencería.”
Once “pressure or urgency” from within herself urged her to go into the desert. She told Calisto in order that he would tell her how it appeared to him (for service). And, he said to her that it was a good thought. And, asked how she would do it.\footnote{FD, p. 336, paragraph 2. “E una ves le vino a ésta que declara agonía(apremio) de se yr a un yermo, e que lo dixo a Calista para que le dixese lo que le parecía; e le dixo que hera buen pensamiento, e que como ella quisyese se fária.”}

And she said to him that she wished to go with him into the desert, and he told her as she would wish and in the manner that she would wish it to be done. And afterward, the witness spoke with Íñigo and gave part of the story to him. Later, Íñigo spoke with the witness and said to her that when he had gone out, he had not consulted with anyone, giving the impression that she did not need consultation.\footnote{FD, p. 336, paragraph 3. “E que después Ynigo habló con ésta que declara, e le dixo que quando él se avía salido non se avía consejado con ninguno; dándole a entender que para aquello non avía menester consejo.”}

And once the witness determined to go with Calisto into the desert of Mexico?), it aroused her. She told this to her confessor. And Íñigo scolded her very much about saying that it would be of greater value that she not have aroused herself (affectively thinking about Calisto) that day than not having confessed it.\footnote{FD, p. 336, paragraph 4. “E una ves estaba ésta que declara determinada de se yr con el Calisto, e penso en su pensamiento de deçir que él la uviese le[vantado] (sic) de se yr con él ella, e aversé levantado F.” Note well: Th capital letter F here refers to the text of the version of the text of the Trials published by Fr. Fita. Fita’s text is one of several. The Q text is edited here. The A text is a second version, I assume of Q, and B is a third version of Q.}

She told them how when Íñigo and Calisto spoke with her and with the others with whom they were associated (con... se juntar), the women and they hugged(e la cara[del] llegavan muy juntos) very much like married people. And she attested emphatically to the truth of this statement.\footnote{FD, p. 336, paragraph 5. Here we find the emphatic use of a statement. “E ésta es la verdad(And this is the truth.).”}

“And when she and Anna, her cousin, the daughter of Benevente spoke about going with Calisto, Calisto and Íñigo told them that if on the road someone would want...
them to do some discourteous act of the flesh (descortesyas de forcalles/or de fornalla), that they would not do it of free will and that if it were done and someone would force them without their will, that they would be without sin and that being so (que esto era; e qua asi) they would merit much and they would serve God. As such, so many virgins remained virgins, since they did not do it of their own will. 

Moreover, she explained that when some woman experienced agony (agonia) from speaking to them, the two felt good because they wanted to gain that soul for the Lord.

Anna de Benavente

Under oath, Anna testified on May 14, 1527. The testimony focused upon the fainting spells and the situation of Maria de la Flor. She admitted that these fainting spells happened to her and others who spoke to Inigo and Calisto. She remembered that when she spoke to them she had a spell (desmayo) "three or four times." She explained that she was by herself (consigo) thinking about how she had separated herself from the world, that is, in her manner of dressing as in other things like gossiping and card playing. A sadness overtook her and she fainted.

Sometimes "fainting spells" (desmayos) overcame her and she lost feeling (perdia el sentido). Twice she experienced "fits of anger" (unas vascas de corazon) so that she twisted (se rrebolcava) on the floor. Other persons held her and she was not able to calm down. This lasted an hour and other times, more or less.
And when they told Ifiigo and Calisto what had happened, they said that it was nothing. The important thing was that “she contend or resist with God.”

Other women had these “spells” in ways different for some than for others. Leonor, the daughter of Anna de Mena, the servant of the witness’s mother, said that she experienced it (the faint) more frequently than the witness and it lasted for an hour. Sometimes she felt it and other times not. The witness saw others faint including Maria de la Flor, daughter of Fernando de la Flor and Ana Días and other young girls who were not from Alcalá.

Anna was then asked about what happened when Maria de la Flor wanted to live the life of Santa María de Egiçiaca.

“She (Anna) said that Maria de la Flor told them (Ifiigo and Calisto) that she had a desire to go into open country (al campo) to live the life of Santa María. Anna told her that she was of the same feeling and went to her many times to go into the country to live that solitary life (vida solitaria).”

While she was present, Maria de la Flor told Calisto (her desire). Calisto told her that she should pray to Our Lady that she would base her decision on what would be more to the service of God (and what she was able to be) than (on) the sin that she bears so that she might carry that thought (F: servicio de dios, e que podría ser; que el pecado que) traya que la truxese a (quel) pensamiento.

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63 FD, p. 337, paragraph 1. “E quando le deçian a Ynigo o a Calisto lo que avá pasado, le deçian que hera nada, que se esforçassen (contend or resist?) con Dios.”
64 FD, p. 337, paragraph 2.
65 FD, p. 337. A footnote indicated that according to legend “Maria Aegyplciaca” spent twelve years of her life at Alexandria in sin. She was coverted to God on a trip to Jerusalem and lead a solitary life on the banks of the Jordan river. Cf. also, Graesse, (?), J. Voragine: Legenda Aurea, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1965, Chapter 54, 247-249.
66 FD, p. 337. Cf. footnote x which offers variant readings of the sentence. Fita’s (F) is the only one which makes any sense to me. Fita’s variant text is included in the parenthesis after the capital F. The
And María de la Flor said that she went with Calisto and Calisto said, “How do you dare to go with me when you do not know me?” And, Anna didn’t remember what she responded but that María de la Flor said after the trip with Calisto that she was able to be with Calisto as a virgin (doncella) in his room.⁶⁷

**Eleonor de Mena**

Eleonor de Mena was also sworn in on May 14, 1527 and asked about the fainting spells that she took when they spoke with Iftigo and Calisto.⁶⁸ She said that many times, while she was thinking about how she had left the way of life (la manera) that she had been living, namely, laughing and playing cards, and thinking about how she felt better before, a sadness came to her heart and she let go of her senses, neither did she hear or feel. She had fits (vascas) with anxiety of heart and she twisted on the floor.⁶⁹ She reported that said that “the enemy” (el enemigo) did this. He told her that she should think of God in his passion and it left her.⁷⁰

Others who fainted, she reported, were María de la Flor, Anna Dias, (Mencia) de Benevente and other young women who were not from the village but from Murcia.⁷¹

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⁶⁷ FD, p. 337, paragraph 3. “E la María de la Flor(en su cámara, om. A) dixo que se yria con el Calisto; e el Calisto dixo:—Cómo osarid es yr conmigo, pues non me conoscedes(F=conoscedes; M=conosces)?—E non se le acueda lo que le respondió, mas de que la María de la Flor[dijo] después de ydo el Calisto, que podría estar con el Calisto como con una doncella en su cámara.” My translation: “And Maria de la Flor[in his room] said that she would go with Calisto; and Calisto said: --How would you dare to go with me, since you do not know me? --And I do not know the decision which she gave him, more than that Maria del Flor[says] since the departure of Calisto that she was able to be with Calisto as a virgin in his room.”

⁶⁸ FD, p. 338, paragraph 2.

⁶⁹ FD, p. 338, paragraph 2.

⁷⁰ FD, p. 338, paragraph 2. “…e Ynigo deçía que el enemigo le traya aquello, e que pensase en Dios e su pasyón, e se le quitaría.” My Translation: “…and Iñigo said that the enemy brought that to her and that one ought to think of God(Dios) in his passion and it would leave him.”

⁷¹ FD, p. 338, paragraph 3.
Iñigo ordered her, she said, to receive confession every eight days and to receive the sacrament every month.72

**Mencía de Benevente**

Mencía de Benevente gave witness for a second time on May 14, 1527. This time her testimony focused upon responding to the questions about the frequency and kind of spells that she and others experienced when they talked to Iñigo and his companions.73 She stated that she came down with hystericism (mal de madre) and had some fainting spells that she linked with the hystericism.74 She indicated that she saw Leonor, the daughter of Anna de Mena, overcome by hystericism (mal de desmayos/madre=O). Leonor fell on the floor and had fits of anger and twisted around.75 Her own daughter, she reported, was overcome by "sweats(trassudores)."76 She also saw Anna Días, the wife of Alonso de la Crus, take spells(desmayos).77 María de Santorcas, an out-of-towner, fainted twice. Mencia held her at the chest as she took fits(facia vascas).78 And, she emphasized, that it was the truth to say that another young woman from Yélamos, who was living in the house of Anna Días, had many spells and threw herself on the floor, having fits and twisting on the floor.79

**Anna Días**

Anna's very brief testimony also focused upon a question about the manner in which the fainting spells overcame her after speaking to Iñigo.80 She said that she had

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75 FD, p. 338, paragraph 7.
hysteria (mal de madre).  

She also indicated that Maria de Yélamos was sixteen year of age and that she saw her have many spells, more than twenty, in which she had fits (vascas) and three herself on the floor.  

Another Maria, the servant of Benevente, had spells and she left town.  

**Luisa Velázquez**

Luisa was interviewd on May 21, 1527. She was asked what she knew and what she saw and heard about Iñigo and his companions (consortes). In addition, she was asked where she was during the days of her absence from the town at the season of Lent. Her response focused upon her absence indicating that she went to Jaén and to Our Lady of Guadalupe with her mother and a servant named Catalina.  

In response to a question about by whose "counsel and advice" she went on the pilgrimage (romería), she said that it was the judgement of her mother. She went to accompany her and for the devotion that she had for going on those pilgrimages. When asked whether she communicated with Iñigo or his companions, she said that she knew them from before Christmas. She knew them and she spoke to them and communicated with them twice in her mother's house. She also met them in the house of Mencia de Benavente and the house of Beatrice Ramirez (Ramires). Twice she went to

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84 *FD*, p. 340, last paragraph.  
85 *FD*, p. 340, last paragraph.  
86 *FD*, p. 340, paragraph 1. Cf. *FD*, p. 341. Footnote 40 indicated that at Jaén they visited the "cloth of Veronica" (linteum Veronicae) and the monastery of Holy Mary of Guadalupe in Cáceres.  
87 *FD*, p. 340, paragraph 2. "...Dixo que con parescer de su madre, e por acompanhar a su madre e también por devoción que tenia de yr [a] aquellas romerias." My translation: "She said that (it was) with the decision of her mother. And it was in order to accompany her mother and also for devotion that she had gone on those pilgrimages."
the hospital to speak to them. 88 When asked what Iñigo taught and how he taught it, she answered that he taught the commandments. 89 Afterwards, at Mencía's house, she attended a session along with several other women, including Mencía, who listened together as he related to them the life of Saint Ann, St. Joseph and other saints. He said other things that she did not remember. 90

When questioned about whether she had taken any spells, she said that she had not. However, she saw María de la Flor and other girls (muchachas) have fainting spells (desmayos) at the house of Mencía de Benavente. 91

Finally, she was asked how often Iñigo advised her to confess and receive the holy sacrament. She said "every eight days, he said, if one might find or has found oneself disposed (se hallase/hallava)." 92

**María del Vado**

María del Vado testified on the same day as her daughter, Luisa, and her servant, Catalina, May 21, 1527. 93 During her very brief interview, after searing herself in and identifying herself as a widow and as an inhabitant of the town, she answered questions about her absence, about who counseled her regarding the trip to Jaén and about whether

88 FD, p. 341, paragraph 3
89 FD, p. 341, paragraph 3.
90 FD, p. 341, paragraph 4. "Preguntad qué tanto a que comunica con Ynigo o las otros sus companeros. -Dixo que lo conosce desde antes de Navidad; los conosce e los a hablado e comunicado en casa de su madre dos veces, e en casa Mencia de Benavente, e en casa de Beatriz Ramires; e dos veces fue al ospital a le hablar." My translation: "Asked how frequently she communicates with Iñigo or the others, his companions. She said that she knows them from before Christmas; she knows them, she spoke to them, she communicated with them in the house of her mother twice and in the house of Mencia de Benavente and Beatriz Ramirez and twice she went to the hospital to speak to them."
91 FD, p. 341, paragraph 5.
93 FD, p. 341, paragraph 7.
she had communicated with Iñigo or any of his companions before or after her departure from Alcalá.\footnote{FD, p. 341, paragraph 7f.}

Her answers were short and to the point. She and her daughter Luisa went to Jaén to see "the Veronica (la Verónica)" and to visit Our Lady of Guadalupe. "Nobody" (ninguna persona) advised her to go. She went of her "own will (de su voluntad)." She took along her daughter and her servant.\footnote{FD, p. 341, paragraph 8.}

She finished by saying that she had spoken with Iñigo several times before she left and considered him (tenía por) a "good person" and a "servant of God" and "she hold him (so)."\footnote{FD, p. 342, paragraph 1.}

Catalina, Servant of María del Vado

Catalina’s deposition was even briefer than that of her mistress.\footnote{FD, p. 342, paragraph 2.} She was asked two questions. One about where they went during their absence. And, a second as to whether she had communicated with Iñigo or his companions. In the first instance, she stated that her landlady had brought her along with her own daughter, Luisa, to Jaén and to Guadalupe. In the second, regarding communication with these men, she said that she had not done so.\footnote{FD, p. 342, paragraph 2f.}

The Depositions of the Men

The depositions of several men were included in the trials. Three were witnesses in the same capacity as the women, Ferdinandi Rubio, a Franciscan priest, Julian Martínez, custodian of the Anteçana hospital and Iñigo Loyola, a student.
Three other men acted in the capacity of Judges including Michael Carrasco, Alfonso Mejía and John Rodríguez Figueroa. The Vicar Figueroa actually handed down the two sentences to Íñigo and his companions in the name of "the holy Mother Church." Let us examine the content of these depositions and the sentences handed down.

Ferinandi Rubio

Fray Rubio, a forty-two year old priest, was probably associated with the Anteñana for hospital ministry or a priest known in the town of Alcalá. After explaining that he knew the four or five young men who were described as going around in a certain garb and "living in the manner of the apostles," Ferdinandi Rubio went on to describe an incident that occurred one day while he was looking for a "measure of bran or grain" (un celemín de salvados que avía menester). He arrived at the house of "Isabel (Sanchez)," la rezadera (the praying woman) or beata who lived behind the Church of St. Francis on the "street of the beatas." When he tried to go into the house, he encountered Isabel in her parlor, with two or three other women, kneeling in a circle with hands folded in prayer, around a young man, seated in a chair, carrying on a conversation with them. Rubio and his companion (con un muchacho) were invited to leave ("Déxanos agora, padre, questamos ocupados.") since she and the group were busy.

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99 FD, p. 339, paragraph 2. "...los mandamientos de la santa madre Yglesia."
100 FD, p. 322, paragraph 4.
101 FD, p. 322f.
103 FD, p. 322. On the one hand, since Íñigo would have been about thirty-five years old in 1526, the "young man" ("...hombre de poca edad, que podrá aver hasta veynte años;...dicho mancebo...") was probably not Íñigo but Calisto or one of the other followers of Íñigo. On the other hand, Rubio did seem to contradict himself and say that the "older" ("...quel major dellos...") one was with the women, suggesting that it would have been Íñigo although the ages of the other men are not given.
104 FD, p. 323, paragraph 1.
at the moment.\textsuperscript{105} When he saw Isabel that same afternoon, she told him not to be
scandalized at what he saw because the man that he saw with them was “un santo.”\textsuperscript{106}

When asked several questions about these young men and the people who
attended the gatherings, he noted that he had heard(oydo a dezir) that they came together,
with both “men and women,” “young and old,” at a “certain hour of the day, in the
hospital of Our Lady,” “on main street.”\textsuperscript{107}

When asked whether they lived together, he said “no.” They each lived by
themselves(sy[sino]cada uno por sí).\textsuperscript{108}

Asked about the age of each and whether they were old or young, he said that
they were all young men and boys. The eldest of them(quel major dellos) was the one
that he believed was with the women in prayer at Isabel Sanchez’s house.\textsuperscript{109}

When asked whether these were educated or uneducated persons, he said that he
did not know, but some of them are listening (oyen) to the principles of “grammar and
logic.”\textsuperscript{110} He added that they were (vain) not going to the college(al estudio) rather they
were being instructed privately (salvo que particularmente los enseñar).\textsuperscript{111}

When asked if they were indigenous(naturales) to the region, he said that he did
not know except that one of them was from Nájara.\textsuperscript{112} Nor did he know whether they
were “converts”(conversos) or “old christians”(christianos viejos).\textsuperscript{113}
When asked about their dress and manner of living, for him the "great novelty" about these men came from the fact that they gathered with other to converse("... cosa de gran novedad, mayormente juntarse como se juntan a platicar."). He did not mention their dress as he was asked. And, he was ordered to secrecy.

Julian Martínez

Julian Martínez was custodian of the hospital of Our Lady of Misericordia. Canon Licentiate Mexia called for his testimony after he was sworn in. He was asked whether he knew the young men who had newly arrived in the town of Alcalá, dressed as they were in simple brown cloth (pardillos claros) in the style of a cassock (d'opas) down to the toes and without shoes. He answered that he knew the five men. He named them as Iñigo, Calisto, Cañres, Artiaga and Juanyco and pointed out that Iñigo went without shoes.

When asked whether some or all of these men came together in the hospital, he said that sometimes he saw them assembled, sometimes four of them, and at other times, the three others.

When asked, furthermore, where they assembled and what they talked about, if he had heard them, he said that sometimes they gathered in the room of Iñigo and other times below on the patio of the hospital. They spoke so quietly that, from where they were gathered, this witness did not understand the.

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114 FD, p. 324, paragraph 3.
117 FD, p. 329, paragraph 1.
118 FD, p. 329, paragraph 1.
119 FD, p. 329, paragraph 2.
120 FD, p. 329, paragraph 3.
Then, he was asked whether someone of them remained some nights to sleep with Inigo in the hospital. He said that he did not see them stay to sleep except for Calisto. When he came to town, he remained to sleep with Inigo for two or three nights, until they found a residence for him.¹²¹

When asked where the others lived and whether they were all together, and in what manner, he said that Calisto and Caçres lived in the house of Andrés de Avila, and Artiaga and Juanico in the house of Hernando de Par[r]a.¹²²

Next, the committee asked whether they each had their own bed. He pointed out that they slept two by two, two in each bed.¹²³

Then, he was asked whether he knew or heard them say the reason for wearing clothing that was different than the other students. He answered that he did not know.¹²⁴ When he was asked whether he heard said that Inigo had induced the others to go about dressed in that manner, he said that he did not know except to say that Juanico was a page of don Martín de Córdova, who is viceroy in Navarra. When he passed by here, they wounded him and they brought him to the hospital where the witness was to heal him. After recovery, Inigo made him give(away) the clothing which he wore.¹²⁵

He was then asked if he saw women, young girls and students going into the hospital to listen to the teaching of Inigo. He answered that he saw many married women, young girls, students and married men going to speak with Inigo. Although he saw them entering his little room, he did not know what he said to them there.¹²⁶

¹²² FD, p. 329, paragraph 5.
¹²⁴ FD, p. 329, paragraph 7.
¹²⁵ FD, p. 329f., paragraphs 8 and 1.
¹²⁶ FD, p. 330, paragraph 2.
The committee then asked the custodian whether he knew some persons who went to hear his teaching. He said that he had seen the seventeen-year-old daughter of Isidoro, the tax gatherer, many times. He also saw the daughter of Juan de la Parra of the same age along with Isabel Sanchez, "the prayer," Beatrice Dávila and Juan, the saddle maker. Very many were going each day and he did not remember who they were. Sometimes there were "ten or twelve" together with Iñigo.\textsuperscript{127}

When asked whether he had seen some "suspect women" or those who were of bad putation (mala fama), the custodian said that he did not know but for Beatrice Dávila whom he described as a "muger del mundo (prostitute), before she was married."\textsuperscript{128}

When asked at what time of day more of these women visited to speak with Iñigo, the custodian answered that the women came, "en amaneciendo, y otras a otras oras del día, fasta la noche," "early in the morning and others at other times of the day, until the night."\textsuperscript{129}

When asked what these men and women wore who came to talk with Iñigo, he answered only that those who came in the morning came "covered (atapadas=headdress indicating marriage commitment)."\textsuperscript{130}

Lastly, when he was asked what the hospital gives to Iñigo, he answered, "food, drink, candle and bed."\textsuperscript{131} He, too, was sworn to secrecy about the proceedings.\textsuperscript{132}

\textbf{John Rodríguez Figueroa}

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{FD}, p. 330, paragraph 3.  
\textsuperscript{128} \textit{FD}, p. 330, paragraph 4.  
\textsuperscript{129} \textit{FD}, p. 330, paragraph 5.  
\textsuperscript{130} \textit{FD}, p. 330, paragraph 6.  
\textsuperscript{131} \textit{FD}, p. 330, paragraph 7.  
\textsuperscript{132} \textit{FD}, p. 330, paragraph 8.
In November 21, 1527, Figueroa was the vicar general of the ecclesiastical court of Alcalá. As part of their sentence, he had the authority to order Inigo and his companions to change their distinctive clothing for the common ones worn by clerics or laity.\textsuperscript{133}

After dating the events in relation to the birth of the Lord, the year 1526, and after identifying himself as vicar general of the Court of Alcalá, and noting the source of his authority in the Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonsus de Fonseca, Figueroa proceeded to indicate that he had been informed (fue informada) that Inigo, Artiaga, Calixto, Lope de Cañes and Juan “walk together” as a group(todos cinco andan juntos), each wearing brown clothes, in the style of cassocks, with hoods of the same cloth.\textsuperscript{134}

For “just reasons”(por causas justas) which persuaded him, he ordered and commanded each of them, in virtue of holy obedience and under pain of excommunication(descomunión mayor) which, by doing the next eight days, to change their manner of dressing and conform with the common dress(ábito común) that the clerics and the laity wear in these regions of Castile.\textsuperscript{135}

He ordered that (a copy of) the sentence be given to them in translation.\textsuperscript{136}

Inigo de Loyola: Third Process

In contrast to the “depositions” of the witnesses in all three trials, the recorded statements of Inigo were termed an “interrogation of S. Ignatius made by John Rodriguez de Figueroa” which took place on May 18, 1527.\textsuperscript{137}
The opening statement pointed out the time and place at which the “Lord Vicar” went to visit the “ecclesiastical prison”\textsuperscript{138} and commanded Iñigo to appear before him. He pointed out that he was well aware(bien sabe) that authorities commanded and ordered Iñigo last Christmas before the notary of this document, Juan de Madrid, that he would not gather the people[non fiçiese aiuntamiento de gente(que se dice conventiculo)] to instruct nor teach anybody, according to the command contained in the document.\textsuperscript{139} The scribe claimed that Iñigo had not completed that first sentence(que el dicho Ynigo non loa conplido/non lo cumple=M) before he(Vicar?) came against him(antes a venido contra) again. He has responsibility for this, as against disobedience to the commandments of the holy mother Church. If he has some reason and excuse which he tells and maintains, he is ready to receive it.”\textsuperscript{140}

To this he responded that the Vicar had not commanded him by way of precept. If they had some words, it was by way of counsel and he does not remember.\textsuperscript{141}

“Moreover, for how long was Iñigo among the persons with whom he communicated, especially, the women whom he had instructed, had (given) information and had advised? Whether all spells and whether they faint as if they are captivated (desarrebatadas: to captivate or charm) and lose their senses(perder, pierden el sentido). He then explained the cause of the spells and faintings and if the above happens to him(cómo pasa lo susodicho a él).”\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{137} FD, p. 339, paragraph 14.

\textsuperscript{138} FD, p. 339, footnote 36 pointed out that Iñigo was in prison for about a month before this visit. He entered prison on 18 or 19 April, 1526 and was there for forty-two days at the time the women were away on pilgrimage.

\textsuperscript{139} FD, p. 339, paragraph 2. The specific injunction not “to instruct or teach anyone” was not contained in the version of the “first sentence of Figueroa”(Cf. FD, pp. 330f.) as this notary public claims.

\textsuperscript{140} FD, p. 339, paragraph 2.

\textsuperscript{141} FD, p. 339, paragraph 3.

\textsuperscript{142} FD, p. 339, paragraph 4.
"To this, Iñigo said that he perceived these spells in five or six women. They swooned (estaban amortecidas) with these spells (desmayos). And, what he makes out or comprehends (alcanzar, alcança) of these spells is that when they improved their life (la vida) and separate (se apartavan) themselves from their sins, great temptations come to them, now from the devil, now from the relatives. The changes made them come into (en; venir a = M) those spells because of the contradictions (repuancia) that they felt within themselves. He used to consol them when he saw them so, saying that they ought to be firm in the (times of) temptations and torments. If they would do so, within two months they would not feel some of the temptations (non syntieran tentación alguna de aquellas). And, if he said it, it is because on the issue of temptations it appears that the knows by his own experience (en su propia persona). However, he does not know in the same way on the issue of spells (desmayos)."

"Also, he asked whether Iñigo had counseled women from this town or outside it, married or ready for marriage, so that they might discover what happened with their confessors in the confessional, and whether he prohibited them from telling the confessor some things that they should confess. And, [whether] he had counseled anyone of the persons mentioned, (like) the ones who left their houses and family, now wandering under the pretext of pilgrimage to remote places, very far from their homes."

"Iñigo said that some persons discovering that they had some scruples and temptations, and knowing that some things were not sin, he (them) that they might not be cured by confessing it. And, some things that seemed to him that they were sins, he

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143 FD, p. 340, paragraph 1.
144 FD, p. 340, paragraph 2. According to footnote 37a, this whole paragraph was obliterated in the Original text. This raises the disturbing thought about what else might have been deleted or, perhaps, added to this text.
counseled them that they might confess them. And, nothing else happened. And, that he denies having nor solicited to know what happened in the confessions with the confessor.”145

The Sentence: The Third Process

“...The Vicar(Figueroa) commanded Iñigo to appear before him. He said that for just reasons which moved him(the Vicar), resulting from this information and other information outside it, that he ordered and commanded Iñigo that, within the ten first days following, he relinquish the habit that he is wearing, the one with ample cloth in the style of a cassock, and conform himself with the common habit of the indigenous people of those regions, taking the common habit of the cleric or the layman, whichever he wanted. Within these ten days, in as much as he has not taken off the said habit, he may not leave the house where he lives and inhabits.”146

“Moreover, he commanded that from now on, for the space of three whole years, which runs from this day, he may not instruct nor teach any person, man or woman, of whatever state or condition that they are, in public or secret, creating gatherings of people, private and particularly for individual persons(women=om. In A&F), nor any other manner whatever there is or is able to be, neither may he cure by explanaton of the commandments nor anything touching upon our holy catholic faith for the space of said three complete years. And, after the three years pass, nevertheless, the effect of thes commandment endures, except if an ordinary judge and vicar general in spiritual things

145 FD, p. 340, paragraph 3. Cf. also, FD, p. 340, paragraph 3, endnote o, referring to text A or F which offered less confusing texts for the last sentence. We used text A here, “lo que en las confesiones pasava con el confesor.” “[64v] Dixo que algunas personas, descubriendole (descubriendo=A) ellas algunas escrúpulos e tentaciones que tenian, conociendo él que algunas cosas no heran pecado, les decía que non curasen de confesalio; e algunas cosas que le parecía que heran pecados les aconsejava que lo confesasen. E non pasa otra cosa. E que niega aver él yunquiro ni procurado de saber lo que los confesados pasavan con sus confesores en la confesión.”

146 FD, p. 340, paragraph 5.
of the place and diocese, where at the time Iñigo resides, may give him licence to teach.

What he said he ordered him and commanded him under pain of major excommunication,
which he incurs ipso facto, doing the contrary. And, that he will be banished from these
regions perpetually."\textsuperscript{147}

Exact copies of this order were ordered sent to Calisto so that “they are kept and
completed” and by all the other followers, under the same “pain and censures.”\textsuperscript{148} And,
Iñigo consented to it.\textsuperscript{149} The others were thereby notified on the same day.\textsuperscript{150} The
witnesses, Melchior Días and Alonso de Madrid, and the notary public, Juan de Madrid,
signed and sealed.\textsuperscript{151}

Conclusions

Introduction

The trials at Alcalá were an examination in detail of the life-style and
teachings of Iñigo de Loyola and his companions. Ignatius and these younger men were
studying philosophical subjects under private tutors at the University of Alcalá. At the
same time, the group was meeting among themselves and with other groups of men,
women and girls to talk and pray. The group centered its activities at the local hospital
called the Anteúana under the patronage of Our Lady of Misericordia. Ignatius also
received a cross section of men, women and girls who came to him for spiritual help and
from the description of one holy woman, at least, he was considered a holy man. The

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{147}{\textit{FD.}, p. 342f., paragraph 5 and 1.}
\footnote{148}{\textit{FD.}, p. 343, paragraph 2.}
\footnote{149}{\textit{FD.}, p. 343, paragraph 3. Cf. footnote 43, “Ynigo...lo consymió.”}
\footnote{150}{\textit{FD.}, p. 343, paragraph 6. “Este dicho dia fue notificado esta sentencia e mandamiento a Juan
Lopez, e a Renalde,e a Calisto, e la Caçres.”}
\footnote{151}{\textit{FD.}, p. 343, paragraph 7 and 5(seal).}
\end{footnotes}
young men with Iñigo included a student like Calisto who was on his way to Mexico soon and a page, Juanico, who worked for a local potentate and seemed to have changed his life after being helped heal from wounds inflicted in battle, something like what happened to Iñigo himself.

What made these trials so interesting to me was the fact that they had depositions for some many women who were close to Iñigo some even called his followers at this early staff of his journey.

**Conclusions: What did Iñigo Get from Alcala?**

What did Iñigo get for his labors? All that he seems to have received was room and board at the hospital. He was also able to use the hospital as a base for his ministries. In essence, he got his food, bed and candle, as the head of the hospital indicated. What more did he get? He seemed to have a home base from where he could study and exercise his ministry of meeting new people who were potential followers or helpers in the vineyard of the Lord. He seemed already well known though he was there only a short time and he did make quick inroads into the homes of active Christian people and engaged them at the deepest level to aid in their conversion.

**Conclusions: What did the People Get?**

What what did he give to the people? He gave them spiritual care in the food of talking and helping ministries. He conversed with people and apparently prayed with groups and others. At the root of what he gave to the people seemed to be a kind of practical discernment that helped them see their sins but also see(some) the will of God.

However, what he gave to some was a bit more than they could take. Luckily he was able to convince the people that they had to sensationalism what not the point. What
was the point was that when people’s lives changes in order to serve God, they suffered and suffered even more if they did not see the connection. Some of the young women seemed to learn what the experiences of spells meant. They reacted differently. At least one decided to leave the region and others valued what they learned.

The concrete information that came out of the mouths of these women showed how much they absorbed from what Iñigo taught them. Some points included the following: the commandments to love God and neighbor, the examination of conscience, methods of prayer, sacraments of reconciliation and eucharist, combating temptations, information about the saints like Mary of Egypt, information on the Gospels, etc.

**Use of a Short Form Spiritual Exercises**

All these things and more came directly out of the depositions of these women. The use of the content of what we know as the Eighteenth annotation of the Spiritual Exercises today shows that Iñigo was practicing what he preached in the annotations of the text in relationship to the readiness of persons for the whole Exercises. His work with groups and individuals like Maria de la Flor were a big success. Later, Maria apparently made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Rome. Work both with individual men and women and with neighborhood groups was apparent.

**Trouble with the Church Authorities**

From the questions, the authorities were very cautious with regard to Iñigo and his companions. Apparently, they did not always appreciate the good that Iñigo and his companions did both inside and outside the hospital. Iñigo did go to jail for these suspicions. He was there for forty days while they awaited the return of the mother,
daughter and servant who had traveled to Guadalupe on pilgrimage, though not at the instigation of Iñigo.

Finally, Figueroa reprimanded to stop wearing distinctive garb that might attract people and stop talking to them. On the one hand, Figueroa's sentence required Iñigo and his companions to either desist from these endeavors within ten days or suffer excommunication and possibly banishment. Much later on, when Ignatius arrived in Rome, however, Figueroa saved Ignatius by arriving in his defence when adversaries tried to destroy the Society before it got started by bringing up past events as obstacles. Figueroa's greeted those people in Rome and set the record straight about the subject of his difficulties.

Interestingly, Iñigo took all these accusations in stride and worked through them to the positive core. Once again, he took seriously the advice he gave to the women experiencing a variety of sufferings while trying to change their lives. When they did try, the evil attacked. His optimism in the face of difficulties and his joy at the fact of incarceration because of the women on pilgrimage, showed that these attacks seem to be telling him that he was doing something right. His eventual decision to go on to studies for the priesthood may have come with the realization that he could do what he thought was needed within the Church's structures. His life was testimony to this recovery from the sad spirits of his detractors as he obtained approbation of his Order and his Spiritual Exercises against the foudest wishes of some of his adversaries.

**Marian Presence**

The Marian presence during this stage in his life was noticeable. This manifestation of the Marian presence takes place among the women of Alcalá who are
seeking to learn how to change their lives in order to serve God better. Both Iñigo and Calisto relied upon Mary’s intercession in giving advice to Maria de la Flor among others. It should not go unnoticed that his whole ministry of conversation and prayer came out of the hospital dedicated to the healing of people that was under the patronage of Our Lady of Misericordia or Mercy.
Appendix III

Religious Icons of Mary
in the Ignatian Itinerary
Sequential Photo Figures I-VIIIb Follow


III. Our Lady of Montserrat. La Morenita or Black Madonna of Montserrat. Romanesque wooden figure enthroned with the Child, both crowned, holding orbs, dating from the end of the Eleventh century. Rahner and Imhof, slide #15.

IV. La Madonna della Strada. Fourteenth century painting on a slab of stone located in a side-chapel between Main altar and the altar of St. Ignatius in the Gesu Church of Rome. Rahner and Imhoff, slide #39.

V. La Sacra Familia(The Holy Family). Photo postcard by Felice Bono. Restored painting that hung over the altar where Ignatius celebrated daily Mass.

VI. La Madonna della Scrivania(Our Lady of the Desk). From a photo postcard by Felice Bono. In the rooms of St. Ignatius, Rome.


VIII. Our Lady of the Triple Colloquy. From “Libros De Horas, Anima Christi, Y Ejercicios Espirituales De S. Ignacio,” 17 AHSI (1948) : p. 34.

VIIIa. By the title given to this image, Fr. Pedro Leturia suggested that it illustrated the Triple Colloquy in the Spiritual Exercises. A description of the image follows: On the bottom left corner of the image, the “Destinataires,” man and woman, overshadowed by a colped angel(Gabriel?), who is introducing them with hand outstretched toward the Virgin Mary. The man holds a ribboned banner with the scripted words, “Mostra te esse Matrem,” “Show yourself to be Mother.” The Virgin stands slightly higher on the right portion of the image with bared right breast in her right hand, surrounded by five attending angels, who have their eyes fixed on her as she does above on her Son, the Risen Crucified Christ. Christ, dressed in simple dark outer garment and linen loin cloth, crowned with thorns, stands with right hand cupped under his wounded right breast, blood flowing profusely, with eyes
fixed directly to his left and pierced left hand raised in blessing gesture to the Father directly across from him dressed in what could be papal or high priestly garb with tierra, colpe, breast ornament and right hand raised in blessing gesture back to the Risen Crucified Son. Smaller angels surround Christ and the Father with a white dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit centered between and just above these two persons of the Trinity. Larger and smaller jewels mounted in ring-like settings decorate the border of the image.

VIIIb. An accompanying page has a picture of St. Bernard of Clairvaux with a Latin inscription printed in manuscript style and in a special scripted font. "Securum accessu habes o homo apud deù ubi máter ante filiú filius ante patré. Mater ostēdit filio pectus et ubera. Filius pú latus et vulnera. Ibi ergo nulla erít repulsa. Ubi tot occurrút caritatis insigma." Under this picture and inscription, the words, "Saint Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux, Heures à l'usage de Mâcon, fol. 17 (Collection Siraudin). My translation: "You have secure access, O Man, before God where Mother is before her Son and her Son is before the Father. Mother shows her chest and breast to her Son. The Son his side and wound. Thereby, no one is turned away. All this happens where charity is renowned."
Figure V
Coram hoc B. Mariae Virginis imagine, in romana Basilica St. Pauli,
S. Ignatius eiusque socii professionem sollemnem emiserunt
128 aorilis 1541

Figure VII
EL TRIPLE COLOQUIO
en un libro de Horas de Múcon (hacia 1480).
(Colección Shaudin).

Figure VIIIa
SAINT BERNARD, ABBé DE CLAIRVAUX.
Heures à l'image de Mâcon, fol. 17 (Collection Siraudin).

Figure VIIIb
During his whole life, Saint Ignatius had a preferential love for Our Lady. Those who lived with him left us numerous testimonies. Even before the great illuminations of Manresa, he felt, according to Father Lainez, "a special devotion for Our Lady: 1 "a spiritual instinct which was enlightening and purifying. After the days in which the knight, "militari adhuc spiritu," 2 yearned to "avenge the honor of Our Lady," 3 his whole life was marked by her sign because of the mysterious apparitions in which he saw, "with his interior eyes," 4 that the Mother of God "helped him before her Son and before the Father," 5 as far as the heights of mystical fullness. Rather than speak of her, (he hardly evokes her two or three times in his Letters), he places himself under her protection at every decisive moment in his career. Offering his chastity "to Our Lady," he made a vigil of arms before the Virgin of Montserrat, vows at Montmartre on the feast of the Assumption 1534, first Mass in the Basilica of Saint Mary Major and religious profession at the altar of the Virgin in Saint Paul's Outside-the-Wall, etc.: we are able to follow, how, in the whole life of Ignatius, his spiritual ascension (begin page 33) developed "coram sacratissima Virgine Maria (in the presence of the most holy Virgin Mary)."

The love which was expressed, thus, in the life of the knight, the pilgrim and the mystic, threw into relief an interior experience of which we are able to know the broad outlines through the Exercises. This little book contains, in actions more than in doctrine, the whole Ignatian spirituality. The presence of Our Lady reveals there an original meaning that it is necessary for us to bring to light.

In the Exercises, two kinds of texts make mention of the Virgin Mary. Some texts evoke the mysteries of her life in relation to those of the life of Christ, meditated upon from the Second Week. The others, proposing to the retreatant certain privileged encounters with Our Lady, according to the conditions of soul that the rhythm of the Ignatian method has him experience. In studying these two series of texts, let us try to bring to precision those spiritual ways the texts open to us.

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1 Footnote (FTN) 1, page 32: "<<Proper pietatem insignem et devotionem P. Ignatii, et totius Societatis in Sacrosanctem Virginem Dei Matrem, quae Societatis universum patrocinium suscepit signulare.>> (Nadal, Scholia in Constitutionibus, p 79.)"

2 FTN 2, page 32: "The word is from Polanco (MHSI, Fontes Narrativi, II, 521)."


4 FTN 4, page 32: "Ibid., n. 29 "

5 FTN 5, page 32: "Saint Ignace, Journal spirituel (Ephemeris or Spiritual Diary), 8 Février (February 9, referring to Ignatius' entry for that date)."
After the solemn contemplation of "the life of the Eternal King," the Exercises introduce us into the evangelical cycle by making us first adore "Our Lord newly incarnate" in the womb of the Virgin Mary [101ff., hereafter, this bracketed number refers to paragraphs in the text of the Spiritual Exercises]. The scene of the Annunciation, which precedes and inaugurates the life of Christ, comes to us in the perspectives dear to Saint Ignatius. Not at all a scene from Fra Angelico, reduced to the single room in which Our Lady prays and in which the Angel appears as bearer of the message. Rather, we see the vast canvas of the history of the salvation of the world upon which the two persons, and the little house of Nazareth itself, stand out clearly. In this moment of human time attained in its "fullness"[102], the room of Our Lady is the place of encounter between God who gives himself and humanity which receives. Each step of the contemplation obliges us to keep our eyes fixed at the same time on the Trinity which saves, on the world plunged into sin and on the Virgin in whom is taking place and (in whom) takes place the union of the God savior and man saved."

Sin renders one spiritually "blind"[106]; it hardens the hearts in the hatred of God[107]; it is death and the power of death[108]. In contrast to it, the Virgin, greeted by the Angel, is all light; she speaks only in order to accept the gift of God; her essential activity is to "humiliate herself and to give thanks."

The mystery of Mary affirms itself, therefore, only in relation to the universality of sin and the universality of salvation, as already being the mystery of the Church, that is, the mystery of humanity believing and saved. In order to remain Ignatian, this meditation must never dissociate the two pictures of the Incarnation and the Annunciation, but must enlarge itself continually to be dimensions of the created and redeemed universe. It is not at all a question of delaying in some psychological or moral analyses, but of living in Mary and with her the messianic mystery of God awaited, desired and given.

The final "colloquy" of this contemplation, which addresses itself to the Divine Persons, to the Word incarnate or to Our Lady, wins us definitively to "following and imitating Our Lord" and therefore making our own this history of salvation of the world."

The contemplation that follows moves again in the same direction. Simple contemplation, relaxed, this is a contemplation in which we attempt to adore the mystery of the Nativity, as the "little poor ones" and the "little unworthy servants." But , this one has an interest in the detail of the contemplated scene in order to see in this birth of the "Lord" the open way to the Cross and toward the realization of the Redemption. One does not stop the contemplation at the sweetness of the Manger, nor at the "silence" of Jesus or of Mary: the soul faithful to Saint Ignatius is already carried away toward Calvary and toward the "hour" of Jesus.

One remembers how Father Nadal, contemplating an image of the Nativity, "received such a light that he was led to taste and to contemplate Christ crucified."6 Father Faber, noting in his Memorial the interior movements that he experienced on

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6 FTN 1, page 34: "MHSI, Nadal, IV, 707, cité dans Christus, n. 1, p. 97."
Christmas Eve, was carried away in a rush analogous to "being born, he said, to every work which realized my salvation, the honor of God, the service of the neighbor,... in order to imitate the one who has been( start page 35) conceived for the sake of each person, who was born for each and has died." The shadow of the Cross already surrounds the Manger of Bethlehem and gives it all its meaning. The Virgin Mary seems to bear in her arms the one who, Saint Ignatius says, "after all the sufferings, after the hunger, the thirst, the warmth and the cold, the injustices and the affronts, dies on the cross." Maternity according to the flesh is already for Mary the spiritual maternity understood by all the "sons" who engender or give rise to the sacrifice of Jesus.

At the Annunciation, the Virgin accepts the salvation of the world; at the Nativity, she beholds the Cross. In the ways that follow, the Exercises present the marian mystery under the same light again.

Saint Ignatius groups together the episodes of the Presentation and the Flight into Egypt in order to be contemplated one after the other and then repeated. Here again, this desire to unite two mysteries in the one same spiritual effort testifies to the exact value which they had in his eyes. Through this mystery of flight "as in exile", the Virgin offers her Son and understands the prophecy of Simeon. Already she saw the Cross.

The meaningful union of these two mysteries has drawn attention, moreover, by a commentator. Perhaps, never did anyone express it so clearly as in some admirable formulas of Bérulle. Making the Exercises under the direction of Father Maggio, he notes the reflections that my soul was drawn and disposed to carry the Cross which is the lot of all those who make a case for giving themselves to God and to following him, as it has been with Jesus, with Mary and with Joseph. ... In this same passage, I have immediately considered that as soon as Mary had presented Jesus to God the Father, she speaks to him of the Cross and he returns her to the Cross. Mary returns to the Cross: such is precisely the grace which Saint Ignatius wants to make live in us.

The following day, two mysteries are connected in an intimate and characteristic way: Jesus submits to his parents (and) Jesus lost in the Temple. The Virgin Mary received in her heart the prophetic word of Jesus: it is necessary that I am about the things of my Father—first he announces to her—"It is necessary that the Messiah endure these sufferings in order to enter into his Glory." Henceforth, in the wholly secret life of the hearth at Nazareth, she identified with the obedience that marks her child, the presence of a Love that exceeds her own maternal love. She repeated the Fiat continually and was disposed also to pronounce it one last time at the foot of the Cross.

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7 FTN 1, page 35: "MHSL Favre, 591, n. 194(MHSJ, Faber, 591, n. 194.)."
8 FTN 2, page 35: "Ex. N. 118: "La troisieme contemplation sera la repetition du premier et du second exercice" (The third contemplation will be the repetition of the first and the second exercise)."
Continuing their slow advance, then the Exercises present us with the Virgin Mary in two other decisive moments in the redemptive mystery: the departure of Jesus for the Jordan and the hour of his death.

The first of these two contemplations are particularly rich in meaning. Saint Ignatius asks us to assist in a like spiritual vision, in the good-bye of Jesus to his mother and in his baptism by John the Baptist. The link is even more strict than for the preceding episodes: it is a question this time of a unique contemplation[150] where the two were admirably united. The Virgin receiving the good-bye of her Son offers him once again to the Father who, immediately, accepts this offering by proclaiming Jesus as "his Son well-loved" (Mt.3:17). Through his baptism, Jesus receives with the Holy Spirit the seal of his redemptive mission: Mary, perfect Mother, effaces herself in a gesture of love and offering. Renewing the offering of Christmas in which the Cross was already received, the offering of him in the Temple in which she was returned to the Cross, the continual offering at Nazareth, where she adored the will of the Father in his heart, she awaits not the moment for her child to leave, but the moment in which she delivers him to his mission and in which he disappears.

When we find her, she is at the foot of the Cross, in order to understand the second and last good-bye of Jesus who is dying: "behold your son"[208, 5th day; 297] and receive his immolated body[208, 6th day]. Saint Ignatius, who has never evoked any of the mysteries of the Virgin during the whole public life of her Son, insists now on her presence near to Jesus dying, dead, enshrouded. In addition, an entire contemplation shows her on the way that brings her from the tomb of Jesus "up to her house" [208, 6th day]. From the house of Narareth [103 and, implicitly, 158] to the house of Jerusalem, the whole mystery of Jesus given, offered and delivered, was accompanied at the same time that the house of Mary was mystically associated to the work and to the heart of her Son. Immediately the solitude of the Virgin at Nazareth has become the solitude of the Mother at Calvary. In the last day, consecrated to the Passion, the Exercises show us at length "the solitude of Our Lady, in a similar suffering and a similar exhaustion" [208, 7th day](end of first paragraph, page 37).
While the body of her Son reposes in the tomb, Mary experiences a total solitude corresponding to the solitude of the Apostles without overwhelming her. The maternal gesture, sketched on the threshold of the house of Nazareth, in order to express at the same time the good-bye and the offering, finds here its perfect accomplishment. Mary offers her Son immolated. This is not the sorrowful Pieta, but already the Church which for the first time, relives the mystery of the Last Supper. "It is good for you that I myself go away (Il vous est bon que je m'en aille)"; the "solitude" of Mary was necessary in order that she would be able, as the first of the New Covenant, to offer her sacrifice "in memory" of her Son who disappeared from her sight.

One would be tempted to look more profoundly still into this word of the Exercises inviting us to meditate on the solitude of Mary. Saint Ignatius would not oppose it if one judges it by a certain grace which he relates in his Journal, on the date of February 15th: "At the Mass, he writes, very great interior motions, with numerous and very propitious before(end of page 37) the Father. In such a way that, in the prayers to the Father, to the Son, and during the consecration, I was not able to feel her or to see her, as being part or port of such a great grace that I felt in spirit. At the consecration, she showed me that her flesh is in that of her Son, with so great an understanding that one is unable to articulate it."

Mystical experience is delicate to interpret. When Ignatius pronounces the words of consecration, Mary manifests to him not only that she is the mediatrix who(fait accéder) gives access to the eucharistic mystery("la porte, the door"), but that she herself participates("la part, participates") in this mystery. In the solitude in which she leaves behind her the departure of Jesus, can one see Mary associating herself by an eminent title to the sacrifice that the Apostles will have been charged to "repeat"?

Thus, the third week of the Exercises ends in this solitude which gives place(laisse place) to a perpetual offering. The fourth week opens itself with the apparition of Christ risen to "sa Mère bénie, his blessed Mother"[219]. No literary artifice. No dialectical game. But the achievement of a similar reality.

The Scripture says nothing to us about this encounter and one has objected to Saint Ignatius for having yielded here to a too imaginative piety. But, if he admits openly that "this is not said in Scripture,"[299] he challenges us, thereby, to a spiritual "understanding" of the texts. Since the Gospel tells us that Christ "has appeared to many", it is necessary to think that his first apparition was for the sake of his Mother. In judging otherwise, one would deserve the terrible comment: "And you also, are you without understanding?"[299].

First of the creatures redeemed, Mary was also the first to know the divine secret of each of the mysteries of her Son and the first to know him in his Glory. Moreover, it is not only of a priority in time that there is need to speak here: Mary is first because everything which happens in the Church and in its members is found already realized in her.
This is in effect the privileged situation of Mary vis-à-vis the entire Church that Saint Ignatius puts in relief in this mediation in which he includes all the contemplations (end of page 38) of Christ risen. Conqueror of death, Jesus comes "to console" his Mother[224]. This consolation, beyond all psychological or sensible emotion, is a fruit of the Holy Spirit, is the Holy Spirit himself, given from that Easter morning in which the Son of Man was glorified. When Saint Ignatius speaks elsewhere of "spiritual consolation", it is always in order to invite us to submit ourselves to this action of Jesus living by his Spirit in the Church and in souls.

Mary is also the first to receive the life of the Spirit. Better would it be to say that in her, it is the Church which receives the "consoler" promised on the night of the last Supper. In place of formulating an abstract spiritual principle (that which would not be without its style), Saint Ignatius renders apparent in the person of Our Lady the narrow tie which, from the death to the glory, from the sacrifice to the effusion of the Spirit, unites the third and the fourth weeks: on the mysteries of her solitude the contemplation of the Passion terminates; her mysteries manifest joy, in its first effects, the miraculous power of the Lord returned with all the brilliance of his "divinity"[223].

Once more, the Virgin received everything from her Son and her role is to unite us to the whole mystery of Easter, death and resurrection. To those who will have been faithful to the central perspectives to which they brought us back without ceasing, the Exercises discovered at the same time Christ, Our Lady and the unique way of holiness (p. 39).

Until now, we have studied the episodes from the life of Our Lady, conspicuous in the selection that Saint Ignatius made of them and in the particular relief that he gives to them, the precise meaning of which they take upon themselves in the spirituality defined by the Exercises. The person of the Virgin Mary appeared again in the second series of (end of page 39) texts, in order to accompany the journey and the progress of the retreatant.

The one who entered into the Exercises encounters Our Lady from the first day of the first week[63].

12 FNT 1, page 39: "Dans le corps des Exercices, toutes les méditations ou réflexions particulière à la quatrième semaine se situent dans le cadre de cette contemplation qui a pour titre: <<apparition du Christ notre Seigneur à sa Mère>> (In the body of the Exercises, all the meditations or particular reflections in the fourth week are situated in the framework of this contemplation which has for a title: <<apparition of Christ our Lord to his Mother>>. The <<contemplation to obtain love>> which follow it immediately is already of another order.)"
After having asked (and obtained by the grace of God) "shame and confusion for myself"[48], then an "intense sorrow and tears for his sins"[55], the retreatant has discovered himself a sinner, but sinner saved in Christ. In contemplating the Cross, which is the cause of his Redemption, one is able to test the feel of the first enthusiasm of "the new man", recreated by God. The first prayer addressed to Christ on the Cross, conqueror of the sin of the world, will be followed, at the end of the second meditation, by a prayer of thanksgiving: "thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Romans 7:25).

It was at that time that Our Lady appeared. The new man wants to live according to the law of God, but the old man felt controlled by the law of the flesh: the Virgin, triumph of Redemption, shows herself as the perfect creature whom sin has not stained and who is established in the spontaneity of grace. This "repetition" requested by Saint Ignatius[62-63] permits the retreatant to experience more strongly the division which tears him to pieces between the law of God through the Spirit and the law of Sin through the flesh: he contemplates then the Virgin Mary, pure, free, docile to grace, sparkling with all the interior beauty to which he aspires and, spontaneously, he entrusts himself to her prayer in order to obtain life according to God as a new creature.

The three questions which he addresses to him are precisely to know his faults, to feel the disorder of his activity, to know the world in order to preserve himself from it. In the instant in which, as sinner, he discovers at the same time the chains which hold him and the freedom which moves him, he turns himself toward the One whom the law of the Spirit preserves fully set free, and he implores him in order that in him, the servitudes of sin are dissolved to the roots.

Spiritual realism, most certainly: Saint Ignatius does not want conversion to be lost in sentiments nor in lyricism. But this recourse to Our Lady, in such a moment, is above all the acknowledgement of a very enlightened love. The Immaculate Virgin resumes all the perfection of the universe redeemed and restored in her pristine beauty; she is living hymn of joy and of gratitude sung to the glory of Jesus savior. Contemplation of Christ on the Cross[53], colloquy of "mercy" and of thanksgiving[61], conduct us to this third colloquy addressed to the very holy Virgin, in order to affirm and to project already onto the world "that which I must do for Christ."

Thus, the Virgin Mary is at the center of this first week, consecrated to the purification of the soul. Proclaiming the total success of the Redemption in our sinful race, she brings to contrition her peace, to conversion her truth, and she transforms both into a power of active generosity that will be offered soon for the labor of the Kingdom.

This offering of the retreatant was made in the course of the second week, on the occasiion of the key meditations of the "Kingdom" and of the "Two Standards." These two Meditations recover, in their simplicity and their grandeur, the most central truths of our faith, capable of creating the gift of a whole life. In order to understand the role which Our Lady plays here, we must place in a spiritual context what the extremely brief notes, by which St. Ignatius characterizes her presence, presuppose.
At the end of the meditation on the Kingdom, the offering which the retreatant was lead to make of himself to the “Eternal Lord of all things”[98] is addressed to Christ already established in his Kingship by his resurrection from among the dead. The Christ, in effect, calls more today those who want to associate with his work in the same manner that he formerly called Peter, John or Andrew. From the moment of those first vocations, Jesus has lead his struggle and has triumphed over the powers of evil on the Cross: “God has sovereignly exalted him and has given to him the Name which is above every name” (Philippians 2:9), constituting him “Lord” for eternity. At his side “the glorious Virgin” also reigns, first creature dressed in the glory which will one day be that of humanity and of all creation.”

But the Royalty of the Christ will be definitive only when “all things will be subjected to him” and only (end of page 41) “the Son will restore the Kingdom to God the Father” (1 Corinthians 15:24-28). In order to hasten this universal resurrection, it is necessary to pursue the struggle against the powers of evil at work in ourselves and in the world.

It is all this depth that St. Ignatius evokes from the divine plan: the glorious Christ calls us to “labor with him” in order that the “whole universe” may be able to enter with him into the Glory of the Father. There are there two spiritual moments: in the meditation of the Kingdom, the gift without condition for the Realm of Jesus by the total and absolute forgetfulness of ourselves; in the meditation of the Two Standards, at the threshold of the mysteries of the public life, lucidly confronting the combative struggle which we must again devote ourselves to in order to reproduce in ourselves the poor and humble life of Jesus ascending to his passion in order to be glorified.

Upon the two faces of this history of the world beams the Virgin Mary. She is at the side of the “eternal Lord” as “his glorious Mother”; but she makes it possible for us to be received and maintained “under his standard” in order to ascend by the way of the Cross. In her proper glory, she is the witness of humanity having arrived at its maturity; in the face of the enemy whom it is necessary for us to vanquish again, she is the pillar in combat. Virgin of the end of times, she presides over our history. She is the perfect Spouse introduced in service of her people. She realizes in herself the two aspectss of the Church: already glorious in the resurrected Christ, sorrowful in the struggle that she continues.

The prayer of the Two Standards is able, henceforth, to occur again in each meditation[156, 168, 199, etc.]: all our militant life is thus confided to the custody of our Lady whose care is preserving us faithful to the weapons chosen by Christ alone for its Redemption.

This choice of the weapons of Christ remains always a difficult decision. In order to assure it in the moment of election, that is to say, in order that the retreatant “orde his life”[21] conforming to the will of God and to the proper demands of his Realm, St. Ignatius engages in a supreme effort. “Before beginning the election”[164], (end of page 42) he asks him to put himself into the attitude of the “third degree of humility”:

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choosing by preference, by unique love of the Savior, the means which He has chosen Himself: poverty, humiliation, annihilation of self. “Exinanivit semetipsum, He emptied himself.”

The Virgin Mary is the perfect model of this attitude. The Exercises allow us to understand in an indirect but clear way. “The matter of the election will begin at the contemplation of the departure of Christ from Nazareth”[163]. But, as we come from recalling, before beginning the election, the retreatant must reflect “in the course of an entire journey”[164] on the requirements of the third degree of humility. That is to say that this effort to attain the “most perfect humility” will be exercised immediately after having meditated on13 the example of the Son leaving his Mother in order to offer himself in the baptism of John and that of the Mother giving up her Son: the one and the other embracing the will of the Father with our spontaneous preference for the way of the Cross which he has chosen: “I always do that which pleases him(John 8:29; cf. Mark 3:35).” In this manner, the Virgin Mary presented to everyone the work of the election. Nothing astonishing in that which the Exercises recommend as “very useful”[168], the same recourse to Our Lady that they proposed at the end of the meditation of the Two Standards.

In all the important steps of his spiritual itinerary, the retreatant encounters, thus, the One in whomc shines brightly the light of Christ. But, far from appearing only at certain privileged moments, the presence of Mary extends itself discretely but efficaciously, to every day of the retreat. In proportion as the prayer takes shape in the soul, as the meditation becomes a genuine appeal to God, it tends spontaneously to pass through Our Lady.

St. Ignatius returns often to this method of the “triple Colloquy” in which the soul prays first to Our Lady, before praying to the Son, then finally to the Father. In this( end of page 43) first movement which dwells upon the Virgin Mediatrix,14 there is much

13 FTN 1, page 43: “Conformément au texte des Exercices, la tradition des Directoires est unanime à présenter cette considération des trois degrés d’humilité immédiatement après la contemplation du départ avant la répétition de cette dernière contemplation(MHSI, Ex., 870)(Conforming to the text of the Exercises, the tradition of the Directories is unanimous in presenting this consideration of the three degrees of humility immediately after the contemplation of the departure of Christ From Nazareth and of his repetition of this last contemplation(MHSI, Ex., 870).”

14 FTN 2, page 44.”Evoquant cette méthode de prière familière à saint Ignace, le Père Nadal nous dit qu’cela surtout lorsque, dans l’oraison adressée à Dieu, il ne trouvait pas le profit spirituel attendu: comme s’il comprenait alors que la volonté de Dieu l’obligeait à descendre jusqu’à l’intercession des saints.>>(Nadal inédit cité par le P. Nicolau, Jeronimo Nadal, p. 255). >>Il ne faudrait pourtant pas, dans ce rythme qui va de Marie aut Fils et du Fils au Pere, voir la moindre nécessité. C’est encore le Journal spirituel qui nous oblige à nuancer beaucoup cette doctrine du <<triple colloque>>. D’une part, la méditation de Notre Dame n’y est pas distincte de celle de son Fils; le plus souvent, saint Ignace voit<<la Mère et le Fils propices pour intercéder auprès du Père>>, dans une prière qui leur reste commune. D’autre part, Notre Dame y prie fréquemment le Père sans que sa prière ait à recourir explicitement à celle de son Fils. Enfin, Ignace voit le Père se découvrir à lui, <<l’attirant à ses miséricordes>>, sans aucune médiation: en dehors d’une quinzaine de jours(du 2 au 12 mars) la présence des <<mediateurs>>: il semble que saint Ignace s’adresse aux Personnes divines sans qu’il éprouve le besoin de rechercher aucune prière médiatrice (Evolving this method of prayer familiar to St. Ignatius, Fr. Nadal said that “he made great use of the invocation of the saints and, in the first place, of the most holy Virgin Mother of God; and that above all
more still than the simple confidence with which we entreat her “because she obtains for us from her Son and Lord” the grace which we implore. Mother of divine grace, she is also the Mother of our prayer. She is, so to speak, the spiritual and living milieu (environment) in which our conscience is refined, in which our desire expands. She graciously receives the first request, awkward still, which begins to express itself in us and, uniting it to her own prayer, she gives it the perfect form which renders it agreeable to God. 15

Nothing testifies more how much Mary, creature like us, involves us in the perfection of that which she is in the eyes of God: perfect creature and Mother of all perfection in the heart of people, because she is the Mother of Jesus and because she does not ever cease for a moment to give birth to it in us.

At the end of this rapid study, it seems that we are permitted to extract characteristic traits of the Ignatian attitude (end of page 44).

A first remark is evident. Nowhere is Mary presented as playing a role limited to one aspect of the spiritual life. She is not the model of any virtue. She does not attend to any particular form of vocation (whether it be contemplation, penance, reparation, compassion, etc.). Her purity itself, which receives such enhancement by that which she raises in contrast with our sinful activity at the heart of sinful world, does not constitute one excellence among others which it may be necessary for us to imitate. This is so much more remarkable because, in the beginning of his conversion, Mary had obtained for Ignatius the gift of never more “consenting to things of the flesh” 16: no trace of it appeared in the Exercises.

when the will of God obligated him to descend to the intercession of saints.>> (Nadal, unedited citation by P. Nicolau, Jeronimo Nadal, p. 255).” //It was not necessary, however, in this rhythm which goes from Mary to the Son and from the Son to the Father, to see less necessity. There is still the Spiritual Journal which obliges us to better nuance this doctrine of the <triple colloquy>. On the one hand, the mediation of Our Lady is not distinct from that of her Son: most frequently, St. Ignatius sees <<the Mother and the Son propitious to intercede before the Father>>, in a prayer which remains common to them. And, on the other hand, Our Lady frequently prays to the Father without her prayer explicitly appealing to that of his Son. Finally, Ignatius sees the Father of days (12th to the 18th of February) in which Mary and Jesus intervened frequently in his prayer. The Journal mentions only incidently (in the course of a period itself limited, from 7-12 March) the presence of <<mediators>>. It seems that St. Ignatius addresses himself to the Divine Persons without whom he experiences the need to seek any (other) prayer mediatrix.)”

15 FTN 2, page 44: “Dans le Journal de saint Ignace, nous voyons le Père faire comprendre <<qu’il lui plairait d’être prié par Notre-Dame>>(25 Février) (In the Journal of St. Ignatius, we see the Father making him understand “that he was pleased to be prayed to through Our Lady” (15 February).”

16 FTN 1, page 45: “Saint Ignace, Récit du Pèlerin, n. 10 (St. Ignatius, Story of the Pilgrim, n. 10)” The original text of this document is referred to as the Acta S. Ignatii in the Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu[MHSJ]. Some authors refer to this document as the Autobiography.
Moreover, no contemplation introduced us directly and explicitly to the "interior" of Mary. Nothing keeps us on this incessant passage "of silence in silence, of silence of adoration in silence of transformation," so marvelously described by Bérulle and by the spiritual authors of his school. Nothing on the life of the Holy Spirit is in it. For Ignatius, Mary appeared only in the role that she plays at the side of her Son, toward her Son, with her Son, in the history of Redemption.

It is not that he turns away (or that he leads us away) from these secret and ineffable exchanges between the love of God and the response of the creature who is totally delivered to him. We have noted on the contrary the importance that he attaches to the scenes in which the meeting has the most intimate place, as the good-bye at Nazareth, or the appearance on Easter morning: two episodes in which the Scripture has nothing to say, but which the intuition of St. Ignatius extricates immediately the spiritual significance. It remains, however, that even though there were the "mystical roles," they always yielded themselves to the "historic roles" played by Mary in the economy of salvation. (Il rese cependant que meme alors les considérations<mystiques> le cèdent toujours au role <historique> joué par Marie dans l'économie de salut.).

If it were necessary to speak of a virtue to which Mary initiates in us, it would be poverty. The <<sovereign poverty>> of the Manger is the first response offered to the one who has already decided on "total poverty in fact or of the heart"[98]. To the Virgin who welcomes the prayer of the Two Standards, it is the gift of poverty which is requested at the first <<rung>>[146] in order to reach the perfect service of her Divine Majesty. The attitude which never again contradicts anymore, and which the third degree of humility seals in love similar to the poor Christ. But this poverty becomes more and more spiritual deprivation, <<solitude>>, the gift of the heart which offers itself in redemptive suffering. The third and the fourth weeks never again speak of poverty because this virtue is assumed itself in the annihilation of Calvary.

Poverty becomes total forgetfulness of self. We are at the heart of the Exercises, being at the heart of the mystery of the redemption. Poverty opens to us the ways of the Kingdom of God: it leads us to the perfect obedience which reproduces the obedience of Christ to his Father.

It is good, then, that the Virgin Mary leads us as model and as inspiratrix. She does not retain for herself our prayer nor our love: any <<devotion>> to Mary(...:aucune <<devotion>> à Marie que se détacherait au milieu d'autres dévotions.) stands out in the milieu of others. But the same enthusiasm carries us at once toward the Mother and the Son because they belong to each other in the same mystery which is the one of the Redemption through the victory of the Cross. The person of Mary always appeared, in the Exercises, in light of the work of her Son. It is from him that she takes her beauty, from him her glory: between the Immaculate One and the Glorious Virgin radiates the Sacrifice for which she has received and giver her Son. And as long as humanity will continue here below its passage through death, the Virgin, first-born of all creatures, will receive this moving prayer of the Two Standards which is the prayer of human history.
and the Church militant, at once glorious and sinful, victorious in Christ, but pursuing sorrowfully his ascension toward Jerusalem.

The exact perspectives of St. Ignatius are there. Speaking of the Virgin Mary, we must rediscover (end of p. 46) what is the motive and characteristic of her spiritual attitude: to work with all her strength to the glory of God, that is to say, to the advent of His Reign through the death and resurrection of every creature. The Exercises, themselves, beyond the more immediate end of the decision that puts the soul in perfect submission to grace, might not see anything of the other than to prolong the retreatant in the historical reality of the plan of God wanting to save the world by the blood of Jesus Christ. The Virgin Mary appeared indissolubly linked to this for which the Christ has wanted to be born of her, her whole mission is to place us under the standard of the Cross.

It was already in 1538 when St. Ignatius addressed this prayer to her. He made his way toward Rome where he fulfilled his first vows. Yet, one recollects here the same analysis made by Fr. Rahner regarding the vision at La Storta. Christ bearing his Cross received Ignatius as his servant. And henceforth, with the certitude which grounds the action of a whole life, the knows himself united to Christ on the Cross and vowed for always to the Redemption of the world. The vision and certitude are from grace, but only a long prayer had preceded, if not prepared. This prayer, since it is natural, was itself carried in the Virgin Mary: It was decided that after his ordination, he would remain one year without saying Mass, preparing himself and asking Our Lady whether she would place him with her Son. And one day, some miles before arriving in Rome, being in a church and praying, he felt such a change in his soul and he saw so clearly that God the Father placed him with his Son, that he never had the boldness to doubt it.

It is this, at once, very simple and rich formula which will continue to express for Ignatius this grace of La Storta: I remember the day in which the Father placed me with the Son, he will write in his Journal (23 February). Our Lady, in this manner, granted the prayer addressed to her. It seems to us that her whole role in the Exercises recapitulates the Formula of Ignatius, for himself also: to be placed with her Son, since this formula is also able to be connected with the whole spiritual effort of the retreat.

The love, thus borne in Our Lady has never been easy nor sentimental. In December 1524, in the era in which the Exercises were already substantially composed, Ignatius wrote to Ines Paschual in Barcelona, one of his benefactoresses: May it please Our

17 FTN 1, page 47: "Christus, n. 1, pp. 48f. (Christus, n. 1, pp. 48f.)."
18 FTN 2, page 47: "Saint Ignace, Récit du Pèlerin, n. 96 (Saint Ignatius, Story of the Pilgrim, n. 96)."
Lady...to obtain for us the grace, with our effort and pain, to convert our weak and sad spirits into strong and joyous spirits for the praise of her Son and Lord.>>19

Love which, a good distance from enfeebling us, or turning us away from action, disposes us, on the contrary, to the service of God through which He renews our sources of energy.

Love full of tenderness and sweetness, certainly. But which does not delay us in vain outpourings. The phrase that we come to cite is unique in all the correspondence of the Saint. But, whereas he does not speak, he acts. He guards over his heart, carried from his paternal castle, an image of the Virgin of Sorrows20: devotion that is totally Spanish, perhaps, but which shows his preference for the mystery most secret in which Mary is found united to the Passion of her Son.

Because his love was fed by more spiritual realities, which are also the more theological, more than once Ignatius sees Mary opening for him the depths of the Trinity. At Manresa, he recounts, <<one day when he found himself on the stairs of the entrance of the monastery (of St. Dominic) and where he recited the Hours of Our Lady, his spirit began to be transported as if he saw the most Holy Trinity.>>21 Several passages from the Journal, we have said, show Mary interceding not only in the service of Jesus, but in the service of the Father, or of the three divine Persons, and leaving Ignatius filled to the brim with their presence, full of devotion and of tears. Since the love carried by Our Lady is able to lead to such graces, it is necessary for it to be founded on Christ who is the unique mediator of the blood of his Cross.

The Exercises are the school of an equal love. It is of little importance to us whether the modern critique has done justice to the legend that the Holy Virgin had <<dictated>> the Exercises in the grotto of Manresa. The marian institutions of St. Ignatius will continue to aid souls well in giving themselves to the Lord Jesus: they are worth more than the legend.

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19 FTN 1, page 48: "MHSI. Epist Igm. I, p. 72(MHSI, Letters and Instructions of St. Ign., I, p. 72)."
20 FTN 2, page 48: "MHSI. Scripta. II. p 970(MHSI, Scripta of St. Ignatius, II, p. 970)."
21 FTN 3, page 48: "Saint Ignace. Recit du Pelerin, n. 96(Saint Ignatius, Story of the Pilgrim, n. 28)."
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**Series I**


**Series II**

*SpEx--Exercitia Spiritualia S. Ignatii...et eorum Directoria*. ed. A. Codina. 1 vol. Madrid, 1919. The critical text of the Spiritual Exercises and the Directories compiled to describe how they ought to be conducted.

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