The Development of Marian Doctrine as Reflected in the Commentaries on the Wedding at Cana (John 2:1-5) by the Latin Fathers and Pastoral Theologians of the Church From the Fourth to the Seventeenth Century

A Dissertation submitted

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctorate in Sacred Theology

with specialization in Marian Studies

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Dedication

This Dissertation is Dedicated to:

Father Bertrand Buby, S.M.,
The Faculty and Staff at The International Marian Research Institute,
Father Jerome Young, O.S.B.,
Father Rory Pitstick,
Joseph Sprug,
Jerome Farley, my beloved husband, and
All my family and friends
# Table of Contents

Précis................................................................................................. xvii

Guidelines.......................................................................................... xxiii

Abbreviations..................................................................................... xxv

Chapter One: Purpose, Scope, Structure and Method

1.1 Introduction.................................................................................. 1

1.2 Purpose...................................................................................... 3

1.3 Scope.......................................................................................... 4

1.4 Present State of Research: Status Quaestionis.. 5

   1.4.1 Source for Quotations, without Commentary.......................... 5

   1.4.2 Marian Writings with Reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana Without Analysis.............................................. 5

   1.4.3 Exegesis of the Wedding Feast at Cana with Reference to Some Fathers.. 7

   1.4.4 Marian Thought without Reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana................. 8

   1.4.5 Commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana but not from These Periods....... 8

1.5 Structure: Periods and Writers.................................................. 9

1.6 Method........................................................................................ 10

   1.6.1 Overview of the Method................. 10

   1.6.2 Principles for Biblical Exegesis........ 11
Chapter Two: Foundation for Marian Doctrine: Second and Third Centuries

2.1 Introduction........................................................... 29

2.2 Tertullian and Cyprian in the Church of Roman North Africa......................................................30

2.3 Marian Doctrine Not Specific to the Wedding Feast.................................................................36

Chapter Three: The Patristic Period: Fourth and Fifth Centuries

3.1 Introduction............................................................... 43

3.2 The Latin Church in the West.................................44

3.2.1 Challenges Faced by the Fathers and the Church............................................................44
3.2.2 Greek Fathers' Influence on the Latin Fathers.................................................................45

3.2.3 Ecumenical Councils and Marian Doctrine................................................................. 46

3.2.4 Monasticism.................................................. 49

3.2.5 Primacy of the Pope and the Beginning of Western Theology................................. 50

3.2.6 The Fathers as Pastors.................................50

3.3 Life and Teaching of Hilary of Poitiers............52

3.3.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in De Trinitate, On The Trinity......................53

3.3.2 Commentary................................................56

3.4 Life and Teaching of Ambrose.........................57

3.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam, Luke's Gospel.................................................................58

3.4.2 Commentary.............................................60

3.4.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in De Institvtione Virginis, On the Education of Virgins.................................................................62

3.4.4 Commentary.............................................64

3.5 Life and Teaching of Maximus of Turin...........65

3.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Homilia XXIII, Sermon 23 on the Epiphany of the Lord.........................................................67

3.5.2 Commentary.............................................70
3.6 Life and Teaching of Paulinus of Nola....................71

3.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_Carmen XXV_, Poem 25.............................. 74

3.6.2 Commentary..........................................................76

3.7 Life and Teaching of Augustine..........................76

3.7.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_De Vera Religione_, Of True Religion......82

3.7.2 Commentary..........................................................84

3.7.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_De Fide et Symbole_, Faith and Creed......84

3.7.4 Commentary..........................................................86

3.7.5 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_Tractatvs VIII_, Tractate 8.........................87

3.7.6 Commentary..........................................................92

3.7.7 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_Tractatvs CXIX_, Tractate 119.....................94

3.7.8 Commentary..........................................................95

3.7.9 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_Sermo CCXVIII_, Sermon 218.......................96

3.7.10 Commentary.........................................................97

3.7.11 Synthesis: Augustine's Comments on
Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana......97

3.8 Life and Teaching of Gaudentius.........................99

3.8.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
_Sermo VIII_, Sermon 8.............................102
3.8.2 Commentary...........................................104
3.8.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
*Sermo IX*, Sermon 9.................................105
3.8.4 Commentary........................................... 109
3.8.5 Synthesis of Gaudentius' Comments
About Mary at the Wedding Feast...........110
3.9 Life and Teaching of Quodvultdeus .............. 111
3.9.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
*De Symbolo I*, The First Homily on the
Creed.......................................................... 113
3.9.2 Commentary............................................. 117
3.10 Summary of Chapter Three: Patristic Period...... 119
3.11 Marian Doctrine................................................. 120

Chapter Four: The First Half of the Middle Ages: Sixth
through Eleventh Centuries

4.1 Introduction..................................................125
4.2 The Latin Church in the Roman Empire............126
4.2.1 Challenges faced by the Church and
the Church's Allies........................................126
4.2.2 The Pope and the Church Respond............128
4.2.3 Monasticism and Missionary
Accomplishments..........................................129
4.2.4 Ecumenical Councils and Marian
Doctrine......................................................132
4.2.5 The Great Schism.................................134
4.2.6 Church Life........................................134

4.3 Life and Teaching of Gregory of Tours...........137
  4.3.1 Mary as "Woman" in Historiae
           Ecclesiasticae Francorum, History of
           the Franks........................................138
  4.3.2 Commentary......................................140

4.4 Life and Teaching of Pope Gregory...............141
  4.4.1 Mary as "Woman" in Registrvm X"
           Gregorivs Evlogio, Letter to Eulogius....142
  4.4.2 Commentary......................................146

4.5 Life and Teaching of Bede........................147
  4.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
           Homilia XIV, Homily 14........................150
  4.5.2 Commentary......................................153

4.6 Life and Teaching of Alcuin.......................154
  4.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
           Commentariorum in Joannem,
           Commentary on John..............................156
  4.6.2 Commentary......................................158

4.7 Summary of Chapter Four..........................159
4.8 Marian Doctrine.....................................160
Chapter Five: The Golden Age of Mary: Twelfth Century

5.1 Introduction ........................................................................... 165

5.2 Prosperity and Growth in the Latin West and in the Church ................................................. 165

5.2.1 The Status of the Papacy .................................................. 166

5.2.2 The Expansion of Monasticism .................. 166

5.2.3 Biblical Exegesis ................................................................. 167

5.2.4 Overview of Marian Doctrine and Devotion ................................................................. 168

5.3 Life and Teaching of Rupert of Deutz ....................... 171

5.3.1 *Commentaria in Evangelium Iohannis*,
Commentary on the Gospel of John............. 173

5.3.2 Commentary ................................................................. 179

5.3.3 *Explanatio Secvncvm Mysteria Allegoriae*
Commentary on John 2:1, an Allegory.... 181

5.3.4 Commentary ................................................................. 182

5.4 Life and Teaching of Geoffrey of Vendôme ........183

5.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
*Sermo VIII, Sermon VIII, On Any Feast in Honor of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God* ....... 184

5.4.2 Commentary ................................................................. 186

5.5 Life and Teaching of Peter Abelard ............... 188

5.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
*Sermon XXVI, Sermon Twenty-Six* .......... 189
5.5.2 Commentary............................................191

5.6 Life and Teaching of Guerric of Igny.................. 192

5.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
Sermo Quartus: pour L'Assomption, The
Fourth Sermon for the Assumption........... 194

5.6.2 Commentary............................................198

5.7 Life and Teaching of Bernard of Clairvaux........... 200

5.7.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
Dominica Prima Post Octavam
Epiphaniae, First Sunday after the Octave
of the Epiphany.......................................... 202

5.7.2 Commentary...........................................203

5.7.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
Sermo Secundus: De Mutatione Aquae
in Vinum, The Second Sermon on
Changing Water into Wine.......................205

5.7.4 Commentary...........................................207

5.7.5 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
Dominica Infra Octavam Assumptionis,
The Sermon for the Sunday Within the
Octave of the Assumption.......................208

5.7.6 Commentary...........................................210

5.7.7 Synthesis: Bernard's Comments on Mary
at the Wedding Feast at Cana...............211

5.8 Life and Teaching of Isaac of Stella....................213

5.8.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
Sermo Decimus, Sermon Ten for the First
Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany.215
5.8.2 Commentary.............................................216

5.9 Life and Teaching of Adam of Dryburgh............. 217

5.9.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
Sermo XLVI, Item Dominica II Post Epiphaniam, the Sermon for the Second
Sunday after the Epiphany, Sermon 46....218

5.9.2 Commentary.............................................221

5.10 Summary of Chapter Five.....................................222

5.11 Marian Doctrine....................................................223

Chapter Six: The Scholastic Period: Thirteenth Century

6.1 Introduction............................................................229

6.2 Prosperity and Growth in the Church.............. 229

6.2.1 The Ecumenical Councils......................... 229

6.2.2 The Rise of the Mendicant Orders............230

6.2.3 Universities and Scholastic Education.....230

6.2.4 The Bible and Biblical Exegesis............. 231

6.2.5 Overview of Marian Doctrine................. 234

6.3 Life and Teaching of Stephen of Sawley
(Sallai, Salley).................................................................235

6.3.1 Meditation X, Meditation Ten on the
Blessed Virgin Mary........................................237

6.3.2 Commentary.....................................................240

6.4 Life and Teaching of Albert the Great.............241
6.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana In Evangelium Joannis, Commentary on John

6.4.2 Commentary

6.5 Life and Teaching of Hugh of St. Cher

6.5.1 Evangelium Secundum Ioannis, Commentary on the Gospel of John

6.5.2 Commentary

6.6 Life and Teaching of Bonaventure

6.6.1 Commentarium in Ioannem, Commentary on John

6.6.2 Commentary

6.6.3 Questio IV, Commentary on Question 4

6.6.4 Commentary

6.7 Life and Teaching of Thomas Aquinas

6.7.1 Evangelium Joannis, Commentary on the Gospel of John

6.7.2 Commentary

6.8 Summary of Chapter Six

6.9 Marian Doctrine

Chapter Seven: The Late Middle Ages: Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries

7.1 Introduction
7.2 Challenges Confronting the Church

7.2.1 Famine, Black Death and War

7.2.2 The Papacy

7.2.3 Beginning of Church Reform

7.2.4 The Splintering of Catholicism

7.2.5 Ecumenical Councils, Papal Documents
and Marian Doctrine

7.2.6 Church Reform

7.2.7 The Bible and Biblical Exegesis

7.2.8 Overview of Marian Doctrine

7.3 Life and Teaching of Anthony of Florence

7.3.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
*Summa Theologica Moralis*

7.3.2 Commentary

7.4 Life and Teaching of Dionysius the Carthusian

7.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
*Enarratio in Evangelium*, Commentary
on John

7.4.2 Commentary

7.5 Life and Teaching of Thomas Cajetan

7.5.1 Mary in *Evangelium fecundum Ioannem
Commentarii*, Commentary of John

7.5.2 Commentary

7.6 Life and Teaching of Juan Maldonado
Chapter Eight: Summary

8.1 Fathers and Pastoral Theologians Represented in this Dissertation..................................................339

8.2 Genre...........................................................................................................................................339

8.3 Foundation for Marian Doctrine by the Latin Fathers in the Second and Third Centuries.........340

8.4 Marian Doctrines in the Prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary.................................................341

8.5 Mary and the Old Testament..............................................344

8.6 Summary of the Themes of Marian Doctrine Found in the Commentaries on John 2:1-5........... 345

8.6.1 John 2:1 "On the third day there was a wedding in Cana in Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there." ..................346
8.6.2 John 2:3 "When the wine ran short, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine.'"..........................348

8.6.3 John 2:4 "[And] Jesus said to her, 'Woman, how does your concern affect me? My hour has not yet come.'".............351

8.6.4 John 2:5 "His mother said to the servers, 'Do whatever he tells you'"..........................357

8.7 Final Note...............................................................360

Bibliography: Primary Sources..............................................361

Bibliography: Secondary Sources.............................................367

Bibliography: Journals..............................................................391
Précis

Mary of Nazareth is the Virgin who was chosen by the Blessed Trinity to be the Mother of the Word Incarnate. She participated in a unique and essential way in bringing about the incarnation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity for the salvation of humanity; a work she continues to promote through the Church he founded. The Blessed Virgin Mary is the archetype for the perfect human response to God's call to holiness. Therefore, there is significant value in studying the commentaries on Sacred Scripture by the Latin Fathers and Pastoral Theologians regarding Mary's active role in the life of her Divine Son and his Church. At the Wedding Feast at Cana, she was identified as the mother of Jesus and was a necessary catalyst for Jesus' manifestation of his divinity, the first sign in John's Gospel. Mary was also present at his last sign, his death, and exaltation on the Cross.

This dissertation presents the principal interpretations of Mary's words and actions at the Wedding Feast at Cana, in John 2:1-5, by the Latin writers in the fourth to seventeenth centuries. The theological insights of these holy men are studied and organized according to themes of Marian Doctrine to reveal the significance and enduring meaning of Mary's presence and action at Cana, her relationship with her Divine Son, and with his followers.

In chapter one, there is a brief introduction to Mary's role in God's salvation plan as found in Sacred Scripture, specifically in John's Gospel and validated by statements from the Second Vatican Council in Lumen Gentium and by Blessed Pope John Paul II in Redemptoris Mater. This is followed by several explanatory sections: statement of purpose; scope of the dissertation; present state of the question, indicating what is original about this work; and structure, which identifies the periods referenced and the names of the authors. The last section presents the method employed and the foundation for this method, which includes the fundamentals of Patristic exegesis, given that it is the primary
method of exegesis during the period of study; the Latin translations of the Bible; and the spiritual nature of John's Gospel.

Chapter two initiates the journey into Latin Patristic exegesis in the pre-Nicene Period. The earliest extant material is presented from Roman North Africa, that of Tertullian and Cyprian. After a brief introduction to the chapter, the Church in North Africa is described revealing the prominence of the Latin Bible in their works, the place of Sacraments in Church life, and the major threats of heresies from within the Church. Neither Tertullian nor Cyprian wrote about Mary at the Wedding Feast; however both provided the foundation for future Marian doctrines. Tertullian contributed to Trinitarian theology by explaining that in one divine substance there are three persons. He also recognized both Christ's divinity and humanity; stating that Jesus had two distinct substances joined in one person, without the substances being mixed. Cyprian was the first to testify that the Body and Blood of Jesus are offered as an oblation for sins.

Chapter three presents the writings in the Patristic Period by the Fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries and establishes the foundation for the entire dissertation with St. Augustine's method of biblical exegesis found in his document, *On Christian Doctrine* and the Christology found in his commentaries. The Introduction describes the developing Church in the East and the West. The First General Council of Nicaea, the First General Council of Constantinople, the General Council of Ephesus, and the General Council of Chalcedon are reviewed as this is where the Christological doctrines were defined, from which flow the Marian doctrines. The movement of monasticism from the East to the West is introduced, because many of the Marian writers were monks. An overview of the Latin Church in the West is given next, covering: the challenges faced by the Fathers and the Church, the Greek Fathers' influence on the Latin Fathers, the primacy of the Pope, and the role of the Fathers as Bishops and Pastors. After this the life, teaching, and commentary on Mary in John 2:1-5 of each writer is presented in chronological order: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Maximus of Turin, Paulinus of Nola,
Augustine of Hippo, Gaudentius of Brescia, and Quodvultdeus. At the end of the chapter there is an analysis of the themes in Marian doctrine found in the material.

Chapter four relates the Marian doctrine in the Early Middle Ages found in the writings during the sixth to the eleventh centuries. The Introduction includes contextual material about the period: a brief overview of the Latin Church in the Roman Empire, the challenges faced by the Church and its response to the barbarian invasions. It covers the collapse of the Roman Empire, the role of monasticism and missionary work, the schism between the Greek and Latin Church, Church life during this time of challenge, and Church Councils' proclamations relative to Marian doctrine. The life, teachings, and commentary on Mary in John 2:1-5 is presented in the following order: Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory I, Bede, and Alcuin. The chapter ends with an analysis of the themes in Marian doctrine found in the material.

Chapter five highlights the Golden Age of Mary, the twelfth century, and the Marian doctrine found in writings of the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians during this century. The Introduction briefly describes the development of Marian doctrine and increasing Marian devotion in a time of prosperity and growth in the Latin West and the Church. The expansion of monasticism resulted in the spreading of Marian doctrine, especially under the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux. The lives, teachings, and commentaries of Rupert of Deutz, Peter Abelard, Guerric of Igny, Bernard of Clairvaux, Isaac of Stella, and Adam of Dryburgh are followed by a summary of their Marian doctrine.

Chapter six provides the Marian doctrine found in the material written by Pastoral Theologians in the Scholastic Period, the thirteenth century. The Introduction presents an overview of the formation of the mendicant orders, specifically the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites. Included are comments regarding the further development of Marian doctrine in the form of scholastic education in universities, where there was a shift from monastic to scholastic methods of biblical exegesis, with a greater
focus on the literal sense of Scripture. New tools were created for the theological study of the Bible in the form of glossed Bibles, running commentaries, biblical text divided into paragraphs and chapters, and concordances. Next, the lives, teachings, and commentaries of Stephen of Sawley, Albert the Great, Hugh of St. Cher, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas are presented with a summary of the Marian doctrine found in their material.

Chapter seven presents the Marian doctrine found in the Late Middle Ages, the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The Introduction lists the many challenges confronting the Church: famine, Black Death, war, the Great Western Schism, and the splintering of Catholicism. Included in this section are official statements on Mary's immaculate conception by Church Councils and papal documents; commentary on Church reform by the popes; and the advancement of biblical exegesis in response to the Protestant Reformation. Following this is a brief statement about the Jesuits' defense of the Marian doctrine against the claims of the Protestants and the increase in Marian devotion. The lives, teachings, and commentaries of Anthony of Florence, Dionysius the Carthusian, Thomas Cajetan, Juan Maldonado, and Francisco Suárez are presented with a summary of the Marian doctrine found in their material. Noteworthy is the fact that Francisco Suárez established a systematic treatment of Marian doctrine in his *Disputations*.

Chapter eight is the final summary of the whole dissertation and is divided into four parts. The first section begins with an overview of the contribution of the early Latin Church through the Theological and Christological insights of Tertullian, and the Christological and Ecclesiastical understanding of Cyprian. Their concepts became part of future conciliar proclamations that are the foundation for all of the Marian doctrines. The second section reviews the consistent recognition of the Blessed Virgin Mary's prerogatives that flow from the divine maternity. This is not a development of Marian Doctrine, but an affirmation of the Marian Doctrine that is found in Sacred Scripture and proclaimed in the Councils. It represents the *Sensus Fidelium* during the periods
studied. Of significance is recognition that the comments made by each writer in all periods promulgated Mary's divine maternity, virginity, and holiness by integrating these doctrines into his commentary regarding Mary's presence and action at the Wedding Feast at Cana. The only variation in the wording came from individual differences in expression, some more effusive than others. The third section provides an overview of how the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians related Mary to the Old Testament. The final section presents a summary of the themes of Marian doctrine found in the commentaries by the ecclesial writers through their biblical exegesis of John 2:1, 2:3, and 2:5.
Guidelines

1. All references to Sacred Scripture will be identified as Scripture.

2. The reference to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in John 2:1-5 is the primary focus for the analysis and commentary. However, other comments about Mary that the writer provides before or after the actual reference will be included if relevant.

3. The term "Father" will be applied to all writers from Hilary of Poitiers to Bernard of Clarivaux. The term "Pastoral Theologians" will be applied to all of the subsequent writers.

4. The italicized words in the English quotations on John 2:1-5 are this author's method of directing attention to the significant text in the quotation.

5. The capitalization of pronouns follows the primary source.

6. The Chicago Manual of Style is the primary guide for the composition of this thesis (15th edition, Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2003), with one exception. Ibid is not used. The method used is as follows: there will be a complete footnote the first time the source is referenced; if the reference is repeated, the word "Hereafter," is added along with how it will appear in the following citations; "Hereafter" includes the author's last name, abbreviated book title or an abbreviated article title. For example, Agostino Trapè, "Augustine of Hippo," Encyclopedia of the Early Church (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 97-98. Hereafter: Trapè, "Augustine," Encyclopedia.

7. There are references in the footnotes that provide the name of the author, a page number, and the topic covered in the text of the dissertation; this information facilitates finding the primary source for the material. For example, "See, Ambrose, 62 for reference to John 2:4."
8. The date convention reflects the primary source, for example, Roman numeral or Arabic.

9. Dates that follow the name of a pope refer to the years of his papacy. All other dates refer to the birth and death of the person.

10. Ellipses are used as follows: [...] indicates that a complete sentence or sentences are excluded. Three dots (...) before or after a word indicate that there are words missing from the sentence either before or after the dots. Four dots (....) indicate that there are words missing at the end of the sentence. No dots will be used if the quoted words are part of a paraphrasing of the information, not part of a complete quotation.

11. Quotations
   a. A complete quotation will be followed by the regular footnote information.
   b. If the quotation is incomplete or the information paraphrased or just referenced, the word, "See" will be entered before the regular footnote information.

12. References to page numbers are in the following format:
   a. 8-30 refers to page 8 through page 30,
   b. 8, 12 refers to only page 8 and only page 12.
Abreviations

CCC  Catechism of the Catholic Church
CCCM  Corpvs Christianorvm, Continuatio Mediaeualis
CCSL  Corpvs Christianorvm, Series Latina
CSEL  Corpvs Scriptorvm Ecclesiasticorvm Latinorvm
EC  Editiones Cistercienses
HEF  Historiae Ecclesiaticae Francorum
LG  Lumen Gentium
NAB  New American Bible
PL  Patrum Latinorum
SC  Sources Chrétiennes
SS  Sacred Scripture
ST  Sacred Tradition
Chapter One

Purpose, Scope, Structure, and Method

1.1 Introduction

"It pleased God, in his goodness and wisdom, to reveal himself and to make known the mystery of his will, which was that people can draw near to the Father, through Christ, the Word made flesh, in the Holy Spirit, and thus become sharers in the divine nature."¹ Mary of Nazareth is the virgin, chosen by the Blessed Trinity, to be the Mother of the Word Incarnate. She participated in a unique and particular way in bringing about the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, so that the invisible God could be revealed and the mystery of his will known.

The Virgin Mary is an archetype for a perfect human response. She freely cooperated with God's plan for her. In faith and hope, she welcomed God into her life and fulfilled the mission that God had given to her. The Virgin Mary did so with an ultimate love for God and for all people; she brought forth the Savior of the world.

Therefore, one advantageous way to learn about God and the mystery of his will is to study references to Mary in Sacred Scripture and to learn from them. For example, reading, praying, meditating, and contemplating on Mary's presence and action at the Wedding Feast at Cana can lead the reader to begin to understand the mysteries of God, his relationship with Mary and Mary's relationship with God; God's relationship with humanity and humanity's relationship with God. With Mary's mediation and under her protection, the Church and individuals can begin to learn how to develop a personal relationship with the Trinitarian God by following Mary's example.

Mary's presence and action at the Wedding Feast at Cana are profound in John's Gospel. Mary contributed in a significant way in the beginning of the signs, which revealed Jesus' divine powers. Through her intercession, Jesus changed water into wine and, as the evangelist John reported, "so revealed his glory, and his disciples began to believe in him" (John 2:11).

In the exchange of words between mother and Son, Jesus revealed the coming of a future sign, the hour appointed by the Father, when he would accomplish the purpose for which he came; he was to give eternal life to all whom God gave to him (John 17:1). Mary was also present at that hour at the foot of the Cross (John 19:25 to 27). It was here that Jesus gave Mary to each individual and to all of humanity as a mother, the beginning of Mary's universal motherhood. This was Jesus' last sign in John's Gospel, Jesus' death, exaltation, and return to the Father.

Mary's action revealed her sensitivity to the needs of others and the effectiveness of her intercession with her Divine Son. As Blessed Pope John Paul wrote in *Redemptoris Mater*, [at Cana in Galilee] "Mary places herself between her Son and mankind in the reality of their wants, needs and sufferings. She puts herself 'in the middle,' that is to say she acts as a mediatrix not as an outsider, but in her position as mother." In turn, Mary guides and directs all followers, "to do whatever he tells you" (John 2:5). "The Mother of Christ presents herself as the spokeswoman of her Son's will, pointing out those things which must be done so that the salvific power of the messiah may be manifested."3

With the guidance of the Holy Spirit, one can study the commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana and gain

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insights into God's mysteries, as revealed through the words and actions of Jesus and his mother, Mary.

1.2 Purpose

The overall goal of this dissertation is to render honor and glory to God. A secondary goal is to increase understanding of the mysteries of God as revealed through Sacred Scripture and understood by the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians of the Church.

The specific purpose of this dissertation is to present an original synthesis and analysis of the historical tradition of studies and commentaries on the presence and action of Mary of Nazareth, mother of Jesus, as introduced at the Wedding Feast at Cana in John's Gospel. The Marian doctrine will be generated from a survey of the principal references to Mary in the writings of the Fathers and other ecclesial authors, throughout the Latin Church, from the fourth to the seventeenth centuries.4

The reason for gathering these commentaries is to create an organized presentation of material on the writer's methods of biblical exegesis, the writer's interpretation of the pericope as found in the commentaries, and the writer's application of this interpretation. The reader will be provided with a portrait of what these holy and devoted men understood and taught about the person and action of Mary. This will facilitate the discovery of the role they attributed to Mary in the redemptive work of her Divine Son, as well as, to determine what continuing role they attributed to her in the life of the Church. These insights can be integrated into current academic pursuits. They can serve as guidelines for future students to analyze the comments of these authors who

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4 The Latin commentaries on the Wedding Feast at Cana in the second and third centuries did not include Mary. See Tertullian: "On Baptism," On the Soul," On Monogamy," and Cyprian, "Letter 63." Their focus was primarily Theological and Christological in nature; however their insights and writings formed the basis for future Mariological doctrines.
speak of Mary's role in salvation history, and aid them in following the development of those ideas over the fourth to the seventeenth century.

This work also provides the opportunity to reflect on the meaning of Sacred Scripture in the teaching of these ecclesial writers and to supply information for meeting the spiritual and pastoral needs of the Church and of individuals.

Finally, it is an expression of my particular devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and, hopefully, it will motivate others to revere her in the same way.

1.3 Scope

This dissertation will present the principal commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, as recorded in the Latin Tradition, from Hilary to Francisco de Suárez: Hilary of Poitiers (315-367), Ambrose of Milan (339-397), Maximus of Turin (d. 408-423), Paulinus of Nola (c. 353-431), Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Gaudentius of Brescia (370-410), Quodvultdeus (390-454), Gregory of Tours (538-594), Pope Gregory I (540-604), Bede, the Venerable (673-735), Alcuin (c. 735-804), Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1129), Geoffrey of Vendôme (1070-1132), Peter Abelard (1079-1142), Guerriç of Igny (1070/1080-1157), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Isaac of Stella (c. 1110-1169/1178), Adam of Dryburgh (c. 1140-1212), Stephen of Sawley (d. 1252), Albert the Great (1193-1280), Hugh of St. Cher (1200-1263), Bonaventure (1217-1274), Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Antony of Florence (1389-1459), Dionysius, the Carthusian (1402-1471), Thomas Cajetan (1469-1534), Juan Maldonado (1533-1583), and Francisco de Suárez (1548-1617).\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{5} The term "Father" will be applied to all writers from Hilary of Poitiers to Bernard of Clairvaux (fourth to twelfth century). The term "Pastoral Theologian" will be applied to all of the subsequent writers (thirteenth to seventeenth century).
1.4 Present State of Research: *Status Quaestionis*

There have been many books written about the Gospel according to John and most of these include commentaries on the Wedding Feast at Cana. However, none were found that followed the writings of the Latin Fathers in chronological order, with an analysis, and comparison of their material from the fourth to seventeenth centuries, according to the method to be employed in this dissertation. The following review verifies this statement.

1.4.1 Source for Quotations, without Commentary

*Corpus Marianum Patristicum* is an excellent source for the writings for the first part of this period of study.6

1.4.2 Marian Writings with References to the Wedding Feast at Cana, Without Analysis

Bertrand Buby in *Mary of Galilee: the Marian Heritage of the Early Church* provides Marian thought by the great western theologians; only Jerome and Augustine were quoted regarding the Wedding Feast at Cana. The text ends with Augustine. 7

Raymond F. Collins in "Mary in the Fourth Gospel: A Decade of Johannine Studies," *Louvain Studies*, provides an historical perspective, which includes comments regarding the Wedding Feast at Cana by Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gaudentius, and Quodvultdeus. Collins' commentary is brief and foundational for the main thrust of his article, relating to the decade from 1960 to 1970.8

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8 See Raymond F. Collins (Louvain, Belg.: American College, Fall, 1970), 104, 105 - 106.
Luigi Gambero in *Mary and the Fathers of the Church: the Blessed Virgin Mary in Patristic Thought* provides an historical review for each Father and reference to his teaching regarding the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Wedding Feast at Cana is mentioned by Augustine and Severus of Antioch. Mary in the Middle Ages: the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians provides an historical review of many writers from the seventh to the sixteenth century. The Wedding Feast at Cana is mentioned by Alcuin, Conrad of Saxony, Albert the Great, and Antoninus of Florence.

Ignace de la Potterie in *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant* dedicates one chapter to the Wedding Feast at Cana and refers to Gaudentius of Brescia and Augustine, along with several Eastern Fathers.

Deyanira Flores in *The Virgin Mary in the Medieval Period*, Part I: Eighth to the Twelfth Century and Part II: Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century provide many references to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Several of her references will be included in this study.

*Testi Mariani del Primo Millennio*, Vol. III, *Testi Mariani del Secondo Millennio*, Vol. III, IV, and V all have references to Mary at the Wedding Feast, which are included in this work. There

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are valuable Italian translations of the original writings, but with no analysis.\(^{13}\)

### 1.4.3 Exegesis of the Wedding Feast at Cana with References to Fathers

Cornelius À Lapide in *The Great Commentary* provides a commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana, which includes references to Bede, Augustine, Gaudentius, Rupert, Bernard, and Thomas.\(^{14}\)

Thomas Livius in *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers* writes his commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana and includes quotations made by Augustine and Gaudentius, along with Eastern Fathers.\(^{15}\)

Adolf Smitmans in *Beitraege zur Geschicte Biblischen Exegese: Das Weinwunder von Kana, Die Auslegung von Jo 2, 1-11 bei den Vatern und heute* (A Contribution to the History of Biblical Exegesis: The Miracle of Wine from Cana: A Commentary of John 2:1-11 by the Fathers and Contemporary commentators) covers both Latin and Greek Fathers up to the eighth century, however it is a comparison between some of these Fathers with exegetes of today. It is not focused on Mary in the


\(^{14}\) See Cornelius À Lapide (Edinburgh, Scot.: John Grant, 1908), 80, 82, 84, 85, and 87. Hereafter: À Lapide, *Great Commentary*.

tradition of the Latin Fathers and their pastoral reading and explaining of the texts in their time.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{1.4.4 Marian Thought without Reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana}

Walter Burghardt in "Mary in Western Patristic Thought," \textit{Mariology}, presents the predominant Marian themes from this period: New Eve, divine maternity, perpetual virginity, Assumption, and holiness. There are no references to the Wedding Feast at Cana.\textsuperscript{17}

Le Chanoine G. Jouassard in \textit{Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge}, Book One, reviews the Patristic teachings about Mary's divine maternity, virginity, and holiness. There are no references to the Wedding Feast at Cana.\textsuperscript{18}

Johannes Quasten in \textit{Patrology}, volume 4 presents many Latin writers, none of whom commented on John 2:1-5.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{1.4.5 Commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana but Not From These Periods}

Robert Garafalo in \textit{History, Theology, and Symbol: The Mother of Jesus at Cana} provides commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana but from a different period, 1950 to 1990.\textsuperscript{20}


\textsuperscript{19} See Johannes Quasten and Angelo Di Berardino, eds. (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria, 1986).

Denis S. Kulandaisamy in "The first 'Sign' of Jesus at the wedding at Cana: An Exegetical Study on the Function and Meaning of John 2:1-12," Marianum, conducts a thorough analysis of the Wedding Feast at Cana, but does not refer to the writers in this work.21

1.5 Structure: Periods and Writers

A review of the extant writings from this period revealed the authors covered in this dissertation.22 The Marian Doctrine expressed by the authors will be organized into six periods: Early Latin Christianity, Patristic, Early Middle Ages, Golden Age of Mariology, Age of Scholasticism, and Late Middle Ages. The Foundation for Marian Doctrine (second and third centuries) will include foundational material from Tertullian and Cyprian. The Patristic Period (fourth and fifth centuries) will include: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Maximus of Turin, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine of Hippo, Gaudentius of Brescia, and Quodvultdeus. The Early Middle Ages (sixth through eleventh centuries) will include: Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory I, Bede the Venerable, and Alcuin. The Golden Age of Mariology (twelfth century) will include: Rupert of Deutz, Geoffrey of Vendôme, Peter Abelard, Guerric of Igny, Bernard of Clairvaux, Isaac of Stella, and Adam of Dryburgh, The Age of Scholasticism (thirteenth century) will include: Stephen of Sawley, Albert the Great, Hugh of St. Cher, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas. Late Middle Ages (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries) will include: Antoninus of Florence, Dionysius the Carthusian, Thomas Cajetan, Juan Maldonado, and Francisco de Suárez.


22 The goal was to find substantive references to Mary in John 2:1-5. A library search was first conducted of all collections containing the works of Latin authors of the relevant periods, followed by a review of the actual texts. The collections were: Clavis Patrum Latinorum, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis, Corpus Christianorum series Laina, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Quaracchi, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrum Latinorum, Sources Chretiennes, and Testi Mariani. This search resulted in identifying the writers referenced in this dissertation.
1.6 Method

The idea for this study originated from a commentary by Father Theodore Koehler entitled, "The Principal Traditional Interpretations of John 19:25-27 during the First Twelve Centuries."23 The actual method followed was from the teaching of Johann G. Roten in a class entitled "Methods in Theology," specifically on "the recommended outline for the thesis."24 The goal for the method was to determine the development of Marian Doctrine as reflected in the commentaries of the wedding at Cana (John 2:1-5) made by the Latin theologians.

The following four sections explain the method that will employed. They are entitled: Overview of the Method, Principles for Biblical Exegesis, Chapter Summary, Final Summary, and the Foundational Standards for the Method.

1.6.1 Overview of the Method

The foundation for Marian doctrine is established in chapter two, with the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, the earliest recorded theologians who wrote in Latin. The following chapters will be organized chronologically and divided into periods. Each chapter begins with a description of the historical context, with attention given to the ecclesial environment and the Marian Doctrine. Followed by a significant sampling of the principal writers found in the specific periods.25 Each author will be introduced with a brief biography. This is followed by a copy of his work in English, with the original Latin in a footnote. The writers' commentary will be analyzed in three steps: ascertain the

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25 The principal writers are those who made substantive remarks about Mary in John 2:1-5.
biblical exegesis he utilized, review the inferences he made from this analysis, and determine the Marian doctrines the author proposes. A chapter summary follows each period; a final summary and synthesis of material will be presented in the last chapter.

1.6.2 Principles for Biblical Exegesis

The goal for biblical exegesis is to determine what each author believed the meaning of the words in John 2:1-5 to be; the specific focus is on what each one wrote about Mary and what he understood her role to be in the mission of her Divine Son.

A preliminary assessment of the commentary will be done to establish the overall tone and purpose for the work. That is to determine the literary genre, whether it is a biblical commentary, letter, homily, treatise or other; and to identify the person or audience for whom the work was meant.

The references to the Wedding Feast at Cana will be stated, along with any comments that precede or follow the reference, provided they relate to the author's commentary. Then the commentary of each one will be analyzed to discover his understanding of the meaning of John's words, according to the fourfold method of biblical exegesis. This is a combination of the methods of exegesis instituted by Origen and Cassian. Origen's threefold interpretation of Sacred Scriptures is: literal or historical,

26 Non-canonical paraphrasing of John 2:1-5 will be duly noted as it occurs.

27 "Biblical hermeneutics consists of two important steps: exegesis, which includes analysis; and interpretation itself. The exegesis uncovers the many facets of the content of the passage; the analysis seeks to discover the meaning of the passage. [...] Interpretation presumes that this first step has been accomplished; it then moves beyond this original meaning in order to make it relevant in a new context." Dianne Bergant, Scripture: Engaging Theology, Catholic Perspective (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2008), 109. Hereafter: Bergant, Scripture.
moral, and spiritual senses. This threefold interpretation continued throughout the Middle Ages. John Cassian (360-435) continued the threefold interpretation and added "the anagogical meaning, which sees earthly realities as the symbol of heavenly realities." From this time on, there was a fourfold sense of Scripture. "The literal sense of Scripture could and usually did nurture the three theological virtues, but when it did not, the exegete could appeal to three additional spiritual senses, each sense corresponding to one of the virtues. The allegorical sense taught about the church and what it should believe ... [faith]. The tropological sense taught about the individuals and what they should do ... [love]. The anagogical pointed to the fulfillment ... [hope]."

28 Origen held that the reality of the human person consisted of, body, soul, and mind. The body was the seat of physical desire and sensation, referring to the literal interpretation. The soul had the deliberative functions and directed us, referring to the moral sense. The mind had the capacity to contemplate God, referring to the spiritual. See John J. O'Keefe and R. R. Reno, _Sanctified Vision_ (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 132, 135. Hereafter: O'Keefe and Reno, _Sanctified Vision_.

29 John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, _Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook_ (Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1987), 20-21. J.N.D. Kelly comments regarding the use of Origen's exegetical method, "The tradition of allegorical exegesis was thus securely established in the Church, although most of its later exponents were more cautious than Origen and steered clear of his wilder extravagances." J.N.D. Kelly, _Early Christian Doctrines_ (New York, N.Y.: Continuum, 2008), 75. Hereafter: Kelly, _Doctrines_. Kelly goes on to explain the reaction against allegorism in Antioch of Syria, the Antiochene method of exegesis: "(a)... the literal sense of the sacred narrative should not be abolished, (b) that there should be a real correspondence between the historical fact and the further spiritual object discerned, and (c) that these two objects should be apprehended together, though of course in different ways." Kelly, _Doctrines_, 76. All references to "Scripture" relates to Sacred Scripture.


31 Thomas A. Thompson, "John Cassian and the fourfold senses of Scripture," International Marian Research Institute, July, 7, 2013. See also, CCC # 115-118.
The literal sense refers to the actual meaning expressed immediately and directly by the word; to know what is written and what was meant by the words. This requires a text in the original language, comparison of manuscripts when necessary, and consultation with other respected authorities.\(^{32}\)

The spiritual or allegorical sense refers to unity of Scripture, that which the Holy Spirit enables us to understand about Christ and his message, the unity and diversity of the Bible.\(^{33}\) Allegorical exegesis is different to the extent that it treats the sacred text as symbols of spiritual truths. Patristic strategies in the use of allegory can be organized into three categories: to make sense out of the text, when the literal does not make sense, or to press the literal sense to reveal additional meaning, or to redirect the reader's attention to another meaning and negate the literal sense.\(^{34}\) The Patristic Fathers' goal was to "preserve the sacred significance of the text ... a way of discerning the spiritual depth of the received, authoritative Scriptures. Just as they were convinced that the Scriptures were divinely structured to sustain typological correspondences, they also presumed that the divine inspiration of Scripture gave a spiritual dynamism to the literal sense. The Scriptures were the divinely ordained means for entering into the mysteries of salvation."\(^{35}\)

Typological exegesis was a technique for bringing out the correspondence between the Old and New Testaments. The figures and events of the Old Testament prefigured or were types of the


\(^{34}\) See O'Keefe and Reno, *Sanctified Vision*, 91-92.

\(^{35}\) O'Keefe and Reno, *Sanctified Vision*, 93.
figures and events of the New Testament. Because Jesus Christ is the interpretive key for understanding both Testaments, he is the antitype or the master type, in which all other types, whether before or after him, take their significance. One figure or event is brought into association with another figure or event and compared, thus revealing their relationship and significance.

The Fathers would "mix and weave together typological and allegorical interpretations in a virtually inextricable way ... for a pastoral and pedagogical purpose, convinced that everything that has been written, has been written for our instruction" (1 Cor. 10:11). They also employed associative strategies, attempting to link images or themes with other similar images or themes.

The moral, tropological, sense refers to what we must do with the message revealed in Scripture. It is the interpretation of Scripture with respect to Christian charity. Augustine wrote, "I call 'charity' the motion of the soul toward the enjoyment of God for His own sake, and the enjoyment of one's self and of one's neighbor for the sake of God." Anagogical, the fourth sense added by Cassian, refers to interpretations relative to final realities; seeing earthly realities as symbols of heavenly realities.

In addition to this method of exegesis, the principles recommended by Augustine in On Christian Doctrine (De doctrina Christiana) will be utilized to provide direction for understanding how the Fathers' and the other ecclesial writers read and interpreted Scriptures. Augustine, in On Christian Doctrine,

36 See Kelly, Doctrines, 71.
37 See O'Keefe and Reno, Sanctified Vision, 81.
38 Pontifical Biblical Commission, Interpretation of the Bible in the Church (Boston, Mass.: Pauline Press, 1993), 100.
40 Augustine, Christian Doctrine, 88.
41 Augustine, Christian Doctrine, 1-117.
provided useful information on the interpretation of Scripture. One rule was to help in determining whether a locution is literal or figurative. He wrote "that whatever appears in the divine Word that does not literally pertain to virtuous behavior or to the truth of faith you must take as figurative. Virtuous behavior pertains to the love of God and of one's neighbor; the truth of faith pertains to knowledge of God and of one's neighbor." Also, Augustine advised that there can be virtue in finding diversities of meanings from the analogical method, provided that the interpretations are supported by other Scriptures. Scripture should be used to interpret Scripture. Augustine advised that there are three prerequisites necessary to approach the treatment of Scripture with security: recognize that the end of the commandments is charity, have a pure heart and a good conscience, and study Scripture with an unfeigned faith.

The reason for using Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* as a baseline for the whole period of study originates from a statement by D. W. Robertson. He stated that the first three books in this text, relating to interpretation of Sacred Scripture, "exerted an enormous influence throughout the Middle Ages. [...] The spiritual interpretation of Scripture, whose methods it establishes, continued to flourish well into the seventeenth century, even though more literal approaches were developed in academic circles during the thirteenth century." Supporting Augustine's influence is Mary A. Mayeski who holds that in the early Medieval Period (600 to 1100) Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* was "the foundational document for all medieval academic activity."

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R.L.P. Milburn concurs, "The lines of scriptural interpretation which prevailed throughout the middle ages are laid down by Augustine." Christopher Ocker added that in the Scholastic Period, Hugo of St. Victor (1096-1141) combined the teaching from Augustine’s *On Christian Doctrine* with the higher level of critical thought; this practice was carried on by the Victorines for several generations.

1.6.3 Chapter Summary

After the biblical exegesis employed by each Father or Pastoral Theologian is analyzed, a commentary will be added. Within the period, there will be a review of the specific theme(s) of Marian doctrine(s) of each writer, with recognition of: comparisons, complimentary remarks, development of themes, or any significant difference found in the material. At the end of each period, there will be a summary statement of what is found.

1.6.4 Final Summary

The final chapter will include an overall summary of the themes of Marian doctrine that are found in the commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast, primarily in John 2:1-5. The themes will be divided into three categories: prerogatives that flowed from the divine maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary; those associating Mary with the Old Testament; and those relating to Mary's


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presence and action, specifically the meaning of her presence, her intercession, the communication between Mary and her Divine Son, and the results of her intercession.

1.6.5 Foundation for the Method: Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis, Latin Translations of the Bible, and the Gospel according to John

1.6.5.1 Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis

The fundamentals of patristic exegesis significantly influenced the writers during the periods of study. Fundamental to the Fathers' biblical exegesis is that both the Old and the New Testaments are the inspired word of God; and all passages reveal something true about God and his ways. As such, there was a fairly widespread attitude, "that Scripture was not only exempt from error but contained nothing that was superfluous."49 Each text was assumed to be important and necessary to the whole. Scripture is referenced to interpret and validate understanding of other passages of Scripture.

The Fathers also considered the Church, founded by Christ, as the New Israel and, as such, it was the legitimate heir of God's revelation and promises found in the Old Testament. The Christ event was seen as the fulfillment of those revelations and promises; it was the decisive event that discloses the divine economy. Jesus Christ was the one who could shed light on the meaning of both Testaments, he was the interpretive key that unlocked the interconnected meaning of God's word; the keystone of the entire Scripture.50 Jesus Christ was the recapitulation or summing up of the Father's plan; he was the Logos of the Father.51

49 Kelly, Doctrines, 61.


51 See O'Keefe and Reno, Sanctified Vision, 39.
exegesis they adopted was to follow the example of Jesus, who applied the Old Testament writings to himself and his mission; for example, Messiah, the Suffering Servant, and the Kingdom of God. Jesus' life, death, resurrection, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit were recognized as fulfilling these prophecies.52

Jesus was the "way and the truth and the life" (John 14:6). Therefore, the Fathers nourished themselves by reading, meditating on, and interpreting Sacred Scripture. Under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in the light of faith, they carried on the divine mandate as did the apostle Paul, "I hand on to you what I received from the Lord" (1 Cor. 1:23). This required sanctity of life and orthodoxy in their preaching, teaching, and writing for biblical exegesis and hermeneutics, doctrinal pronouncement, and pastoral requirements, that is, catechesis, apologetics, exhortation, and polemics.53 The primary occasion for reading the Bible was during the course of the liturgy, which led to building up the Church and the individual Christian.

Orthodoxy depended on the proper interpretation of Scripture. "According to Irenaeus, proper interpretation depends on fidelity to the apostolic witness, preserved in canonical books and taught by the authority of those bishops who are successors to the apostles. Irenaeus called this witness the 'rule of truth' or 'rule of faith.'"54 Orthodoxy also required the agreement among the Fathers, a consensus of opinion on essential points of doctrine at a given moment.55 Thus, from these early times, it was recognized that Sacred Scripture and Tradition were connected and associated with one another. When taken together, under the action of the

52 See Kelly, Doctrines, 65.

53 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 18.

54 O'Keefe and Reno, Sanctified Vision, 23.

Holy Spirit, and the supervision of the bishops, the authentic interpretation and application of the Bible would occur.

As mentioned above in the "Method" section, Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* exerted significant influence on the Fathers of the Patristic Period and the ecclesial writers throughout the Medieval Period. The first three books related to the interpretation of Scripture, the key principle being love of God and love of neighbor. The fourth book dealt with advice for orators. According to D. W. Robertson, "For St. Augustine interpretation was not something to be controlled exclusively by scientific techniques or philological and historical analysis; these were but adjuncts to a task whose purpose could be met only through knowledge of the philosophical principles implied or stated by the authors of the New Testament." Robertson reminds the readers that "... the theology of Christianity was at once a logical outgrowth of late classical thought and, at the same time, an astonishingly brilliant fulfillment of the best traditions of ancient philosophy as they extend from Pythagoras and Plato to Cicero and Varro." In *On Christian Doctrine*, Augustine "formulates an approach to the Scriptures whose principles determined the character of education ... and the ideal of sapientia et eloquentia ... adapted from Cicero and here given a Christian fulfillment ...."

1.6.5.2 The Latin Translations of the Bible

This brief introduction to the Bible of the Fathers serves to establish the background upon which the work of this dissertation

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is based. The Old Testament that the Fathers referred to was the Greek Septuagint, not the Hebrew Bible. Initially, the Greek Septuagint was read and then translated orally into Latin, in a double reading method in church services; later it was translated and written in Latin. Eventually, only the Latin was used. The origin of the Latin New Testament is unknown, but may have been in Rome, Antioch of Syria or North Africa. There are various reasons to support each suggestion, given facts and writings from that time. However, scholars today favor North Africa as the first source. Supporting this idea is that the Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) was quoted fifteen hundred times by Cyprian of Carthage, who died in 258.

The "Bible" of the Fathers was a collection of manuscripts of individual books and groups of books based on the Latin versions of the Septuagint and the New Testament. There were many translations circulating in the Latin Church, which resulted in a concern for authenticity. Augustine wrote, "We can enumerate those who have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek, but those who have translated them into Latin are innumerable. In the early times of the faith when anyone found a Greek codex, and he thought that he had some facility in both languages, he attempted to translate it."

Jerome had a similar concern.

Given the number of versions of the *Vetus Latina*, confusion resulted. Damasus, pope from 366 to 384, requested Jerome (330 or 347-407) to produce a uniform and dependable text of the Latin Bible. He was not to make a new version, but to revise

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63 See Metzger, *Early Versions*, 290, 334.
the texts according to the original Greek. Jerome revised the four Gospels and gave them to Pope Damasus in 384. He went on to correct the Latin Psalter, using the Septuagint as an aid. This is known today as the Roman Psalter. Later, from Palestine, Jerome revised the existing Latin version of the books of the Hebrew Canon, using the original Hebrew and Aramaic texts. In the Middle Ages, this translation became known as the Latin Vulgate or *Vulgata Latina*.  

The *Vetus Latina* continued in popularity until the Middle Ages, when it was gradually replaced by the Vulgate. Throughout this period there were minor revisions to the format of the Vulgate, not to the text. Under the direction of Charlemagne (785-850), Alcuin corrected errors of "punctuation, grammar, and orthography." In 1203 Stephen Langton (d. 1228) divided the Bible into chapters and Thomas Gallus (d. 1246) further organized the chapters into paragraphs. This paragraphed Vulgate became the standard edition for academic centers, and is substantially the one in use today. A concordance of this Vulgate was produced by Dominicans in Paris sometime between 1230 and 1235. The official recognition of the Vulgate occurred when the Council of Trent (1545-1563) declared that Jerome's version was a "repository of orthodox Christian biblical doctrine."

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65 See Metzger, *Early Versions*, 286-290, 330. In the Middle Ages, the term "Vulgate" was used for this translation, meaning "common translation."


The Latin text for John 2:1-11 in the Vetus Latina, in the Bibliorum Sacrorum, Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica,\textsuperscript{69} the Novum Testamentum Latine, Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi,\textsuperscript{70} and the Vulgatam Clementinam, Nova Editio in Biblia Sacra\textsuperscript{71} is the same.\textsuperscript{72}

The English translation in the New American Bible is:

On the third day there was a wedding in Cana in Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there. Jesus and his disciples were also invited to the wedding. When the wine ran short, the mother of Jesus said to him, "They have no wine." [And] Jesus said to her, "Woman, how does your

\textsuperscript{69} Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica (Regis Typographum & Bibliopolam, MDCCXLIII). Hereafter: Vetus Latina.

\textsuperscript{70} Novum Testamentum Latine, Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1911), 219. Hereafter: Vulgate. This is Jerome's Latin Vulgate.

\textsuperscript{71} Vulgatam Clementinam, Nova Editio, Biblia Sacra (Madrid, Spain: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, MCMLIII). The Clementine Vulgate was the late medieval text that Pope Clement VIII authorized in 1592 and was the basis for the Douay-Rheims. See. "The Clementine Vulgate," http://www.bible-researcher.com/links14.html.


concern affect me? My hour has not yet come." His mother said to the servers, "Do whatever he tells you."

Now there were six stone water jars there for Jewish ceremonial washings, each holding twenty to thirty gallons. Jesus told them, 'Fill the jars with water.' So they filled them to the brim. Then he told them, 'Draw some out now and take it to the headwaiter.' So they took it. And when the headwaiter tasted the water that had become wine, without knowing where it came from (although the servers who had drawn the water knew), the headwaiter called the bridegroom and said to him, 'Everyone serves good wine first, and then when people have drunk freely, an inferior wine; but you have kept the good wine until now.' Jesus did this as the beginning of his signs in Cana in Galilee and so revealed his glory, and his disciples began to believe in him.  

The translation of John 2:4 and the meaning of the exchange of words between Mary and her Son has been a matter of much debate. These variations will be noted as they occur.

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74 Comment on John 2:4: the Douay-Rheims Bible reads, "What is that to me and to you?" which is a direct translation of the Latin and the Greek. See The Holy Bible, Douay-Rheims (Baltimore, Mary.: John Murphy Company, 1914), 105. Other English translations have variations of this. Francis J. Moloney holds that John 2:4, Quid mihi et tibi est (τί εμοι καί σοι) is notoriously difficult to translate. He wonders whether it is a question or a statement. See The Gospel of John (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998), 71. Johns Varghese considers Jesus’ words mysterious, a Semitism, well known and ambiguous, which can be negative or positive. See Johns Varghese, The Imagery of Love in the Gospel of John (Roma, It.: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2009), 79. Hereafter: Varghese, Imagery. Brown also identified it as a Semitism and, in this case, implied a simple disengagement. He also stated that some of the Greek Fathers considered it as a rebuke to Mary. See Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966) 99. Hereafter: R. E. Brown, John.
1.6.5.3 The Gospel according to Saint John

Understanding the Theology, Christology, and Mariology of the Gospel according to John is the next step in the foundation for understanding what the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians meant in their writings. John's Gospel requires an exegesis that looks for a deeper, spiritual meaning that is hidden beneath the literal sense, with the goal of reaching an informed understanding of the text.

John's central theological teaching was that Jesus came to reveal the Father, "And the Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us, and we saw his glory, the glory as of the Father's only Son, full of grace and truth" (John 1:14). "From his fullness we have all received, grace in place of grace, because while the law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No one has ever seen God. The only Son, God, who is at the Father's side, has revealed him" (John 1:16-18). To know Jesus is to know God.

Jesus' mission is to reveal the Father to his disciples, and through them, to other people. Jesus is the incarnate Word of God,

Potterie believed that it was a well known formula in the Semitic and Greco-Roman world. He holds that it is clear in the case of the Cana account, there is no hostility between Jesus and Mary. He does go on to point out, like Brown above, that several Fathers of the Church, especially in the Greek tradition have understood it to be a reproach to Mary. See de la Potterie, Mary, 184. A. H. Maynard considers it a Hebrew idiom meaning, "what have we in common" or "what business do we have with each other," suggests that John wanted to have Jesus indicate a complete separation between himself and his mother. Maynard holds that Jesus re-established his relationship with his mother in John 19:27. See Maynard, "ΤΙ ΕΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΙ," New Testament Studies (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 584, 586. Pheme Perkins agrees with Maynard in calling it a Hebrew idiom, which carries overtones of refusal or at least unwillingness to get involved in whatever the petitioner is concerned about. See Pheme Perkins, "The Gospel according to John," The New Jerome Biblical Commentary (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990), 954. Hereafter: Perkins, "John," New Jerome.

75 NAB, 148-149.
the embodiment of divine glory.\textsuperscript{76} He represents the visible divine presence to his followers through mighty acts during his ministry, one of which is at the Wedding Feast at Cana. The greatest manifestation of glory was at Jesus' passion, death, and resurrection, "Father, the hour has come. Give glory to your son, so that your son may glorify you, just as you gave him authority over all people, so that he may give eternal life to all you gave him. Now this is eternal life, that they should know you, the only true God, and the one whom you sent, Jesus Christ" (John 17:1-4).\textsuperscript{77} Jesus reveals the Father's glory to the disciples through the manifestations found in the Book of Signs (2:1-12:50);\textsuperscript{78} the Father reveals the Son's glory after his passion, self-sacrificing death on the Cross, and resurrection in the Book of Glory (13:1-20:31). The disciples are to carry out the mission that the Father sent the Son to accomplish. They were to do so with the help of the Counselor, the Spirit of truth who will guide them into all the truth, "He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine and declare it to you. Everything that the Father has is mine; for this reason I told you that he will take from what is mine and declare it to you" (John 16:14-15).\textsuperscript{79} The Father and Jesus leave the disciples under the guidance of the Spirit of truth.

John introduces the mother of Jesus, Mary, at the Wedding Feast at Cana, when Jesus manifests his divine power through his first miracle. Johann G. Roten comments, "... John stresses more forcefully Mary's role within the context of the \textit{memoria passionis},

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{76} See R. E. Brown, \textit{John}, 503.
\item \textsuperscript{77} \textit{NAB}, 176.
\item \textsuperscript{78} Ignace de la Potterie points out that in English the Greek word "\textit{sêmeion}" (symbol) is ordinarily translated as "\textit{signum}" (sign). In English, there is a difference in the meaning between these two words: a sign has no intrinsic link between the object and what it signifies, whereas, with a symbol there is this intrinsic link, it signifies something inaccessible. This latter is the meaning of the word "signum" in most of John's Gospel. De la Potterie, \textit{Mary}, 178-179.
\item \textsuperscript{79} \textit{NAB}, 175.
\end{itemize}
Both [Luke and John] insist, but John more than Luke, on the universal character of Mary's person and, therefore, on her function as a role model and active agent in the building up of the faith of the first Christian communities. Thus, Mary is presented in an expanded role, in which she participated to some degree in bringing about the first manifestation of Jesus' glory, in anticipation of his final hour, and the belief of his disciples. Mary also left a prescription for Christian faith and action, saying, "Do whatever he tells you" (John 2:5).

The Wedding Feast at Cana provides the perfect example of how the exegete might look beneath the literal text to discover the hidden, spiritual meaning. A few examples of events, phrases or words found in the pericope will serve to demonstrate this. A wedding feast may symbolize the messianic nuptials and the New Covenant, where Jesus is the Divine Bridegroom and the Church is the Bride (2 Cor. 11:2; Eph. 5:22-23), either as an earthly community or the Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 19:7, 9; 21:2, 9; 22:17). "On the third day," evokes Jesus' resurrection. Wine can reflect the imagery of the messianic wedding feast in the Old Testament (Isa. 54:4-8, 62:4-5); or the messianic benefits which Jesus will bring about through his mission; or the restoration that will come at the end of time (Amos 9:13; Hosea 2:24; Joel 4:18; Isa. 29:17; Jer. 31:5). "Woman" may be evocative of the Daughter of Zion, the ideal Zion of eschatological time (Ps. 86:5; 108:1; 116:15).

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81 NAB, 151.

82 See de la Potterie, *Mary*, 196-201.


84 See de la Potterie, *Mary* for references to wine and Jesus' mission, 185, 194; and Perkins, "John," *New Jerome* for references to messianic wedding feast and sign of restoration, 954.
Isa. 60); or refer to the New Eve (Gen. 1; Rev. 12), or the Bride, or be a symbol of the Church.\textsuperscript{85} The "hour" may refer to the end time (Dan. 11:40, 45 [LXX]); or the beginning of Jesus' messianic revelation; or the time of Jesus' passion, death, resurrection, and return to the Father (John 13:1); or the time for the Son of Man to be glorified (John 12: 23, 28, 13:32, 17:1).\textsuperscript{86} John's Gospel is rich in symbolism and challenged the Fathers to search the Scriptural text to uncover the hidden messages.


\textsuperscript{86} See de la Potterie, \textit{Mary} for reference to "hour" as end time, 187; R. E. Brown, \textit{John} and de la Potterie, \textit{Mary} for references to the beginning of the messianic revelation, 517-518, 188; and R. E. Brown, \textit{John} for reference to the passion, death, resurrection, and glorification, 504.
Chapter Two

Foundation for Marian Doctrine: Second and Third Centuries

2.1 Introduction

Latin Christianity had an outstanding beginning in Roman North Africa under the guidance of two dedicated and influential theologians, Tertullian (155/160 - 240/250) and Cyprian (200/210 - 258). The Church of North Africa produced some of the earliest writings in the Latin Church and made contributions to Theology, Christology, and Ecclesiology. Roman North Africa was also the beloved home of Augustine and his followers.

Tertullian and Cyprian both referred to John 2:1-5 in their works, however, neither one mentioned Mary's role in his commentary. The reason that these men and their writings are included in this thesis is that they, and the North African Church, are vital to the understanding of the early Patristic Period and the doctrinal questions that they faced. The silence about Mary can be an indication that they were focused on other primary truths of Christian revelation: the Nature of God; his Unity of Being and Trinity of Persons; the Incarnation and Divinity of the Word; the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Eucharist; and original sin and grace. Some of the work of Tertullian and Cyprian became foundational for the doctrine of the Trinity and the two

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87 Tertullian made significant contributions to the Christian faith and was a strong defender of it, however later in life he converted to Montanism and was therefore labeled a heretic. See William A. Jurgens, "Tertullian," The Faith of the Early Fathers (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1970), 111 - 112. Montanism was based on the teaching of Montanus, who believed that he was the Holy Spirit incarnate and prophesied that the end of the world was near; he called for rigorous ascetic practices. His teaching threatened to undermine the traditional authority of Sacred Scripture and the office of the bishop. See McBrien, "Montanism," The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 890.

88 See Livius, Blessed Virgin, xiv.
natures of Christ, which led the way to understanding Mary and her relationship to the Trinity and to Jesus Christ. It will be in the next period that the attention of the Fathers of the Church will turn to Mary, the Mother of Jesus, Son of God, in John 2:1-5.

2.2 Tertullian and Cyprian in the Church of Roman North African

Tradition is that the Church in Roman North Africa was evangelized from Rome, however, little is known for certain.\(^{89}\) There is evidence that the Church was vibrant from the second to the seventh centuries.\(^{90}\) The Christian communities were part of a "cosmopolitan mix of native Berber, surviving Punic elements, and Greek culture, together with the strong Latin component contributed by the pervasive presence of the imperial administration and the descendants of the Roman veterans who had settled as colonists after the reestablishment of the region by Augustus in the first century."\(^{91}\) Members of the Church came from this mix of cultures and ideologies.

By the end of the first century, the African Church, like the other Christian communities around the Mediterranean basin, shared the belief that Jesus was the Christ of God that he conferred the Spirit of God on his followers as the source of a new life, and that resurrection was the destiny of the saints. Jesus, the living Christ, and the Spirit were considered the two ultimate sources of


authority for believers. These beliefs formed their catechesis. Their primary concern was how to follow the teachings of Jesus Christ in a community of believers, guided by the Spirit.

The community life consisted of liturgical observances, which were regular ritual practices that involved the entire community. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were the two primary rituals. Baptism, after catechesis, was the rite of initiation into the Church, which included the whole worldwide Christian community. It marked the conversion to the new faith and the reception of the Spirit. The reception of the Eucharist was preceded by catechesis, repentance, and exorcisms. The Eucharist was celebrated weekly to commemorate Christ's Passover from death to life. At the Eucharistic services, there were also readings and expositions on the Sacred Scripture.

Tertullian and Cyprian used the Old Latin Bible that contained a Latin translation of the Septuagint and the books of the New Testament. It was thought to have been originally translated in North Africa. The earliest evidence of this translation comes from the writings of Tertullian, and especially from Cyprian. In about the year 250, it was recognized as authentic “as shown by Cyprian’s adherence to it throughout his works.” Cyprian’s consistent use of the Bible is recognized as a standard because of the respect that others had for him.


93 See Norris, "Articulating," Cambridge, 82.


96 See Quasten, “Africans,” Patrology, 244.
The Church experienced threats from heretical teaching from within its own ranks. This was so even though the creeds were not as yet developed and the articles of faith were not clarified, some Christians were stubbornly holding on to erroneous ideas that the Church authorities had condemned. "When asked where the authentic faith was to be found, their answer was clear and unequivocal: in a general way it was contained in the Church's continuous tradition of teaching, and more concretely in the Holy Scriptures."97 This became the standard for determining orthodoxy from heresy.98

This time of challenge produced dissension and schism, but it was also a time of opportunity. Some of the pagan converts, like Tertullian and Cyprian, whose intellectual background was Hellenistic, were able to express Christian theology in such a way that the educated people of the Empire could understand Christ’s message. This is referred to as inculturation.99 For example, Tertullian took up the arguments for accepting God as the Creator of the world ex nihilo; he reasoned: “God cannot have created out of the divine self, or everything would be God; God cannot have created out of pre-existent matter because that would mean two eternal beings, or two gods; so the only possible conclusion is that God created out of nothing (Adversus Hermogenem).100 Tertullian’s argument challenged the Gnostic and the Marcion views,101 by implying their inconsistencies. His teaching reflected

97 Kelly, Doctrines, 30.
98 See "Principles for Patristic Exegesis,"section 1.6.2.1, 10-15.
101 Gnosticism probably originated at the very beginnings of Christianity. It was present in North Africa and in Rome by the end of the first century. It denied the full humanity of Jesus Christ, refused to acknowledge the validity of the entire OT and NT
the Christian response to their challenges. This could be said to be the first Christian doctrine to be firmly established, “One God, the Creator of everything out of nothing.”102

Another example of Tertullian’s intellectual ability was illustrated when he was challenged by Christian modalists and pagan polytheists to answer the theological question, “Is the divinity of the Son (and of the Holy Spirit) compatible with genuine monotheism?”103 Tertullian formulated his thoughts and made an enduring contribution to Trinitarian thought. “In writing of one divine substance (substantia) in three persons, Tertullian was the first Christian writer to exploit the term person in theology, the first to apply Trinity (Trinitatis) to God (De pudicitia, 21.16; Adversus Praxeum, 8), and the first to develop the formula of one substance in three persons.”104

Tertullian went on to answer some Christological questions in Adversus Praxeum, 27. 7, 10-11). He recognized both Christ’s divinity and humanity. In the incarnation there are two distinct substances, joined in one person, without the substances being mixed; the property of each substance remaining intact. In "On Baptism," Tertullian associated the divine power of Christ, manifested at the Wedding Feast at Cana, as the same power that is responsible for "washing away the sins," whereby "we are set free

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102 See Young, "Christian Teaching," Cambridge, 100.


104 O’Collins, Tripersona God, 105.
and admitted to eternal life." Tertullian wrote "On the Soul" to defend the true humanity of Christ against Marcion, who denied that Christ had a real body and was but a phantom or a ghost. "No, His apostles really and truly perceived Him with their senses. They saw and heard Him ... tasted the wine changed from water ... touched His side." Tertullian, "On Baptism," The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1993), 673.

Cyprian wrote of the sacrificial nature of Christ's death and the resultant unity of the Christian people. In Letter 63, "On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord," that the water represented God's people, "... whereas Scripture reveals that by wine is signified the blood of Christ ... when water is mixed with wine in the cup, the people are made one with Christ and the multitude of believers are bonded and united with him in whom they have come to believe." Cyprian of Carthage, "Letter 63," The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage (New York, N.Y.: Newman Press, 1984), 105. Hereafter: Cyprian, "Letter 63," Letters.

Johannes Quasten explained the significance of this statement, "Thus Cyprian is the first to testify explicitly to the doctrine that the Body and Blood of the Lord are offered as an oblation. Both the Last Supper and the eucharistic..." Cyprian of Carthage, "Letter 63," Letters, 106.
sacrifice of the Church are the representation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. "\textsuperscript{109}"

In defending the Church, Tertullian and Cyprian “set great store by the Christian way of life against the background of pagan vice;” they “focused their attention on the subjective side of salvation,” which considers what the individual could do, in faith, on his own behalf to fight against sin and practice virtue.\textsuperscript{110} Their approach was different from that of their contemporaries in the Greek Church. Clement of Alexandria and Origen “put in relief the metaphysical content of the gospel, and to prove the faith was the only true philosophy and far above the Hellenistic systems,” they “stressed the objective value of redemption, based on the incarnation of the Logos, which filled mankind with divine power.” \textsuperscript{111} This difference between the Latin and Greek fathers widened in the centuries that followed.

A threat from outside the Church came in the form of political persecution. The Church community attracted the attention of the Roman Imperial authorities because of the “suspicions about the obscenities practiced by the Christians,” and the “conviction that the Christians’ refusal to worship any god but their own, alienated the goodwill of the gods and precipitated various disasters.”\textsuperscript{112} This produced tension between the imperial authorities and the Christians. The earliest written evidence of this, which is the oldest dated Latin document of Christian Africa, is found in Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs.\textsuperscript{113} Similarly, Tertullian is

\begin{enumerate}
\item Quasten, "Africans," \textit{Patrology}, 381.
\item See Quasten, "Africans," \textit{Patrology}, 246.
\item See Behr, "Social," \textit{Cambridge}, 60.
\end{enumerate}
quoted as saying in *Apologia* 40, “If there is an earthquake, a famine or pestilence, the cry is raised, ‘the Christians to the lions.’” Cyprian’s writings refer to the severe persecutions of their Church under the Roman emperors Decius (249-251) and Valerian (257-258). These major threats and bloody persecutions produced many martyrs, including Bishop Cyprian, and valuable documentation about the heroic lives of individuals and the threats to the Church. Johannes Quasten writes, “The rapid spread of Christianity in this country was purchased at the exorbitant price of numerous martyrdoms.”

The role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in God's salvation plan flows from these foundational teachings regarding the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the humanity and divinity of her Divine Son, Jesus. Jesus was one of the three persons in the one substance, the One God, Creator of everything out of nothing. Jesus was One Person with two distinct substances joined in the One Person, without the substances being mixed. Luigi Gambero holds that, "The ancient Christians held beyond a doubt both the divine origin of the person of Christ and his perfect humanity." Mary will be recognized as the Theotókos, The God-Bearer, The Mother of God at the General Council of Ephesus (431), from which all of her privileges originate.

### 2.3 Marian Doctrine Not Specific to the Wedding Feast

The theologians in this post-apostolic period were primarily interested in Christology and sought to understand more about the Incarnation of the Word and his mission. In studying Christ’s humanity, they uncovered the truths that relate to his mother, the

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114 Behr, "Social," *Cambridge*, 60.


Blessed Virgin Mary. Overall there was little written about Mary during this period. The three most common topics found in their writings were Mary's virginity, divine maternity, and the Mary / Eve parallel. Each investigation into the person and role of the Blessed Virgin Mary was always in relationship to her Divine Son. The teaching by the Latin and Greek Fathers\textsuperscript{118} became part of creeds, catecheses, apologetics, and polemics.

Mary's virginity was an essential part of the teaching of the ecclesial writers, because it was by the power of God that Mary conceived and gave birth to the Son of God, who is God. They grounded their assumptions in the exegesis of the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke. Isaiah 7:14 was also part of the Fathers study, because they considered the Old Testament to be fulfilled by Jesus Christ in the New Testament. Examples of writings about Mary's virginity are found in Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch's (d. c. 112), Justin Martyr, Christian apologist (110/110-165), Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons (140-202), Origen, Christian scholar (185-254), Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (200/210-258), and Tertullian (d. c. 220). There are two general categories: Mary's virginity relative to Christ's conception and birth, and Mary's virginity as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophetic sign.

Ignatius' message in the \textit{Letter to the Smyrnaeans}, part of a creedal statement, read "... He [Son of God] was most certainly born of a virgin ...."\textsuperscript{119} Justin Martyr made reference to Mary's virginity twenty nine times in his works.\textsuperscript{120} In his apologetic work, \textit{Dialogue with Trypho}, Justin wrote "... likewise to be the Son of patriarchs, since He assumed flesh by the Virgin of their family. [...] He said then that He was the Son of man, either because of His

\textsuperscript{118} Tertullian and Cyprian wrote in Latin; all of the others cited in this section used Greek for their work.


\textsuperscript{120} Buby, \textit{Marian Heritage}, 15.
birth by the Virgin .... [...] But the Virgin Mary received faith and joy ....”

Justin was the first theologian to refer to Isaiah 7:14 to explain Mary's virginity. In the First Apology of Justin, he intended to have the pagans understand that Mary was the virgin referenced in this passage stating "And hear again how Isaiah in express words foretold that He should be born of a virgin; .... but the power of God having come upon the virgin, overshadowed her, and caused her while yet a virgin to conceive." Once this was explained, he confirmed his statements by quoting Luke 1:32 and Matthew 1:21. Justin also referred to Isaiah 7:14 in the Dialogue with Trypho, where he debated with the Jews regarding the Septuagint term "virgin" in contrast to the translation "young girl." Origen followed Justin by defending the use of the word virgin stating, "But if a Jew should ingeniously explain it away by saying that it was not written 'Behold a Virgin,' but, instead of that, 'behold a young woman,' we should say to him that the word 'Almah, which the Septuagint translated by 'parthenos' (virgin) and others by 'neanis' (young woman), also occurs, so they say, in Deuteronomy applied to a virgin. [...] And what sort of a sign would it be if a young girl not a virgin bore a son?" Tertullian defended Jesus' divine sonship by explaining the virginal conception, stating "... if he is the son of man from his mother,


124 Origen, Contra Celsum (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 34. Hilda Graef holds that Origen implied Mary's virginity in in-partu in this commentary, however he has other writings that affirm or deny it: Origen did teach Mary's virginity post partum. See Hilda Graef, History of Doctrine and Devotion (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria Press, 2009), 34 - 35. Hereafter: Graef, History of Doctrine.
since he is not from a father, but from a virgin mother, because not from a human father, then he will be the Christ spoken of by Isaiah who announced that a virgin will conceive."\(^{125}\)

Irenaeus explained Jesus' messianic mission as predicted in Isaiah 7:14, "Wherefore also the Lord Himself gave us a sign ... which man did not ask for, because he never expected that a virgin could conceive, or that it was possible that one remaining a virgin could bring forth a son, and that what was thus born should be 'God with us.'"\(^{126}\) Cyprian was the first theologian to associate Genesis 3:15 with Isaiah 7:14, "Therefore the Lord himself will give a sign: Behold the Virgin will conceive and bring forth a son and he will be called Emmanuel.... God had promised that the seed destined to crush the head of the devil would come about through a woman."\(^{127}\)

The second topic of interest, and closely associated with Mary's virginity, was her divine maternity. It was important for the theologians to affirm Jesus' divinity and humanity. The real birth of Christ, from a real woman, validated the belief that the Son of God was truly a human being. The maternity of Mary was a true motherhood. Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, Origen, and Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria (d. 328) provide some material for study. Ignatius explained in the Letter to the Ephesians, "There is one Physician who is possessed both of flesh and spirit; both made and not made; God existing in the flesh; ... both of Mary and of God ... Jesus Christ our Lord."\(^{128}\) Justin explained to Trypho, "For I have


already proved that He was the only-begotten of the Father of all things, being begotten in a peculiar manner, Word and Power by Him, and having afterwards become man through a Virgin, as we have learned from the Memoirs [of the Apostles].”  

Irenaeus declared, "But that He had, beyond all others, in Himself that preeminent birth which is from the Most High Father, and also experienced that preeminent generation which is from the Virgin […] ... and that He is the holy Lord, the Wonderful, the Counselor, the Beautiful in appearance, and the Mighty God, coming on the clouds as the Judge of men.”

Origen was credited by some with calling Mary *Theotókos* and for giving a full explanation of why he identified her as such, in his commentary on the Letter to the Romans. In the view of Michael O'Carroll, Alexander of Alexandria is the first certain literary use of the title *Theotókos.* Alexander's identification of Mary as the *Theotókos* will be followed by his successor, Athanasius of Alexandria.

The Mary-Eve analogy was a significant teaching in the formation of Marian doctrine. Three theologians compared Mary with Eve in Genesis 3:15: Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. In Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho,* he wrote that "[The Son of God] became man through a Virgin, in order that the disobedience which proceeded from the serpent might receive destruction in the same manner in which it derived its origin. For Eve, who was a virgin and undefiled, having conceived by the word of a serpent, brought forth disobedience and death.” Irenaeus advanced the concept

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131 Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers,* 75-76.


133 Justin, "Dialogue," 249.
and introduced a theological and anthropological meaning into this analogy. He linked this concept with Paul's Letter to the Ephesians 1:10 and formulated the principals of recapitulation, the summing up in the formation of Christ from the Virgin Mary, and recirculation, the transference of life from Mary to Eve.\textsuperscript{134} Irenaeus, like Justin before him, emphasized both the virginity and the obedience of Mary as opposed to the disobedient virgin Eve. "She [Mary] became the cause of salvation for herself and for the whole human race.... The knot of Eve's disobedience was untied by Mary's obedience. What Eve bound through her unbelief, Mary loosed by her faith."\textsuperscript{135} Tertullian held that "[Eve's] virginity, disobedience, and death were balanced by [Mary's] virginity, obedience, and life."\textsuperscript{136}

The only reference to Mary in John 2:1-5 was made by Irenaeus in \textit{Against Heresies}. Irenaeus was providing proofs from the Apostolic writings that Jesus Christ was one and the same, the only begotten Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man. One example he provided for his argument was the interaction between Jesus and his mother at the Wedding Feast. He held that Jesus worked all things at the proper time in perfect order and sequence according to Father's plan; "This was the reason why, when Mary was urging [Him] on to [perform] the wonderful miracle of the wine ... the Lord checking her untimely haste, said 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come' - waiting for that hour which was foreknown by the Father."\textsuperscript{137}

In summary, the Marian doctrine in the Pre-Nicene Period was the result of Christological studies. Mary was always

\textsuperscript{134} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 113.

\textsuperscript{135} Irenaeus, "Against Heresies," \textit{Ante-Nicene}, 455.

\textsuperscript{136} Tertullian believed in a virginal conception, but that Jesus' birth was a normal birth and the she had a spousal relationship with Joseph. See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 113, 121.

\textsuperscript{137} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 140.
associated with her Son, Jesus Christ and his role in the salvation of all people. She was the virgin who conceived a Son by the power of God, in accord with the promise of the prophet Isaiah. Mary was truly his mother; Jesus was truly born as a human being from Mary. She is the New Eve, the one who untied the knot of Eve's disobedience.
Chapter Three

The Patristic Period: Fourth and Fifth Centuries

3.1 Introduction

Comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were included in the writings of the Fathers in this period. Mary's presence and role were always Christological, that is, how she was associated to Jesus' humanity, mission, the "hour" of his death, and the Church. John 2:1-5 was part of the celebration of the liturgy during the Christmas season. The celebration began with the birth at Bethlehem (Matthew 1:18-25; Luke 2:1-20), continued to the visit of the Magi (Matthew 2:1-12), baptism of Jesus (Matthew 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22; John 1:31-34), and ended with the first miracle at Cana.

The great Fathers of the Latin Church who wrote about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were from various parts of the Latin Roman Empire. Hilary was from Poitiers in Gaul, the furthest north of the authors. Ambrose, Maximus, and Gaudentius were from northern Italy. Paulinus was from the southern part of Italy, Nola. Augustine and Quodvultdeus were from North Africa. Most of the Fathers travelled and studied in Rome, Trier, and other important places of learning. There were many interactions among these Fathers. Augustine was catechized and baptized by Ambrose. Paulinus was catechized by Ambrose. Gaudentius was appointed bishop by Ambrose. Jerome and Augustine exchanged letters regarding the Vulgate. Jerome copied the works of Hilary.
3.2 The Latin Church in the West

3.2.1 Challenges Faced by the Fathers and the Church

The Fathers of the Church were truly amazing theologians. They lived during a time in which the Church experienced a wide range of challenges. Constantine's conversion (312) and the Edict of Milan (313) ushered in a general peace in the Church; the number of Christians went from a small number in 312 to the majority of people in the Empire in 380. In 392 it was, in effect, the official religion of the Empire.\(^\text{138}\) This recognition brought with it a price; the Roman civil authority intervened in Church affairs.\(^\text{139}\) The superiority of the Roman authority over the Church continued until the time of Ambrose, when he held that "the law of the Church - the *jus sacerdotale* - could only be administered by the magistrates of the Church."\(^\text{140}\)

Another challenge that the Latin Fathers faced when they began to use Latin for their pastoral and liturgical life, was that not all of the Latin Fathers knew Greek, including Pope Celestine I. There was no longer a common language in the Church. This made relations with the Greek Church more difficult. Eastern and Western bishops meeting in councils could not understand each other. "The Latin terminology formulated in the Trinitarian and Christological controversies did not always correspond to the Greek."\(^\text{141}\) The result was the beginning of a separation between

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East and West "created by political events, by language and vocabulary, and by intellectual and theological traditions."  

The last significant challenge that the Fathers faced was the barbarian invasion that began during the early years of the fifth century. Rome was captured and sacked in 410 by the Visigoths under Aleric. The Vandals conquered North Africa in 430. It was during these times, that Augustine died. The Fathers responded by helping the victims, supplementing the collapsing imperial government, and evangelizing the barbarians. Yet, despite all of the significant challenges, the Fathers became the approved masters, the authority on revealed truths, and the authoritative witnesses to the faith of the Christian people.

3.2.2 Greek Fathers' Influence on the Latin Fathers

There are many ways that the teachings of the Greek Fathers were accepted by the Latin Fathers. "The East remained not only the cradle but also the womb from which proceeded the thought and spirituality that fecundated the West." It must be noted however, according to R. J. De Simone, "Christianity existed for c. 150 years before its initial confrontation with Greek philosophy. [...] ... both claimed exclusive possession of a wisdom able on its own to provide a truthful account of man's nature and destiny. [...] Historically, the oldest 'dialogue' between the two was occasioned by the conversion to Christianity of intellectuals ... " This encounter occurred when the Greeks united the Christian tradition with that of the Greek philosophical culture and "embodied Christian doctrine in a scientific theological system."


\[143\] See Comby, *Church History*, 119-120.


\[146\] See Dawson, *Making of Europe*, 45.
This Greek scientific theological system was introduced into the West by Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Victorinus.\footnote{See Dawson, \textit{Making of Europe}, 47.}

\section*{3.2.3 Ecumenical Councils and a General Overview of Marian Doctrine During the Patristic Period}

The Councils held in the East contributed definitively to the doctrines of the universal Church. The First General Council of Nicaea (325), convened by Emperor Constantine and attended by a representative sent from Pope Sylvester, proclaimed "that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, that is, one only with him." This then became a tenet of the Nicene Creed.\footnote{See J. Neuner and J. Dupuis, \textit{The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church} (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 2001), 6. Hereafter: Neuner and Dupuis, \textit{Christian Faith}. Also see CCC, #242, #465.} The First General Council of Constantinople (381)\footnote{The First General Council of Nicaea (325), hereafter: First Council of Nicaea. The First General Council of Constantinople (381), hereafter: First Council of Constantinople.} was convened by Emperor Theodosius I to confirm the faith of Nicaea and to determine the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. All members were from the East and there was no representation from Pope Damasus. This Council will be regarded as ecumenical in the sixth century. It affirmed the Nicene Creed and confessed "the only-begotten Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, light from light, true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father, was one substance as the Father." The Council also proclaimed, "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father."\footnote{Neuner and Dupuis, \textit{Christian Faith}, 8 - 9; CCC, #242.}

This profession of faith included significant truths about the Virgin Mary. Through the synergy of the Virgin Mary and the
Holy Spirit, the Eternal Son of the Father, the Lord Jesus Christ, came down from heaven and by the power of the Holy Spirit was incarnate of the Virgin Mary, became man and was crucified for us. The Eternal Word of God became flesh of Mary, Mary is the Mother of God; she is the Mother of the one who came down for our salvation.

The General Council of Ephesus (431) originated from a Christological controversy in the East. The Alexandrian School stressed the unity of the subject of Christ; and the Antiochene School emphasized the differences between the divinity and humanity of Christ. St. Cyril of Alexandria led the debate for the Alexandrians against Nestorius, who represented the Antiochenes.151 In the Church of St. Mary, the council was convened by Emperor Theodosius II and opened by Cyril of Alexandria before the legates arrived from Pope Celestine I. Ultimately the Fathers approved Cyril's letter as orthodoxy. This Council confessed, "... that the Word, uniting to himself in his person the flesh animated by rational soul, became man."152 This meant that "Christ's humanity has no other subject than the divine person of the Son of God, who assumed it and made it his own, from his conception."153 As the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius stated "If any one does not confess that the Emmanuel is truly God and, therefore, that the holy Virgin is the Mother of God (Theotókos) (since she begot according to the flesh the Word of God made flesh), anathema sit."154 Thus Mary truly became the

151 Nestorius (d. c. 451) put so much emphasis on the humanity of Christ that his human nature almost became separated from his divinity. In this context Mary's relationship with her divine Son would have changed. Nestorius called Mary Christotókos, Christ bearer, rather than Theotókos. See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 235. The heresy founded by Nestorius is known as Nestorianism. There are adherents to Nestorianism today.

152 Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 220.

153 Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 220.

154 Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 222.
Mother of God, the *Theotókos*.\(^{155}\) The General Council of Ephesus met and resolved a Christological problem, and at the same time declared an important Mariological truth.

In the West, the Church was not involved in this controversy, because the leaders of the Church were stunned by the disaster of the barbarian invasions and involved in survival. They continued the Mariological teachings of the great Latin doctors: Ambrose and Augustine. The official doctrine on the Mother of God came from the Bishop of Rome, Leo the Great, and the General Council of Chalcedon (451). This doctrine originated from the request of Patriarch Flavius of Constantinople to Leo, regarding the teachings of Eutyches (d. 454).\(^{156}\) Eutyches carried his opposition to Nestorianism to an extreme and stated that Jesus had one nature, divine, thereby invalidating the redemption, since this depends on the true humanity of Jesus. Leo wrote his opinion in Epistle 28 on June 13, 449 and sent it to Flavius; this became known as the *Tomus ad Flavianum*. When the General Council of Chalcedon was convened by Emperor Marcian, the *Tomus ad Flavianum* served as the basis for the decision. Leo wrote,

*This eternal only-begotten Son of the eternal Father "was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary." [...] He was conceived by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin Mother, who gave him birth without losing her virginity just as she conceived him without losing her virginity. [...] It is the Holy Spirit who made the Virgin fruitful, but a true body has been taken from her body. [...] From his mother, the Lord has assumed the nature of man, not the guilt. Yet, the miraculous manner of the birth of the Lord*

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\(^{155}\) See Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 220 - 221; *CCC*, #466.

\(^{156}\) Hilda Graef stated one of Eutyches' main arguments against the humanity of Christ: if Jesus had had a real human nature, he would have inherited the stain of sin. See *History*, 91.
Jesus Christ, born from the womb of a virgin, does not make his nature different from ours.\textsuperscript{157}

When this letter was read to the council members, it was accepted, because of their regard for the high spiritual authority of Leo and to recognize that "Peter has spoken through the mouth of Leo."\textsuperscript{158} The General Council of Chalcedon condemned both Nestorianism and Monophysitism.\textsuperscript{159} The Council held that in Christ there are two natures, one divine and one human, hypostatically united in one Divine Person.\textsuperscript{160} Mary was the Virgin Mother of God.

### 3.2.4 Monasticism

Monasticism began in the East, especially under the inspiration of Anthony of the Desert (d. 356). Some Westerners traveled to Jerusalem and Bethlehem to experience the monastic life. While during his exile, Athanasius and his monks introduced monasticism to the Roman community. Their visit was recognized as the beginning of monasticism in the West.\textsuperscript{161} Augustine eventually wrote a monastic rule for his community. Paulinus founded an aesthetic community in Nola.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}

\bibitem{157} Neuner and Dupuis, \textit{Christian Faith}, 225, 226.
\bibitem{158} See Gambero, \textit{Mary and the Fathers}, 305.
\bibitem{159} See "Ecumenical Councils," section 4.2.4, 136-137, for further information. Monophysitism is a heresy, which holds that after the Incarnation, Christ had only one nature (divine). Cyril of Alexandria used an ambiguous Greek word for nature in an effort to refute Nestorius; but this word led to confusion and was later clarified at the General Council of Chalcedon. Some continued to hold this view in opposition to the Chalcedon and the Second Council of Constantinople. See Janice Poorman, "Monophysitism," \textit{The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism} (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 889. There are still adherents to Monophysitism today.
\bibitem{160} See Neuner and Dupuis, \textit{Christian Faith}, 226, 227; \textit{CCC}, #467.
\end{thebibliography}
3.2.5 Primacy of the Pope and the Beginning of Western Theology

In the fifth century, the Pope continued to have primacy over the whole Church, "for as [A. von] Harnack says, 'even in the eyes of the Orientals there attached to the Roman Bishop a special something, which was wanting to all the rest, a nimbus which conferred upon him a special authority.'"162 The Roman See was recognized as having the apostolic prerogative and the Romana fides was the norm of Catholic orthodoxy.163

Augustine had "completed the Western theological development and endowed the Church with a system of thought which was to form the intellectual capital of Western Christendom for more than a thousand years."164

3.2.6 The Fathers as Pastors

The Fathers were the leaders of their communities, but above all they were pastors. All of the Fathers in this chapter were bishops.

Gambero called the Fathers "the first models of Christian holiness," because they nourished themselves with the word of God, assimilated its contents, and witnessed to it by their lives.165 The Fathers searched Sacred Scripture, through inspiration of the Holy Spirit and with faith, to discover the mysteries revealed therein about Christ and God. Once they had been blessed with this understanding, they passed it on to their flocks. The Fathers wrote, "'from faith to faith,' to stir up faith, to impart an understanding of

162 Dawson, Making of Europe, 51.
163 See Dawson, Making of Europe, 50.
164 Dawson, Making of Europe, 51.
165 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 18.
divine realities, and to transform the lives of believers." The primary context for communicating these divine truths was during the Eucharistic liturgy. The Eucharist was the central part of Church life. Education for all phases of Christian life was another aspect of their pastoral duties. Combating heresies occupied a major part of their time.

A significant characteristic of the teachings of the Fathers originates in the fact that persecutions and martyrdom had ended. Given that every Christian was encouraged to bear witness to Christ in life and death, new ways to a life of holiness had to be found. Some men and women joined monasteries as mentioned above. Others remained virgins or widows outside of the monastery. There was a common message given at this time: "All were to live chastely and to imitate Christ to the best of their ability. There was no separation, therefore, between the martyrs, virgins and monks, and the rest of the Church. Their ideal was the common ideal, even though not all could actualize it in the same way; it was an integral part of the Gospel teaching proposed to each one. We cannot perceive, much less understand, the moral teaching of the Fathers unless we take into account its spiritual dimension." This emphasis on virginity brought attention to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who is the archetype, exemplar, and model for virgins. Mary's virginity was the subject of many writings during this period.

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167 "Some 3000 homilies have been preserved from the years 325 to 451, half of them belonging to John Chrysostom and Augustine." See Hamman, "Turnabout," 22.

168 Pinckaers, *Sources*, 207.
St. Hilary of Poitiers (315 - 367)

3.3 Life and Teaching of Hilary of Poitiers

Hilary was born in Poitiers, in Aquitaine, to a noble pagan family. He was educated in literature and philosophy. Hilary converted to Christianity and gave possible reasons for his conversion in the Prologue to *De Trinitate*: he was not interested in the prospect of a life dedicated to pleasures; nor was he impressed by the contradictions of the philosophers, and he had been enlightened through contact with Sacred Scriptures.\(^{169}\) In 353 or 354, he was consecrated Bishop of Poitiers, where he carried on his pastoral duties until his death in 367.

Hilary began his ministry at the height of Arianism.\(^{170}\) When Hilary refused to condemn Athanasius and the doctrine defined at the First Council of Nicaea, as requested by the Emperor Constantius, he was deposed from his Episcopal See and banished to Phrygia until 360. While there he learned about the controversies regarding the divinity of Christ. In *De synodis*, he wrote that until 355 he had not even heard of the term *homooúsios*.\(^{171}\) Hilary also studied the Greek Christian writers, especially Origen. He was sent back to Gaul, because he was creating serious problems for the Arians in Phrygia. He continued

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\(^{170}\) Arius (250-336), an Alexandrian priest, held that Jesus was an intermediary between God and man. Jesus was separate from the Father; a created being, though formed before time began; He was less than the Father and greater than man. His teaching became known as the heresy of Arianism. See Joan O'Grady, *Early Christian Heresies* (New York, N.Y.: Barnes and Noble, 1985), 91. Hereafter: O'Grady, *Early Christian Heresies*.

his attack on the Arians in Poitiers, throughout Gaul, and parts of Italy. Gambero wrote, "... he was called the 'Athanasius of the West.'"\(^\text{172}\)

Hilary composed doctrinal works: *De Trinitate*, a book with twelve chapters; *De synodis*, a document to prepare the bishops of Gaul and neighboring regions for the Councils of Rimini and Seleucia (359); historical documents; exegetical commentary on Matthew, the Psalms and *De mysteriis*; and hymns.\(^\text{173}\) Hilary was considered the first Latin author to write: a scientific and systematic treatise on the Trinity, a theology of satisfaction, and a commentary on Matthew's Gospel.\(^\text{174}\) *De Trinitate* is recognized as a masterpiece and upon this work, Hilary's fame as a theologian rests. "It is generally regarded as one of the finest writings that the Arian controversy produced."\(^\text{175}\) Augustine, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas praised *De Trinitate*. Pope Pius IX proclaimed Hilary a doctor of the Church in 1851.

### 3.3.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *De Trinitate*, On The Trinity

This is a doctrinal treatise, sometimes called *De fide* or *Adversus Arianos libri*.\(^\text{176}\) Books one through three, where the Wedding Feast at Cana was referenced, are thought to have been written before Hilary's exile in Phyrgia (356), because there is no use of the word, *homooúsios*, even though the context would merit

\(^{172}\) Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers*, 182.


\(^{175}\) McKenna, Introduction, *Hilary*, xv.

its use. The entire twelve books were written to be a theological treatise on the Trinity, to refute the Arian heterodoxy, explain orthodoxy and uphold the pronouncements of the First Council of Nicaea and defend Athanasius.\footnote{177}{See McKenna, Introduction, Hilary, vii.}

In chapter three, Hilary presented Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Son of God. The miracle at the Wedding Feast at Cana was the material evidence of the power of God; the same power that was made manifest in the inconceivable birth by the Virgin, and the passion and death of Christ that resulted in man's gift of eternal life.\footnote{178}{See Hilary, Trinity, 77-78.} This power existed in both the Father and the Son, as Jesus said, "Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in Me" (John 14:11).\footnote{179}{NAB, 172.}

Hilary did not identify Mary by name when he wrote about the Wedding Feast at Cana, but referred to the request she made to Jesus, thereby bringing about the manifestation of his divine power.

On the wedding day in Galilee, when wine was made from water [...] The bridegroom is sad, the family is embarrassed, the celebration of the wedding banquet is endangered. Jesus is requested to help; He does not rise or come nearer, but while at rest completes the work. Water is poured into vessels, wine is drawn out from the cups.\footnote{180}{‘Nuptiarum die uinum in Galilea ex aqua factum est. (Io. 2,11) [...] Sponsus tristis est, familia turbatur, sollemnitas nuptialis conuiuii periclitatur. Iesus rogatur. Non exsurgit aut instat, sed quiescentis eius hoc opus est. Aqua hydriis infunditur, uinum calicibus hauritur.” Hilarii, De Trinitate, CCSL 62, 76.} (Translated by Stephen McKenna.)\footnote{181}{Hilary, Trinity, 68. The italicized words are this author's method of directing attention to the significant text.}
In the same chapter, Hilary presented three other ideas about Mary and the power of God, which are indirectly linked to Jesus' divine power manifested at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Theologically, Hilary argued against the Arians, holding that the Father and the Son are equal, the Father lost nothing when he generated the Son; the example he used was that of Mary's virginity *in partu*. God's power was revealed when Mary "brought forth from herself Him who was perfect, although her own integrity was not impaired. And it would doubtless be proper to hold that a thing is not impossible with God that is done by His power in a human creature."\(^\text{182}\) Stephen McKenna explained, "The saint here takes for granted the perfect virginity of Mary. He argues from it that, just as she brought forth her son without any loss of integrity, so Christ was born without any loss to the nature of the Father."\(^\text{183}\) He was associating God's power and action in Mary to the teaching about the nature of God from The First Council of Nicaea (325). The Son is "*consubstantialis*" in Latin or "*homoousios*" in Greek, one in being with the Father, that is, one only God with him.\(^\text{184}\)

Hilary was clear on his Christology. He held that, "The Son of God is born as man, but the power of God is manifested at His birth from the Virgin. The Son of God is seen as man, but appears as God in the works of man. The Son of God is nailed to the Cross, but on the Cross God overcomes the death of man. Christ, Son of God, dies, but all flesh is vivified in Christ."\(^\text{185}\) Jesus, the Savior, is the Son of the Virgin Mary and the Son of God.

Mary had an essential role in God's plan of salvation: "The Father is glorified by the miracles of the Son [...] when for our

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184 See *CCC*, # 242.

185 Hilary, *Trinity*, 77.
salvation he even willed that His Son be born as man from the Virgin, and in Him all those things, which began with the birth from the Virgin, are accomplished in the Passion."\textsuperscript{186} Hilary recognized the Incarnation as the beginning of our salvation.

Finally, Hilary recognized Mary and her maternal role when he was defending Jesus' true humanity. He wrote, "For, He was born of a Virgin and has come from the cradle and infancy to perfect manhood."\textsuperscript{187} Hilary included a dimension of Mary's motherhood, she was the Mother of God's Son, whom she virginally conceived and bore, according to his human nature, and raised with her motherly love. Mary contributed in her own unique way to the human growth of her Divine Son, who came for the salvation of all people.

3.3.2 Commentary

Hilary did not directly quote John 2:1-5, but paraphrased the verses and provided his interpretation of them. One could understand from Hilary's literal description of the plight of the bridegroom and family, as well as, the threat to the wedding celebration, that he was presenting the situation that provoked Mary to make her request to Jesus for help. Mary, being sensitive to the needs of others, interceded with her Divine Son on their behalf. Jesus responded to Mary by performing a miracle. Hilary drew the attention of the reader to the deeper, spiritual meaning of Jesus' action with these few words, he "does not rise or come nearer," therefore, without movement or effort Jesus "completes his work" and reveals his divine power.

\textsuperscript{186} Hilary, \textit{Trinity}, 78.

\textsuperscript{187} Hilary, \textit{Trinity}, 72-73.
St. Ambrose of Milan (339 - 397)

3.4 Life and Teaching of Ambrose

Ambrose was born to an aristocratic Christian family in Trier, where his father was administering the Prefecture of Gaul. After his father died, the family moved to Rome and Ambrose was educated in rhetoric and advanced to the position of lawyer. In 370, he was appointed *vir consularis* of Liguria and Emilia by Valentinian I and took up residence in Milan. In 373 or 374, he was called on to settle a conflict between Catholics and Arians regarding the election of a successor to the Arian Bishop Auxentius. Ambrose was so skillful in restoring peace; he was acclaimed as bishop by both Catholics and Arians, even though he was only a catechumen at the time. Within one week, he was baptized and consecrated bishop of Milan.  

Simplicianus, a learned presbyter in Milan, became his teacher and he studied Sacred Scripture, the writings of: Greek Fathers, especially Origen and the Cappadocians; Latin writers, especially, Tertullian and Cyprian; and pagan authors, Philo and Plotinus. Maria Grazia Mara described Ambrose's method of preparation, "Study and meditation on the Word of God were the basis of his theological, moral ascetic, political, and social thought and the source of his activity as pastor and preacher."  

Some of the Roman authorities were Arian and forced their religious conviction on the people they governed. Ambrose aggressively confronted Arianism from the beginning of his episcopacy. He had a thorough knowledge of the Catholic faith and the teaching of Nicaea. He was a competent, political

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negotiator. Ambrose approached his responsibilities in two ways: by preaching, teaching, and writing orthodoxy; and politically through activism and physical confrontations.

Ambrose wrote exegetical works primarily on books from the Old Testament, with one exception, the Gospel of Luke. These are found in his homilies and treatises. His dogmatic treatises were apologetic in tone and written in response to Gratian's requests: *De fide ad Gratianum*, *De Spiritu Sancto* and *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*. Ambrose is recognized as the founder of liturgical hymnody.¹⁹⁰ The Ambrosian hymnody was sung in Milan and other parts of the Western Church.

Ambrose was promoted to Doctor of the Church in 1298. In art, he is sometimes shown as writing with an ox beside him because of his commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke. Luke's Gospel is also recognized as most Marian in content.

**Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Ambrose**

Ambrose referred to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in two of his works, the *Expositio Evangelii Secvndvm Lvcam*, Commentary on Luke and *De institutione virginis*, On the Education of virgins.

**3.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Expositio Evangelii Secvndvm Lvcam*, Luke's Gospel**

Scholars surmise that the commentaries on Luke were written over a period of time; their dating ranges from 377 to 389. In them he refers to Eusebius of Caesarea, Virgil, Origen, and Hilary. His exegesis follows that of Origen, first literal and historical interpretation, then moral and allegorical.¹⁹¹ Old and New Testament references appear throughout the commentaries.


He refers to Scripture to explain or confirm his interpretation of Scripture, for example, he related Mary at the finding of Jesus at the Temple with Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Two pastoral concerns motivated his writing: to educate his community in such a way that they would avoid errors regarding the Trinity, and the Person and Natures of Christ; and as a polemic against the Arians and the Sabellians.\textsuperscript{192}

In the Prologue, Ambrose wrote, "We come now to Saint Luke. His style is, we might say, more that of an historian, and he has related to us more of the miracles worked by Our Lord. Nevertheless, there is woven into the history of this Gospel every gift of wisdom. [...] Everything will become clearer as we study the text. For, 'the one who searches shall find; and for him who knocks the door shall be opened (Matthew 7:8).''\textsuperscript{193} After other recommendations to the reader, he began the study of the actual text from the beginning verses.

In Book Two of his commentary on Luke's Gospel, Ambrose explained Luke 2:42, "When He was twelve years old," by writing that the "Child could forget His parents according to the flesh, since though incarnate He was filled with the wisdom and grace of God."\textsuperscript{194} This is the theme that he carried on in explaining Luke 2:49, "Why did you search for Me? Did you not know that I must be about My Father's affairs? In Christ there is dual sonship: one affiliates him to his heavenly Father, the other to his mother. The one by his Father is totally divine, whereas that of his mother subjects him to the weariness and labour that is our lot. Anything

\textsuperscript{192} Sabellius (a Roman clerk who lived ca 250) was the main protagonist for the Modalist view of God, that is, that the Father and the Son were held in different designations of the same subject, that is, different aspects or modes of the One God. See O'Grady, Early Christian Heresies, 85-86.


\textsuperscript{194} Ambrose, Commentary on Luke, 49.
in his actions that surpasses nature, age and that which in general is common to mankind, must not be attributed to his human but to his divine powers." Ambrose expressed the two natures of Jesus Christ very clearly. Mary was the mother of Jesus Christ's human nature, subject to the conditions that bind humanity. She was the one who contributed the human nature with which Jesus would become the Christ. Next Ambrose employed an associative strategy and explained the difference between Luke 2:42-49 to John 2:3, writing,

In another passage His Mother presses Him to perform a miracle (cf. John 2:3). But in this instance His Mother is checked for expecting Him to act as a human. But remember that here He is a child of twelve years, and that in the other case He is a grown man with disciples. You see how the Mother has learnt more about her Son, so much so that she asks Him, in His maturity, to perform a miracle - she who was so astounded by His display in childhood of wondrous powers. (Translated by Íde M. Ni Riain.)

3.4.2 Commentary on Ambrose's Commentary on Luke's Gospel

Ambrose studied Sacred Scripture and read it according to the literal and spiritual senses, then gave a moral exhortation. He interpreted Jesus' action in Luke and John according to his manifestations of humanity and divinity. Ambrose referred to the

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196 “alibi eum ad mysterium mater impellit, hic mater arguitur, quia adhuc quae humana sunt exigat. sed cum hic duodecim describatur annorum, illic discipulos habere deceatur, uides matrem didicisse de filio, ut exigeret a ualidiore mysterium, quae stupebat in iuniore miraculum.” (Ioh. 2,3) Ambrosius, "Expositio Evangelii Secvndvm Lvcam," CSEL 14, 75.

Apocryphal writings in explaining Mary's increased understanding of her Son's display of wondrous powers.

In the exchange between Jesus and his mother, he revealed an aspect of Mary's personality, expressing her will and preference that Jesus perform a miracle, she "presses Him." There is a sense of relationship and exchange between mother and Son. Mary was confident enough to exert herself in making this request of her Divine Son.

Another interesting aspect of Ambrose's commentary was his view that Mary learned from the actions of her Divine Son, as she watched him grow from childhood to adulthood. At the finding in the Temple, Mary expected her Son to act as a human, while Jesus was about his Father's affairs. He was acting out his divine nature and in relationship with his Father. Mary did not understand her Son, asking him, "Son, why have you done this to us? Your father and I have been looking for you with great anxiety" (Luke 2:48). Jesus had stayed behind in the Temple manifesting his "dual sonship," the sonship that "affiliates him with his Heavenly Father." By the time of the Wedding Feast at Cana, Mary had learned more about the divine capacity of her Son from the miracles that she had witnessed Jesus perform as a child. At that time, "... so much so that she asks Him, in His maturity to perform a miracle." And, Jesus does perform his first sign, his first miracle in the Gospel of John at the request of his mother.

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198 Ambrose's paraphrasing of John 2:3 is a non-canonical translation.

199 This may refer to the Apocryphal Gospels, Infancy Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, in which there are stories about Jesus performing miracles as a child. See Buby, Marian Heritage, 52 to 57.


201 Because Ambrose made two references to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, each is analyzed separately, but will be summarized together after the next entry.
3.4.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *De institvtione Virginis*, On the Education of Virgins

Ambrose wrote treatises on the ascetical and ethical life, five of them are related to virginity.\(^{202}\) Gambero commented, "...one gets the clear impression that his [Ambrose] extraordinary interest in the Mother of the Lord stemmed from his unbounded admiration for the virginal life consecrated to God."\(^{203}\) In 377, Ambrose wrote one book, *De virginibus ad Marcellinam*, On Virginity for Marcellina, his sister, at her request. It was a long and comprehensive work with three books or sermons.\(^{204}\) It included praise of virginity and exhortation to embrace it, models and examples and counsels, meant for a mixed congregation, largely composed of virgins. With material from this treatise, he composed: *De viduis*, On Widows (377-378), *De virginitate*, On Virginity (378), *De institvtione virginis*, On the Education of Virgins (391 or 392), and *Exhortatio virginitatis*, Exhortation of Virgins (393-394).\(^{205}\)

In *De institvtione virginis*, On the Education of Virgins, is found the reference to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. It was a

\(^{202}\) Ambrose was the author and spokesman for the Synod of Milan. This synod confirmed the actions of Pope Siricius and the Synod of Rome (392/3) and refuted three of Jovinian's errors, the most significant one being, the denial of Mary's virginity *in partu*. Ambrose wrote that the doctrine to be held was: "the Virgin Mary remained a virgin even in the act of giving birth to Jesus." The arguments that were used to refute this heresy and defend the doctrine were: *reductio ad absurdum* and then, positive teachings from the bishops, the words of the Apostle's Creed (*symbolum apostolorum*) and Sacred Scripture, Luke 1:34, 38; Isa. 7:14, and then God's power manifested in other miracles. See Charles Neumann, *The Virgin Mary In The Works Of Saint Ambrose* (Fribourg, Switz.: The University Press, 1962) 155, and 164 to 173. Hereafter: Neumann, *Virgin Mary*.

\(^{203}\) Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers*, 190.

\(^{204}\) Ambrose was influenced by Athanasius and his work, *Letter to Virgins*. See Neumann, *Virgin Mary*, 39-45; and Burghardt, "Mary," *Mariology*, 140-141.

\(^{205}\) See Buby, *Marian Heritage*, 115.
discourse delivered at the veiling of the virgin Ambrosia, a
daughter of Eusebius of Bologna, a friend of Ambrose. The
primary purpose was to offer advice on how to educate and care
for a virgin and then how a virgin should nurture her vocation. As
Thomas Merton explained, the title "does not mean 'institution of
virgins'! [...] … it means to found, to establish, to arrange, to
ordain, and also to educate. So really what it amounts to is the
education of a virgin, the formation of a virgin, in a Ciceronian
sense."206 After Ambrose's advice to virgins, he wrote a long
defense on women that led to Mary, the New Eve, writing "Come
then, O Eve, who now are called Mary; you not only received an
incentive to virginity but you also gave us God."207

At this point, the second purpose for his exhortation
becomes apparent; it was also a polemic against Bonosus208 and
others who denied the perpetual virginity of Mary. Ambrose
defends Mary's perpetual virginal status from two perspectives: he
refuted the six arguments from Scripture that the heretics used to
support their premises, and then followed with nine positive
arguments for the fittingness for the doctrine on Mary's perpetual
virginity. John 2:4 was the first text presented and explained by
Ambrose in "On the Education of Virgins,

Nevertheless while everyone is being summoned to the
cult of virginity by Mary's example, there have been some

206 Thomas Merton, "Christian Humanism and Virginity in St. Ambrose,”

207 Ambrosius, "De Institvtione Virginis,” BA, 134. Hereafter: Ambrose, "De
Institvtione.” PL 16, 328. See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 192.

208 Bonosus was an influential bishop of Sardica or Naissus; both sees were part
of the Danubian Church which held many different heresies. Ambrose was determined to
correct the error regarding Mary's perpetual virginity, especially because it was coming
from a bishop. Additionally, 'From Illyria, then, came Bonosus' attack on the doctrine of
Mary's perpetual virginity. No theme was dearer to Ambrose's heart, and of all the
sprawling regions more or less under the suspect aegis of Constantinople, none aroused
Ambrose's apprehension more than that Illyria which carried Eastern ideas to the very
threshold of northern Italy." See Neumann, Virgin Mary, 209 to 213.
to deny that she remained a virgin. Such a sacrilege as this we have preferred till now to pass over in silence: but because the suit engaged has called it to the fore, so that even a bishop is accused of falling into it, we do not think it should be left uncondemned; and particularly because we read her to have been also a "woman," in as much as she is the one to whom the Lord himself, he says, in answer to her words, "Son, they have no wine," replied, "What is it to me and to thee, woman?" (John 2:4)²⁰⁹ (Translated by Charles William Neumann.)²¹⁰

### 3.4.4 Commentary on Ambrose's Exhortation in On the Education of Virgins

Before Ambrose presented his polemic against Bonosus and the other heretics, he established a fundamental teaching about Mary. Mary was holy and full of grace.²¹¹ She was the example of virginity that summoned Christians to the cult of virginity; she was the archetype for virgins. To consider in any way that she was not a perpetual virgin would be sacrilegious.

Ambrose went on in his first argument with the premise that because Jesus called Mary, *mulier*, he was not making any statement about her virginity. He began with a philological

²⁰⁹"Et tamen cum omnes ad cultum uirginitatis sanctae Mariae aduocent exempo, fuerunt qui eam negarent uirginem perseuerras. Hoc tantum sacrilegium silere iamdudum maluimus, sed quia causa uocauit in medium, ita ut eius prolapsionis etiam episcopus argueretur, indemnatum non putamus relinquendum. Et maxime quia et 'mulierem' eam legimus, sicut ait in Cana Galilaeae ipse dominus; decenti sibi: 'Vinum non habent, fili,' respondent: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?" (Io 2, 3-4). Ambrose, "De Institutione," 136; PL 16, 131.

²¹⁰See Neumann, Virgin Mary, 212. Neumann made some modifications to the Migne text to make the reading coherent in his translation.

²¹¹Ambrose stated in his Commentary on Luke, "For Mary alone was this greeting [full of grace] reserved; for she is well said to be alone full of grace, who alone obtained the grace which no one else had gained, to be filled with the Author of grace." See Ambrose, Commentary on Luke, 29.
analysis of the word, "woman." He explained that in secular parlance, "mulier is the generic name for woman, by which her sex and not her entrance into marital relations is designated." 212 Next and more importantly, Ambrose employed an associative strategy and turned to Scripture to explain Scripture. Given that the Fathers accepted the Old Testament as part of the inspired word of God, Ambrose turned to that source for a foundational understanding of "mulier." In Genesis 2:22, Eve was mulier at her creation before any question of marital affairs. He then added emphasis to this with a second reference, in Genesis 2:23, Adam called the "one who was bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh, 'woman,'" again a generic designation of her sex, her identity. Ambrose gave two examples for the use of mulier, in situations where it was impossible to have anything to do with virginity. Mary was identified by Eve, each one was called mulier, and each one was a virgin. Mary was also the new Eve, who had not only received an incentive to virginity, but also gave us God. Ambrose linked the divine maternity and virginity, a theme that he repeated.213

St. Maximus of Turin (mid 300s to 408 - 423)

3.5 Life and Teaching of Maximus of Turin

Nothing specific is known about Maximus of Turin's date or place of birth, or his education. Michelle Pellegrino observed that Maximus must have had solid theological training at some point.214 What was known about him came from his Sermon 33, which suggested that he came as an adult to Turin in Northern

212 Neumann, Virgin Mary, 237.

213 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 192 - 193.

Italy. This was around 390.\textsuperscript{215} He may have been ordained in Turin or ordained elsewhere and sent to Turin as their first bishop. The region had been detached from the Episcopal See of Vercelli, where Eusebius had been bishop (d. 370). Another source for information on Maximus was found in \textit{De viris illustribus} by Gennadius of Marseilles, where his writings were listed, as well as the date of his death occurring during the reign of Honorius and the younger Theodosius (408 to 423).\textsuperscript{216}

During this time, Turin was threatened by various groups of barbarians and troops became permanently garrisoned in the city. The city became a refuge for people fleeing from other cities and from the countryside. When the civil authority of the Roman Empire collapsed, Maximus assumed political authority of his area. "This control was to become increasingly extensive and effective until it replaced the irresponsible evasion of the magistrates and civil institutions."\textsuperscript{217} His message was that living a Christian life meant assuming civil duties.

Maximus was a pastor rather than a speculative theologian. His preaching style was clear, flowing and persuasive, meant as "medicine to cure sick souls and lead to conversion."\textsuperscript{218} The recommended program for Christian living was centered on Christ and lived out in daily prayer, fasting, and charity, the key principle being love of God and love of neighbor. In his homilies he referred to passages from the four Gospels, Paul's letters, and the Acts of


\textsuperscript{216} See Ramsey, Introduction, \textit{Sermons of Maximus}, 1. \textit{De viris illustribus} is also known as \textit{De viris illustribus}.

\textsuperscript{217} Pope Benedict, \textit{Church Fathers}, 130.

\textsuperscript{218} Pellegrino, "Maximus #1," \textit{Encyclopedia}, 548.
the Apostles. Consistent with Patristic exegesis, he included the Old Testament in explaining the words and deeds of Jesus, for example, he referred to Leviticus, Psalms, Proverbs, Wisdom, and Ezekiel. There are traces of Ambrose's work in Maximus' sermons. It is not known whether they ever met or if Maximus just meditated on Ambrose's works. 219

3.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Homilia XXIII, Sermon 23, On the Epiphany of the Lord

Sermon 23 is "tributa / attributed" to Maximus of Turin in Migne's Patrum Latinorum, Homilia XXIII, De Epiphania Domini VII; in the Journey with the Fathers: Commentary on the Sunday Gospels, edited by Edith Barnecut; and in Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, edited by Joel C. Elowsky. However, it is not included in "The Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin," in Ancient Christian Writers. 220

Sermon 23 is included in this thesis for the following reasons. Gennadius of Marseilles, the author of De viris inlustribus, which was a late fifth century catalogue of Christian authors, stated that Maximus was "a man fairly capable in sacred Scripture" and that "he also commented wisely and at some length on passages from the Gospels." 221 In Maximus' sermons there are three other references to the Wedding

219 See Pellegrino, "Maximus, #1, Encyclopedia, 548.


221 See Ramsey, Introduction, Sermons of Maximus, 1.
Feast at Cana for this feast. Finally, whoever wrote Sermon 23 reflected the teaching and preaching regarding Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana from this period.

The Sermon on the Feast of the Epiphany of the Lord, Sermon 23, was based on John 2:1-11 and preached to the congregation in Turin sometime between 390 and 423. It was an exegesis of this passage, with an explanation of the words exchanged between Christ and his Mother, Mary, and a catechesis on the divinity and humanity of Christ. In the first five sentences, Maximus outlined the four reasons for which Christ came to a wedding of the old order: because he "instituted" and "sanctified" marriage, he planned to "take a new bride for himself through the conversion of the Gentiles," also "to make himself known by miracles," and to "give new wine, that was "to offer the people of the whole world the new chalice of eternal salvation."  

He went to the wedding not to drink wine, but to give it, for when there was none left for the wedding guests, the most blessed Mary said to him, "They have no wine."

*Jesus answered as though he were displeased. "Woman," he said, "is that my concern, or yours?" It can hardly be doubted that these were words of displeasure. However, this I think was only because his mother mentioned to him so causally the lack of earthly wine, when he had come to offer the peoples of the whole world the new chalice of eternal salvation. By his reply, "My hour has not yet come," he was foretelling the most glorious hour of his passion, and the wine of our redemption which would obtain life for all. *Mary was asking for a temporal favor, but Christ was preparing joys that would be eternal.*

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222 See Maximus, *Sermons*, "Sermons 101, 102, and 103," all entitled "A Sequel on the Same Holy Day" [The Epiphany], 228, 230, and 231. There are no references specifically to Mary in these sermons.

223 See Maximus, *Sermons*, 72.
Nevertheless, the Lord in his goodness did not refuse this small grace while great graces were awaited.

Holy Mary, therefore, since she was in very truth the Mother of the Lord, and in her spirit knew in advance what would happen and foresaw the Lord's will, took care to advise the servants to do whatever he told them. Of course this holy Mother knew that the rebuke of her Son and Lord was not an insult born of anger, but that it contained mysterious compassion.

Then, to save his Mother from embarrassment because of his reproach, the Lord revealed his sovereign power. Addressing the expectant servants he said, "Fill the jars with water." [...] 

Scripture says that this sign at Cana of Galilee was the first that Jesus performed. He manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him. (Translated by friends of Henry Ashworth.)

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225 Maximus, Sermons, 72-73.
Maximus followed this commentary on the interchange between Christ and his mother with a comment about the transformation of water into wine. This miracle would reveal that Christ "is the same as he who from the beginning has thickened it [water] into snow and hardened it into ice ...changed it [water] into blood ... and bade it flow from the dry rock for the thirsty Hebrews." 226

At the end of the sermon, Maximus gave an exhortation to his congregation saying, "And so let us believe wholeheartedly that he whom we confess to be the Son of Man is also the Son of God. Let us believe not only that he shared our nature, but also that he was consubstantial with the Father; for as a man he was present at the wedding, and as God he changed water into wine." 227

3.5.2 Commentary

Maximus read the pericope in John in a literal sense, Christ and his mother were at the Wedding Feast at Cana, they spoke to each other, he worked a miracle, and the disciples came to believe in him. Maximus interpreted Jesus' response literally and surmised there was a misunderstanding between mother and Son. 228 Twice, Maximus interpreted the response that Christ gave to his mother as one of displeasure. He employed a dialectic strategy to uncover the possible reason for Christ's words. In seeking to explain why Christ said what he did and then did what Maximus thought his mother asked of him, he reasoned that there was a misunderstanding between the two. Mary's interest originated from a temporal concern, while Christ's intention originated from a spiritual and eschatological concern; that is the spiritual and anagogical meanings of Scripture.

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226 Maximus, Sermons, 73.
227 Maximus, Sermons, 73.
228 See Maximus, Sermons, 72-73.
In addition to this, "Holy Mary" had certain privileged knowledge because "she was in very truth the Mother of the Lord." This implied connection between her divine maternity and extraordinary knowledge meant that "in her spirit [she] knew in advance what would happen and foresaw the Lord's will," and that "this holy Mother knew that the rebuke of her Son and Lord was not an insult born of anger, but that it contained a mysterious compassion."

Christ was sensitive to his mother, he "did not refuse this small grace" and saved her from embarrassment because of his reproach. He revealed his divine power and this became the sign that "manifested his glory, and this brought his disciples to belief in him."

Maximus used allegory to explain the meaning of wine; it symbolized the wine of our redemption. Also, Jesus' first manifestation of his glory was in anticipation of his final hour. He employed typology when writing that the "old order," was symbolic of Israel and the "new bride," was the Church.\textsuperscript{229} Maximus held to Patristic exegesis; the divine actions of Christ on behalf of the people were prefigured by the divine actions in the Old Testament for the Chosen People. In the moral sense, Maximus encouraged his followers to believe, like the disciples did at the end of the pericope.

**St. Paulinus of Nola (c. 353 to 431)**

**3.6 Life and Teaching of Paulinus of Nola**

Meropius Ponticus Anicius Paulinus was born to Christian parents, of Senatorial aristocracy living in Bordeaux, in Aquatania. Paulinus received an excellent liberal education, appropriate to his

\textsuperscript{229} See Maximus, *Sermons*, for reference to the old order and the new bride, 72. Wedding feast symbolized the messianic nuptials and the New Covenant, where Jesus is the Divine Bridegroom and the Church is the Bride (2 Cor. 11:2; Eph. 5: 22-23), 72.
class and station in life. One of his teachers was Ausonius, known as an outstanding rhetorician and refined poet.\textsuperscript{230}

After a period of time in Rome, Paulinus was appointed governor of Campania. In this office he "attracted admiration for his gifts of wisdom and gentleness." \textsuperscript{231}It was during this time that he travelled to Nola, a city in his province, and learned about St. Felix, the Martyr. He became interested in religion and this led him to have a hospice built near the Shrine of St. Felix and a road to allow access to the pilgrims.\textsuperscript{232}

In 383, Gratian died and the Arian Valentinian II rose to power and persecuted orthodox magistrates, resulting in Paulinus leaving his post. He traveled to Milan and received catechetical instruction from Ambrose. In 389, he was baptized by Bishop Delphinus of Bordeaux. Three years later, on Christmas Day, he was ordained to the priesthood on the condition that he would be free to be in residence elsewhere. After ordination in Barcelona, he married Therasia, a noblewoman of the same city. They had one son, who died shortly after birth. Paulinus considered his son's death to be a sign from God that he was called to another vocation. Paulinus and Therasia decided to sell all of their riches and give the money to the poor. This action was acclaimed by Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Severus.\textsuperscript{233}

Subsequent to this, in 395, they moved to lead an ascetic life following a monastic model near the tomb of St. Felix in Nola.


\textsuperscript{231} See Pope Benedict, \textit{Church Fathers}, 161.

\textsuperscript{232} See Pope Benedict, \textit{Church Fathers}, 161.

Both committed themselves to the consecrated life, living in chaste brotherhood and in separate monasteries. Paulinus was consecrated bishop around 409, after the death of Therasia. Nola was overrun by the barbarians and, according to P. G. Walsh, Augustine wrote that Paulinus was taken prisoner by the invaders. He died on June 22, 431.

Paulinus' literary work consisted primarily of letters and poems. Two notable letters sent to Paulinus in response to his request are: *Benedictions of the Patriarchs* from Jerome, and *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, a treatise on care for the dead, from Augustine.

There are twenty nine poems attributed to Paulinus. Three are written when he was young and still in the secular world. Other poems are: Scriptural meditations, birthday verses in honor of his patron St. Felix, and to commemorate marriage, death, or the departure of a friend. Walsh provided an interesting insight into Paulinus' poems, it appears that "... the whole corpus of Paulinus' poetry as having been written with a single unifying purpose. That purpose was to encourage Christians, and especially literate Christians like himself, to persevere in a life of Christian commitment, and to demonstrate to nominal Christians and to benevolent non-Christians the nature of that commitment." 

Paulinus was recognized by Pope Gregory the Great as the Pastor of Charity in chapter three of his *Dialogues*. Pope Benedict XVI wrote, "Saint Paulinus did not write theological treatises, but

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his poems and ample correspondence are rich in a lived theology, woven from God's Word, constantly examined as a light for life."\(^{238}\)

### 3.6.1 Mary in Relationship to the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Carmen XXV*, Poem 25

Paulinus composed *Carmen XXV* as an *epithalamion*, a marriage song, for celebrating the nuptials of Julian of Eclanum\(^{239}\) and Titia. The date of the composition is unknown, but thought to be between 400 and 406.\(^{240}\) The purpose for the poem was to encourage the couple to persevere in a life of Christian commitment; and if they both agreed on a compact of virginity they should live as consecrated virgins, if not, may their chaste offspring become a priestly race.\(^{241}\) Secondly, it was a catechesis on what a Christian marriage ceremony should be and to discourage pagan practices that had continued in some Christian marriages.\(^{242}\)

In the introductory verses, Paulinus identified the groom as Christ's virgin and the bride as God's virgin. They were not called to be like the pagan gods of lust, but to be joined in a "harmonious marriage-alliance that is at once a holy love, an honourable love, and peace with God."\(^{243}\) The groom must love his wife, because

\(^{238}\) Pope Benedict, *Church Fathers*, 162, 165.

\(^{239}\) Julian became bishop of Eclanum in about 416; he was banished from his see for refusing to support Pope Zosimus' condemnation of Pelagianism. See P. G. Walsh, Notes, *Poems of St Paulinus of Nola* (New York, N.Y.: Newman Press, 1975) for discussion for this dating, 399-400. Hereafter: Walsh, Notes, *Poems of Paulinus*.

\(^{240}\) See Walsh, Notes, *Poems of Paulinus*, 400.


she was given to him by God to be a helpmate. His wife "must strive to attain equality with her consecrated husband by welcoming Christ's presence in her spouse with humility of heart."

The groom had dedicated himself to Christ and had taken Christ into his very being; the bride would gain equality with her spouse by welcoming Christ whose presence was in her husband, through the virtue of humility. By this, the bride would be consecrated to Christ along with her husband and be equal to him in Christ. "Thus she can grow into his holy body and be interwoven with his frame, so that her husband may be her head as Christ is his."

In Poem 25, Paulinus offers a scriptural affirmation for the advice that he had just given to the bride and groom by referring to the wedding at Cana. Jesus' attendance, especially as a groomsman, and his miracle all served to confirm the recommendation that Paulinus gave the young couple. Mary would bring blessing to them.

When Jesus' friends were married with such a compact as this, He attended as a groomsman, and changed water into wine like nectar. A bridal couple like this will fittingly be visited by Mary, the mother of the Lord, who gave birth to God without loss of her virginity. In this consecrated virgin God built Himself a pleasing temple with a hidden roof-aperture. Silently He glided down like the rain that falls as noiseless dew from a high cloud upon a fleece.²⁴⁴ None was ever privy to this secret visitation by which God took the form of man from His virgin mother. How remarkable was the deception of the Lord which sought the salvation of men! Without intercourse, a woman's womb conceived new life. This bride did not submit to a mere human husband. She was a mother and bore a child without the woman's role in intercourse. The compact made her a spouse, but she was no wife in body. She

²⁴⁴ Judges 6:37 ff; Ps. 71:6. Gideon's fleece is regularly represented in the Fathers as a type of Mary impregnated by the Holy Spirit. This is also in Paulinus' Letter 19. See Walsh, Notes, Poems of Paulinus, 402.
became the mother of a Boy though she was untainted by a husband.\textsuperscript{245} (Translated by P.G. Walsh.)\textsuperscript{246}

3.6.2 Commentary

Paulinus interpreted John 2:1-11 literally; Jesus attended a wedding. He explained what he thought the pericope meant and applied a spiritual meaning to Jesus' presence and action at the Wedding Feast at Cana. If the bridal couple would do as Paulinus recommended, Jesus would attend their wedding similarly and Mary would come and visit them. In the following section on Mary, he takes the Scriptural reference literally; she is the Virgin Mother of God. He continued with allegories. Gideon's fleece was a type of Mary's impregnation by the Holy Spirit. Mary's womb was the place where "God built himself a pleasing temple with a hidden roof-aperture."\textsuperscript{247} To accentuate the meaning of Mary's perpetual virginity, Paulinus returned to the literal sense and explained how this was so in everyday terminology.

St. Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430)

3. 7 Life and Teaching of Augustine

Aurelius Augustine was born in Tagaste in the Roman Province of Numidia, North Africa. His parents were Monica, later to be recognized as a saint, and Patricius. Monica was a devout

\textsuperscript{245} "tali lege suis nubentibus adstat Iesus pronubus et uini nectare mutat aquam. his Mariam sponsis domini decret adfore matrem, quae genuit salua uirginitate deum. namque deus placitum sacrata in uirgine templum ipse sibi arcano condidit inpluuio, descendens tacito adlapsu, uelut imber ab alta nube super uellus rore silente cadit. nam nemo arcani fuit huius conscius umquam, quo deus adsumpsit uirgine matre hominem. o noua ad humanam domini commenta salutem! fit sine concubitu femina feta uterum. sponsa uiro tantum non est subiecta marito, et genitrix partu nec mulier coitu. foedere erat coniunx, sed corpore non erat uxor, interemerata uiro, mater erat puero."

\textsuperscript{246} Paulinus, Poems, 250. All capitalization reflects the text.

\textsuperscript{247} See Paulinus, Poems, 112.
Christian and gave Augustine a Christian upbringing. Patricius was a pagan, who later became a catechumen. Patricius was a middle ranking government official. There were two other children in the family, a boy named Navigius and a girl, whose name is unknown.

Augustine was educated at Tagaste, Madaura, and Carthage in grammar and rhetoric, primarily for a secular position in government. He was a master of the Latin language and culture, but was not fluent in Greek. According to his Confessions, his youth and young adulthood were characterized by moral disorder and a lack of interest in religion. At the age of eighteen, he took a concubine and fathered a son, Adeodatus, around 373. He loved both his concubine and his son very much.

At the age of 19, Cicero's Hortensius was the text that brought Augustine to a crisis of conscience and a reexamination of the meaning of life. His active and inquisitive mind brought him to search Scripture without profit. Next he followed the Manichaeans, whose belief seemed to coincide with his thinking. Agostino Trapè explained that there were three principal reasons why Augustine was attracted to this syncretistic religion: "the declared rationalism which excluded faith, the open profession of a pure and spiritual Christianity which excluded the Old Testament and the radical solution to the problem of evil offered by the

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249 Manichaeism, founded by Mani in Mesopotamia in the third century, was a syncretism of Judeo-Christian and an Indo-Iranian doctrines. See Calogero Riggi, "Mani-Manichaeism," Encyclopedia of the Early Church (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1992), 519. It was like other Gnostic systems and rested on a dualistic concept of the world's structure: Light and Darkness, Good and Evil. All matter was evil; therefore Jesus could not have been a true man. See Blake Leyerle, "Manichaeism," The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 810 - 811.
Manichaean. Becoming disillusioned with Manichaeanism, he fell into skepticism. In Milan, Augustine became fascinated by the sermons of Bishop Ambrose. Listening to him, he found a key to interpret the Old Testament and was inspired to reflect on the necessity of faith to arrive at wisdom. He came to the understanding that the authority on which faith rested was the Scriptures; and the Scriptures are guaranteed and read by the Church. The "way which led to Christ was precisely the Church." 

On April 24 or 25, 387, Augustine was baptized by Ambrose, along with his son, Adeodatus, in the presence of his mother, Monica. This was another turning point in his life; he renounced marriage and a teaching profession to consecrate himself to a life of service to Christ. While on their way back to Africa, Augustine's mother died in Ostia, probably in October of 387. He returned to Tagaste with his son and established a small quasi-monastery of educated laymen. In 391, he was chosen by his parish community to be their priest. In 397, he was consecrated coadjutor of Hippo. From that point on, he was the shepherd of his flock. He became focused on evangelizing the local peasants and merchants. He spent his time catechizing, preaching, adjudicating cases, polemicizing, and living in community with his clergy. This community was like a seminary for the education of priests. Augustine was a moving force in the African Church, making frequent and sometimes long journeys to participate in Church councils. Augustine died while with his community, during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals on August 28, 430.

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Augustine was a prodigious writer from the time he was young. He wrote philosophical treatises, called the *Dialogues* (386-387); apologetic works in defense of the Christian faith against the pagans and others who denied the faith in the name of reason, like *De vera religione* (390), which is referenced in this work, and *De civitate Dei* (413-426). He authored dogmatic books, like *De fide et symbolo* (393), which is also referenced in this work, and his principle dogmatic work and masterpiece, *De Trinitate* (399-420). Augustine also created moral and pastoral exhortations for uneducated Christians, virgins, married, and widows. He compiled a monastic rule, *Regula ad servos Dei*, the first of its kind in the West. His contributions to exegesis include the instructions in *De doctrina christiana* (426-427), which was discussed earlier in this work;253 exegetical commentaries on Genesis, Job, the Heptateuchum, Sermon on the Mount, Paul's Epistles, and Matthew. He published polemical treatises against the Manichaеans, Donatists,254 Pelagians,255 Arians, Priscillianists,256 Marcionists, and heresies in general. In addition to this, he wrote

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253 See Principles of Biblical Exegesis, 1.6.2, 14-16; and Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis, 1.6.5.1, 17-20.

The Donatists were followers of Donatus (315-355), Bishop of Carthage. It was a schismatic sect in North Africa that tended to moral rigorism and held the Church to a rigid standard of holiness. See Richard P. McBrien, "Donatism," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 431.

255 The Pelagians, followers of Pelagius (a Roman teacher, ca. 350 - ca. 425), promoted the freedom of the human will and the necessity of good works. God had created all people fundamentally free to choose good or evil; and born without any inclination to sin, i.e., no original sin. Grace made humans capable of choosing the good, but humans could do all of the rest. See Thomas Smith, "Pelagianism," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 981.

256 The Priscillianists were followers of Priscillian (ca. 375), an ascetic in Spain. They believed in a dualistic doctrine like Gnosticism and Manichaeism; and held that Christ could not have been human, because bodies were the creation of the devil. See Richard P. McBrien, "Priscillianism," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 1053-1054.
over 200 letters during 386 until 430, which are rich in historical, philosophical, theological, exegetical, literary, and autobiographical content; and the following treatises: Commentaries on St. John, Exposition of the Psalms, and over 500 Sermons.\textsuperscript{257}

Augustine furthered the understanding of Theology, Christology, and spirituality. In \textit{De Trinitate}, "his Trinitarian doctrine represented great progress for theology along the lines of tradition and determined the development of Trinitarian theology in the West. [...] The most suitable formulae on the unity of person and duality of nature in Christ - formulae which anticipate that of the General Council of Chalcedon - are found in the sermons."\textsuperscript{258} Augustine influenced Christian spirituality "deeply and continually, defending its foundations (theology of grace), developing its content, showing its relation to the Christian mysteries, describing its aim."\textsuperscript{259} Servais Pinckaers wrote, "... we can observe in his works the preeminent place of grace and its determining, even decisive, role (no word is too strong) in his concept of Christian conduct and moral theory. [...] He is deservedly called the doctor of grace."\textsuperscript{260} Any other comments about the accomplishments of this great Christian thinker are beyond the scope of this paper.

\textbf{Mary at The Wedding Feast at Cana in Augustine}

Augustine referred to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in five of his works: \textit{De Vera Religione}, "Of True Religion;" \textit{De Fide et Symbolo}, "Faith and the Creed;" \textit{Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelicum}, VIII, "Commentary on the Gospel of John, 2:1-4, Tractate 8; "\textit{Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium}, CXIX, "


\textsuperscript{258} Trapè, "Augustine," \textit{Patrology}, 430.

\textsuperscript{259} Trapè, "Augustine," \textit{Encyclopedia}, 100.

\textsuperscript{260} Pinckaers, \textit{Sources}, 210.

In each work, Augustine professed that Jesus Christ is true God and true Man. He explained that Jesus manifested his divinity by changing water into wine at the Wedding Feast at Cana and manifested his humanity at the hour of his weakness and death on the Cross. Mary was not the source of Christ's divinity, therefore, he did not recognize her when he was about to reveal his divinity. Mary was the source of Christ's humanity and he would recognize her when the human flesh that he took from her was dying on the Cross. Therefore, when Christ said, "Woman, what have I to do with you? My hour has not come," he was referring to another time and place. In each of the following works, Augustine affirmed that Mary was in fact the Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Although he was consistent in his message, he integrated it into various teachings about the Catholic Religion, the Creed, and Sacred Scripture.

The meaning of a miracle is another common theme in Augustine's works cited here. As he pointed out in On Christian Doctrine, the miracle was a sign which caused one to think of something beyond the impression the thing itself makes upon our senses.\(^\text{261}\) It pointed to the spiritual reality that lay beneath this event that makes us aware of something beyond what is immediately apparent.

A principle that Augustine held as a standard for his work was, "We must see to it with careful and pious vigilance that faith shall not be violated in any way for us by the fraudulent craft of the heretics. But the Catholic Faith is made known to the faithful in the

\(^{261}\) See Augustine, Christian Doctrine, 34.
Creed..." This goal can be found in three of the works cited in this work and in the norms he established for patristic exegesis in *On Christian Doctrine* writing, "... the expositor and teacher of the Divine Scripture, the defender of right faith and the enemy of error, should both teach the good and extirpate the evil."

3.7.1. Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *De Vera Religione*, Of True Religion

*De Vera Religione* was written at the request of Augustine's benefactor, Romanianus, in 390. Augustine explained, "... that true religion means the worship of one true God, that is, the Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. [...] ... and how man is to adjust his life to the worship of God. But the book is written chiefly against the two natures of the Manichees." Augustine knew their Gnostic beliefs and eagerly defended the true religion, the Christian religion, against them. To refute this heretical teaching, Augustine explained "The very Virtue and changeless Wisdom of God, consubstantial and coeternal with the Father, for our salvation deigned, in the temporal dispensation, to take upon himself our nature in order to teach us that man must worship [...] the one God." This worship of God was in the Christian religion, the

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263 "Of True Religion," "Faith and Creed," and "Tractate 8" are the three examples.

264 Augustine, *Christian Doctrine*, 120.


true religion.\textsuperscript{267} De Vera Religione was one of five works, which Paulinus of Nola would later refer to as the "Pentateuch against the Manichees."\textsuperscript{268} Some of the ideas in this work become part of the De Civitate Dei.

In De Vera Religione, Augustine taught that the Son, the "Wisdom of God, his only Son, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, deigned to assume our human nature; when the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. [...] ... he became a man born of a woman."\textsuperscript{269} Following these doctrinal statements, he explained Jesus' words at the Wedding Feast at Cana, writing,

\textit{In this doctrine the God appeared, and the Man in the various stages of his life. When, as God, he was about to turn water into wine, he said, "Woman, depart from me: what have I to do with thee? My hour is not yet come" (John 2:4). But when his hour had come when, as man, he should die, he recognized his mother from the Cross and commended her to the disciple whom he loved more than the others (John 19:26-27).}\textsuperscript{270} (Translation by John H. S. Burleigh.)\textsuperscript{271}

\textsuperscript{267} See Augustine, "True Religion," \textit{Augustine}, 218.


\textsuperscript{269} Augustine, "True Religion," \textit{Augustine}, 239.

\textsuperscript{270} "Doctrina enim deus apparebat, aetatibus homo. Item aquam in unimum conversurus ut deus dicit: 'Recede a me, mulier, mihi et tibi quid est? Nondum uenit hora mea' (Ioh. 2,4). Cum autem uenisset hora, qua ut homo moreretur, de cruce cognitam matrem commendavit discipulo, quem prae ceteris diligebat." Avrelii Avgvstinii, "De Vera Religione," CCSL 32, 206.

\textsuperscript{271} Augustine, "True Religion," \textit{Augustine}, 239-240.
3.7.2 Commentary on Augustine's On True Religion

Augustine explained that the True Religion is the Christian Religion; that Christ was true God and true man. Mary was the woman of whom the Wisdom of God, the Word, was made flesh for our salvation. He defended the True Religion against the teachings of the Manichaeans, who held that Christ only appeared to be a man. He applied Scripture to explain Scripture and to validate his understanding of Scripture.

3.7.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in De Fide et Symbolo, Faith and Creed

_De Fide et Symbolo_ was given as an address to bishops at a plenary council of the whole of Africa at Hippo-Regis in October, 393. Augustine was a presbyter. At this council, his address was an article by article exposition of the creed, with a defense of the doctrine. Against the heresy of Apollinarius, he wrote, "But anyone who holds the Catholic Faith and believes that the Word assumed the whole of human nature, body, soul and spirit, is sufficiently armed against them. The incarnation took place for our salvation, so we must take care not to suppose that any part of our nature was unassumed. Otherwise it will have no part in salvation." Augustine upheld the teaching from the First Council of Constantinople, where Apollinarianism was condemned, which held that Christ was fully divine but not fully human, since he lacked a human spirit.

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272 All of Augustine's writings will be analyzed separately, with a summary at the end.

273 Augustine, "Faith and Creed," _Augustine_, 358.

274 See Neuner and Dupuis, _Christian Faith_, 218.
Just prior to the reference to Mary at the Incarnation and at the Wedding Feast at Cana, Augustine established that Jesus was the Word become flesh and "Being Son by nature he was born uniquely of the substance of the Father, being what the Father is, God of God, Light of Light." Augustine went on to explain how the Incarnation took place and then addressed the question about the meaning of John 2:4. He wrote, "... we believe in the Son of God who was born by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary ..." Augustine clarified, "By the gift of God, that is, by the Holy Spirit, there was shown towards us such humility on the part of God most high that he deigned to take upon him the whole human nature in the womb of a Virgin, inhabiting the body of his Mother and being born of it, while leaving the body of his Mother and being born of it, while leaving it pure and entire." This was how Augustine explained Jesus' statement to his mother in his address to the bishops on his work "Faith and Creed,"

We are not obliged to deny the Mother of Christ because he said, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come" (John 2:4). Rather he lets us know that he had no mother so far as his divine nature is concerned, and he was preparing to manifest his majestic character by turning water into wine. When he was crucified, he was crucified in his human character. That was the hour which had not yet come when he spoke as he did, meaning

Augustine, "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 357.

Augustine, "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 358. See other references to "temporal dispensation in "Of True Religion, Early Writings, 218, 235, and 248.

the hour when he would recognize her. For in that hour when he was crucified he recognized his mother's human nature and commended her most considerately to his beloved disciple.278 (Translation by John H. S. Burleigh.)279

3.7.4 Commentary on Augustine's Faith and Creed

Augustine's repeating theme of the manifestation of Christ's divinity and humanity appeared here as well. Augustine also defended Mary as the Mother of Christ, even though Jesus called her "Woman." Against the heretical teaching of Apollinarius, Augustine affirmed that Mary was the Virgin Mother of Jesus, Son of God, who was consubstantial with the Father. Mary was the mother from whom the Word assumed the whole human nature, body, soul, and spirit; the body by which the whole human race was redeemed. Augustine explained how this could be, by referring to what he called the temporal dispensation; that was

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278 Nec nos ad negandam Christi matrem cogit, quod ab eo dictum est: 'quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum uenit hora mea,' sed admonet potius, ut intellegamus secundum deum non eum habuisse matrem, cuius maiestatis personam parabat ostendere aquam in uinum uertendo. quod autem crucifixus est, secundum hominem crucifixus est; et illa erat hora, quae nondum uenerat, quando dictum est: mihi et tibi quid est? nondum uenit hora mea (Ioh. 2,4), id est, qua te cognoscam. tunc enim ut homo crucifixus cognouit hominem matrem et dilectissimo discipulo humanissime commendavit." Avrelii Avgvstinii, "De Fide et Symbolo," CSEL 41, 12, 13.

279 Augustine, "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 358-359. There is a variation in the translation by Burleigh. The Latin text reads, "et illa erat, quae nondum uenerat, quando dictum est: mihi et tibi quid est? nondum uenit hora mea, id est, qua te cognoscam." Translated this is: "And that was the hour, which had not yet come, when it was said, 'What is this to me and to you? My hour has not yet come, that is, the hour by which I will recognize you.'" Burleigh translated it slightly differently, "That was the hour which had not yet come when he spoke as he did, meaning the hour when he would recognize her." The meaning is essentially the same. This translation was confirmed by Jerome Young, Latin Professor at Mount Angel Seminary, Mount Angel, Ore., June 6, 2010.
when the unchangeable Wisdom of God, for our salvation and restoration assumed our mutable nature.  

Augustine clearly upheld Mary's *virginity in partu*, when he wrote that Jesus inhabited the body of his Mother and being born of it, while leaving the body of his mother and being born of it, while leaving it pure and entire.  

A new theme appeared here, Christ's considerate commendation of his mother to the beloved disciple. This will be repeated in the material that follows.

3.7.5 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Tractatvs VIII, Tractate 8*

Tractate 8 was part of a collection that consisted of 124 sermons, either preached or dictated. There is debate about the dates of composition, ranging from 406 to 414. Trapè characterized Augustine's sermons by stating, "The entire commentary is marked by a pastoral character but is also extraordinarily rich in theology, philosophical and spiritual content."  

In Tractate 8, Augustine cited each verse in John 2:1-4, analyzed it in a way of discovering those things which are to be understood, and then explained it in terms that could be understood by his congregation. He included an admonition to his flock about false interpretations and possible error, especially the falsehood of the Manichaeans, referring to those who held that "He had a false mother, false flesh, false death, false wounds in His death, false
scars in His resurrection. Or against the astrologers, who thought that Christ was under fate and not under his own power, when he referred to the hour. This is an exegetical masterpiece of these four verses.

In Tractate 8, Augustine represented his central Christological theme with two interrelated components: Christ's divinity was revealed through the miracle of changing the water into wine, and Christ's humanity was affirmed through Mary's real motherhood, even though Christ addressed her as "Woman."

Augustine first established a foundation for his exegesis, by discussing the purpose for miracles, the immediate goal was to rouse men from slumber to worship God; the overall goal was to draw attention to the divinity of Jesus. Augustine explained that all of the miracles are done by God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: God made the miracles of creation through His Word and other miracles He did by the same Word incarnate, and for us made man. "As we wonder at the things which were done by the man Jesus, so let us wonder at the things which were done by Jesus God."

The miracle at the Wedding Feast at Cana was observed by the senses, the water became wine. This can be observed, even though it is an extraordinary occurrence. Other things are unseen, for example the human soul is not seen, but can be experienced by its actions: understanding, to know its Creator, as well as, the ability to discern and distinguish between

284 Augustine, "Tractate 8 (John 2:1-4), Church Fathers http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1701008.htm, #8, 7. Hereafter: Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, followed by a number from the Latin text, to provide a reliable reference, because computer printouts vary. This practice differs from other citations, where the actual page number from the text is cited. All capitalizations for the pronouns reflect the text.

285 See Augustine, "Tractate 8, Church Fathers, #8.

286 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #1.
good and evil, that is right from wrong. Augustine explained how Jesus God could perform the extraordinary action of turning water into wine, because, he explained, the man Jesus "... was not made man in such manner that He lost His being God. Man was added to Him, God not lost to Him. [...] Let us not wonder that God did it, but love Him because He did it in our midst, and for the purpose of our restoration." Augustine established that Jesus was God. The miracle pointed to the spiritual reality that the man Jesus, being divine, worked miracles to arouse people to worship God.

The occasion of a wedding feast prompted Augustine to reflect on why Jesus came to a marriage. Augustine believed that there was something "mysterious and sacramental" about Jesus' choosing to attend, besides the miracle. Second Corinthians 11:2, Romans 4:25, and Psalm 19:6 were cited to provide the spiritual meaning; Christ went to the wedding to take the Church as his chaste bride, which he would redeem by his blood and for whom he would give the pledge of the Holy Spirit. "For the Word was the Bridegroom, and human flesh the bride; and both one, the Son of God, the same also being the Son of man. The womb of the Virgin Mary, in which He became head of the Church, was His bridal chamber: thence He came forth, as a bridegroom from his chamber, as the Scripture foretold, 'And rejoiced as a giant to run his way.'" Augustine recognized Mary's role in the Incarnation of the Son of God and her role in the beginning of the Church.

Augustine approached the second component of his Christological theme, how to explain Jesus' humanity through Mary's real motherhood, even though He addressed her as, "Woman" and asked what he had to do with her. He began by calling this an indubitable mystery, because Jesus appeared not to acknowledge His mother. First, Augustine reasoned that Jesus did

287 See Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #2.

288 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #3.

not say this for the purpose of teaching men to treat their mothers with contempt, nor to dishonor his mother. Second, Augustine wanted to uphold the credibility of the gospel and the fact that Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary, against those heretics who try to deny that Jesus had flesh. He affirmed that "Christ is the truth in such wise that you should receive the whole to be true in Him. Jesus was the true Word, God equal with the Father, true soul, true flesh, true man, true God, true nativity, true passion, true death, true resurrection."  

Augustine started to unravel the mystery that was hidden beneath the literal words. The reason that Jesus called his mother, "Woman," did not originate with the evangelist. The same evangelist, John, reported that the mother of Jesus was there, that Jesus spoke to his mother and that his mother answered him; this same evangelist also reported that Jesus addressed her as "Woman." Thus the Gospel says it, therefore it should be believed that Jesus did say to his mother, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" His advice was that all should have the piety to believe. "By this piety he will learn to understand also why Jesus answered thus, if by praying he knocks at the door of truth, and does not approach it with wrangling." Augustine goes on to explain to his congregation why Jesus addressed his mother in this manner,

Why, then, said the Son to the mother, "Woman, what have I to do with you? mine hour is not yet come?" Our Lord Jesus Christ was both God and man. According as He was God, He had not a mother; according as He was

290 The Docetists explained Christ's incarnation and passion in a dualistic and spiritualistic way, that is, excluding everything that seemed unworthy of the Son of God, man born of a virgin and without sin. They disregarded the true humanity of Jesus; he only appeared to have a human body. Marcion, Apelles, and Valentinus are some who held varying degrees of Docetism. See Basilio Studer, "Docetism," Encyclopedia of the Early Church (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1992), 244.

291 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #5.

292 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #6, 7.
man, He had. She was the mother, then, of His flesh, of His humanity, of the weakness which for our sakes He took upon Him. But the miracle which He was about to do, He was about to do according to His divine nature, not according to His weakness; according to that wherein He was God not according to that wherein He was born weak. But the weakness of God is stronger than men. (1 Cor.1: 25) His mother then demanded a miracle of Him; but He, about to perform divine works, so far did not recognize a human womb; saying in effect, "That in me which works a miracle was not born of you, you gave not birth to my divine nature; but because my weakness was born of you, I will recognize you at the time when that same weakness shall hang upon the Cross." This, indeed, is the meaning of "Mine hour is not yet come." For then it was that He recognized, who, in truth, always did know. He knew His mother in predestination, even before He was born of her; even before, as God, He created her of whom, as man, He was to be created, He knew her as His mother: but at a certain hour in a mystery He did not recognize her; and at a certain hour which had not yet come, again in a mystery, He does recognize her. For then did He recognize her, when that to which she gave birth was a-dying. That by which Mary was made did not die, but that which was made of Mary; not the eternity of the divine nature, but the weakness of the flesh, was dying. He made that answer therefore, making a distinction in the faith of believers, between the who; and the how, He came. For while He was God and the Lord of heaven and earth, He came by a mother who was a woman. In that He was Lord of the world, Lord of heaven and earth, He was, of course, the Lord of Mary also; but in that wherein it is said, "Made of a woman, made under the law" (Gal. 4:4), He was Mary's son. The same both the Lord of Mary and the son of Mary; the same both the
Creator of Mary and created from Mary.²⁹³ (Translated by John Gibb.)²⁹⁴

Augustine continued his sermon by explaining that Jesus was "son of Mary, so likewise is He called the son of David; and son of David because son of Mary. [...] David's son according to the flesh, David's Lord according to his divinity; so also Mary's son after the flesh, and Mary's Lord after His majesty."²⁹⁵

²⁹³ "Cur ergo ait matri filius: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Nondum uenit hora mea?' Dominus noster Iesus Christus, et Deus erat et homo; secundum quod Deus erat, matrem non habebat; secundum quod homo erat, habebat. Mater ergo erat carnis, mater humanitatis, mater infirmitatis quam suscepit propter nos. Miraculum autem quod facturus erat, secundum diuinitatem facturus erat, non secundum infirmitatem; secundum quod Deus erat, non secundum quod infirmus natus erat. Sed infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus (1 Cor. 1,25). Miraculum ergo exigebat mater; at ille tamquam non agnoscit uscera humana, operaturus facta diuina, tamquam dicens: 'Quod de me facit miraculum, non tu genuisti, diuinitatem meam non tu genuisti; sed quia genuisti infirmitatem meam, tunc te cognoscam, cum ipsa infirmitas pendebit in cruce.' Hoc est enim: 'Nondum uenit hora mea.' Tunc enim cognouit, qui utique semper nouerat. Et ante quam de illa natus esset, in praedestinatione nouerat matrem; et ante quam ipse Deus crearet, de qua ipse homo crearetur, nouerat matrem; sed ad quamdam horam in mysterio non agnoscit, et ad quamdam horam quae nondum uenerat, in mysterio rursus agnoscit. Tunc enim agnouit, quando illud quod peperit moriebatur. Non enim moriebatur per quod facta erat Maria, sed moriebatur quod factum erat ex Maria; non moriebatur aeternitas diuinitatis, sed moriebatur infirmitas carnis. Illud ergo respondit, discernens in fide credentium, quis, qua uenerit. Venit enim per matrem feminam, Deus et Dominus caeli et terrae. Secundum quod Dominus mundi, quod Dominus caeli et terrae, Dominus utique et Mariae; secundum quod creator caeli et terrae, creator et Mariae; secundum autem quod dictum est: 'Factum ex muliere, factum sub lege' (Gal. 4,4), filius Mariae. Ipse Dominus Mariae, ipse filius Mariae, ipse creator Mariae, ipse creatus ex Maria." Avrelii Avguvstini, "Tractatvs VIII," CCSL 36, 87-88.


3.7.6 Commentary on Augustine's Tractate 8

Augustine began his sermon on John 2:1-4 with some foundational information: the purpose for miracles, the reason for Jesus' attendance at a wedding, and possible explanations for the "indubitable mystery," of why Jesus appeared not to acknowledge his mother. Continuing his Christological theme, Augustine emphasized the doctrinal message that the Lord Jesus Christ was both God and man. As God he had no mother, performed the miracle, and does not die. As God he knew his mother in predestination and created her; he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth and Lord of Mary. As man, Christ had a mother of his flesh, of his weakness, which he took for our sakes, and with which he died. Mary was the mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

In writing that "he [Jesus] came by a mother who was a woman," Augustine wanted to affirm Jesus' true humanity and intended to directly attack the Docetists, who taught that Jesus only appeared to have a human body. Augustine meant that Mary was a "woman," that is, she a female human being capable of having a child.

In reading Augustine's sermon, the relationship between Jesus and Mary can be discerned. The Lord Jesus Christ, in truth, knew Mary, he knew her in predestination, he created her of whom he would become man, and he knew her as his mother. Mary, for her part, gave birth to the Lord Jesus Christ, and was mother to him. Because of Mary, Christ was called Son of David. She was also part of the fulfillment of the messianic prophecies from the Old Testament. Mary was one of the Chosen People, the woman under the law, and of David's seed. From her, Jesus assumed his humanity, that which would hang on the Cross.\(^\text{296}\)

\(^{296}\) See Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #9.
3.7.7 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Tractatvs CXIX*, Tractate 119

Augustine was consistent in associating Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana with Mary at the foot of the Crucifixion. In these last two sermons, it is in reverse order. Tractate 119 was part of a commentary on the Gospel of John, however it was an exegesis of verses 19:24-30. It was written between 416 and 420.\(^{297}\) This was a sermon about the crucifixion. \(^{298}\) Augustine explained all of the literal and figurative meanings of these verses, including the meaning of the hour that Jesus spoke of at the Wedding Feast at Cana. He also took time to explain what John meant when he wrote that the disciple took Mary into his own. The work was exclusively exegetical and pastoral in nature, without polemics or apologetics.

When the opportunity came for Augustine to speak about the Crucifixion in John 19:24-30, he associated that hour with the hour referred to at the Wedding Feast at Cana. In Tractate 119, he wrote,

- This, without a doubt, was the hour where of Jesus, *when about to turn the water into wine, had said to His mother, "Woman, what have I to do with you? mine hour is not yet come," This hour, therefore, He foretold, which at that time had not arrived, when it should be His to acknowledge her at the point of death, and with reference to which He had been born as a mortal man. At that time, therefore, when about to engage in divine acts, He repelled, as one unknown, her who was the mother, not of


\(^{298}\) Augustine, "Tractate 119," *Church Fathers*, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/170119.htm, #1. Hereafter: Augustine, "Tractate 119," *Church Fathers*, followed by a number from the section in the Latin text to provide a reliable reference, because computer pages vary. This differs from other citations, where the actual page number is listed. All capitalization of pronouns reflects the text.
His divinity, but of his [human] infirmity; but now, when in the midst of human sufferings, He commended with human affection [the mother] by whom He had become man. For then, He who had created Mary became known in His power; but now, that which Mary had brought forth was hanging on the Cross.299 (Translated by John Gibb.)300

Augustine continued his commentary writing, "And from that hour the disciple took her unto his own," Augustine searched the literal meaning of these words and found an answer in Acts 4:32-35, "... are we not to understand that such distribution was made to this disciple of what was needful, that there was also added to it the portion of the blessed Mary, as if she were his mother; ..."301 Searching a little further, Augustine concluded, "He received her, therefore, not unto his own lands, for he had none of his own; but to his own dutiful services, the discharge of which, by a special dispensation, was entrusted to himself."302

3.7.8 Commentary on Augustine's Tractate 119

In this dramatic scene, Augustine associated Mary with Jesus' capacity as a mortal man, with his infirmity, suffering, and mortality. This was the hour when he would recognize his mother. Also, Augustine emphasized another dimension of the relationship


301 Augustine, "Tractate 119," Church Fathers, #3.

that Jesus had with his mother. He described Jesus' tenderness in commending Mary to the disciple, by qualifying it as with "human affection." Augustine explained, "... the very Master of the saints set the example Himself, when, not as God for the handmaid whom He had created and governed, but as a man for the mother, of whom He had been created, and whom He was now leaving behind, He provided in some measure another son in place of Himself." Jesus reaffirmed that Mary was his mother and that he was carrying out his filial duty to her. The disciple was entrusted to the care of Blessed Mary on behalf of her Divine Son. Augustine had esteem for Mary and expressed it by saying that John already had all that he needed, but Blessed Mary was "added" to his portion, she was beyond all that he needed. John was to take Mary to his own and be of service to her.

3.7.9 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Sermo CCXVIII, Tractate 218

Sermo CCXVIII, "Concerning the Passion of the Lord" (John 19:17-42), which according to the text "was delivered on the Parasceve, which was the eve of the Great Sabbath, that is, the one which fell in the Paschal week." The dating of this sermon is uncertain and could have been given anytime over the forty years of Augustine's priesthood. Mary Sarah Muldowney considered it to be for recent converts. This Sermon is like Tractate 119: Augustine explained the hour that Jesus referred to at the Wedding Feast at Cana in the same way, and both works are exclusively exegetical and pastoral in nature.


Augustine's message in Tractate 119 was similar to Tractate 218 (John 19:17-42). This sermon was delivered to recent converts,

The fact that, on the cross, He recognized His Mother and commended her to His beloved disciple, appropriately shows His human affection at the moment when He was dying as Man. For, His hour had not yet come when He, about to change water into wine, said to that same Mother: "What wouldst thou have me to do, woman? My hour has not yet come." For, He had not drawn from Mary what was divine in Him, but He had taken from Mary what hung upon the cross.\(^{306}\) (Translated by Mary Sarah Muldowney.)\(^{307}\)

3.7.10 Commentary on Augustine's Tractate 218

Augustine continued his teaching about the divinity and humanity of Christ, Mary's role in his humanity, and the meaning of John 2:4. The time Christ chose to recognize his mother's role was when he was dying as a man, with the human nature that he assumed from her. Following on his commentary on Tractate 119, Augustine recognized the filial relationship that existed between Christ and his mother, when he said that Christ appropriately shows human affection for his mother.

3.7.11 Synthesis: Augustine's Comments on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana

\(^{306}\) Quod in cruce cognitam matrem dilecto discipulo commendavit (Joan. XIX, 26,27); congruenter tunc humanum affectum, quando ut homo moriebatur, ostendit. Ista hora nondum venerat, quando aquam in vinum conversurus eidem matri dixerat: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Nondum venit hora mea.' Non enim de Maria sumpserat quod habebat in divinitate, sicut de Maria sumpserat quod pendebat in cruce." Avrelii Avgvstinii, "Sermo CCXVIII." PL 38, 1086.

"The Scripture is the soul of Augustine's theology," writes Trapè. This is a fitting way to begin the final compilation of Augustine's commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. The principles of exegesis that he had written in "On Christian Doctrine" are apparent throughout the works that are studied in this thesis. He did analyze Scripture to discover those things which were to be understood and proceeded to provide a hermeneutic application. Scripture substantiated what he believed and taught in his catechetical, apologetic, and polemical works. He was a theologian, pastor, and defender of the faith. If there were obscure Scriptural readings which had to be opened up, he would look to see what went before or after the verse, for example, the hidden meaning of the hour. In the case of an ambiguity in Scripture, Augustine would investigate and look for solutions from Scripture itself: when searching for an answer as to why Jesus called his mother, "Woman," rather than mother, he found Galatians 4:4 to provide an answer. Jesus was born of a woman; therefore Mary was the mother of his humanity. Augustine recognized Mary in relationship to the messianic prophecy, "Jesus was son of David because of Mary."\textsuperscript{308} This all came together with the other Scriptures and the Conciliar pronouncements.

The literal meaning always formed the basis for his exegesis; Jesus performed a miracle at the Wedding Feast at Cana, which was a sign that pointed to the spiritual truth of Christ's divinity. Jesus referred to the word "hour," directing the theologian to understand its meaning in the final hour of Christ's passion, death, resurrection and return to the Father. Indirectly, this referred to the salvation plan of God and the eschatological end for all of humanity.

Jesus did go to the wedding. The literal directed the theologian to the allegorical meaning: Jesus came to the wedding feast as a Bridegroom to take a Bride, the Church, in the womb of the Virgin Mary.

\textsuperscript{308} See Augustine, "Tractate 8," \textit{Church Fathers}, #9.
In *De Fide et Symbolo*, Tractatvs VIII, and Tractatvs CXIX the words are exactly the same as the translations of the *Vetus Latina*. In *Sermo* CCXVIII, he paraphrased the words, "What wouldst thou have me to do, woman? My hour has not yet come.' For, He had not drawn from Mary what was divine." In two other works, Augustine added some personal emotion and emphasis in explaining Jesus' words: in *De Vera Religione*, Augustine added "depart from me" to the verse. He did the same in Tractatvs CXIX where he added "He repelled, as one unknown, her who was the mother," when Jesus was about to perform his miracle. In all three cases, Augustine wanted to emphasize that Mary was not the mother of the divinity that Jesus was about to reveal.

**St. Gaudentius of Brescia (c. 370 - 410)**

### 3.8 Life and Teaching of Gaudentius

Gaudentius of Brescia's exact date of birth and information about his parents are unknown. The little that was known about him came from his writings. Ambrosius Glueck concluded from Gaudentius' writing that he probably belonged to one degree or another to the nobility, because he wrote as one who was well educated. Glueck, in his critical study of the texts, found that Gaudentius was familiar with the classical writers, knew Greek and rhetoric. His sermons revealed a thoroughness of religious training, which included Church doctrines on Theology and Christology, and the Old and New Testaments. Gaudentius was a student of Philaster, the bishop of Brescia. According to Gaudentius, Philaster was an itinerant preacher and controversialist, eager to debate with pagans, Jews,

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309 See Augustine, “True Religion,” *Augustine* for reference to depart from me, 239, 240; and “Tractate 119,” *Church Fathers* for reference to repelled, #1. Augustine's paraphrasing is non-canonical.

and heretics. At the time of Philaster's death, in 390, Gaudentius was in the East. Upon his return Gaudentius was informed that he had been chosen to succeed his teacher. At first he declined the position, but was convinced by Ambrose and other bishops to accept it. He was consecrated bishop by Ambrose. During his ordination sermon, he spoke of his inexperience and young age at the time of his selection. It is not known how old he was at the time.

In 405, Gaudentius was sent on a notable mission by Honorius and Pope Innocent I to request that the Eastern Emperor Arcadius reexamine the case of John of Chrysostom, who had been deposed and exiled. Gaudentius and his two companions failed despite heroic efforts to intercede on John's behalf. It was thought that Gaudentius had met John Chrysostom at some point, because John wrote several letters to Gaudentius, expressing his gratitude for the attempt to help. John died in 407, on his way from his lonely exile in Cucusus to a still more desolate one at Pityus.  

Gaudentius' works include twenty-one homilies. Fifteen of these homilies are available because Benevolus, a Master of Records of the Royal Court, was ill and unable to attend the Easter week liturgies. He asked Gaudentius to send him copies, which he did, along with an additional five on Scriptural topics. The Easter homilies presented the traditional typological reading of the book of Exodus, which was interpreted as the prefiguration of the paschal mystery.

Other works by Gaudentius are: four sermons on the Gospels, one on the Holy Spirit, one in honor of the Maccabees, two on the Wedding Feast at Cana, one on concern for the poor, one on lives of Peter and Paul, and one on the life of Philaster.  

From all of his sermons, it was evident that he defended orthodoxy. Gaudentius refuted Arianism, frequently emphasizing the divinity of Christ, as in Sermon 19 on John 14:28. He was concerned about paganism, even within the recent converts in his own congregation. In Sermon 8, he addressed the Manichaeans. Both the Marcionites and the Manicheans were the targets of his polemics in the sermons on Exodus. As a pastor he would clearly admonish his congregation about doing what was right and warn them against doing what was not right.

In 404, Gaudentius delivered a sermon on the fourteenth anniversary of the death of Bishop Philaster. He gave two other sermons after that, neither of which has a known date of writing, except in them Gaudentius wrote of the threat of a barbarian invasion and then the presence of the marauders. Given that there were various invasions by the barbarians, it was not clear to which one he was referring. One tradition holds that he died in 410. His body lies at Brescia in the Church of St. John Baptist, on the site of the Concilium Sanctorum.

Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Gaudentius

Gaudentius wrote two sermons on John 2:1-11. Sermon 8 was the exegesis and hermeneutical application of John 2:1-3. Sermon 9 completed the exercise by commenting on John 2:4-11. The dates for their composition are unknown. The sermons were catecheses on Baptism. They were addressed to "Neophytes" and were meant for the instruction of the newly baptized and as a

314 See Glueck, "Gaudentius," Microfiche, 14-16.
316 See Simonetti, "Gaudentius," Patrology, 134.
pastoral exhortation for moral living to his congregation. Sermon 8 was also a polemic against the Manichaeans. It was given on the Second Sunday after the Epiphany.

**3.8.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Sermo VIII, Sermon 8***

Gaudentius began Sermon 8 by recalling that he had just given sermons on the Book of Exodus. In this sermon, he wanted to show that the same God authored both the Old and New Testaments. Jesus, the Savior, was the unifying element between the two. He was the same God who both blessed the marriage, which he had instituted in the beginning; and, by his power, changed water into wine at the wedding feast.

Christ did not shun the celebration at the wedding, for he had created man and woman and given them conjugal liberty. Nonetheless, Gaudentius strongly supported virginity and promoted the idea that even married couples live in chaste brotherhood. Even with this conviction, he still believed that virginity had to be an individual's choice and was opposed to parents who consecrated their children to a life of virginity, while they were still young.

Gaudentius made reference to Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, Jesus, the Savior of the human race. He did so

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318 Gaudentius stated, "This [increase and multiply] displeases the wretched Manichaeans. I do not think, however, that the marriage right displeases them because of any uncleanness. Rather the law displeases them, the law which joins not many women to one man, nor one woman to many men, but one woman to one man. For the accursed Manichaeans do not wish to live according to the teaching of the Apostle, Paul, so that every man might have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 100.

319 Gaudentius held that the parents and relatives were, however, "to encourage the will [of the child] toward what is best. And they have the responsibility to admonish, to exhort, to cherish, and to long to bind their children to God rather than the world ..." See Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 101.
to support his position that virginity was preferred, "For the Son of God, God without beginning, has taken beginning of flesh from a virgin in the last age of the world and has chosen to live among men in order that He might relieve this perishing world." Jesus taught that virginity was the better part, "since he thought it more worthy to be born from it. God has shown a holy Virgin to be His home in order that the height of reverence might forever attend His beginning. For conceived without corruption He is born without injury to maternal integrity." So high was Jesus' esteem for virginity that he chose the Virgin Mary to be his mother and then miraculously maintained her virginity in partu. Gaudentius followed with a Scriptural reference to further validate his point, citing Paul, "It is good for them if they so remain, even as I" (1 Cor. 7:8).

Gaudentius dispersed his quotation of John 2:1-11 within his commentaries. A compilation of his quotations from both Sermons 8 and 9 are as follows.

And on the third day, he says, a marriage took place at Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there. Jesus also was invited to the marriage, as were his disciples. And they were without wine because the marriage wine had all been consumed. (Translation by Ambrosius Glueck.)

Gaudentius continued his commentary by writing that the mother of Jesus was there "among the Gentiles, indeed, for we read


323 Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 103.
that the blessed Mary took her origin from a mother from the tribe of the Moabites. For Boaz begot Obed of Ruth (Matthew 1:5), who was a Moabite woman. Obed begot Jesse, Jesse begot David, the King (Matthew 1:5), from whose seed Joseph is born, to whom the Virgin Mary was espoused, of whom was born Jesus who is called Christ" (Cf. Matthew 1:16). This was the reason why the mother of Jesus was there at the Wedding Feast at Cana of Galilee of the Gentiles.

3.8.2 Commentary on Gaudentius' Sermon 8

Mary, the mother of Jesus, was at the Wedding Feast at Cana of Galilee. Gaudentius began with a literal interpretation of Mary's presence there and attempted to explain the significance of this from other Scriptural references. He chose the genealogy of St. Matthew to search back to a Gentile woman who might be an ancestor of Mary's and then identified Ruth, the Moabite. Therefore, Mary must be a Moabite.

Mary was presented in Tract 8 within the context of her virginity and her presence in Cana of Galilee. Gaudentius strongly believed that virginity was preferred over marriage. God manifested his preference toward virginity when he chose to be born of the holy Virgin; for Jesus was conceived without corruption and he was born without injury to Mary's maternal integrity. Mary was a virgin at conception and at birth and because of this she provided a home for Jesus that indicated the height of reverence for the beginning of the Son of God and Savior of the world.

324 Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 111.

325 Gaudentius' assumption about a connection between Mary and Ruth is not found in the other Fathers.

326 Gaudentius used words like corruption and injury to convey the idea that anything less than virginal integrity was imperfect, an impairment of integrity, a departure from what was pure or correct.
3.8.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Sermo IX*, Sermon 9

This was the second sermon on the Gospel lesson on the Wedding Feast at Cana, it was a continuation of Sermon Eight; in it Gaudentius explored the meaning John 2:4-11. He stated:

*It is concerning that need that the mother of the Lord enigmatically then said to Him, "They have no wine." Now let us hear with astonished minds what the Lord responded to her. Jesus said to her: "What is that to me and to you, woman? My hour has not yet come"* (John 2:4). According to the meaning of simple understanding we are able to show that the blessed virgin Mary is called woman by reason of sex, just as it is written of Eve in Genesis ... (Gen. 2:21-23).  

Gaudentius suggested that the simple understanding of Jesus' addressing the blessed virgin Mary, "woman," was in reference to her sex, just like Eve in Genesis was called “woman,” while still a virgin (Gen. 2:21-23). Calling Mary, "woman," did not mean that she was no longer a virgin after the birth of Jesus, as some people purported.

Gaudentius continued his sermon in the next section, explaining that Christ is the Son of God, born of a woman, for the

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benefit of humanity. "For he is born who always was. He is born who was from the beginning Son of God, and Word of God, and God. [He] was born from a virgin ... that the Word made flesh might live among us, yet remaining God." Gaudentius gave two reasons for this: "that the world might be able to look upon its Maker" and being born of the Holy Spirit from the virgin, "that he might refashion man, whom he had formed from the slime of the earth, by the Holy Spirit from the same earth."

Gaudentius exhorted his followers to believe that Mary conceived as a virgin and gave birth as a virgin by the omnipotence of God. He reminded them that the Risen Lord was able to pass through closed doors to visit his disciples (John 20:19-29) and to be seen and felt by his disciples (Luke 24:39). It was the same power of divinity that allowed Jesus to enter "the guest room of this world though an unviolated virgin."

Continuing to explain why Jesus called his mother, "Woman," Gaudentius recalled that he was "born of woman, made under the law, to ransom those under the law" (Gal. 4:4-5). Mary "is virgin and is called woman by reason of her sex, but not to the detriment of her integrity: it is just in this way that God, the Son of God, by reason of the economy of salvation, is preached as having been made under the law though He is Himself the giver of the law." Gaudentius went on to recognize the significance of the virginal birth, "I have said all this in praise of Mary since Christ has called her, woman, who at the divine birth began to be a mother in a manner whereby she might remain a more sacred

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Indeed, God's power was manifested in the virginal birth, while making her the mother to the only Son of God.

Gaudentius then returned to Jesus' question in John 2:4 and attempted to find the deeper spiritual meaning of these words.

That He says: "What is that to me and to you? My hour has not yet come," does not seem to me a response that sensibly corresponds to that suggestion of Mary, unless the Lord spoke in mystery and it is spoken spiritually. The wine of the Holy Spirit was not able to be given to the Gentiles before the passion and resurrection of Christ as the evangelist bears witness, saying: "For the spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus had not yet been glorified" (John 7:39). Rightly then He responded to His mother at the beginning of His signs: "What is that to me and to you woman? My hour has not yet come." It is as if He would say: "Why is your suggestion in such haste, O woman, since the hour of my passion has not yet come in which, all things having been completed whether of teaching or of divine works, I have chosen to die for the life of believers. After my passion and resurrection, when I return to the Father, then will the wine of the Holy Spirit be given them. For this reason also, that most blessed woman, acknowledging the profound mystery of this response, understood that her present suggestion was not disdainfully received, but that it was amplified in mystery according to this spiritual meaning. For she would never command the ministers: "Do whatever He will tell you," unless, filled with the Holy Spirit and after the divine birth, she had not only known the power of the response of Christ, but also had foreseen the true universal order of future wine changed by Him from water. For what could be hidden

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335 Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 118.
to this mother of wisdom, who had capacity for God, who was the most worthy home of such power?\textsuperscript{336}
(Translated by Ambrosius Glueck.)\textsuperscript{337}

Returning to one of his central themes, the unity between the Old and New Testament, Gaudentius proposed that Mary, the mother of the Lord, be received "... figuratively as the people of the holy patriarchs and prophets and of all just men from whom ... the same Lord took origin of our flesh. [...] This mother of the Lord, therefore, the generation of the patriarchs and prophets, has interceded for us Gentiles with her Son, the eternal Son of God born according to the flesh, that He might give us in need the joy of heavenly wine."\textsuperscript{338} Mary, the patriarchs, and prophets intercede on behalf of the Gentiles for the wine of the Holy Spirit.

The mother of the Lord said, "Do whatever He will tell you." Gaudentius explained that the mother of the Lord referred to both Mary and to the people of the holy patriarchs and prophets;

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{336} Quod vero ait; 'Quid mihi et tibi est? nondum venit hora mea'(Joan. II); non mihi videtur ista responsio ad illam suggestionem Mariae sensibiliter convenire, nisi in mysterio locutus esse spiritualiter Dominus dicatur; ut quoniam vinum Spiritus sancti ante passionem Christi, ac resurrectionem, gentibus dari non poterat (evangelista testante, 'nondum erat Spiritus datus, quia Jesus necdum fuerat glorificatus') (Joan. vii, 39), merito tunc inter initia signorum, matri responderit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea;' tamquam si diceret: Quid tam praepropera est tua, o mulier, suggestio, cum hora passionis meae nondum adverterit, qua perfectis omnibus vel doctrinae, vel operationum divinarum virtutibus, pro vita credentium mori disposui? Post passionem resurrectionemque meam, cum ad Patrem rediero, tunc eis donabitur vinum Spiritus sancti. Quapropter et ipsa beatissima, agnito responsionis huius profundo mysterio, intellexit, non suggestionem suam praesentem aspernanter acceptam, sed secundum illam spirituallem rationem in mysterio tunc dilatam. Caeterum numquam manderet ministris, 'Quodcumque dixerit vobis, facit,' nisi Spiritu sancto post partum divinum plena, non solum responsionis Christi virtutem cognovisset, verum etiam faciendi ab eo tunc ex aqua vini universum ordinem praeventisset. Quid enim lateret Sapientiae Matrem, capacem Dei, aedem diguissimam tantae virtutis." Gaudentii Brixiae, "Sermo IX," PL, 900-901.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{337} Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 118-119.

\textsuperscript{338} Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 119.
this latter group by reason of the origin of Christ. "These mothers are intermediaries with Him for our needs." These mothers tell the apostles and apostolic priests, the ministers, that "both the law and all of the teaching of the holy prophets recommend to them that they carry out with prompt obedience whatever the Lord Jesus will command them.

From this point forward, Gaudentius explained the meaning of the remaining gospel employing allegory. He gave special attention to the sacrament of Baptism and the call to the Gentiles. There are no further references to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

3.8.4 Commentary on Guadentius' Sermon 9

Gaudentius presented Mary in a literal way, she was presented as an active and engaged person at the Wedding Feast at Cana. She "enigmatically brought to her Son's attention" the need for more wine. Gaudentius leads one to wonder what was behind Mary's statement. Later in the sermon, he credited her with knowing the power of Jesus' response about his hour and having foreseen the true universal order of future wine of the Holy Spirit. This comment pointed to the anagogical meaning of the words.

Mary was prefigured in Eve; each one was a woman and a virgin. Mary was a perpetual virgin through the power of God. She conceived as a virgin and gave birth as a virgin. Mary, whom Christ called "woman" at the divine birth, began to be a mother in a manner whereby she might remain a more sacred virgin.

Mary was also identified as the mother of Wisdom, who had capacity for God and who was the most worthy home for the Son of God. Mary was the woman from whom Christ was born for the benefit of humanity. From her the Word was made flesh, so that the world might look upon its Maker and, being born of the Holy Spirit, he might refashion man by the Holy Spirit. Mary was

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the woman from whom Christ was born under the law, thus connecting Jesus to the Old Testament.

Mary and the people of the holy patriarchs and prophets and all just men from whom the same Lord took flesh, were both mothers of the Lord. Both mothers tell the followers of Christ to carry out with prompt obedience whatever the Lord Jesus commands them. Gaudentius presented Mary as the mother of the Messiah, who carried forward the teachings of the holy men from the Old Testament to the Church of the Gentiles. Mary is the messianic Daughter of Sion. ⁴³⁴⁰ This was the first time in the writings of the Fathers that Mary was joined with the patriarchs and prophets in having intercessory power.

3.8.5 Synthesis of Gaudentius' Comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana

Gaudentius was a student of the Old and New Testaments. Consistent with Patristic practice, he taught that the same God is author of both Testaments and Jesus, the Son of God, was the unifying element between them. Mary was associated with the Old Testament according to Matthew’s genealogy and in relationship to the patriarchs and prophets.⁴³⁴¹ He searched Scripture to learn the meaning of the words and phrases or to validate his ideas. The words and verses in John’s Gospel were considered from the literal and historical perspective, the spiritual and allegorical meaning, then given a moral interpretation, ending with the anagogical meaning. Gaudentius literally interpreted Jesus' words to his mother and stated that they did not fit his mother's suggestion.⁴³⁴² Gaudentius had a preference for the heavenly and hidden meaning

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of Sacred Scripture and frequently used allegory. Some of his allegories were supportive of his interpretation, for example, that Mary was a Moabite, a Gentile woman in Cana.

**St. Quodvultdeus of Carthage (390-454)**

**3.9 Life and Teaching of Quodvultdeus**

Little was known for certain about Quodvultdeus, however, there is general agreement that he was the Quodvultdeus who exchanged letters with Augustine. These communications are provided in the *Writings of Saint Augustine: Letters*. In that exchange, in 427 or 428, the relationship between the two was revealed. Quodvultdeus referred to himself as a deacon, writing "to Bishop Augustine, deservedly revered lord and truly saintly father" and again, "truly blessed and holy father." Augustine responded addressing Quodvultdeus as, "his beloved son and fellow deacon" and again, "sincerely beloved brother and fellow deacon." This communication resulted in Augustine's handbook of heresies, *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum*, which Quodvultdeus had requested for the purpose of educating some of the uninformed clergy in his city. Quodvultdeus had great respect and admiration for Augustine and considered him the source for orthodox teaching in the Church. Augustine expressed paternal concern for the deacon and his work in the defense against heresies in the Church in Carthage.

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344 Augustine, *Writings*, 114, 117.

A possible biography can be created from the writings of Quodvultdeus and from the information known about the Church hierarchy in Carthage. Thomas Macy Finn proposed that Quodvultdeus was probably born in Carthage about 390 and received a typically Latinized Punic theonym, "what God wills." His writings indicate that he had a rhetorical education. Quodvultdeus was "deeply indebted to Augustine in the approach, content, hermeneutics, and rhetoric of his extant works." He became a deacon under Bishop Aurelius and an assistant to Bishop Capriolus, whom he succeeded as bishop between the years of 431 and 439. On October 19, 439, the Vandal king Genseric invaded Carthage and banished Quodvultdeus and many of his clergy. The historian of the Vandal invasion, Victor of Vita, wrote that they were incarcerated on leaky ships ostensibly to drown. However, they made it to Naples and were given refuge by Bishop Nostrianus. While there, Quodvultdeus took part in the anti-Pelagian struggle. He lived the rest of his life in exile and died before October of 454, when Deogratius was ordained his successor. Shortly after his death, Quodvultdeus was honored as a saint and a confessor in both Naples and Carthage.

Quodvultdeus' homiletic work had been attributed to Pseudo-Augustine, until Dom G. Morin, in 1914, asserted that Quodvultdeus was the author. The Liber promissionum had been attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine. Réné Braun followed Morin's position and held that it was Quodvultdeus who wrote all of these works. The three creedal homilies, referenced in this study, are

346 Finn, Quodvultdeus, 2.

347 See Finn, Quodvultdeus, 2.


among those determined to be authored by Quodvultdeus. The sermons were thought to have been preached in Carthage and *Liber* was written in Naples between 445 and 450. The *Liber* was Quodvultdeus' most important and influential work. By the tenth century it was considered a normative work for biblical interpretation. He follows Augustine's threefold schema of salvation history for the three parts: Before the Law, Under the Law, and Under Grace.

3.9.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *De Symbolo I, The First Homily on the Creed*

Quodvultdeus delivered this homily on the Sunday after the scrutiny and before the Easter vigil baptismal rites. This was the liturgy of "the giving of the creed" (*traditio symboli*) by the bishop, or his designee. It was given sometime before 437, because he addressed his patron, Bishop Capreolus, in his comments. It was a catechetical work, whose primary audience was the catechumens. Quodvultdeus included polemical statements against the Arian Vandals and apologetic remarks directed toward the Jewish unbelievers.

Quodvultdeus wrote about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in the section that followed his commentary on God the omnipotent Father. In this exposition of the first part of the Creed, he established the divinity of the Son of God writing," For the Father is called 'Father' by the Son. If the Father always was, then

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352 Quodvultdeus succeeded Bishop Capreolus in 437. See Finn, *Quodvultdeus*, 92.
the Son always was. And if God is the Father, God is the Son also: Nothing other than God can proceed from God."

Quodvultdeus' commentary on Mary at the Wedding Feast was part of the second article of faith, "his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Holy Spirit from the virgin Mary." He explained that Jesus Christ is both God and man, "... the Word assumed flesh; nor was he altered in the flesh, because remaining God he assumed man." It was God as man that he chose to be born from Mary. Mary was the mother who gave birth to her Creator. Quodvultdeus then wrote of Mary's virginal conception, "The mother, virginity intact, was carrying the Son, and she herself, whom the marital embrace had not enfolded, marveled at the feel of her offspring." Mary was the chosen one for the role of mother to God as man.

In the following section, there is a typology of Mary as Mother of Sion. "But, unbeliever, listen to the prediction and understand the fulfillment. David, as prophet, says: 'A man will call her Mother of Sion, and a man was made in her, and the Most High himself founded her.'"

Quodvultdeus draws a parallel

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354 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," _Quodvultdeus_, 34.

355 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," _Quodvultdeus_, 34.

356 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," _Quodvultdeus_, 34.

357 Augustine influenced his followers to regard the "Jews as faithless witnesses who understood the letter of their Scriptures but not the hidden, prophetic meaning," Finn, _Quodvultdeus_, 11. Included in this creedal homily and after the reference to the Angel’s annunciation to Mary, Quodvultdeus wrote "... that he [Jesus] arranged to liberate you, you then destroyed him! O wicked land of the Jews, you are at odds with heaven." Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," _Quodvultdeus_, 35.

358 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," _Quodvultdeus_, 34. Bertrand Buby explained: "Catholic scholars speak of the person of Mary as representative of Israel's perfect response to the covenant. [...] Serra summarizes his analysis in this manner: 'In the eyes of the first generation of Christians, the Mother of Jesus was configured as the ideal
between Mary and Sion by comparing the characteristics of Mary listed above, with "the Most High created such a mother ... formed himself in her ... emerging from her womb, at the same time gave her a Son without taking away her virginity."³⁵⁹ Mary and Sion are the virgin mothers of the Son of the Most High. In this analogy, Quodvultdeus recognized Mary's virginity in partu.

Quodvultdeus continued, "What is the grace of this mother and virgin?" The answer came from the angel Gabriel's greeting, "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you." Quodvultdeus interpreted this by stating, "When the angel greeted this virgin thus, then the Holy Spirit made her fruitful: this woman then conceived a man without a man, then was filled with grace, then received the Lord, so that he who had made her was in her. For it must not be believed, beloved, that, with him already present and protecting her, corruption could dominate her, in whom there was no burning desire."³⁶⁰ Quodvultdeus held that when the angel greeted Mary, the Holy Spirit made her fruitful, and Jesus protected her virginity.

Following this, Quodvultdeus wrote about Mary's knowledge, stating "Nevertheless, the virgin mother recognized whom she carried, she knew; let astonishment flee and faith enter." Proceeding, he wrote as if he were speaking to Mary, saying, "Virgin Mother, you knew well your son's infancy; recall equally well his boyhood [the finding of the boy Jesus in the temple, when he said to his mother (Luke 2:42-49)] 'Do you not know that I must be doing the things of my Father?’ When his mother heard such words from her son, she became afraid at heart, for he was not

³⁵⁹ Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.

³⁶⁰ Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34. Finn holds that this refers to Mary's sinlessness and holiness. See Finn, Quodvultdeus, 104.
talking about a father on earth whom he did not know, but about him 'who made heaven and earth.'”

In the Homily on the Creed, Quodvultdeus made reference to John 2:3, 5. He wrote,

Let her also recall his young manhood; let her see the many great miracles, the change of the water into wine. In this first miracle, this woman, who acknowledged that she was a handmaid, thought she could give orders to her son, as if she were mistress of the house. "Son," she says, "their wine has run out; do something so that the water may be changed back into wine" (John 2:3,5). And in order to show the difference between God and man - as man he was subordinate and as man, subject, yet as God, superior to all - he said, "What is that to me and you, Mother? My hour has not yet come" (John 2:3-5). It is as if he were saying to her: "The hour will come, when that which was born of you, hanging on the Cross, will acknowledge you and will commend you to his beloved disciple." But in this miracle why did he say "to me and to you?" "For the miracle did not come from you, but from him who made you: It is not your place to give an order to God; rather, it is your place to be subject to God." The devout mother, who did not take amiss his admonition - "What is that to you and to me?" - let her see at work in the other miracles the very God whom she saw to be her son as he was growing up. Let her see the blind given light, the lepers cleansed, the lame running, the deaf hearing, the demons fleeing; and what is better than all these miracles: the resurrection of the dead. But at this moment let this mother now recognize and stand in

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361 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34-36. The lower case “s” reflects the original text.
awe of her young son.\textsuperscript{362} (Translated by Thomas Macy Finn.\textsuperscript{363})

Continuing on the theme of a wedding, Quodvultdeus advised that a bride [the Church] be found for Christ, the Bridegroom, who is "The kind of woman he was born of, let such a woman be found for him, to whom the fecundity as a mother, yet whose virginity he preserves intact. Let the Son of her who remains a virgin take to himself one who still remains a virgin."\textsuperscript{364}

\textbf{3.9.2 Commentary}

Quodvultdeus paraphrased John 2:3, 5. He wrote, "Son, their wine has run out; do something so that the water may be

\textsuperscript{362} Agnoscat et eius adolescentiam, uideat multa et magna miracula, conuersionem aquarum in uinum. In quo primo miraculo putauit illa femina iubere se filio posse tanquam mater domina quae se agnoscebat ancillam. 'Fili,' ait, 'deficit illis uinum, fac rursus ut aquae conuertantur in uinum' (Io 2,3 et 5). Et ille ut distingueret inter Deum et hominem quia secundum hominem minor erat, secundum hominem subditus erat, secundum Deum autem supra omnes erat: 'Quid mihi et tibi, inquit,' mulier? nundum uenit hora mea' (Io 2,4). Tanquam ei diceret: Veniet hora, quando id quod natum est de te in cruce pendens agnoscat te et discipulo dilecto commendet te; in hoc autem miraculo quid mihi et tibi? Non enim hoc processit ex te, sed ex eo qui fecit te: non tibi competit ut iubeas Deo, competit autem ut subdita sis Deo. Sed pia mater quae non aspere tulit admonitionem filii dicentis: 'Quid mihi et tibi' uideat in ceteris miraculis Deum operantem, quem intuebatur filium adolescentem; uideat caecorum illuminationem, leprosorum mundationem, claudorum cursus, surdorum auditus, daemonum fugationes; et quod maius his omnibus, mortuorum resurrectionem. Sed adhuc agnoscat haec mater, et expauescat filii sui etiam iuventutem." \textit{Qvodvltdeo, "De Symbolo I, Opera Qvodvltdeo Tribvta, CCSL 60, 319-320.}

\textsuperscript{363} Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," \textit{Quodvultdeus}, 36.

\textsuperscript{364} Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," \textit{Quodvultdeus}, 37.
changed back into wine." \(365\) Identifying Jesus as "Son" and the words assigned to Mary are non-canonical translations of the Latin text. It seems that Quodvultdeus altered the Johannine text, "They have no wine" to "... their wine has run out; do something so that the water may be changed back into wine" to allow him to discuss the Christological doctrine of Jesus' humanity and divinity. \(366\) In so doing, he made an assumption about the meaning of Mary's statement, "They have no wine," which included a specific demand and showed that she "thought she could give orders to her son, as if she were the mistress of the house." \(367\)

Quodvultdeus surmised that Jesus wanted to show the difference between God and man; therefore, Jesus said, "What is that to me and you, Mother?" \(368\) My hour has not yet come." He followed Augustine in explaining Jesus' answer, "The hour will come, when that which was born of you, hanging on the Cross, will acknowledge you and will commend you to his beloved disciple." Quodvultdeus added that Christ has paid a great ransom for us, because his blood has redeemed us. He clearly understood

\(365\) There is another way to translate "Fili" ait, "deficit illis uinum, fac rursus ut aquae conuertantur in uinum." The word rursus belongs to the first part of the sentence with the main clause, not as used with the purpose clause initiated by ut. It may read, "Fili," (Son) ait (she says or said), deficit illis uinum (their wine has run out - illis is a dative of possession), fac rursus (act in return) ut aquae conuertantur in uinum (that the waters - plural, be changed into wine.) "Son," she says or said, "their wine has run out, act in return that the waters be changed into wine." Translation by Jerome Young, Latin professor at Mount Angel Seminary, June 5, 2009. This translation of changing water into wine is consistent with all of the English translations of John 2:3, 5.

\(366\) Quodvultdeus focused on the miracle and not whether the water had been wine or not. The question of the translation makes no difference to the analysis of his work.

\(367\) See Quodvuldeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to wine run out and Mary demanded, 36.

\(368\) The Latin reads mulier, that is woman, while the English translation reads "mother;" the translator's error.
the anagogical meaning of Scripture. The reference to the "other miracles" she saw from her Son as he was growing up may, refer to the Apocryphal Gospels; similar to Ambrose's Commentary on Luke.

In the section leading up to the comments on the Wedding Feast at Cana, Quodvultdeus employed an allegorical method to draw the listener into a reflection on the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God, born of the Holy Spirit from the virgin Mary with comments like: "he was born of her whom he chose, since he chose to be born," and "a mother gave birth to her creator, because a creature created her maker." Unique to Quodvultdeus is his naming Mary, the Mother of Sion.

3.10 Summary of Chapter Three: Patristic Period

The Fathers in this period are some of the most significant dogmatic theologians of all time. They accepted, understood, and promulgated the Church's teachings, which were declared at the First Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople. These Fathers influenced the entire Church from their time until today. In the Second Vatican Council document, Lumen Gentium, many references are made to their writings throughout chapter eight, "The Blessed Virgin and the Church." Augustine recognized Mary as the mother of the members of Christ. Ambrose affirmed Mary's perpetual virginity, her role in relationship with Christ the

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370 Quodvultdeus may be referring to the Infancy Gospel of Thomas or the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. See Buby, Marian Heritage, 52-57. See Ambrose, Commentary on Luke, 68.

371 See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to chose to be born and gave birth to her creator, 111. Quodvultdeus' use of the word, "create," is to be understood in the sense that she was his natural mother.
One Mediator, and as a type of the Church in the order of faith, charity, and perfect union with Christ.\textsuperscript{372}

\textbf{3.11 Summary of the Marian Doctrine Found in the Writings of These Fathers}

The Fathers' preached, taught, explained, and defended the Nicene Constantinopolitan Creed. This profession of faith included significant truths about the Virgin Mary. Through the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, the Eternal Son of the Father, the Lord Jesus Christ, came down from heaven and became incarnate in the womb of the Virgin Mary and was crucified for us. The Marian doctrines flowed from her relationship to her Divine Son and the Trinitarian plan for our salvation, as expressed in the creed.

Each of the Fathers began with a literal interpretation of John's words regarding the presence and action of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, at the Wedding Feast. From this, the spiritual meaning was analyzed and commented upon. Most of the commentaries were Christological and focused on the manifestation of Christ's divinity in the miracle that he worked. Mary was Christ's Mother and was related to his humanity. As such, she was recognized for her role in God's redemptive plan, starting with the Incarnation.

The Fathers' interpretation of "When the wine ran short, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine'"(John 2:3) varied. Hilary did not mention Mary's name, he simply stated that "Jesus is requested." Ambrose stated that "his Mother presses him to perform a miracle." Quodvultdeus stated that Mary "thought she could give orders to her son." Two of the Fathers credited Mary with prior knowledge of Jesus' plan to perform the miracle.

\textsuperscript{372} All references are in Flannery. \textit{LG}. See Augustine, \textit{LG} for reference to mother to the members, \#53; Ambrose, \textit{LG}, for Mary's perpetual virginity, \#57, for one Mediator, \#62, and type of Church in the order of faith, charity, and perfect union with Christ, \#63.
Maximus stated, "...in her spirit knew in advance what would happen and foresaw the Lord's will ... advised the servants to do whatever he told them." Similarly, Gaudentius stated she was "filled with the Holy Spirit and after the divine birth, she had ... known the power of the response of Christ ... had foreseen the true universal order of future wine." 373 Mary foresaw the soteriological effect of the future wine.

"Woman, how does your concern affect me? My hour has not yet come" (John 2:4) also brought differing interpretations. Ambrose held that "His mother was checked for expecting Him to act as a human." Maximus explained that "Jesus answered as though he was displeased," but went on to clarify why, "Mary was asking for a temporal favor, but Christ was preparing joys that would be eternal." Augustine, Gaudentius, and Quodvultdeus associated Jesus' words to his mother in John 2:4 with those at the hour of his death in John 19:26. Jesus spoke to his mother differently when he was about to perform a miracle, because Mary was not the mother of his divinity. However, she was the mother of his humanity and Jesus would recognize her at the hour of his death and commend her to the beloved disciple. This was the time of Christ's redemptive sacrifice with the human nature he had assumed from his mother. Jesus' address to Mary as "Woman" was explained as a reference to gender and not to marital status or Mary's virginity by Ambrose and Gaudentius. 374

**Mary's Divine Maternity:** Hilary and Gaudentius called Mary "the Mother of the Son of God;" Maximus, Paulinus, and Gaudentius identified Mary as "the Mother of the Lord;" Quodvultdeus referred to her as "Mother of God;" Ambrose said that Mary was "the one who gave us God;" Paulinus held that

373 See Hilary, 54; Ambrose, 60; Quodvultdeus, 116; Maximus, 69; and Gaudentius, 107-108.

374 See Ambrose, 60; Maximus, 68; Augustine, 83, 85-86, 91, 94-95, 97; Gaudentius, 107 and Quodvultdeus, 116 for references to John 2:4. See Ambrose, 64 and Gaudentius, 105 for references to "Woman."
Mary was "the one who gave birth to God;" Augustine wrote that Mary was the virgin who gave birth to the Son, who was consubstantial with the Father and one with the Father; Augustine and Quodvultdeus stated that Mary was the mother of the humanity of Christ, who was recognized by him when he hung upon the Cross. Augustine and Quodvultdeus held that the Son of God knew his mother before he created her. Augustine maintained that Christ knew his mother in predestination.\textsuperscript{375} Seven of the Fathers used terminology that expressed this belief, all living and writing before the Council of Ephesus, which affirms that this was the \textit{sensus fidelium} at the time.

\textbf{Mary's virginity:} This was the second topic of great importance to the Fathers.\textsuperscript{376} Ambrose wrote that Mary had received an incentive to virginity. Paulinus was the first to identify Mary as a consecrated virgin. Hilary was the first to explain Mary's

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnotesize See Hilary, 54 and Gaudentius, 102 for the mother of the Son of God; Maximus, 69, Paulinus, 75 and Gaudentius, 105 for the Mother of the Lord; Quodvultdeus 116 for Mother of God; Ambrose, 63 for the one who gave us God; Paulinus, 75 for the one who gave birth to God; Augustine, 83, 85, and Quodvultdeus 113-114 for the virgin who gave birth to the Son consubstantial with the Father; Augustine, 83, 85-86, 90-91, 94, 97 and Quodvultdeus, 116 for the mother of Christ's humanity; Augustine, 83, 85-86, 91 and Quodvultdeus, 116 for the mother recognized from the Cross; Augustine, 91 and Quodvultdeus, 114 for Son of God knowing his Mother before he created her; and Augustine, 91 for Mary's predestination.\textsuperscript{375} See Ambrose, 60; Maximus, 68; Augustine, 83, 85-86, 91, 94, 97; Gaudentius, 105 and Quodvultdeus, 116 for references to John 2:4. See Ambrose, 64, 65 and Gaudentius, 105 for references to "Woman."
\item \footnotesize See Hilary, 54 and Gaudentius, 102 for the mother of the Son of God; Maximus, 69, Paulinus, 75 and Gaudentius, 105 for the Mother of the Lord; Quodvultdeus 116 for Mother of God; Ambrose, 63 for the one who gave us God; Paulinus, 75 for the one who gave birth to God; Augustine, 83, 85 and Quodvultdeus 113-114 for the virgin who gave birth to the Son consubstantial with the Father; Augustine, 83, 85-86, 90-91, 94, 97 and Quodvultdeus, 116 for the mother of Christ's humanity; and Augustine 91 for the mother recognized predestination.
\item \footnotesize Jerome wrote extensively about Mary's Virginity, but did not write about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, therefore his Marian doctrine is not included in this survey.
\end{itemize}
virginity *in-partu*. Hilary, Paulinus, Augustine, Gaudentius, and Quodvultdeus all taught that Mary was a virgin at conception and during birth. Gaudentius stated that Mary was "a holy Virgin in order that the height of reverence might forever attend His beginning." Ambrose was the first one to develop arguments to defend Mary's perpetual virginity. Gaudentius and Quodvultdeus taught that Mary was a perpetual virgin.377

**Mary's Holiness:** Several Fathers commented on Mary's holiness. Ambrose wrote that Mary was holy, full of grace, and the model *par excellence* of holiness. Quodvultdeus believed that the Holy Spirit filled Mary with grace at the Annunciation. Maximus called Mary a holy and believing woman. Gaudentius identified her as the holy virgin that God chose to be his home. Mary was the model for virgins and summoned all Christians to the cult of virginity.378

**Mary and the Old Testament:** The Eve / Mary parallelism was part of the teachings of Ambrose and Gaudentius. Augustine thought that Mary was born of David's seed. Quodvultdeus was the first to identify Mary as the Mother of Sion. Gaudentius was the only one who taught that Mary was the mother of the Lord, like the patriarchs and prophets.379

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377 See Ambrose, 63 for Mary's incentive to virginity; Paulinus, 75 for Mary as a consecrated virgin; Hilary, 54 regarding virginity *in-partu*; Hilary, 55, Paulinus, 75-76, Augustine, 89-90, Gaudentius, 105, and Quodvultdeus, 114-115 for Mary's virginal conception and birth; Gaudentius, 103, for Mary's virginity as the height of reverence; and Ambrose, 63 regarding arguments; Ambrose 63, Gaudentius, 105, and Quodvultdeus, 115 for Mary's perpetual virginity; and Ambrose, 63 for Mary as model for virgins.

378 See Ambrose, 64 for fullness of grace and model; Quodvultdeus 115 regarding the grace from the Holy Spirit; Maximus, 69 for reference to holy and believing; and Gaudentius, 104 regarding holy virgin.

379 Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian wrote extensively about the Eve/Mary parallel, as did others who are not part of this study of the ecclesial writers who wrote in Latin. See previous discussion of this on page 37-39. See Ambrose, 63 and Gaudentius, 105 for reference to Mary/Eve; Augustine, 92 for David's seed; Quodvultdeus, 114-115.
**Mary and the Church:** Augustine recognized Mary's virginal womb as the bridal chamber where Christ became head of the Church; Quodvultdeus likened Mary to the Church, both virgins and mothers.\textsuperscript{380}
Chapter Four

The Early Middle Ages: Sixth through Eleventh Centuries

4.1 Introduction

Comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were included in the writings of the ecclesial authors in this period. Just as in the previous chapter, Mary’s presence and role at the wedding feast were associated with Jesus’ humanity and the “hour” of his death. Jesus would recognize his mother at the hour of his death, because she was the source of his humanity. He would not recognize her when he was about to manifest his divinity through a miracle at the Wedding Feast at Cana.

There were four Latin authors who included Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in their writings. They were: Gregory of Tours from Gaul, Pope Gregory I from Rome, the Venerable Bede and Alcuin from Northumbria, Northern England.\(^{381}\)

The numbers of authors during this period are few. Comments by Hilda Graef provide insights into the reason for this. "The later Latin Fathers added practically nothing to Mariology. The whole Christian West was constantly troubled by barbarian invasions; all the Church could do was to preserve the Catholic inheritance intact, especially against the Arian Goths and Vandals and against the Monophysites in Africa." And later, "During the

\(^{381}\) Caesarius of Arles wrote Sermons 167, 168, and 169 on the Wedding Feast at Cana. In Sermon 168, he made one reference to Mary, "The wine having run short, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine.'" However, he made no other comments about Mary or her role, just went on to discuss the wine. Caesarius of Arles, The Fathers of the Church (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 410. Hilda Graef wrote that the Spanish theologians, Leander of Seville (d. ca. 600), his brother Isidore (d. 636) and Ildefonsus of Toledo (d. 667) wrote about the Mother of God. Their main theme was Mary’s virginal motherhood. I found no works by them that referred to Mary in John 2:1-11. See Graef, History of Doctrine, 109-110.
tenth century, which was lacking in great theologians, Mariology made little progress in the West ..." The fifth through the eleventh centuries were not periods for theological reflection and writings, but of survival. There may have been other writers who wrote about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana and their work was lost.

4.2 The Latin Church in the Roman Empire

4.2.1 Challenges Faced by the Church and the Church's Allies

The sixth through the eleventh centuries were tumultuous and challenging to the people of the Roman Empire, as well as, to the imperial system that had sustained the daily activities of life, government, and the Church. The first assault came from the invasions by the Germanic tribes which started in the fourth century and continued through the sixth century. This was followed by the first rebuilding of the Christian world in the Carolingian renaissance, primarily under the reign of Charlemagne (768-814), in the eighth and ninth centuries. A disintegration of the Carolingian Empire followed when the unity of the Frankish Empire was divided after the death of Louis the Pious (814-840). His death resulted in multiple kingdoms with no imperial office. These multiple kingdoms appeared at the end of the ninth into the tenth century. A new stability was established by King Otto I, a German, who became Holy Roman Emperor (962-973). This Romano-Germanic empire was to last until 1806.

Another challenge came from those who practiced Arianism. The Germanic tribes were originally pagans. However, an Arian Christian and bishop, Ulfilas (c. 311-383), the son of a

382 Graef, *History*, 92, 158.

383 See Logan, *History of the Church*, for discussion of the invasions by the Germanic tribes, 14-20; Carolingian renaissance, 71-76; disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, 90 - 92; and King Otto I, 100-101.
Goth had become a missionary to his fellow Goths and many converted to Arian Christianity. Another Germanic tribe, the Franks, under Clovis, converted to Catholicism (c. 500). F. Donald Logan stated, Clovis was the "... embodiment of the synthesis of Roman, Germanic and Christian attributes, who, in a remarkable way, did much to shape the emerging medieval world." The Franks defeated the Arian Germans. The Merovingian king Clovis became the new Constantine.

Boniface of Crediton (c. 675-754), "the Apostle of Germany," founded the medieval German Church and worked with King Pepin III, (714-768) to reform the Frankish Church, which had become corrupt under Charles Martel (c. 690-741). Christopher Dawson described what Boniface accomplished, "In a series of councils held between 742 to 747, he restored the discipline of the Frankish Church and brought it into close relations with the Roman See."

Charles, the Great (c. 742-814) a Frankish King, was crowned Holy Roman Ruler by Pope Leo III in 800; this coronation completed the union between the Frankish monarchy and the Church, which had been started by Boniface and King Pepin. Dawson holds "For Charles regarded the Pope as his chaplain, and plainly tells Leo III that it is the King's business to govern and defend the Church and that it is the Pope's duty to pray for it." However in the division of labor, Charlemagne and Pope Leo together contributed significantly to the overall rebuilding of society and the Church. Charlemagne defended the Western empire and organized a good part of Western Europe into a

384 Logan, History of the Church, 14-16.

385 See Comby, Church History, 120.

386 Dawson, Making of Europe 191; see also 187-193.

387 Dawson, Making of Europe, 197.

388 See Logan, History of the Church, 71-80.
Frankish kingdom. He established monasteries and encouraged education by establishing schools, encouraging the work of monks in education, teaching other monks and clergy, copying manuscripts and books, and distributing books.

Charlemagne and Pope Hadrian I (772-795) issued the *Dionysio-Hadriana* Canon Law, which became the law for the regulation of secular and religious matters throughout the Roman Empire. They also changed the liturgical practices by providing one authentic Sacramentary, which included a supplement by Alcuin. Charlemagne encouraged the use of learned Latin that was not mixed with the vernacular Latin.\(^{389}\)

### 4.2.2 The Pope and the Church Respond

During the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire under the barbarian invasions, the Church was able to fill the vacuum. Bishops and pastors used their administrative skills to bring order out of chaos. They became secular governors and leaders of towns and regions; they had to resolve social problems. The clergy continued their pastoral obligations. They gave stability to society and gave hope to the people. Their service to neighbor took on a broader public dimension.

Before the fall of Rome, the Bishop of Rome had already gained recognition as the successor and representative of St. Peter; Rome was the Apostolic See. With the decline of the Roman Empire in the West, the Bishop of Rome became the representative of the Roman tradition.\(^{390}\) Gregory the Great (590-604) made a significant contribution to the Church and society during this period.

Gregory the Great (540-604) was a monk, diplomat, and scholar who assumed the papacy (590-604) at a time when there

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\(^{389}\) See Logan, *History of the Church* for *Dionysio-Hadriana*, 76; Sacramentaries, 79 and learned Latin, 200.

\(^{390}\) See Logan, *History of the Church*, 174 - 175.
was wide devastation from the wars between Justinian and the Ostrogoths. Rome and the Mediterranean basin were afflicted with the plague. There was flooding of the Tiber, which turned the area into a marshland. The Lombard duke threatened Rome. Gregory undertook to save Rome and Italy from all of the threats to its civil and religious life. This included dispatching troops to defend Rome, paying salaries out of the Church’s treasury, feeding the hungry Romans, negotiating peace with the Lombards, and relieving the suffering of the Italians in other ways. Gregory's authority extended into civil matters, which became the standard for other popes in the medieval period. Dawson writes, "But after the Lombard invasion and the age of St. Gregory, the actual authority of the imperial government in Italy was reduced to a shadow, and it was on the Pope that the responsibility fell for the safety of Rome and the feeding of its inhabitants." \(^{391}\)

### 4.2.3 Monasticism and Missionary Accomplishments

As the challenges from the barbarian attacks and settlements caused the priests and bishops to assume more socio-political roles, the monks stepped in to help keep Christianity alive. The monasteries took the place of the bishopric as centers of ecclesiastical life and organization. They became the rural centers of Christian life and learning.

Celtic monasticism remains an excellent example of this phenomenon. St. Patrick acquired his monastic roots from Lerins, the greatest monastic center of Western Europe in the fifth century. He brought monasticism to Ireland around 461. Within one hundred years, his efforts produced dozens of monasteries throughout England and the Continent. Each monastery became a place of learning, where Scripture, works of early Christian authors, and classical writings were studied. The monks practiced *lectio divina*, a meditative method for reading Scripture. They developed a pedagogy whereby Latin could be learned from books, the method was then applied to reading the Bible, liturgical, and

\(^{391}\) Dawson, *Making of Europe*, 175.
theological books. Manuscripts were copied and distributed throughout the Continent, along with their biblical and grammatical commentaries.\textsuperscript{392}

Benedict of Nursia, founder of the monastery of Monte Cassino in 520, was the first to organize a monastic institution around order and law. Each monastery had its own hierarchy, constitution, and organized economic life. They were like land owning corporations. They managed the land as part of the Benedictine rule, \textit{Ora et Labora.}

The expansion of Benedictine monasticism was promulgated by Pope Gregory I. Gregory sent Augustine (d. ca. 605) to Canterbury, England to establish religious organization and unification. Wilfred and Benedict Biscop established Benedictine monasticism in Northern England. They were the missionaries of religion and culture, giving rise to the new Anglican art. Dawson contends, "The appearance of the new Anglo-Saxon culture of the seventh century is perhaps the most important event between the age of Justinian and that of Charlemagne, for it reacted with profound effect on the whole of the continental development. In its origins it was equally indebted to the two forces that we have described - the Celtic monastic movement and the Roman Benedictine mission."\textsuperscript{393}

A reform to the Rule of Benedict was instituted by William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, at Cluny in France in 910. This reform included more of an emphasis on communal prayer and an expansion of liturgy. Also, the monastery would be governed by its own elected abbot and he would report directly to the pope. This removed them from the corruption that occurred with some church officials and secular leaders. Logan holds that, "Cluny by the end of the tenth century had become the single most powerful

\textsuperscript{392} See Logan, \textit{History of the Church}, 26-27.

\textsuperscript{393} Dawson, \textit{Making of Europe}, 185.
spiritual force in Western Europe." This model for Benedictine monasticism spread to over one thousand monasteries by the middle of the twelfth century.

In 1098 there was a second reform to the Rule of Benedict instituted by a small group of Benedictine monks living in Burgundy. They moved into the Citeaux Valley near Dijon and became known as the Cistercian Order. Their goal was to live a more balanced life between solitude and community, prayer and labor. They avoided political and social relationships and lived simply on their land. This form of monasticism developed significantly in the twelfth century under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Monastic literature began to develop during this period, with sermons being the most common form. Biblical commentaries were practical and moral in nature. They were more like exhortations than explanation and directed to the practice of the Christian life. Jean Leclercq described the milieu of the monastery within which the monks wrote as "The Literature of Silence." They wrote in silence, resulting in work that was more highly fashioned and like written rhetoric. The sermons were for private or public reading and not delivered. Leclercq contends that monastic literary genres were immutable from the eighth to the twelfth century.

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4.2.4 Ecumenical Councils and a General Overview of Marian Doctrine During the Early Middle Ages

During the sixth through the eleventh centuries there were two ecumenical councils and one non-ecumenical council. These councils confirmed earlier councils, by so doing, they revealed truths about the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Second General Council of Constantinople (553) was convened at the instigation of Emperor Justinian. It condemned the Nestorian heresy and affirmed the formulations of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.397 This council stated,

If anyone says that the glorious holy Mary, ever virgin, is not the Mother of God in the true sense but only by an abuse of language, or that she is so by relation, meaning that a mere man was born from her and not God the Word made flesh in her, though, according to those who hold this, the birth of this man can be attributed to God the Word in so far as he was the man at his birth; and if he makes the slanderous assertion that it was in this blasphemous sense thought out by Theodore that the Holy Council of Chalcedon called the virgin "Mother of God;" or if anyone calls her mother of the man or mother of Christ as though Christ were not God, but does not confess that she is Mother of God in the true and proper sense since God the Word, begotten from the Father before the ages, became incarnate from her in the latter days, and this is the pious sense in which the holy Council of Chalcedon confessed her to be the Mother of God, anathema sit.398

The Lateran Council (649) was convened by Pope Martin I and was not an ecumenical council. While it was held to condemn two Christological heresies Monoenergism and Monothelitism,399

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397 See Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 231-234.


399 Monoenergism and Monothelitism were Christological heresies: Monoenergism meant that Christ had only one divine energy or action; Monothelitism meant that Christ had only one divine will. See Richard McBrien, "Monenergism (this includes
it also confirmed two Marian dogmas: Divine Maternity and perpetual virginity, stating,

If anyone does not, according to the holy Fathers, confess truly and properly that the holy Mary, ever virgin and immaculate, is Mother of God, since in this latter age she conceived in true reality without human seed from the Holy Spirit, God the Word himself, who before the ages was born of God the Father, and gave birth to him without corruption, her virginity remaining equally inviolate after the birth, let him be condemned. 400

The Third General Council of Constantinople (680-681) was convoked by Emperor Constantine IV with the full consent of Pope Agatho. This Council was an ecumenical council and proclaimed that Christ has two natural wills and two natural actions, without division, without change, without separation. The human will is compliant and submits to his divine and almighty will. 401 This was the final condemnation of Monothelitism (680-681). This council was entirely Christological; however it confirmed that Jesus was fully human, meaning that he was born of the Virgin Mary as a true human being. 402


400 See Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 240.

401 See Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 246.

402 The last two ecumenical councils in this period are as follows. The Second General Council of Nicaea: Definition on Sacred Images, 787, was convoked by Empress Irene, who was actively assisted by Pope Hadrian I; it condemned iconoclasm and it distinguished between veneration of saints and worship of God. This was the last council recognized by both the Latin and Greek Church. The Fourth Council of Constantinople, 869 - 870, was convoked by Emperor Basil I and supported by Pope Hadrian II; it upheld the Roman Synod’s condemnation of Photius. This council was not recognized by the Greek speaking Church. See “The Second General Council of Nicaea,” Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 548-549; Richard McBrien, "Ecumenical Councils," The
4.2.5 The Great Schism

In 1054 there was a schism between the Greek and Latin Churches. There had been varying differences through the preceding years, but a critical incident occurred when Cardinal Humbert, papal legate for Pope Leo IX, placed a bull deposing and excommunicating the patriarch Michael Cerularius on the altar of Santa Sophia's Church in Constantinople. Whereupon Michael called a synod and condemned the action of the pope's representative and claimed that he had authority of the Byzantine Church. Subsequent to that, several unsuccessful attempts have been made to accomplish a reunification.

4.2.6 Church Life

The rites for the sacraments of Baptism and Penance did not change, but how they were practiced did change. Baptism, once postponed until extreme old age or threat of death, was encouraged as early as infancy. Penance, allowed once in a lifetime and carrying a very severe penance, ended up not being practiced by the sixth century. This practice changed through the influence of the Celtic and English missionaries, who introduced penitential manuals to the Continent. The manuals were used as guidelines for appropriate penances and became references for the clergy for centuries. After the individual confessed, the priest gave him absolution and imposed the recommended penance.

Liturgy was considered an act of worship and a norm for Christian living. St. Prosper of Aquitaine (430) coined the axiom, *legem credendi lex statuat orandi*, "what is believed is celebrated..."
and that which is celebrated flows into the life of faith." 406 This became the standard for liturgy according to the Fathers. Thomas Thompson holds that, "The venerable maxim of Prosper of Aquitaine is today frequently stated: *Lex orandi, lex credendi, lex agendi.* The basis for this addition can be found in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* with its frequent references to actively participating and living the mystery proclaimed in liturgy." 407

The Gregorian reform of the liturgy was the work of Pope Gregory I and represented the first "official" reform which affected the Church. Other reforms followed under Pope Hadrian I and the Ottonians. 408 Gregorian chant became part of the liturgy and carried the name of Pope Gregory the Great, although he may not have had anything to do with it. During the eighth and ninth century, an old Roman chant was combined with the Gallican liturgy of the Carolingian reform to become the common local and regional chant. 409

The date for Easter was settled at the Synod of Whitby in 664. Representatives of the Roman Church and the Celtic Church met to resolve the question: when the Jewish feast of Passover fell on a Sunday should that Sunday be Easter or should Easter be celebrated on the next Sunday? The Irish held the first position and the Romans held the second. The Roman opinion was adopted. After the Synod, the English Church was to become organized

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408 Thompson, "Virgin Mary in Liturgy," Lecture.

according to the Roman territorial dioceses and not according to specific peoples.\textsuperscript{410}

The method of biblical exegesis during this period was essentially that which was practiced in the first five centuries. Mary A. Mareski holds that Augustine's \textit{On Christian Doctrine} remained a foundational document during these years. Scripture was the living word of God and was meant to enliven the Church. Therefore, to determine the full meaning of Scripture "it was only fully realized and understood as enacted by the believing community, ritually in the liturgy, personally in the lives of believers, and corporately in the historical reality of community en route to the final consummation."\textsuperscript{411} The Patristic method of fourfold interpretation was followed by the medieval exegetes.\textsuperscript{412}

There was a significant movement for ecclesiastical reform during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. It was given the name Gregorian Reform, because of the predominant leadership of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085). However, the reform was initiated and continued by several popes during this period. The reforms were many; the following are a few significant examples of their efforts. Leo IX (1049-1054) reformed the papal election process, defined the role of cardinals, appointed reformed clergy, and implemented the reforms. Nicholas II (1058-1061) continued the reform started by Leo. Gregory VII fought for freedom for Church authority to appoint religious offices and to end lay investiture. Urban II (1088-1099) continued the reformation, especially eliminating the practice of lay investiture. The Concordant of Worms (1122) formalized the end to lay investitures, assuring that ecclesiastical elections would be free, canonical, and come from a spiritual authority.\textsuperscript{413} Laws and treatises were formalized and

\textsuperscript{410}See Logan, \textit{History of the Church}, 57-58.

\textsuperscript{411}Mareski, "Early Medieval," \textit{History}, 87.

\textsuperscript{412}Mareski, "Early Medieval," \textit{History}, 92.

\textsuperscript{413}For a more thorough review of the Gregorian reform, see William J. Dohar, "Gregorian reform," \textit{The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism} (San Francisco,
produced in Gratian's *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* (the *Decretum*) around 1140. This became the standard canon law textbook until 1917.414

**St. Gregory of Tours (538-594)**

4.3 Life and Teaching of Gregory

Georgius Florentius was born at Clermont-Ferrand in Arverna to Florentius and Armentaria, prominent Gallo-Roman parents. He was later called Gregory. His mother and father came from very religious families and both were related to bishops. Gregory's father died when he was eight years of age and two of his uncles, both bishops, assumed the responsibility for tutoring him. In 563, he was ordained to the deaconate by Bishop Cautinus. In 573, Bishop Egidius of Reims consecrated him bishop of Tours. King Sigebert of Austrasia approved his consecration. Gregory served in this capacity for twenty-one years.415

As bishop, Gregory attended Episcopal Synods at Paris in 577, at Berney in 580, and at Poitiers in 590. Henry G. J. Beck wrote, "In his diocese, Gregory put an end to murderous feuds, obtained relief from excessive taxation, rebuilt the Tours cathedral, and blessed many churches."416

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Around 591, Gregory wrote in his *History of the Franks*, "I have written ten books of history, seven of Miracles, and one on the Lives of the Fathers. I have composed one book of commentaries on the Psalms; I have also written one book on the Offices of the Church." The importance of Gregory's works was expressed by Beck, "Without the bishop of Tours, our knowledge of the sixth-century Gaul would be incalculably poorer. In the large measure, our insight into the history, the geography, the language, and the religion of the period depends on him." Gregory died in 594 at the St. Martin Monastery in Tours.

4.3.1 Mary as "Woman," in *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Francorum*, History of the Franks

Gregory's *History of the Franks* had great value from the time it was written, however it is important to note that it was not written primarily as an objective representation of history as it occurred, but as a teaching tool. He organized historical events around spiritual themes, to explain the existence of good and evil and to identify those who follow God's ways and those who do not; those pleasing to God or those who were not. Gregory considered himself, as bishop, to be the ideological leader of Christian society; he attempted to "explain history through the action of God in this world." Gregory's methodology for writing history was consistent with that of other medieval exegetes. "History is always salvation history, divinely initiated and providentially guided with

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419 See Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century* (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 105, 36-38, 89. Heinzelmann agrees with Karl Ferdinand Werner, who holds that Gregory followed Paulus Orosius in his method of writing a history of the Church. Orosius' method is a Christian branch of historiography identified as *historia*. This method of interpretation was supported by the hierarchy of the Church and was very popular during the middle ages, 105.
an eternal telos (ultimate purpose) in heaven."\(^{420}\) The exegetes discerned the divine plan for the salvation of humanity that was revealed by historical events and organized their material accordingly.

Book Eight in the *History of the Franks* covered the years 585 to 586. In it there was reference to a Council held in Mâcon. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* states that it was convoked by King Guntram, King of Burgundy (561-592). Forty-three bishops and representatives of twenty other bishops attended. During the proceedings they, "tried the bishops," "set obligations of paying tithes," "establish rights of bishops to interfere in the courts when widows and orphans are concerned," and "determined the relative precedence of clerics and laymen."\(^{421}\)

In chapter twenty, Gregory reported information on some of the above proceedings and added an account of a proceeding that included a reference to John 2:4, which was to clarify that the biblical meaning of "man" included "woman."

At the council there was a certain bishop who defended the opinion that women could not be included under the general description "man;" but he accepted the reasoning of his brethren, and said no more. Their arguments were as follows: The holy book of the Old Testament teaches that in the beginning, when God created man, He created them male and female, and called their name Adam (Gen. 5:2), which, being interpreted, means earthly man; even so He called the woman Eve; of both He used the word "man." *And the Lord Jesus Christ is therefore called Son of man, because He was the Virgin's son, which is to say, the son of a woman. To her He said, when He was about to change the water into wine: "Woman, what have I to do

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\(^{420}\) Mayeski, "Early Medieval" *History*, 93.

with thee?" (John 2:4) and that which follows.\textsuperscript{422}
(Translated by O.M. Dalton.)\textsuperscript{423}

4.3.2 Commentary

Gregory's statements provide the history of an event and an interpretation that included pertinent quotations from Scripture. It was a straightforward accounting of the proceeding: the bishop made a statement and defended his opinion, he listened to the arguments expressed by other bishops, and then the bishop accepted their opinion.

Consistent with Patristic exegesis, the bishops considered the Old Testament and the New Testament as the inspired word of God; both reveal something about God and his ways. The bishops accepted the authority of the "Holy Book" and referred to it for guidance on how to determine whether or not women were included in the general description of "man."

The references to Scripture contain a literal interpretation of the text. Gregory quotes John 2:4 verbatim. The bishops' analysis began with the beginning of creation, emphasizing that this was what God always meant by "man." "...when God created man, He created them male and female, and called their name Adam, being interpreted, means earthly man." Going on the bishops reasoned that this was so, even when God "called the woman Eve" and "of both He used the word 'man.'"

\begin{footnotesize}
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\textsuperscript{422} "Extetit enim in hac synodo quidam ex episcopis, qui dicebat, mulierem hominem non posse vocitare. Sed tamen ab episcopis ratione accepta quievit; eo quod sacer Veteris Testamenti liber edoceat, quod in principio, Deo hominem creante, ait: Masculum et feminam creavit eos: vocavitque nomen eorum Adam, quod est, homo terrenus, sic utique vocans mulierem, ceu virum; utrumque enim hominem dixit. Sed et dominus Iesus Christus ob hoc vocitatur filius hominis, quod sit filius virginis, id est mulieris. Ad quam, cum aquas in vina transferre pararet, ait: Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? et reliqua." Georgii Florentii Gregorii, HEF 8, 182.

\textsuperscript{423} Gregory of Tours, History, 345.
\end{footnotesize}
The New Testament was referenced to interpret and validate the bishops' interpretation of the Old Testament passage they had cited. And Jesus was the ultimate authority on the meaning of Scripture. The bishops supported their argument by stating, "And the Lord Jesus Christ is therefore called Son of man, because He was the Virgin's son, which is to say, the son of a woman." The bishops restated their position, Jesus was called Son of man, and also, son of a woman; therefore, the term man was inclusive of women. The final proof for the bishops' argument was from John 2:4, when Jesus called his mother "Woman," even though it was from her that he was Son of man. The bishop "accepted the reasoning of the brethren and said no more;" women were to be included under the general description of "man."

From a Christological point of view, the bishops held that Jesus Christ was the Lord God, divine, and that he was born a man, human. Jesus was the son of the Virgin Mary. Mary was a virgin and the source of Jesus' humanity. Jesus' address to his mother as "Woman," emphasized, in his own words, that he was born of a woman, Mary. The bishops continued to profess the creed and uphold all of the conciliar proclamations of the Church.

**Pope St. Gregory I, The Great (540 - 604)**

4.4 Life and Teaching of Pope Gregory

Gregory was born into an aristocratic family in Rome. Two of his relatives were popes, Felix III (483-492) and Agapitus I (535-536). Gregory was the son of a Roman senator, Gordianus, and received a classical education. After his father's death in 574 or 575, he sold all of his possessions and founded six monasteries in Sicily. He also turned their family home on the Caelian Hill in Rome into the monastery of St. Andrew and entered it as a monk. However, Pope Pelagius II called Gregory out of the

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424 Vincenzo Recchia indicates that it is not certain whether the monks followed the Benedictine Rule. If they did not, the rule they followed was consonant with it.

monastery and into the active service of the Church. Pelagius ordained Gregory a deacon. Gregory identified himself as "servant of the servants of God," which was a title he later used as pope, and which has been adopted by popes ever since. One of the assignments that Pelagius gave to Gregory was to send him to Constantinople as an official representative (579-586).425

Upon his return, Gregory reentered monastic life at St. Andrew's Monastery in Rome. When Pope Pelagius died in 590, the Roman citizens elected Gregory pope, without imperial consent. Pope Gregory turned the Lateran Palace into a quasi monastery and assumed his responsibilities as the leader of the Latin Church.426 Gregory's pontificate was described earlier in this chapter in 4.2.2 "The Popes and the Church Respond."

Gregory wrote many sermons: forty on the Gospels, twenty-two on Ezekiel, and two on the Song of Songs. He composed the Dialogues, which included the life of St. Benedict, a commentary on Job, eight hundred fifty four letters, and Pastoral Care. This latter book became "a classic guide to the spiritual life and care of souls."427

Pope Gregory the Great died on March 12, 604. He was proclaimed a Doctor of the universal Church in 1298.

4.4.1 Mary as "Woman," in Registrvm X: Gregorivs Evlogio, Letter to Eulogius

Pope Gregory wrote a letter to Eulogius of Alexandria, a native of Antioch and Patriarch (580-607/8), who was remembered

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426 See Logan, History of the Church, 48-49.

427 See Logan, History of the Church, 50.
as "friend and correspondent of Gregory the Great." The letter was written in August, 600. Gregory's letter was one of respect for the Patriarch of Alexandria and of commendation for his teaching against the heretical sect, the Agnoitae. Eulogius was addressed by Gregory, as the "most sweet Holiness" whose "perception of the light of truth, both illuminate the same Church with the word of preaching, and mould it to a better way by the example of your manners." Gregory confirmed what Eulogius had written, stating "there was much for us to admire; but to displease us there was nothing" regarding your teaching against the Agnoite heretics. Gregory informed Eulogius that he was in "oneness of mind" with him, "though in body we are far disjoined, yet in soul we are indivisible."

The specific reference to John 2:4 was part of a commentary on Mark 13:32, "But of that day or hour, no one knows, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father." This wording seemed to support the Agnoite position, that Jesus was ignorant of some things. Gregory wrote to Eulogius and explained the literal and allegorical meaning as follows:

Thus only his Father is said to know it, because the Son is consubstantial with him and is able to know what the

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429 At this time, the patriarch of Alexandria was considered the vicar of Mark just as the bishop of Rome was considered the vicar of Peter. See John R.C. Martyn, notes, The Letters of Gregory the Great (Toronto, Ont.: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), 724. Hereafter: Martyn, Notes, Letters of Gregory.

430 The Agnoetae were connected with the Monophysite controversy in the sixth century. Themistius, Deacon of Alexandria, promoted the heretical teaching that Jesus had limited human knowledge. See Martyn, Notes, Letters of Gregory, 723.

angels do not know, due to his divine nature, which is above that of the angels. From this we can also understand more fully that the only-begotten Son, made flesh and a perfect man for our sakes, indeed knew in the nature of his humanity the day and the hour of the Judgment, and yet he did not know this because of the nature of his humanity. And so what he knew in it he did not know because of it, since God made man know the day and the hour of the Judgment through the power of his godhead.

Just as with the marriage at Cana also, when the Virgin Mother said that wine had run out, He replied: "Woman, what have I to do with you? My hour is not yet come" (Jn. 2:4). But the Lord of the angels was not subject to the hour, as he had made hours and times among all that he created. But because the Virgin Mother wanted him to perform a miracle when the wine ran out, he at once replied to her, "Woman, what have I to do with you?" as if to say more clearly "My ability to perform miracles comes from my Father, not from my Mother." For he who performed miracles due to the nature of his Father was able to die due to his Mother. Wherefore, even when placed on the cross, did he acknowledge his Mother as he died, and commend her to the disciple, saying: "Behold your mother" (Jn. 19:27). That is why he said: "Woman, what have I to do with you? My hour is not yet come." That is, "in the miracle that I do not have from your nature, I do not acknowledge you at all. But when the hour of death comes, I acknowledge you as my Mother, because it is from you that I have a means of death." Therefore, the knowledge that he lacked due to the nature of his humanity, in that he was created with the angels, this he denied having with the angels, because they are also created. And so He knows the day and hour of the Judgment as God and man, but for the reason, that God is man. But it is quite obvious that whoever is not a
Nestorian cannot in any way be an Agnoite.\textsuperscript{432} For if he confesses that the very wisdom of God is incarnate, what could he mean by saying that there is anything that the wisdom of God would not know? As it is written: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him." If all things were made by him, then he certainly made the day and the hour of the Judgment. Who, therefore, would be so foolish as to presume to say that the Word of the Father made what he did not know of? It is also written: "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands." If all things, certainly the "day and hour" were also given. Who then is stupid enough to say that the Son received into his hands what he did not know?\textsuperscript{433} (Translated by John R.C. Martyn.)\textsuperscript{434}

\textsuperscript{432} Nestorius held that if Jesus was one divine person, the human nature would be diminished in him. See O'Grady, \textit{Early Christian Heresies}, 102. This supported the Agnoite position that Jesus had incomplete knowledge.

\textsuperscript{433} "Vnde et pater solus dicitur scire, quia consubstantialis ei filius ex eius natura, quia est super angelos, habet, ut hoc sciat, quod angeli ignorant. Vnde et hoc intellegi subtilius potest quia incarnatus unigenitus unigenitus factusque pro nobis homo perfectus in natura quidem humanitatis nouit diem et horam iudicii, sed tamen hunc non ex natura humanitatis nouit. Quod ergo in ipsa nouit, non ex ipsa nouit, quia Deus homo factus diem et horam iudicii per delitatis suae potentiam nouit. Sicut et in nuptiis, cum mater urgo diceret unicum deesse, respondit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Non dum uenit hora mea' (Ioh. 2:4). Neque enim angelorum Dominus horae subiectus erat, qui inter cuncta quae creauit horas et tempora fecerat. Sed quia mater urgo, cum unum defuit, per eum miraculum fieri uolebat, statim ei respondit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Non dum uenit hora mea.' (Ioh. 2:4) Acsi aperte diceretur: Vnde fecere miraculum possum, hoc mihi ex patre, non ex matre est. Ex matre enim mori poterat, qui ex natura patris miracula faciebat. Vnde et in cruce positus eadem matrem mieriens recognouit, quam discipulo commendavit dicens: 'Ecce mater tua' (Ioh. 19:27). Ait ergo: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? Non dum uenit hora mea.' Quod est: In miraculo, quod ex tua natura non habeo, te minime recognosco. Cum hora mortis uenerit, cognosco matrem, quia, unde mori possum, hoc ex te habeo. Itaque scientiam, quam ex humanitatis natura non habuit, ex qua cum angelis creatura fuit, hanc se cum angelis, qui creatura sunt, habere denegavit. Diem ergo et horam iudicii scit Deus et homo, sed ideo, quia Deus est homo. Res autem ualde manifesta est, quia, quisquis Nestorius non est, Agnoita esse nullatenus potest. Nam qui ipsam Dei sapientiam fatetur incarnatam, qua mente uale dicere esse aliquid, quod Dei sapientia
4.4.2 Commentary

Gregory's inclusion of Mary, the Virgin Mother of Jesus, in this letter was for the Christological defense of Jesus as true God, consubstantial with the Father and true Man, born of Mary. He began with the literal meaning of the scriptural text and effectively associated it with doctrine, thereby defending the position that Jesus had the same knowledge as the Father. The literal words pointed to a deeper spiritual meaning. Gregory's argument was: the Father knows everything; when "his Father is said to know it, because the Son is consubstantial with him and is able to know what the angels do not know, due to his divine nature;" and Jesus, the only-begotten Son, "indeed knew in the nature of his humanity the day and the hour of the Judgment, and yet he did not know this because of the nature of his humanity."

Pope Gregory quoted a scriptural source other than Mark 13:32, to further explore Jesus' knowledge and the meaning of the word, "hour." Gregory explained Jesus' words to Mary in John 2:4, "Woman, what have I to do with you? My hour has not yet come" to simply mean that the hour had not come when he would recognize his Mother; indeed Jesus "was not subject to the hour, as he had made hours and times. But because the Virgin Mother wanted him to perform a miracle when the wine ran out, he at once replied to her, 'Woman, what have I to do with you?' as if to say more clearly 'My ability to perform miracles comes from my Father, not from my Mother.' For he who performed miracles due to the nature of his Father was able to die to his Mother." The


gregory, "Eulogius" Letters of Gregory, 732-733. The variation in the capitalization of the pronoun "he" follows the primary text as written.
confirmation of this interpretation of Jesus' words was given by Jesus himself from the Cross, "when the hour of death comes, I acknowledge you as my mother...." Jesus did have knowledge of the present hour and the future hour. He knew all of this through the power of his divine nature. Jesus also knows the day and the hour of judgment, "as God and man, but for this reason, that God is man." Pope Gregory and Patriarch Eulogius refuted the Nestorian and Agnoite heresies.

Although the primary purpose for the inclusion of John 2:4 in this letter was Christological, there are elements of Mariology present. Mary was not called by name, but recognized in relationship to her Son; she was the Virgin Mother. Another significant point is that Gregory, following Augustine and Quodvultdeus, clearly associated the humanity with which Jesus was able to die, as originating from his mother. This was implicitly soteriological, though not stated explicitly.

The quotation of John 2:4 was consistent with the Vulgate translation. Gregory did interpret Mary's words to Jesus "They have not wine" (John 2:3) to mean that she "wished a miracle to be done by Him," which was similar to Augustine's sermon, Tractate 8. This exchange between mother and Son suggests that Mary had influence over her Divine Son and that he complied with her wishes even though she was not the source of his divinity.

St. Bede, the Venerable (673 - 735)

4.5 Life and Teaching of Bede

Bede was born around 673 in a remote area of Northumbria in the northernmost province of the Roman Empire. It had been seventy-five years since Pope Gregory sent St. Augustine of

435 The association of John 2:4 with John 19:26-27 was similar to Augustine and Quodvultdeus. Other followers of Augustine's thought will be noted as they occur and in the chapter summary.

436 Augustine, "Tractate 8", Church Fathers, #6.
Canterbury to Kent to convert the English; and fifty years since Bishop Paulinus had converted Northumbria to Christianity. He was born in the territory of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul which was at Wearmouth and Jarrow. At the age of seven, his kinsmen took him to the monastery to be educated by Abbot Biscop and Abbot Ceolfrith. Bede was ordained a deacon at the age of nineteen and a priest at thirty. Bede's "early studies were directed to the eventual goal of maturely understanding, contemplating, and correctly interpreting the word of God in the Bible." Bede described his life in the following way, "I have spent my entire life in the monastery, applying myself entirely to the study of Scriptures; and amid the observance of the discipline of the Rule and the daily tasks of singing in the church, it has always been my delight to learn or to teach or to write. *Discere, docere, scribere.*" Bede shared in the enthusiasm of the newly converted Anglo-Saxon for the Latin culture and Roman order. The large library of books, collected by Abbots Biscop and Ceolfrith, provided ample opportunities for Bede. He was able to master Latin from studying late antiquity grammar texts, classical, and post classical authors. His works were written in beautiful Latin, which provided a permanent collection of fine Latin prose for posterity.

Bede's writings fall into eight categories: biblical commentaries, educational works, homilies, hagiography,
martyrology, poems, letters, and histories. He is most well known for a historical book entitled, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. The biblical commentaries consisted of thirteen writings on the Old Testament and six writings on the New Testament. Bede composed fifty homilies and ordered them according to the liturgical calendar. These were copied and widely used. George Hardin Brown wrote, "For Bede, preaching that teaches the meaning of Scripture, correct theological understanding, and moral rectitude has a special, even sacramental, significance. Preachers are the successors of the prophets and apostles. In his view, preaching is the function not only of the priest but of all those rightly instructed in the faith."

Bede died on the eve of the feast of the Ascension in 735. Bede, the Venerable, was proclaimed a Doctor of the universal Church on November 13, 1899, by Pope Leo XIII. Benedicta Ward commented, "[Bede] The first and only Englishman to be acclaimed as *doctor ecclesiae*, Bede was now counted among the Fathers he had so reverenced and followed." Brown stated, "Bede stands an eminence on the landscape of the eighth century; there is no other writer comparable. Gregory of Tours in the sixth century and Isidore of Seville and Aldhelm in the seventh century, and Alcuin of Tours followed at the end of the eighth century, but as a scholar Bede is supreme."

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443 See Ward, *Bede*, 144-145.

444 Bede's homilies can be found in *Beda, Opera homiletica, Corpus Christianorum, Series Lantinorum*, 1 to 378; and in a two volume series, *Homilies on the Gospels* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1991).


446 Ward, *Bede*, 134.

4.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Homelia XIV*, Homily 14

Bede's homilies on the Gospels were probably written late in his career and were most likely assembled between 730 and 735. Bede's homilies were preached at Mass or read to his monastic community or may have been intended for private devotional reading. "Bede's main concern is with the spiritual meaning of the gospel stories, their meaning for the spiritual life of the monk." Homily 14 on the Gospels was to be delivered after the Epiphany.

Bede interpreted Jesus' presence at the marriage as a confirmation of the sacrament of marriage and a confirmation of the faith of right believers. These right believers were contrasted with those who follow the heretical teachings of Tatian, Marcion, and the rest of those who disparaged marriage. Bede took the opportunity to differentiate the merits attached with the various states in life. "The perfection of virginity is best" because the Lord chose to be "born from the inviolate womb of the virgin Mary." The "continence of the widow is better" and "conjugal chastity is good."

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Moving from the literal to the "more profound gladness in the heavenly figural meanings," Bede answered the questions: who was Jesus, why did he come, to whom did he come and when. Jesus was the Son of God, who was the Bridegroom predicted by the Psalmist, the Savior promised to the Patriarchs and the One to bring hope to the saints of the Old and New Testaments. Christ came to the wedding as the Bridegroom to take the Church as his Bride. The friends of the bridegroom or of the marriage are each and every one of his faithful. Bede explained, "Thus it was not by chance, but for the sake of a certain mystical meaning, that he came to a marriage celebrated on earth in the customary fleshly way, since he descended from heaven to earth in order to connect the Church to himself in spiritual love." At this point, Bede recognized the role Mary performed relative to the origin of the Church, "His nuptial chamber was the womb of his incorrupt mother, where God was conjoined with human nature, and from there he came forth like a bridegroom to join the Church to himself."

Christ came to the first marriage place in Judea and then the same marriage vows reached to the ends of the earth when the Gentiles were called to faith. Bede interpreted the meaning of the "third day" to be in reference to the "third age," which was when the Lord and Savior appeared, born in the flesh for the redemption of the human race. This was the time when "the undiluted sweetness of legal meaning had gradually begun to 'run short' of its former virtue because of its fleshly interpretation by the Pharisees. [Christ] ... changed the whole exterior appearance of the letter of the law to the gospel virtue of heavenly grace - which is [the

452 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.
453 See Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.
454 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.
455 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.
meaning of] his having made wine from water." Bede explained further, Jesus, the Lord, "had not come to cancel and repudiate the law and the prophets, but to fulfill them, nor to do and to teach other things through the grace of the gospel than what the law and prophets of Scripture had indicated he would do and teach." Continuing in Homily 14, Bede explained the meaning of John 2:4 for his community,

But first let us strive to search out the meaning of what Jesus' mother said to him when the wine ran short, "They have no wine," [and of what] he answered, "What is that to me and you, woman? My hour has not yet come." He would not dishonor his mother, since he orders us to honor our father and mother; and he would not deny that she was his mother, since he did not disdain to adopt flesh from her virginal flesh, as the Apostle also bears witness when he says, "Who was made to him of David's seed according to the flesh (Rm 1:3). How [could he be] of David's seed according to the flesh, if [he were not] from the body of Mary according to the flesh, since she descended from the seed of David? But when he was to work a miracle he said, "What is that to me and you, woman?" and by this he signified that he had received no beginning of the divinity by which the miracle would be executed from his mother in time, but had always possessed eternity from the Father. "What is that," he says, "to me and you? My hour has not yet come." There is nothing in common between the divinity which I have always possessed from the Father, and your flesh, from which I adopted flesh. My hour has not yet come when, by dying, I may demonstrate the weakness of the humanity taken from you; first must I disclose the power of [my] eternal deity by exercising [my] powers. The hour came, however, to show what was in common between him and

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458 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 139.
his mother when, as he was about to die on the cross, he took care to commend her, a virgin, to the virgin disciple (Jn 19:26-27). When he was enduring the weakness of the flesh, he dutifully acknowledged his mother, from whom he had received it, and commended her to the disciple whom he especially loved; when he was about to do divine things he pretended not to acknowledge her, because he recognized that she was not the source of his divine nativity.\(^{459}\) (Translated by Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst.)\(^{460}\)

4.5.2 Commentary

Bede analyzed the gospel verse by verse. In a literal sense Jesus was invited and went to the marriage, while the symbolic meaning of his attendance was the affirmation of the heavenly sacrament of marriage. At the Wedding Feast, Bede analyzed the literal meaning of Jesus' words and utilizing a discursive method,

\(^{459}\) Sed primo studeamus indagare quid sit cum deficiente uino diceret mater Iesu ad eum: 'Vinum non habent.' Respondit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum uenit hora mea.' Neque enim matrem suam inhonoraret qui nos iubet honorare patrem et matrem aut eam sibi esse matrem negaret ex cuius carne uirginea carnem suscipere non dispexit etiam apostolo testante qui ait: 'Qui factus est ei ex semine Dauid secundum carnem' (Rom. i,3). Quomodo enim ex semine Dauid secundum carnem, si non ex corpore Mariae secundum carnem quae ex semine Dauid descendit? Sed in eo quod miraculum facturus ait, 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' significat se diuinitatis qua miraculum erat patrandum non principium temporaliter accepisse de matre sed aeternitatem semper habuisse de patre. 'Quid mihi,' inquit, 'et tibi est, mulier? nondum uenit hora mea.' Cui diuinitati quam ex patre semper habui cum tua carne ex qua carnem suscepi commune non est, nondum uenit hora mea ut fragilitatem sumptae ex te humanitatis moriendo demonstrem; prius est ut potentiam aeternae deitatis uirtutes operando patiencem. Venit autem hora ut quid sibi et matri commune esset ostenderet cum eam moriturus in cruce discipulo uirgini uirginem commendare curavit (Ioh. xix). Carnis namque in fima perpensis matrem de qua haec suscepti pie cognitam ei quem maxime diligebat discipulo commendavit quam diuina facturus quasi incognitam se nosse dissimulat quia hanc diuinae natiuitatis auctorem non esse cognoscit. " Bedae, "Homelia, XIV,"Opera Homiletica (Tvrnholti, Belg.: Brepols, MCMLV), 97.

\(^{460}\) Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 137.
he suggested various meanings of these words, refuting some and affirming the correct interpretation: Mary was the mother of Jesus, for he adopted flesh from her virginal flesh. Bede then proceeded to disclose the symbolic meaning of "hour." He effectively explained that Jesus intended to clarify that "when he was about to do divine things, he pretended not to acknowledge his mother." However, the "hour" was the time when he was enduring the weakness of the flesh, and he dutifully acknowledged his mother; his hour on the Cross.\(^{461}\) This terminology was found in the writings of Augustine and others.

Bede followed the Patristic tradition and explained how Jesus was the interpretive key for both the Old and New Testaments. Christ was the Bridegroom referred to by the Psalmist, the Savior promised to the Patriarchs, and the Resurrected One awaited in hope by the saints. Christ came to fulfill the law and prophets and to teach what the law and prophets of Scripture had indicated he would teach.\(^{462}\) Bede utilized Sacred Scripture to explain and validate the meaning of other passages from Scripture. Paul's Letter to the Romans was referenced as evidence that Jesus was born of David's seed according to the flesh.\(^{463}\)

**Alcuin (c. 735-804)**

**4.6 Life and Teaching of Alcuin**

Alcuin was born in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria and was educated in the Cathedral School at York. Bishop Ælberht, master of the school, became his teacher, patron, and friend. Together they traveled to Rome and Francia in search of books. Sometime during

\(^{461}\) See Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede* for references to the Mother of Jesus, adopted flesh, the hour of the Cross, 137.

\(^{462}\) See Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede* for references to the Psalmist and Patriarchs, 135.

\(^{463}\) See Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede* for reference to Paul's Letter, 137.
this period, Alcuin became a deacon. In 767, Alcuin followed Ælberht as master of the school in York.

A key turning point in Alcuin's life came when he met Charlemagne at Parma, possibly on March 15, 781, and Charlemagne invited him to join his court. Alcuin was expected to assist in the reforms of the education and culture of the Frankish empire. Eventually, Alcuin and Charlemagne settled in Aachen in 794 and Alcuin began his successful role as master of the Palace School. Part of his responsibilities were to revive the Palace School, organize an educational system, provide specific methods to educate the clergy, establish a uniform form of worship according to the Roman liturgy, and to correct transcription errors in the Bible and other manuscripts. Alcuin's revisions of the Gregorian Sacramentary included the insertion of the two votive Masses of the Blessed Virgin to Saturday.

Alcuin established and reorganized monasteries for Charlemagne. Later in life, Alcuin was allowed to spend time at the monasteries at St. Lupus at Troyes and at St. Peter at Ferrières, for which he was given charge. In 796, Charlemagne made Alcuin the abbot of St. Martin of Tours. He spent the last years of his life at St. Martin's and died on May 19, 804.

Gambero holds that "Alcuin's literary output, while very diversified, shows that he did not possess any particularly original teaching. His outstanding merit lay in being a formidable sower of

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ideas and a tireless leader in educational organization.”

He integrated material from the Patristic Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors. On the Old Testament, he had books on Genesis, the Book of Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Proverbs. His primary work on the New Testament was the Gospel of John, which was thought to be completed in Tours sometime between 769 to 804. Alcuin had commentaries on Paul's letters to Titus, Philemon and Ephesians. He also composed moral treatises: De Virtutibus et Vitiis, De Animae Ratione, and Pueri Sancti Martini. Alcuin wrote three polemical documents against the Adoptionists: Liber Albini contra haeresin Felicis, the Libri vii adversus Felicem, and the Libri iv adversus Elipandum. Alcuin did write beautiful poems in which his personal devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary was expressed.

4.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Commentariorum in Joannem, Commentary on John

As noted above, Alcuin was a defender of the Christological and Mariological dogmas against the Adoptionists, who held that Christ had a dual sonship: one natural and one adopted. In his divine nature, he was God, Son of God, consubstantial with the Father, and eternally begotten of the Father. In his human nature, he was the Son of Mary and adopted by God the Father through a process that began with his Baptism and culminated at the time of the Resurrection. The Adoptionists reasoned that this would explain some of the scriptural passages that imply that Christ was inferior to God. This idea of adoption would allow Christ to be on the same level as his followers. He

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467 Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 60.


469 See Gaskoin, Alcuin 135-144.

470 See Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 62-63. For Alcuin's "Poem on the Bishops, Kings, and Saints of the Church of York," see Godman, Alcuin.
would have the same ability to attain adoption like them; the Head of the Church would be like the members of the Body.\textsuperscript{471}

The Adoptionists' teaching, of course, would have repercussions on the role and person of the Virgin Mary. If Jesus were adopted, Mary would be the Mother of Christ and not Mother of God. The effect of this belief would be similar to Nestorianism; however C.J.B. Gaskoin holds that the Adoptionist's did not embrace the error of a double personality.\textsuperscript{472}

Jesus' words to his Mother at the Wedding Feast at Cana provided one of Alcuin's arguments against this heresy.\textsuperscript{473} Alcuin's defense included references to the authority of Sacred Scripture, St. Augustine, decrees from Councils, and the teaching of the Church.\textsuperscript{474}

In the Commentary on John, Alcuin explained Jesus' true divinity and true humanity through Jesus' own words in John 2:4 and John 19:25 - 27:

\textit{He who orders us to honor father and mother would not dishonor his own Mother. Nor would he deny that she is his Mother, since he did not refuse to take flesh from her flesh. [...] But when Christ, just before he works a miracle, says: "O woman, what have you to do with me?" He means that the principle of his divinity, by virtue of which he would work the miracle, is not something that he took from Mary in the world of time. To the contrary, eternal divinity is something he always had from his Father. [...]}

\textsuperscript{471} See Gaskoin, \textit{Alcuin}, 139-144.

\textsuperscript{472} See Gaskoin, \textit{Alcuin}, 140.

\textsuperscript{473} See Gambero, \textit{Mary in the Middle Ages}, 61-62.

\textsuperscript{474} See Gaskoin, \textit{Alcuin}, 145 for a more comprehensive review of Alcuin's arguments against the Adoptionist's, 144-157.
What is there in common between divinity, which I have always had from my Father, and your flesh, from which I took flesh? [...] I must first reveal the power of my eternal Godhead by performing works of power.

*But the hour will come for him to show what he had in common with his Mother. Then, when he is about to die on the Cross, he will entrust the Virgin to his virgin disciple.*

(Translated by Luigi Gambero.)

### 4.6.2 Commentary

Alcuin began his defense by explaining the relationship between Christ's humanity and divinity. As the human Son of Mary, "he would not dishonor his own Mother." However, as the Son of God and divine, he "orders us to honor mother and father;" which is the fourth commandment. God would not contradict himself.

Christ "would not deny that she is his Mother, since he did not refuse to take flesh from her flesh." Here again, Alcuin affirmed Christ's humanity in that Mary was his mother; however, in Christ's divinity, he actively and decisively took his flesh from her. This wording echoed the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius,

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475 "Neque enim matrem suam inhonoraret, qui nos jubet honorare patrem et matrem; aut eam sibi esse matrem negaret, ex cujus carne virgine carnem suscipere non despexit.[...] Sed in eo quod, miraculum facturus, ait: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier' significat se divinitatis, qua miraculum erat patrandum, non principium temporaliter accepsisse de matre, sed aeternitatem semper habuisse de Patre.[...] Quid divinitati, quam ex Patre semper habui, cum tua carne, ex qua carnem suscepi, commune est? [...] Prius est ut potentiam aeternae deitatis virtutes operando patefaciam. Veniet autem hora ut quod sibi et matri commune esset, ostenderet, cum eam moriturus in cruce discipulo virgini virginem commendare curavit." B. Flaci Albini Alcuini, "Commentariorum in Joannem." *PL* 100, 766-767.

476 Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 62. The variations on the capitalization of Mother are consistent with the texts.

477 This argumentation was similar to Augustine, *Tract 8*, #5.
"It was not that an ordinary man was born first of the holy Virgin, on whom afterwards the Word descended; what we say is that, being united with the flesh from the womb, [the Word] has undergone birth in the flesh, making the birth in the flesh his own."\textsuperscript{478}

Alcuin continued his argument and referred to Jesus' words to his mother in John 2:4. Alcuin explained what Jesus meant when he said, "O woman, what have you to do with me? [that] He was clarifying that the miracle that he was about to perform did not have to do with his mother, because "the principle of his divinity, by virtue of which he would work the miracle, is not something that he took from Mary in the world of time." Alcuin emphasized that Jesus had the ability to exert his divine will in choosing to be born a man and in taking flesh from his mother. Continuing on the theme of Jesus' divine will, Alcuin thought the Jesus decided that he "must first reveal the power of my eternal Godhead by performing works of power." However, "the hour will come for him to show what he has in common with his Mother [his humanity], "when he is about to die on the Cross." Jesus was the eternal Son of the Father, who chose to be born a man and took flesh from Mary. Mary is the true Mother of God.

Alcuin began his interpretation of the verses literally and then proceeded to the spiritual and allegorical meaning. He used Scripture to explain Scripture. His argumentation was consistent with the Councils that were held to the time of his writing.

\textbf{4.7 Summary of Chapter Four}

This period was quite different from the Patristic Period. The religious leaders during this time were challenged by barbarian invasions with subsequent disintegration of the Roman

\textsuperscript{478} Neuner and Dupuis, \textit{Christian Faith}, 221. This letter was approved by the Fathers at the General Council of Ephesus and confirmed at the General Council of Chalcedon.
Empire, plague, continuing threats to orthodoxy from heresies, and the need for social and ecclesial reform.

The strength of monasticism, both spiritual and material, sustained the people and the Church during this period. The monasteries took the place of the bishopric as centers of ecclesiastical life and organization. They were the rural centers of Christian life and learning. Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory I, Bede, and Alcuin lived the monastic life.

The writings about Mary in John 2:1-5 that were found are in an historical document written by Gregory of Tours, a papal letter from Pope Gregory to the patriarch of Alexandria, and two commentaries on John's Gospel. Pope Gregory and Alcuin wrote against heretics, the Agnoite and the Adoptionists, respectively. Of significance, however, was the widespread distribution of what was written. Tours was a major city with connecting roads to other important cities and it was the residence of the bishop. Tours also had a large monastic complex and was a major site for pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Martin (316/317-397). Pope Gregory's many letters went to the Latin and Greek Churches. Bede's work was copied widely and distributed. Alcuin established many monasteries and also influenced the education in the Carolingian Empire.

4.8 Summary of the Marian Doctrine Found in the Writings of These Fathers

Like the Fathers before them, Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory, Bede, and Alcuin preached, wrote, and defended the decrees of the Councils: Nicaea, First and Second of Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Lateran. These writers continued the teaching handed down to them from the previous centuries: Mary, a perpetual virgin, is the Mother of God. This conviction was officially promulgated at the Council of Ephesus. J.N.D. Kelly holds that after Ephesus, "Mary's divine maternity
and perpetual virginity seem to have been accepted without question in East and West."

Like the Patristic theologians, Pope Gregory's Letter to Eulogius, and the commentaries by Bede and Alcuin were primarily Christological. Each writer began with a literal interpretation of Mary's presence and action at the Wedding Feast then explained the spiritual meaning beneath the words. Pope Gregory, Bede, and Alcuin interpreted John 2:4 and 19:25-27 similar to Augustine and Quodvultdeus: Christ's ability to perform miracles came from the Father and his ability to die came from his mother. The exception to this was Gregory of Tours, who explained Jesus' reference to his Mother as "woman" in a legal dispute, indicating that it was a generic term.

The reason given for Mary's informing Jesus of the lack of wine, according to Pope Gregory, was "the virgin Mother wanted him to perform a miracle." Bede and Alcuin simply quoted John 2:3, 4 and then proceeded to explain the Christological significance of those verses. There was no further information about Mary or her role.

However, like Ambrose and Gaudentius, Gregory of Tours focused on the word "Woman." He cited two scriptural references to justify the bishops' right to interfere in courts when widows and orphans were concerned. He held that the law protected men and that this included both men and women. In Genesis the term "man" referred to both male and female; and at the Wedding Feast, the

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479 Kelly, Doctrines, 498.


481 See Gregory of Tours, 139.

482 See Pope Gregory, 144, Bede, 152, and Alcuin 157 for the meaning of Mary's words in John 2:3.
Lord Jesus was known as Son of a woman and also called Son of Man. 483

Pope Gregory added another nuance to the meaning of the word "hour." He preached that Jesus was consubstantial with the Father and did know the day and hour of Judgment (Mark 13:32), against the Nestorian heresy. Jesus was referring to the hour of his death, when he spoke as he did to his mother. 484

**Mary's Virginity and Divine Maternity:** The Marian doctrine promulgated by these ecclesial writers flowed from Mary's relationship to her Divine Son. Gregory of Tours stated that Christ was the "Virgin's Son," and Mary was the Mother of the "Lord Jesus Christ." Pope Gregory wrote that Mary was the "Virgin Mother" of "the Wisdom of God," and "the only-begotten Son, made flesh and a perfect man." Bede recognized Mary's divine maternity in identifying her as "Mother of the Lord," "Mother of Jesus, the Son of God," and Mother of Jesus' flesh. Jesus adopted his "flesh from his Mother's virginal flesh." Alcuin wrote that Mary was Christ's Mother "in the world of time." 485

**Mary and the Church:** Bede held that the "third day" referred to the "third age," in which the Savior was born in the flesh for the redemption of the human race. Bede continued Augustine's teaching about Mary's role in the origin of the Church. "His nuptial chamber was the womb of the incorrupt mother, where God was conjoined with human nature, and from where he came forth like a bridegroom to join the Church to himself." 486

483 See Ambrose, 64-65, and Gaudentius, 105, and Gregory of Tours, 139 for "Woman."

484 See Pope Gregory, 144-145.

485 For references to Mary's Virginity and Divine Maternity see, Gregory of Tours, 139; Pope Gregory, 143-144; Bede, 152; and Alcuin, 157.

486 See Bede, 151 for third day; Augustine, 89 and Bede, 152 for Mary's virginal womb.
**Other:** Bede followed Augustine in believing Mary was of the seed of David and that Jesus' comment to his Mother in John 2: 4 was not to dishonor nor deny her. To his commentary on John 19:26, Bede added sentiment to Jesus' action toward his mother just before his death writing, "he took care to commend her" and "he dutifully acknowledged his mother." In this Bede recognized a relationship of caring between Jesus and his mother.

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487 See Augustine, 92 and Bede, 152 for David's seed; Augustine, 90 and Bede, 152 for dishonor; and Bede, 153 for sentiment.
Chapter Five

The Golden Age of Mary: Twelfth Century

5.1 Introduction

The Blessed Virgin Mary truly became the center of attention during this Marian century. She was the subject of many doctrinal and exegetical studies. At the same time, she was honored in liturgical worship and popular devotion. As Gambero stated, "Authors who touched on Marian themes are numerous, and many of them made a notable contribution to the development of an extraordinarily rich Marian teaching. This created a solid theological foundation for steadily increasing Marian piety...."488 The many sermons, prayers, treatises, and cathedrals are the continuing evidence of extensive dedication and devotion to the Mother of the Lord.

The seven authors that wrote about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana came from monastic settings and all were abbots of their communities: Rupert was a Benedictine in Liège and then Deutz, Germany; Geoffrey was a Benedictine in Angers and then Vendôme, France; Peter Abelard was an academic in Paris and then a Benedictine in Nantes, Brittany; Guerric was from Tournai, Belgium and then a Cistercian in Igny, France; Bernard was from Dijon and became a Cistercian in Clarivaux, France; Isaac was a Cistercian in Stella, France; Adam had been a Premonstratensian in Scotland and then became a Carthusian in England.

5.2 Prosperity and Growth in the Latin West and in the Church

The Golden Age of Mary came about during a time of economic growth in the West. Lands were cultivated and crops were abundant. Commerce flourished around the excess goods that

488 See Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 105.
were produced, leading to towns with work guilds for the merchant class and the artisan class. With prosperity, came time for intellectual and religious studies. Centers for learning continued in the monasteries and began to spread around cathedrals and other great churches.  

5.2.1 The Status of the Papacy

The peace and progress experienced by the common people and in monasteries were not shared by the papacy. Significant internal problems existed emanating from rivalry for the papal office. This rivalry resulted in two different schisms. The Second (1139) and Third (1179) Lateran Councils were held to resolve some of these issues. The latter council reformed the papal election process, requiring a two-thirds majority of cardinals for the election of a pope. This rule applies today. In addition to these internal problems, there were external problems related to the role of the emperor in Italy. Logan stated, "Uncertainty, turmoil, disruption, and even armed violence accompanied the process of resolving these questions, and there was little that was edifying in the process." Fortunately, there was interest in the Blessed Virgin Mary.

5.2.2 The Expansion of Monasticism

Benedictine monasteries flourished in two different organizational models: hundreds followed the Rule of Benedict as independent units; and others followed the Rule, but were organized under one abbot, following the Cluniac model. The Cistercian order, reformed from the Benedictine order in 1098, grew rapidly in this period, especially under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux. In all monasteries, the writings of the Fathers of the Church, especially Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* and

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Pope Gregory I's *Pastoral Rule*, were part of the standard books for learning.\(^{491}\)

New orders came into being. St. Norbert (d. 1134) formed the Premonstratensians, an order for the reform of the parish clergy. St. Romuald (d. 1027) lived as a hermit monk; his followers became known as the Camaldolese Order. Bruno founded the Carthusian Order, emphasizing solitude and silence in a community. The Humiliati, Beghards, and Beguines came into existence; they consisted of the laity who gathered to live in communities for lives of prayer and Christian service.\(^{492}\)

### 5.2.3 Biblical Exegesis

Biblical exegesis continued according to the four senses of Scripture. The theologians always began with the literal or historical level. If history were the point of reference, it was always salvation history. "Following Augustine, medieval exegetes were unanimous in their conviction that the extended sense [...] was the superior meaning, and determining it was the exegete's primary task. Through the use of the allegorical method, Scripture would become the basis of all the theological work and moral treatises of the Middle Ages and beyond."\(^{493}\)

The exception to this practice of referring to the four senses of Scripture originated from Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) and Andrew of St. Victor (d. 1175), who were Canons Regular from their Abbey in Paris. For example, Andrew limited himself to the literal sense, finding the other three senses of little assistance in understanding the meaning of Biblical words. Andrew studied Jewish exegetes and compared the Vulgate with the Hebrew

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\(^{493}\) Mayeski, "Early Medieval," *History*, 93.
Scriptures. In so doing, the Victorines would find reason to criticize the Church Fathers. 494

5.2.4 A General Overview of Marian Doctrine and Devotion During the Twelfth Century

The writings about the Virgin Mary continued to be based primarily on the study of Sacred Scripture and the teaching of the Church Fathers. The monastic practice of *lection divina* produced deeper and richer understanding of the traditional references to the Virgin Mary in the Old and New Testaments. These traditional Marian themes were developed and enriched especially through the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), renowned as the Marian Doctor. 495 In addition to the customary references to the Virgin Mary, the theologians introduced new Scriptural passages that seemed to relate to her, like the Song of Songs. 496

Another form of Marian study began during this early Scholastic Period. The development of Marian doctrine followed the early Scholastic Period methods for understanding Theology and Christology. 497 Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), the father of Scholasticism, applied his theological skills in writing about Mary, subsequently influencing other writers in the medieval period. Anselm united Marian doctrine and devotion by employing "a scholastic argumentation to work out the consequences of Mary's divine motherhood in a strict parallelism between it and the


496 See Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 106.

497 George W. Shea reminds that this was not a scientific Mariology like exists today, but was "fides quaerens intellectum." In this sense, it was a beginning to scientific Mariology. See George W. Shea, "Outline History of Mariology in the Middle Ages and Modern Times," *Mariology*, 286. Hereafter: Shea, "History of Mariology," *Mariology*. 168
fatherhood of God, which leads necessarily to her share in Christ's work of redemption ... and so to her being also the mother of men, whose prayers are as necessary to our salvation as the Incarnation itself." 498 George W. Shea holds that Anselm developed a basic Mariological principle, "that her divine Maternity is the very wellspring of Mary's dignity and prerogatives; from the divine Maternity Anselm infers Our Lady's purity, virginity, sanctity, and intercessory prayer." 499 Anselm wrote about Mary's purity, "It is right that the Virgin should shine with a purity greater than which one is not able to imagine, to whom God the Father was disposed to give his only Son, whom He loved as Himself, begotten equal from His heart, that He would naturally be the Son of God the Father and of the Virgin at the same time." 500 In 1120 Eadmer, Anselm's disciple, wrote the first treatise on the Immaculate Conception in which he argued that "Mary was preserved from the stain of sin by the explicit will of God who was obviously able to do this and wanted to do so. Thus if he willed it, he did it." 501

The study of other Marian themes followed Anselm's teaching about the basic Mariological principle of the divine Maternity of the Virgin Mary: Mary's Assumption body and soul into Heaven, Queenship, and spiritual motherhood. 502


499 Shea,"History of Mariology," Mariology, 287. Shea cited Father Eugene Burke's study on Anselm's work to support his statement. This principle continues to be foundational today.


502 See Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 107.
Devotion to the Virgin Mary gained new orientations, given a change in emphasis in the person of Christ. Meditation on the humanity of Christ and the events surrounding his birth and death, led exegetes to focus on the Virgin Mother's role in these mysteries and the associated joys and sorrows she experienced.\(^\text{503}\) A second devotion originated in the belief that Jesus was the Lord and Judge of all people and he required more time to judge and respond to the prayer request of an individual. Whereas if one prays to his Mother, Jesus considers only her merits and grants the individual's prayer. This view was common among the faithful and explained why prayers to the Virgin Mary sometimes exceeded prayers to Christ.\(^\text{504}\)

Many hymns were composed and prayers written in praise and invocation to the Virgin Mother of God. Bernard of Clarivaux was the prominent composer of hymns dedicated to her. Hundreds of statues of Mary remain in France alone, along with sculpted ornamentation on church entrances and walls. Pilgrimages to Marian Shrines were very popular in the twelfth century.\(^\text{505}\)

The most profound evidence of the faith and devotion to the Virgin Mother of God that exists today are the magnificent cathedrals built in her honor and the many monasteries that carry her name. Every cathedral in France was dedicated to Our Lady. The cathedral at Monreale in Sicily was dedicated to Mary by the Norman king William. Every Cistercian monastery carried a name of the Virgin Mary. In England almost half of the monasteries were also called by a Marian name, this was in addition to the Cistercian monasteries.\(^\text{506}\)

\(^{503}\) Thompson, "Virgin Mary in Liturgy," Lecture, 22.

\(^{504}\) See Graef, \textit{History of Doctrine}, 170.

\(^{505}\) See Logan, \textit{History of the Church}, 147-150; Gambero, \textit{Mary in the Middle Ages}, 105-106.

\(^{506}\) See Logan, \textit{History of the Church}, 147.
Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1129)

5.3 Life and Teaching of Rupert of Deutz

Rupertus Tuitiensis was born in or near Liège, Belgium. There is nothing known about his parents or why they placed him in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Lawrence. Rupert was around seven at the time and the monastery became his home for about forty years. He began as an oblate in the community and in 1091 he made a solemn profession as a monk. After a period of serious discernment, he was ordained a priest around December of 1108.  

Rupert's religious training followed the monastic tradition of praying and studying Sacred Scriptures through lectio divina. The academic training that he acquired from hours of study reflected the fine scholastic tradition that existed in Liège, which was considered to have the leading schools in the German Empire. St. Lawrence's abbey benefited from contact with the leading scholars and so did Rupert.  

Rupert began to write after his ordination. He was recognized as a theologian, biblical exegete, and a writer on liturgical topics. Scriptural commentaries constituted ninety percent of his completed works. Some of his works are: Commentary on the Divine Office, On the Blessed Trinity, Commentaries on the Gospels of St. John and St. Matthew, Commentary on the Apocalypse, On the Holy Spirit, Commentary on the Minor

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508 To provide some explanation for the significance of these schools, it is important to know that Liège was close to Aachen and in 1075 it was a leading city in northern Lotharingia. The Liège diocese included Charlemagne’s palace and chapel. Van Engen, Rupert, 16.

509 Van Engen, Rupert, 42-47.
Prophets, and *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.\textsuperscript{510} Rupert was one of the first, if not the first, to give a Marian interpretation to the Song of Songs.\textsuperscript{511} Luigi Gambero holds that Rupert may have been inspired to write this commentary, because many verses from this biblical poem were part of the liturgy for Marian feasts of his day.\textsuperscript{512}

Rupert's life was quite eventful for a monk. In 1092, he was exiled for supporting the Gregorian Church reform movement. Later, he defended the Benedictine's more aristocratic way of life against attacks of the new monks and canons. He was nearly condemned as a heretic, being accused of impanation.\textsuperscript{513} Rupert entered into a theological dispute with two leading French masters over the Predestinarian controversy.\textsuperscript{514}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{510} Rupert's other writings can be found in Van Engen, *Rupert*, xvii - xix.


\textsuperscript{512} See Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 124.

\textsuperscript{513} Impanation was a heresy that denoted the union of the body of Christ with the bread of the Eucharist. Van Engen explained Rupert's theory: "Just as the incarnation effected the union of Christ's human and divine natures, so also the eucharist is constituted of a union between the bread and wine and the whole person of Christ. In each case the Word is present and thus also the same sacrifice. And just as neither of Christ's natures was destroyed in the incarnation, so also the eucharistic union does not destroy the substance of the bread and wine evident to the five senses when it is conjoined to His crucified body and shed blood." Van Engen stated that Rupert was never formally judged a heretic and that Rupert wrote a letter containing his revised stand on Eucharistic theology. Van Engen, *Rupert*, 139, 179.

\textsuperscript{514} The predestinarian controversy dealt with several questions about the will of God, predestination, and the Incarnation, for example, why did God permit the fall of man, which he could have prevented, and make his own Incarnation necessary? Rupert answered that God's command was a test of Adam and Eve's faith, hope, and charity; if they had obeyed, they would have gained eternal life. Man sinned out of pride. God bore this; he in no sense caused it or willed it. Van Engen, *Rupert*, 182, 199. Also see Van Engen, *Rupert* for exile, 26-34; for defense of Benedictine's religious life, 299-334; for
\end{footnotesize}
Rupert was forced to leave St. Lawrence Monastery in April of 1119. However, Archbishop Frederick of Cologne and Abbot Cuno of Sieburg, both influential and in positions of authority, defended Rupert and found another place for him. Rupert was accepted in the Archdiocese of Cologne and began his new career. Archbishop Frederick named Rupert Abbot of St. Heribert Benedictine Monastery in Deutz upon the death of Abbot Markward on September 11, 1120. Abbot Rupert continued his customary biblical commentaries and writing on theological and contemplative topics. On March 4, 1129, Rupert died and is buried in Deutz.

Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Rupert of Deutz

Rupert wrote two commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast in John 2:1-5; the first referred to John 2:2-5 and the second was an allegory of John 2:1. The time for this composition is thought to be early in his career.

5.3.1 Commentaria in Evangelivm Iohannis, Commentary on the Gospel of John

"When the wine ran short, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine.'" The blessed Mother of God chooses to be the heavenly gate of favor for the banqueters, lest the devotion of those who had invited them be lacking in its fruit, and lest the importune scarcity sadden the current happiness of the present matter. For, in fact it is to be believed, that they had invited the Lord Jesus and his mother and disciples with a pious consideration, especially because they could not have been ignorant of their fame, the things which had already

the Eucharistic Controversy, 135-180; 181-220 for the Predestinarian Controversy, 181-220.

515 Van Engen, Rupert, 220, 229, 237.
begun to be said about Him. For Nathanael was from the same village and he, on the preceding day, had said, recognizing Him in faith: "Rabbi, you are the Son of God, You are the king of Israel" (John 1:49). Whence also the evangelist, when he had said: "A wedding was held in Cana of Galilee and the mother of Jesus was there," he distinctly adds: "Jesus and his disciples were invited to the wedding." In order that you might understand it already to be a fact, when the wedding was finished, already as the guests were assembled, that also by plan, Jesus was invited as a holy man or great prophet, whose beneficial blessing for the posterity of the spouses or for all the company of the banqueters would not be vainly hoped for. Therefore, the blessed Virgin, in order to repay the consideration of those who had invited them, recognizing the creator of all things, the power of God dwelling in her flesh, which she had born, says to her Son, to her God: "They have no wine."

"Jesus said to her: 'What is this to Me and to you, Woman? My hour has not come.' This is to be taken in two ways, and each way can rightly strengthen the sense of the believer. The first is, that we might judge those heretics who (as often it has been said) deny Christ to have existed before Mary, to have been defeated even by this sentence. 516 To a great extent, against those heretics,

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516 Cerinthus was a Gnostic-Ebionite heretic, whose doctrines were a mixture of Gnosticism, Judaism, and Ebionitism. Cerinthus distinguished between Jesus and Christ. Jesus was a holy man, who suffered and died. Christ or the Holy Spirit was sent to Jesus at the baptism and taught him the Unknown God. John Arendzen, "Cerinthus," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, N.Y.: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03539a.htm. Ebion was credited for organizing an ascetic sect of Jewish Christians. They denied Jesus' divinity; he was a human being who lived the Jewish law to perfection because of the descent of the Holy Spirit on him at the baptism. Richard McBrien, "Ebionites" The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 813, 447.
all the testimonies of the present Gospel are written. Obviously divinity, which was lying hidden in that temple of its humanity and now uncovering itself a bit for the working of miracles, truly could say this: "What is this to Me and to you, Woman?" [...] And so, with these two brief sentences, He expresses each nature of the one and the same person: the divine, when He says, "What is this to Me and to you, Woman?" and the human, when He immediately adds: "My hour has not yet come." Because He who, in regards to divinity is without time and without mother, in regards to humanity, deigns to have times and hours, not predetermined according to astrologers, but which He Himself set for Himself, for being born and dying. Still, in this, the error of Nestorius is to be avoided, who thinking two persons to be confessed in Christ, rejected blessed Mary from being called Theotocos, that is the Mother of God, saying that she was the mother not of God, but of man, consequently, that only the human nature, not the divine nature of Christ, had been taken up out of her. But beyond doubt, as the Catholic faith holds, she is to be believed and confessed as the mother of God and man, because truly she conceived the incorporeal Word of the Father with the hearing of the heart, by believing, and she bore from her flesh the One embodied from the virginal womb.

"What is this to Me and to you, Woman? My hour has not yet come." Not before here is the Lord Jesus found to have ignored His mother, rather, He was subject to them, as Luke the evangelist in a certain passage testifies about His parents, saying: "and He went down with them and came to Nazareth and was subject to them" (Luke 2:51). Now however, when He begins to perform miracles, He prepares Himself for this thing, so that a little later He might travel through cities and towns and announce the reign of God, He says to His own mother: "What is this to Me and to you, woman?" [...]

175
This certainly not even He Himself says according to the flesh (as above had been said) but according to divinity, which did not receive the beginning of existence from His mother, the work of which is to be completely preferred to the care of the flesh, and not by anyone according to the flesh is this to be said of father or of mother, but according to God, that is, where the work of God demands all things and even to despise one's own self. [...] Instead, therefore, in order that He might perfectly fulfill the law, He did not know His mother, with her honor still intact, because certainly there is no dishonor of father or of mother, as long as no reason but honor or work of God alone is preferred to them. Clearly attentive to that great and necessary work of salvation, Jesus declares Himself as not knowing His mother until, when that same work is finished. He says to her: "Woman, behold your son" (John 19:26), which certainly He was planning to say in the hour of His death. [...] Now keep Me in this wedding and rejoice that you enjoy My presence, but yet the time is imminent, so that more and more I will not stop, after having left you, to travel all about through cities and towns. With the present life, I will finish the work which I began. From this expedition, you will take Me back, returning wounded and dying. Now, meanwhile, so much the burden of heavenly matters loom, so that it is not possible to consider what I ought to do with your maternal concerns. For not even do I intend to do My will, but to carry through the obedience imposed by the Father. The necessity of His command will require so much obedience, such that I will show you in that hour to what extent I really am your son. And indeed, through this saying of these things, He did not respond to that which his mother had said, "They have not wine," but to that interior desire of hers, ringing loudly a vehement cry into His ears, because she was desiring to always see His face present. For He was wanting no less than she to gladden with His beneficence the table companions by whose
consideration He had been invited, particularly for the advantage of those whom He had known, when the miracle had been seen, were going to believe in Him. Rightly therefore it follows: "His mother said to the servers, 'Do whatever he tells you.'" Conscious of His will and not doubting about His power, with a fitting admonition, she prepares the minds of the servants, [...] she forewarns so that they, by the grace of the miracle, not be distrusting or even indignantly ridiculing, but obeying the command, they might make a way of manifesting the glory of God.517 (Translated by Rory Pitstick.)518

517 "ET DEFICIENTE VINO, DIXIT MATER IESV AD EVM: VINVM NON HABENT’ (Ioh. 2, 3) Optat beata Dei genitrix conuiuantibus fieri ianua caelestis beneficii, ne illorum deuotio, qui se inuitauerant, fructu suo careret, neuere hilaritatem praesenti rei importuna penuria contristaret. Credendum namque est, quod pia deuotione Dominum Iesum matremque eius ac discipulos inuitauerant, praesertim cum famam illorum, quae de ipso iam dixit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' (Ioh. 2, 4) Hoc duobus modis accipi et utroque modo sensum potest aedificare recte credentis. Primum est, ut haereticos illos, qui (ut saepè dictum est) Christum ante Mariam fuisse negant, hac quoque sententia percuti arbitremur. Contra quos maxime praesentis euangelii cuncta testimonia conscribuntur. Diuinitas quippe, quae in illo humanitatis suae templo latebat et nunc sese ad facienda miracula paululum exerebat, ueraciter hoc dicere poterat: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' [...] Itaque unius eiusdemque personae naturam utramque duabus his exprimt breuibus sententiis diuinam scilicet cum dicit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est mulier’ humanam cum protinus subiungit: 'Nondum venit hora.
178

mea.’ Nam qui secundum diuinitatem sine tempore et sine matre est, secundum
humanitatem tempora et horas, non fatales secundum mathematicos, sed quas ipse sibi
posuit, habere nascendo et mortiendo dignatus est. Cauendus tamen est in hoc erro
Nestorii, qui duas in Christo confitendas esse personas arbitratus ut uelit beatam Mariam
Theotocon id est Dei genitrice nominari, dicens, quod non Dei sed hominis mater sit, eo
quod humana tantum non etiam diuina Christi natura ex illa sumpta sit. Sed procul dubio
sicut tenet catholica fides Dei et hominis mater credenda et confitenda est, quia ueraciter
incorporeum Verbum Patris aure cordis credendo concepit et de carne sua corporatum
ex uirgineo uentre peperit.

‘QVID MIHI ET TIBI EST, MVLIER? NONDVME VENIT HORA ME’ (Ioh. 2,4) Non ante
hac inuenitur matrem suam ignorasse Dominus Iesus, sed erat subditus illis, sicut
quodam loco Lucas euangelista testatur de parentibus eius loquens: ‘et descendit cum eins
et uenit Nazareth et erat subditus illis’ (Lc. 2,51). Nunc autem ubi miracula facere
incipiens ad hoc se praeparat, ut paulo post per ciuitates et castella circumeat et regnum
Dei annuntiet, dicit eidem matri sua: ‘Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?’ [...] Quod utique nec ipse secundum carnem dicit (ut supra dictum est), sed secundum
diuinitatem, quae existendi initium a matre non accepit, cuius opus omnino praeferendum
est curae carnis nec ab aliquo secundum carnem decendum est patri uel matri, sed
secundum Deum, scilicet ubi opus Dei omnia et propriam quoque animam negligere
exigit. [...] Magis ergo, ut legem perfecte impleret, matrem suam salvo eius honore
nesciuit, quia profecto nulla est exhonoratio patris uel matris, dum eis non quaelibet
causa, sed solius praefertur honor uel opus Dei. Cui uidelicet magno ac necessario
salutis operi Iesus intentus nesciturum se matrem suam profiteretur, donec eodem opere
peracto dicat ei: ‘Mulier, ecce filius tuus.’ Quod uidelicet in hora mortis suae dicturus
erat. [...] Nunc habe me in his nuptiis et gaude quod praesentia mea frueris, sed adhuc
tempus imminet, ut magis ac magis te relicta non desinam circuire per ciuitates et
castella. Cum uita praesenti finiam opus quod coepi. Ab hac expeditione redeunte
vulneratum me et morientem recipies. Nunc interim tantum impendet opus quod coepit.
Et per haec quidem dicit non ad illud respondit, quod dixerat mater: ‘Vinum non habent,’ sed
ad interni desiderii eius clamorem uehementem in aures suas alta personantem, quia
ciacem eius ardebat semper uidere praesentem. Nam conuiuas, quorum deuotione
inuitatus fuerat, non minus quam ipsa suo uolebat beneficio laetificare, maxime ob
utilitatem illorum, quos hoc uius miraculo nouerat in se credituros esse. Recte ergo
sequitur: ‘DICIT MATER EIVS MINISTRIS: QVODCVMQVE VOBIS DIXERIT, FACIT.’
Voluntatis eius conscia et de potentia eius non dubitans opportunae communitione
ministrorum animos praeparat [...] praemonet ut non diffidentes aut etiam irriterentes
indigni fierent gratia miraculi, sed praecipio parentes uiam facerent manifestandae
5.3.2 Commentary on Rupert's Commentary on John

Rupert stated that Mary was the blessed Mother of God. She chose to be the heavenly gate of favor,\textsuperscript{519} through which her Son would come to the aid of the banqueters. Mary informed her Son about the scarcity of wine, because she wanted to encourage the devotion of the people and to avoid sadness at the wedding. Mary interceded for the people and wanted to encourage devotion to her Son.

Rupert recalled the previous commentary in John regarding Nathaniel and proposed that the people knew of Jesus' fame and that he was a holy man or a great prophet. The people hoped for a beneficial blessing for the spouses or for all of the company. Therefore, the Blessed Virgin recognizing that Jesus is the "creator of all things, the power of God dwelling in her flesh ... her Son, her God," she informed him of the lack of wine.

Rupert explained that Jesus' words, "What is this to me and to you, Woman? My hour has not yet come" could be taken in two ways according to the spiritual sense of Scripture: according to his divinity and his humanity. Speaking of his divinity, the Lord Jesus refuted some of the current heresies regarding his divinity and humanity. Jesus is divine; in his divinity he: pre-existed Mary, had no mother, is without time, and has power to work miracles. His divinity is hidden in his humanity. In his humanity, he deigns to have times and hours for being born and dying. Jesus is one Person with two natures; the Blessed Mary is the Virgin Mother of God.

\textit{gloriae Dei.} Rvperti Tvtiensis, \textit{"In Iohannis Evangelium II," Commentaria in Evangelivm Sancti Iohannis. CCCM} 19, 103-106.

\textsuperscript{518} Rev. Rory Pitstick holds a S.S.L. from the Pontificium Institutum Biblicum and teaches Latin at Mount Angel Seminary.

\textsuperscript{519} This wording is reminiscent of the Annunciation, when Mary chose to be the Mother of the Savior.
and Man.\textsuperscript{520} "She truly conceived the incorporeal Word of the Father with the hearing of the heart, by believing, and she bore from her flesh the One embodied from the virginal womb." Mary was the virginal Mother of Jesus at conception and at birth.

Rupert continued to analyze Jesus' words and reminded the reader that Jesus had never ignored his mother; rather he had been subject to her and to Joseph. There is something different happening here; Jesus was to do the will of the Father by leaving his mother, traveling through cities and towns announcing the reign of God and performing miracles. Further, Jesus was referring to his divinity, when he said that he did not know his mother. He did not dishonor his mother, because he had perfectly fulfilled the Law by doing the will of the Father and the work of salvation. When this work was finished, Jesus would return to his mother "wounded and dying" and say to her, "Woman, behold your son." Jesus would reveal at the hour of his death, to what extent he was really her son. It was in the flesh that he had assumed from his mother that he would be obedient to the Father and die for the salvation of all.

Rupert held that Jesus performed the miracle, not because of what his mother said to him, but because of her interior desire and to gladden the hearts of the wedding guests, as well as, to bring the disciples to faith in him. When the Blessed Mother told the servers to do whatever he tells them, she knew her Son's will and had no doubt regarding his power, so she prepared the servants for the miracle he was about to perform. The Blessed Mother was concerned about the effect that this miracle would have on the servants and she did not want them to be "distrusting" or "ridiculing," but that "they might make a way of manifesting the glory of God." This was Mary's goal at the Wedding Feast.

Throughout this commentary, Rupert taught that Mary is the Mother of God, the Blessed Virgin, a sympathetic woman, and

\textsuperscript{520} The teaching of Nestorius is defined on page 47, 145. His teaching was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431.
an effective mediator between the banqueters and her Son. Mary knew that her Son was divine and would perform a miracle. In this way, he would manifest the glory of God.

5.3.3 Explanatio Secvndvm Mysteria Allegoriae, Commentary on John 2:1, an Allegory

And there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee. The whole household is rejoicing, and the household is the Church. "And the mother of Jesus was there" (John 2:1), when this marriage was celebrated, for not one of the children or guests at this marriage is ignorant of how Christ became man. No false teachers are children of this marriage: they have their feasts elsewhere, where the mother of Jesus is not. Whatever errors they teach, they all agree in one thing: they have driven out from their hearts and from their conventicles the true faith about the incarnation. And the only true festival and heavenly marriage-feast is the one where the mother of Jesus is there - and that means the Church, the mother, is there. And here every day by the espousals of virginal souls to Christ is the true faith in God made man proclaimed.521 (Translated by Hugo Rahner.)522

521 "Nuptiae ergo facta sunt in Cana Galilaeae. Festum agit diem uniuersa domus, quae est sancta ecclesia. Ibi mater Iesu adest, ubi istae nuptiae celebrantur, quia profecto uera incarnationis Christi fides non deest omnibus, qui harum nuptiarum filii uel conuiciiae dici et esse merentur. Marcion, Cerinthus et, Ebion aliique haeretici, seorsim conuenticula sua faciuntur harum nuptiarum filii non fuerunt. Non enim ibi erat mater Iesu, quia diuersis quidem erroribus sed eodem malignitatis spiritu fidem incarnationis eius a suis cordibus et conuentibus excluderunt. Illic tantum harum caelestium nuptiarum solemnitas celebratur, ubi est mater Iesu, id est ibi est mater ecclesia, uidelicet ibi quotidie nubentibus Christo adolescentulabur uera, incarnationis eius fides praedicatur." Rvperti Tvitiensis, "In Johannis Evangelium II," Commentaria in Evangelivm Sancti Iohannis," CCCM 19, 111-112.

5.3.4 Commentary on Rupert's Commentary on John 2:1

Rupert entitled his work, "an allegory," and composed it to promote the doctrine of the Incarnation and to refute false teaching. People with the true faith believe that Jesus is God and became man at the Incarnation. The heretics deny the Incarnation and do not have Mary or the Church in their hearts or at their conventicles.

In Rupert's allegory, Mary was the type and the Church. Mary and the Church are both mothers and both necessarily present at the celebration of a true marriage. At the Wedding Feast at Cana, the marriage being celebrated was the Incarnation in the virginal womb of his mother; Jesus is God made man, manifesting his divinity with a miracle. In the Church, the marriage being celebrated is the espousal of virginal souls to Jesus, by those who believe that Jesus is God made man. Both marriages occur when Jesus joins himself to humanity, either by joining himself to human nature or to individual souls.

Rupert reminded the readers that there are other requirements to the proper celebration of the true festival and heavenly marriage-feast. The person and role of Mary, the mother of Jesus, must be "present," that is, she is accepted and respected. Also, this celebration must take place in the Church. That was to say, when Mary is not honored or when the Church is excluded, there is no true faith, nor is there true celebrating. People need to believe in the Incarnation of Jesus, in Mary, the mother of Jesus, and in the Church; and they need to espouse their souls to Christ.

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523 In the original Latin the heretics are listed as Marcion, Cerinthus, and Ebion. Marcion was defined above, 90, 150; Cerinthus and Ebion were defined above, 174.

524 Conventicles can be understood here as secret meetings for worship not sanctioned by the Church.
Geoffrey of Vendôme (1070-1132)

5.4 Life and Teaching of Geoffrey of Vendôme

Geoffrey was born of noble parents in Angers, France. When he was young, he entered the Benedictine monastery of the Blessed Trinity at Vendôme in the diocese of Chartres. When he was twenty three years old, he was chosen to be the abbot, even though he was still a deacon.

Geoffrey always supported the papacy. In 1094, he went to Rome and successfully assisted Pope Urban II (1088-1099) take possession of the Lateran from the antipope Clement III (1080-1100). In recognition of this support, Pope Urban named Geoffrey a Cardinal with the titular church of St. Prisca on the Aventine. In this new capacity, he made twelve trips to Rome to assist Popes Urban, Paschal II (1099-1118) and Callistus II (1119-1124). He participated in Pope Urban's council held at Clermont in 1095; the Apostolic Legate Amatus of Bordeaux's council at Saintes in 1096; and Pope Innocent II's council at Reims in 1131.525

Geoffrey was committed to the Gregorian reform and strenuously opposed the practice of lay investitures. He defended the freedom of the Church and the sole authority of abbots over monasteries.

Among his writings are tracts on the Sacraments of Holy Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, and ascetic and pastoral subjects; hymns to the Blessed Virgin and St. Mary Magdalene; sermons on Christ, the Blessed Virgin, Mary Magdalene, St. Benedict; and many letters.

Francis Schaefer commented, "Geoffrey was one of the distinguished men of his age, and was in correspondence with

many eminent personalities of that time."\textsuperscript{526} Geoffrey died on March 26, 1132.

\textbf{5.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in \textit{Sermo VIII}, Sermon VIII, On Any Feast in Honor of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God}

\textit{It would be wrong to doubt that this most blessed Virgin, Mother of the Lord, accomplishes in heaven what we read she accomplished on earth. When wine was lacking at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, the Mother of Jesus said to Him, namely, the Virgin Mary said to her Son, "They have no wine," as if she were commanding Him to act in such a way that those who were without wine should now have it. Indeed, the good Mother commanded with love that which her holy Son fulfilled with loving obedience.}

\textit{We should not hesitate to praise this Virgin; for whoever praised the Son honors the Mother. Without this praise it is impossible to please God, and with this praise no one can displease Him. Let us praise therefore this most holy and admirable Virgin, for we cannot please the Virgin's Son without praising the Virgin Mother.}

\textit{Let us love her as the most graced Mother of the Lord, whom He loves as His own flesh. He has determined that her laudable virginity should be so proven and honored that He would prefer that others should doubt His origins than her virginal integrity. She is the sweetest mother, the Virgin Mary, who brought forth the death of death, the life of man, the confusion of the devil, the absolution of sinners, the blessedness of all the just. A marvelous thing and to be admired with joy and faith! The Man born from the Virgin is not only the King of men, but Creator and}

Lord of all heavenly Virtures. She is the one whom the angels serve and the archangels attend. The entire heavenly host praises and venerates this Virgin. She alone holds principality over all creation after God. *O how venerable, how sublime this most blessed Mother, whose Son, although He is the almighty God, can nevertheless deny her nothing. This Virgin is so holy, so glorious, so honored, lifted so high by God so humble, so compassionate, so merciful and loving that because of a sinful soul, destined already for eternal punishment, she will place herself between it and the severity of the strict Judge.*

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527 “Et quod hæc beatissima Virgo Mater Domini fecisse legitur in terris, immerito facere dubitaretur et in coelis. Nam vino deficiente nuptiarum in Cana Galilææ, dixit Mater Jesu ad Jesum, Virgo videlicet Maria ad filium: ‘Vinum non habent,’ ac si ei ipsa præciperet, ut ipse faceret quod qui non habebant vinum, haberent.


5.4.2 Commentary

Geoffrey's sermon was appropriate for any feast in honor of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of the Lord. This is the first and only sermon for Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana that was found for "any feast in honor of the Blessed Virgin." Geoffrey lovingly described Mary's virtues and emphasized her intercessory power with her Divine Son. He took the literal meaning of Mary's word to Jesus, "They have no wine," to introduce his theme for this part of the sermon. Geoffrey exhorted his congregation to have no doubt about Mary's ability to help them, but to have confidence in the Blessed Virgin and to know that she can intercede for them from heaven, just as she interceded for those who had no wine at the marriage at Cana. This confidence should be understood as evidence of her loving relationship with her Son and his loving obedience to his mother.

In a circular argument, Geoffrey exhorts all people to praise the Virgin, for by praising her, the Son was praised and the Mother honored. He emphasized the necessity for praising in this way, for "without this praise it is impossible to please God" and with "this praise no one can displease Him." Therefore, he encouraged all people to praise the most holy and admirable Virgin, for "we cannot please the Virgin's Son without praising the Virgin Mother." Geoffrey connected all of the essential elements for this praise: pleasing God, praising the Virgin's Son and the Virgin Mother.

Geoffrey invited his monks into the loving relationship between the Lord and his Mother. "Let us love her as the most graced Mother of the Lord, whom He loves as His own flesh." We should love her for her laudable virginity. We should love her as our sweetest mother, for she is the one who brought forth our Savior. Mary brought forth the death of death and the life of man.

Jerome Young, O.S.B. holds a degree in classical languages from Harvard University and is on the faculty of Mount Angel Seminary.
We should admire her with faith and joy, because she was the Virgin Mother of Christ, who was both human and divine: King of men and Creator and Lord of all heavenly Virtues. The Virgin Mother is the exalted one, the one whom the angels serve, archangels attend, and the entire heavenly host praises and venerates.

In addition to these reasons for the petitioner to have faith in Mary's intercessory power, Geoffrey assured the people that the blessed Mother "alone holds principality over all creation after God." And her Divine Son "can deny her nothing." The greatest reasons for seeking the intercession of the Mother of the Lord were: she "is so holy, so glorious, so honored, lifted so high by God, so humble, so compassionate, so merciful and loving;" and as evidence of Mary's strong motherly love, "she would place herself between a sinful soul destined for eternal punishment and the severity of the strict Judge." Geoffrey presented this extreme example to encourage even the most sinful person to seek the Virgin Mother's intercession. This reference to Mary's intervention between the condemned sinner and the strict Judge was a fine example of the new orientation of Marian Devotion of this period.529

In addition to the above glowing acclamations of the blessed Virgin, Mother of the Lord, Geoffrey identified her as the "most holy and admirable Virgin," "most graced Mother of the Lord," "sweetest Mother," and "marvelous thing to be admired."

Geoffrey expertly integrated Christological and Mariological doctrines, including references to Mary's divine maternity, holiness, virginity, maternal love and strength of character. In this, there are echoes of Anselm's Mariology where Mary's divine maternity was the source of her dignity and

529 See 5.2.4 Marian Doctrine and Devotion for further discussion, 168-170.
prerogatives; and from the divine maternity comes her purity, virginity, sanctity, and intercessory prayer.530

**Peter Abelard (1079-1142)**

**5.5 Life and Teaching of Peter Abelard**

Peter Abelard was born into a family of minor nobility at La Pallet, near Nantes in Brittany. Abelard had a curious mind and studied logic and rhetoric in Paris. In 1113, after his parents retired into monasteries, he studied theology under Anselm of Loan, a biblical scholar. Dissatisfied with Anselm's teaching, he returned to Paris to become master of the school of Notre Dame. There he met Heloise, the niece of Fulbert, canon of Notre Dame. In 1117, they secretly married following the birth of a son, Astralabe. Abelard was shamed by Fulbert, subsequently he entered the monastery of St. Denis and encouraged Heloise to become a nun.531

At St. Denis, he studied Theology, the Bible, and the Church Fathers. He wrote the first version of *Theologia*, a work in philosophical theology, which was condemned at Soissons in 1121 for heresy. After a period of house arrest, he returned to St. Denis for a year and then founded the hermitage of the Trinity near Nogent-sur-Seine, where he stayed for four or five years. He was appointed abbot of St. Gildas-de-Rhuys in Brittany and retired from teaching in 1126 or 1128. In 1133, he returned to Paris and resumed teaching at Mont Sainte Geneviève.532

530 See 5.2.4 Marian Doctrine and Devotion for further information, 168-170.


Abelard was accused of heresy by Bernard of Clairvaux at the Council of Sens for the revised version *Theologia* in 1140. The Council condemned Abelard as a heretic. Pope Innocent II upheld the findings of Sens and imposed perpetual silence on him and excommunicated his followers. Abelard planned to go to Rome to appeal the sentence, but stopped at a Benedictine Monastery in Cluny, where Abbot Peter the Venerable protected Abelard. The abbot sent a letter to Pope Innocent on behalf of Abelard, stating "that we had advised him [Abelard] to curb anything he had said or written which might be offensive to Catholic ears and to remove it from his books, and so he did this." It was reported that the Pope responded favorably and Abelard's excommunication was revoked.

Abelard wrote a significant amount of material. Some of his religious works are: Commentaries on Genesis, Lamentations, St. Paul, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed; he also wrote many sermons. Sermon twenty six may have been part of a collection of sermons written before 1138 and sent to Heloise and the nuns of the Paraclete. He died at the Cluniac house of St. Marcel near Chalon-sur-Saône on April 21, 1142.

5.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Sermo XXVI, Sermon Twenty Six*

We read that wine was lacking at the wedding to which Her Son had been invited, along with herself and His disciples. *And so when they ran out of wine, the mother of Jesus said to Him, "They have no wine" (Jn. 2.3). And Jesus said to her "What is this to me and to you, woman?*

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533 Quoted from Letter 98 by Peter the Venerable, p. 259 in Clauchy, *Abelard*, 323-324.

534 See Marenabon, "Abelard," *Cambridge*, 20; also 336-340 for a more comprehensive list of his works.

My hour has not yet come" (ibid. 4). His mother says to the attendants "Do whatever he tells you. Shortly after Jesus says to them, "Fill the jars with water, etc." Behold the mother of Christ solicitous for a bodily kindness, and by interceding asks her Son to grant that kindness. And even if [she seems] to be sternly reproached by Him, did not cease to ask, until she obtained what she intended.

Indeed, if we pay close attention, we shall see that she did not so much ask for a kindness as she did notify Him of the lack of wine. For when she said that there was no wine, never do we read that she ever asked that He provide it, but that she thought it sufficient to tell Him that it was gone. Nor was her prayer to her Son necessary, when she seemed to have insinuated her will to Him. Indeed, she had not been asked by the other guests to ask this kindness for them. What therefore will she accomplish through her prayer, when the faithful beseech her to intercede for them with her Son, whether for the salvation of those for whom she knows she has been chosen by Him or for those for whom she feels she is in debt? The more holy and just she is, the more solicitous is she in rendering this debt.536 (Translated by Jerome Young.)537

536 "Vinum in nuptiis defecisse legimus, ad quas filius ejus cum ipsa et discipulis venerat invitatus. Vino itaque ibi deficiente, dicit mater Jesu ad eum: 'Vinum non habent' (Joan. II:3). Et dicit ei Jesus: 'Quid mihi et tibi, mulier? nondum venit hora mea' (ibid. 4). Dicit mater ejus ministris: 'Quodcumque dixerit vobis facite' (ibid. 5). Et post aliquam: Dicit eis Jesus: 'Implete hydrias aqua,' etc. (ibid. 7). Ecce mater Christi de corporali beneficio sollicita, intercedendo invitat filium ad praestandum beneficium, et quasi ab ipso objurgata graviter, non destitit, donec quod intendebat obtinuit. Et quidem si diligenter attendimus, non tam beneficium eam videbimus rogasse, quam defectum vini nuntiasse. Cum enim dixerit quia defecisset vinum, nequaquam rogasse legitur ut hoc ipse præberet, sed hoc solum sufficere arbitrata est ad impetrandum quod volebat, si nuntiaret quod deeerat, nec jam apud filium precem suam esse necessarium, cum videretur suam insinuasse voluntatem. Nec rogata quidem a conivis fuerat, ut hoc eis beneficium impetraret. Quid ergo per precem factura est, cum a fidelibus exorata, pro ipsis apud filium intercesserit, et pro salute quorum se ab ipso electam, et eis debito
5.5.2 Commentory

Abelard’s central message to his congregation was to assure them, from Sacred Scripture, that all can have confidence that Mary, the Mother of Jesus, has intercessory power with her Son and she will intercede for them with her Son.

Abelard’s orientation toward rhetoric is apparent in the way he organized and analyzed his commentary on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. It was not only the way he organized the material, but also the way he used the art of persuasion. He began by including the congregation with himself, "We read," indicating his association with them; he called attention to Mary's action by stating "Behold," meaning they should observe the Mother's solicitousness; and twice he reassured them that "Indeed" meaning "without any question."

In the first phase of his sermon, Abelard established the foundation for his argument by literally quoting the verses that he considered to be foundational: John 2:3, 4, 5, and 7. These four verses revealed the communication between Mother and Son that resulted in the miracle of bodily kindness toward the people at the wedding party. It is interesting to note that Abelard did not comment on Jesus' words, but rather analyzed Mary's role at the wedding feast.

In the next phase of the analysis, Abelard provided a more careful scrutiny of the words and actions. Abelard developed the idea of a close relationship between Mother and Son. He emphasized Mary's influence on her Son: she did not ask Jesus for the kindness, but simply informed him; she did not ask him to provide the wine, she simply thought it was sufficient to tell him it was gone; nor did she have to make it a prayer to her Son, just

\[\textit{obligatam esse recogoscit? Quaæ quanto sanctior et justior est, tanto in persolvendo debito sollicitam magis esse constat.} \textit{Petri Abælardi, “Sermo XXVI,” PL 178, 544-545.}\]

537 “Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Sermon Twenty Six.” Hereafter: Abelard, "Sermon 26."
insinuated her will. Adding to his critical review of the situation, he told the congregation that Mary simply told her Son, "They have no wine," without any social pressure from others, but from her own solicitousness.

In addition to analyzing what Mary did or did not do, Abelard effectively communicated Mary's intercessory qualities of effectiveness, persistence, and solicitousness: she was effective in communicating a need to her Son, because "Shortly after" [her statement] Jesus responded; she was persistent despite being "sternly reproached by him;" and she was "solicitous for a bodily kindness."

Abelard reasoned that if Mary's intercession was effective under these circumstances, how much more would she obtain for them through her prayer, "when the faithful beseech her to intercede for them with her Son. Abelard identified two categories of people in need of her intercession: for the salvation of those chosen by her Son for her patronage or those who pray to her and for whom she is indebted. He ended this part of the sermon by remarking on Mary's holiness and justice; "the more solicitous she is in rendering this debt," as if to leave his congregation with confidence in Mary's intercessory power, because she is holy and just.

Blessed Guerric of Igny (1070/1080-1157)

5.6 The Life and Teaching of Guerric of Igny

Guerric was born at Tournai in either the 1070s or 1080s. Little was known about his parents or his early childhood. However, Deyanira Flores reported that he was educated in the humanities and theology at the noted cathedral school at Tournai. After a period of academic activities, he became interested in the monastic reform movement and retired to a hermitage near the
Cathedral Church at Tounai.\footnote{538} Basil Pennington believed that Guerric "had some good connections like Hugh, abbot of Marchienne, and Oger, superior of the canons of Tournai."\footnote{539}

In 1120, Guerric went to visit the Cistercian Abbey at Clairvaux, probably because of the reputation of the young Abbot Bernard. Guerric never left, but stayed and studied under Abbot Bernard for thirteen years. Bernard was impressed with him and made Guerric the second abbot of Igny, a daughter house of Clarivaux. "Guerric was in his fifties or sixties when he was elected. He was not up to all the demands of the common life but he was a good abbot. He loved his monks, was open and frank with them, and laid before them good, solid and practical doctrine."\footnote{540}

Guerric's Mariology centered around Mary's spiritual maternity: "Mary bore Christ and therefore all of his members. [...] Mary, as the mother, formed Christ, therefore she is the mother of all in whom Christ is formed. And finally, Mary is the mother of Life, by which everyone lives; in bringing forth that Life she brings forth all who live by the Life. [...] [Mary] shows herself a Mother by her care and loving attention."\footnote{541} He wrote fifty-four sermons, which were probably delivered to the monastic community at Igny between 1138 and 1157. The collection of his sermons corresponded to the listing of the Feasts of Sermon found in the earliest legislation of the Order.\footnote{542} Guerric's sermons on the


\footnote{540} Pennington, "Guerric," \textit{Studia Monastica}, 88.

\footnote{541} Pennington, "Guerric," \textit{Studia Monastica}, 91.

\footnote{542} These feasts are: Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, all of the solemnities of Mary, the Birthday of John the Baptist, the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Solemnity of St. Benedict, All Saints, the Dedication of the Church, the

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solemnities of Mary are: four "On the Purification," three "On the Annunciation," four "On the Assumption," two "On the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin." Guerrić remained Abbot of Igny until his death in 1157. He is considered one of the four evangelists of Citeaux, the other three being: St. Bernard, St. Aelred of Rievaulx and William of St. Thierry. Guerrić was beatified on January 24, 1889 by Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903).

5.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Sermo Quartus: pour L'Assomption, The Fourth Sermon for the Assumption*

The Gospel reading for the feast of Mary's Assumption was the story of Martha and Mary. Guerrić developed the theme for his sermon around the words, "Mary has chosen the best part." He wrote, "This was said of Mary, the sister of Martha, but it was realized today with greater fullness and holiness in Mary, Mother of the Lord. For today the blessed Virgin Mary chose the best part; or rather she entered today into unending possession of what she had chosen long before: to keep close to the Lord, to be inseparable from him, and to enjoy God's Word for all eternity." Guerrić carefully articulating the reasons why Mary was assumed into heaven: she "welcomed the Lord ... to the bridal chamber of

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her womb;" and she "carefully tended his humanity, kept all the words which concerned him, pondering them in her heart. [...] Truly she stood by Jesus' cross, when at the same time the pain of the cross crucified her mind and as manifold a sword pierced her own soul as she beheld the body of her Son pierced with wounds. Rightly therefore was she recognized as his Mother there and by his care entrusted to a suitable protector, in which both the mother's unalloyed love for her Son and the Son's kindness toward his Mother were proved to the utmost."547

Guerric next turned to explore the spiritual meaning of Jesus' words to his Mother in three scriptural passages.

On other occasions he seemed as it were to ignore his Mother, whether at the wedding feast when she asked for a miracle and he answered: "Nay, woman, why dost thou trouble me with that?"(John 2:4) or in the midst of his preaching the Gospel when someone told him "Behold your Mother and your brethren are standing outside, asking for you," and he answered: "Who is my mother?"(Matt. 12:47) But he had to give such an answer to his Mother when she asked for a miracle in order to show that miracles came to him not from his Mother but from another source. And he could give no better answer to the man who interrupted the words of the Gospel by announcing his relatives than to demonstrate that spiritual things must come before those of the flesh. It was as if, in the same way as before, he were to say to his relatives seeking him while he was busy with the work of the Gospel: "Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I must concern myself with my Father's business?"(Luke 2:49)

It could not be that he spurned his Mother, he who was so careful to lay down the law that parents should be honored. (Exod. 20:12; Matt. 15:4) It could not be that on

earth he showed disgust for his Mother when he had desired her beauty from heaven. Rather he was setting charity in order in us both by his words and by his example teaching us to put before our affection for carnal attachments not only the love of God but also the love of those who do God's will.

For the affection which is demanded from the hearts of all of us whom the supreme Father has deigned to adopt is one which will make us say in faith together with his Only-begotten: "Whoever does the will of my Father who is in heaven, he is my brother and sister and mother."(Matt. 12:50) [...]  

So Jesus demonstrates that Mary, who was his mother according to the flesh, is his mother in another way also, since she too so valued the Father's will that the Father could foretell to her: "You shall be called 'My will is in her.'"(Isa. 62:4) Therefore where the Son seemed to ignore her, there he is found to have honored her the more; since the honor of the name of the mother is doubled for her; she now bears in spirit also through inspiration the same Son whom she bore in her womb through incarnation.

Further, loving her as he did Jesus loved her to the end, so as not only to bring his life to an end for her but also to speak almost his last words for her benefit. At his last will and testament he committed to his beloved heir the care of his mother, whose debtor he knew himself to be. [...]  

As the grace of giving birth to God was conferred on her apart from all others, so was the privilege of glorifying in him to whom she gave birth. Altogether her own and without comparison was the glory of the Virgin Mother, to see God the King of all in the diadem of the flesh with which she crowned him, so as to recognize God and adore him in her own body and see her own body glorified in God. These are the truths which in the
meantime Mary rejoiced to contemplate, this is the best part which she had chosen, which today has not been taken away from her but brought to perfection in her. [...] 

So let Mary reap her blessings; let her who sowed the blessing of all nations receive in a way all her own the blessing of all nations. "All generations," she says, "will call me blessed." (Luke 1:48) This is too little. 

(Translated by John Morson and Hilary Costello.)

548 “Nam alias velut dissimulasse matrem visus est, sive cum in nuptiis flagitante miraculum ait: ‘Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?’ sive cum in mediis sermonibus evangelii dicenti cuidam: ‘Ecce mater tua et frater tui foris stant quaerentes te. Quae est,’ inquit, ‘mater mea?’ Sed et matri, cum miraculum posceret, sic respondendum erat, ut aliunde quam a matre se miracula habere significaret; et illi, qui sermonem evangelii parentes annuntiando interrumpebat, melius responderi non poterat, ut videlicet spiritualia carnalibus praeferenda monstraret; ac si more suo diceret parentibus, occupatum in negotio evangelii quaerentibus: ‘Quid est quod me quaeritis? Nescitis quia in his quae Patris mei sunt oportet me esse?’

Absit enim ut matrem aspernatus sit, qui tanta cura de parentibus honorandis legem dedit. Absit, inquam, ut in terra fastidierit matrem, cuius e coelo concupivit decorem. Immo potius ordinabat in nobis caritatem, tam verbis quam exemplis nobiscum agens, ut carnalium affectibus necessitudinum non solum Dei praeponamus dilectionem, sed etiam eorum qui Dei faciunt voluntatem.

Illle siquidem affectus de cordibus exigitur omnium nostrum, quos summi Patris adoptavit dignatio, quo fideliter dicamus cum ipsius Unigenito: ‘Quicumque fecerit voluntatem Patris mei qui in coelis est, ipse meus frater et soror et mater est.’ [...]

Itaque Mariam, quae secundum carnem mater erat, alia quoque ratione matrem sibi Iesus probat, quandoquidem et ipsa voluntatem Patris in tantum faciebat, up de ipsa praedicaret Pater: ‘Vocaberis voluntas mea in ea.’ Igitur ubi eam visus est ignorasse Filium, ibi amplius honorasse inventur; dum ei scilicet materni nominis honor duplicatur, pro eo quod eundem Filium, quem alvo gestaverat incarnatum, etiam nunc animo gestabat inspiratum.

Ceterum cum dilexisset eam Iesus, in finem dilexit eam, ut non solum propter ipsum finem vivendi, verum etiam in ipsam finem paene faceret loquendi; dum velut inter ultima verba testamenti curam matris, cuius debitorem se cognoscebat, carissimo transcribit heredi. [...]
5.6.2 Commentary

Guerric developed an inspirational sermon for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into heaven. He established the main theme of his sermon by carefully articulating the reasons why Mary was assumed into heaven; she had chosen the best part by welcoming her Son into her womb, and carefully tended his humanity.

After listing Mary's attributes, Guerric chose to explain three occasions when Christ "seemed as it were to ignore his Mother." He alerted his monastic community to the possibility that what seemed to be was not so; there was a meaning other than the literal interpretation of the words and actions of Jesus. He would guide them to this understanding.

Guerric began his analysis of the Wedding Feast at Cana, the first example of when Jesus seemed to ignore his mother. Guerric paraphrased John 2:4, stating that Jesus' Mother "asked for a miracle," and Jesus responded with a "No," and asked why she troubled him with that [the lack of wine].\[550]\ Guerric provided the real reason for Jesus' response, "He had to give such an answer to

\[\text{Cui sicut singulariter excepta est gratia Deum generandi, sic et praerogativa gloriandi in eo quem genuit. Omnino singularis atque incomparabilis gloria virginis matris videre Deum regem omnium in diademate carnis qua coronavit eum, ut et Deum agnoscat et adoret in corpore proprio, et corpus proprium glorificatum videat in Deo. His interim, ut opinor, contemplationibus pascebatur Maria, hanc optimam partem elegerat, quae non ablata sed perfecta est hodie in ea. [...]}

De benedictionibus suis itaque Maria metat; et quae benedictionem omnium gentium seminavit, benedictionem omnium gentium singulariter accipiat. 'Beatam me dicent,' inquit, omnes generationes.' Parum est hoc." Guerric D'Igny, "Sermo Quartus." Sermons, SC 202, 460, 462, 464, 466, 470.


\[550\] Guerric's Latin for John 2:4 ("Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?") is the same as the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate. This translation is a paraphrasing that is independent of the original Latin.
his Mother when she asked for a miracle in order to show that miracles came from another source [his Father]." This reminded the hearers that the miracles that Jesus worked were from his divine nature, which came from his Father, not from the human nature that came from his Mother. Then Guerric provided another reason why this response was not to spurn his Mother; Jesus was the one who carefully laid down the commandment to honor your father and mother. "It could not be that on earth he showed disgust for his Mother when he had desired her beauty from heaven." Jesus' response to his Mother was not an attempt to ignore his mother or to show disgust for her.

The second and third occasions of when Jesus seemed to ignore his Mother were when he was interrupted while busy with the work of the Gospel in Mark and Matthew. Guerric was referencing Sacred Scripture to interpret and explain Sacred Scripture. He explained that this was a lesson for us. Jesus was "setting charity in order in us both by his words and by his example teaching us to put before our affection for carnal attachments not only the love of God but also the love of those who do God's will." Jesus was attending to spiritual matters and doing the will of his Father; that was his priority.

In a deeply spiritual and insightful way, Guerric proclaimed that Jesus demonstrated that Mary was his mother according to the flesh and in another way as well, she "so valued the Father's will that the Father could foretell to her: 'You shall be called' My will is in her."

Guerric stated firmly that the Son did not ignore his Mother, but honored her all the more: she also bears in spirit also through inspiration the same Son whom she bore in her womb through incarnation." Therefore, Mary had a double claim to the title of Mother: Mother in the flesh and Mother in the spirit. And this led to the unique glory that belonged to the Virgin Mother, "to see God the King of all in the diadem of the flesh with which she crowned him, so as to recognize God and adore him in her own body and see her own body glorified in God." Jesus did not ignore or spurn his beloved Mother in any of his statements.
St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153)

5.7 The Life and Teaching of Bernard of Clairvaux

Bernard was born at Fontaines-lès-Dijon in Burgundy to Tescelin, Lord of Fontaines, and Aleth of Montbard, both virtuous people. At the age of nine, he was sent to a renowned school at Chatillon-sur-Siene and studied literature under the direction of the secular canons of Saint-Vorles. In 1107, Bernard's mother died and her death became a turning point in his life; he gave up his literary education and became interested in a monastic life. In 1112, he entered the Benedictine Monastery at Cîteaux, which was a new branch of the reformed order established by St. Robert of Molesmes in 1098; later known as the Cistercian Order. He convinced thirty of his relatives and friends to enter with him.551

Abbot of Citeaux, Stephen Harding, sent Bernard to establish a new monastery at Clairvaux in 1115, which he did. He placed it under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. William of Champeaux blessed Bernard as the first abbot. Bernard found the demands of this new monastery to be very challenging and he experienced ill health, a problem which affected him throughout his life.552 However, Bernard was very successful as an abbot and an advocate of the monastic life. Among his many writings were three classic books on monastic theology: "The Steps of Humility and Pride," "Letter on Love," and "On Loving God." At the time of his death, there were seven hundred monks in his monastery. In the Cistercian Order, there were one hundred sixty five foundations, a testament to his dynamic personality and influence.


Bernard had great devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and was considered the special medieval doctor of Our Lady. Luigi Gambero wrote, "Even though the Marian contents of his many works are not particularly abundant, he had a remarkable gift for speaking about the Blessed Virgin in a fascinating way. Tradition has named him the 'Champion and Singer of the Virgin.'" Bernard wrote four sermons, known as the *Super missus est*, collectively entitled "In Praise of the Virgin Mother." He also composed sermons for liturgical feasts: three for the Annunciation, three for the Purification, five for the Assumption, and one for the feast of the Nativity of Mary. Bernard was known for his original concepts of Mary as the aqueduct and her oblation at the Presentation of the Lord. He was also known for his opposition to the Immaculate Conception.

Besides Bernard's monastic responsibility, he was a leading figure in the Church and in the political world of his time. He was consulted by popes, bishops, other abbots, emperors, and kings regarding ecclesial matters and sent on important missions.

Jean Leclercq commented, "Bernard is a universal doctor because of the fact that he is an orator; his message, though addressed to all, still retains its personal quality. He is a man with a human heart who thinks, prays, suffers, and yearns, and who wants to tell all men how they too should love God." 

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553 Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 131.


555 See Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 131. The full impact of Bernard of Clairvaux is beyond the scope of this paper.

Bernard was considered the last of the Church Fathers, because he closely followed Patristic thought in all of his writings. He died at Clariavaux in 1153. He was canonized by Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) on January 18, 1174 and declared a Doctor of the Church by Pius VIII (1829-1830) in 1830.

5.7.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Dominica Prima Post Octavam Epiphaniae, First Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany

Bernard began his sermon by calling his brethren to wait for the Lord, so that when the Lord returned, they may say, "With expectation I have waited for the Lord (Psalm 39:1)." In waiting they were to turn their ear to the words of the Lord. Bernard then proceeded to open up the Scriptures to his fellow monks and to explain the meaning of Jesus' words to his Mother at the Wedding Feast at Cana.

But let us now with the disciples follow the Lord to this wedding, so that with them we may see what He is about to do and may consequently believe in Him (John 2:11). "The wine failing, the Mother of Jesus saith to Him: They have no wine." She observed the embarrassment of the good people of the house and pitied them, merciful as she always is and full of tenderest charity. What indeed save mercy could issue from mercy's source? Is it any wonder, I ask, if the very bowels of mercy should appear to be merciful? Does not the hand which has held an apple for half a day preserve the odour of the apple for the remainder of the day? How redolent of mercy, then, must not that bosom have been wherein Piety Itself was lodged for the space of nine months! Yea, and It occupied the Virgin's mind before It entered her bosom, nor when issuing from her womb did It retire from her heart. As to the Lord's reply to His Mother, we may think it sounds

557 See Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 132.
harsh and austere. But He knew to whom He was speaking, and she was not ignorant Who He was That spoke. And that you may understand in what manner she received His response, and how much she could presume on the goodness of her Son, she immediately "saith to the waiters: Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye." 558
(Translated by a Priest of Mount Melleray.) 559

5.7.2 Commentary on Bernard's Homily for the First Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany

Bernard invited his monks to follow the Lord, along with the disciples, to see and to believe in him. He began by literally restating what the Mother of Jesus said to him. However, Bernard interpreted Mary's actions according to her virtues: she was sensitive to the feelings of the good people, noticed their embarrassment, and pitied them; she was always merciful and full of tenderest charity. Bernard was clearly teaching that the Mother of Jesus was both sensitive to people's needs and was solicitous for


them, always being merciful. This was as if to say, she was sensitive to the monks' needs and would seek mercy for them.

Bernard was clear that Mary's mercy was related to that of her Son: only mercy could possibly issue from Mary, because she was the Source of Christ, who is Mercy. Bernard used an analogy to further explain how this could be understood. He asked them to consider if one holds an apple for half a day, would not the hand have the scent of the apple the rest of the day? If this were so, how much more would Mary be merciful, because she had Piety Itself within her womb for nine months? To emphasize this point, Bernard reminded the monks that the Merciful Lord occupied the Virgin's mind before he entered her heart and never left her heart once he was born. The word "occupied" gave the sense that the Lord intentionally and completely filled his Mother's mind and heart; and he still does.

Returning to the Lord's words to his Mother, Bernard agreed with the monks that they may think his response sounded harsh and austere, but it was not as it seemed. The Lord knew to whom he was speaking and his Mother understood her Son's response. They had knowledge of each other and a relationship of understanding between them. His Mother could also presume on her Son's goodness; she immediately took action to relieve the embarrassment of the good people of the house. She said to the waiters, "Whatsoever He shall say to you, do it." And he changed water into the wine.

Bernard proceeded to explain that the six water-pots were for the purification of those who have lapsed into sin after the reception of Baptism. Because all of them had sinned, he recommended six purifications: compunction, confession, alms giving, forgiveness of injuries, mortification, and obedience to the divine commands. Bernard ended his sermon by reminding the monks that the Lord will bestow on them a hundred-fold of
consolation in this world and was waiting to reward them with eternal life in the world to come.\textsuperscript{560}

5.7.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in \textit{Sermo Secundus: De Mutatione Aquae in Vinum, The Second Sermon: On Changing Water into Wine}

Bernard led his monks into the mystery of the humanity and divinity of Christ that was manifested by the Lord's changing of the water into wine, the first sign of his divinity. Bringing the gospel message closer to the monks, Bernard stated that the Lord invited the monks to the spiritual wedding in which the bridegroom was Christ the Lord and they were the bride: all of them were together as one bride, and the souls of each individually are like the soul of an individual bride. Bernard explained that each soul sometimes runs out of the wine of the grace of devotion and fervor of love. When this happens, Bernard assured the monks, that they can turn to the Mother of mercy and she will not fail them in their need. If she sympathized with the people who invited her to the wedding, all the more will she be sympathetic to them, who respectfully call on her. Bernard then focused on the enigmatic words of Jesus to his Mother and posited some questions to unravel the mystery behind the words.

\textit{But who is not disturbed that at that wedding the Lord answered his most gracious and most holy mother by saying, "Woman, what is it to me and to you?" What is that to you and to her, Lord? Is that not to a child and his mother? Why do you ask what you have to do with her, when you are the blessed fruit of her immaculate womb (Luke 1:42)? Did she not conceive you with her modesty intact and bear you without detriment? Did you not spend nine months in her womb, suck at her virginal breasts, and at twelve years of age go down from Jerusalem with her and be subject to her (Luke 2:42, 51)? Now then,}

\textsuperscript{560} Bernard, "First Sermon, Bernard's Sermons, 37-41.
Lord, why do you trouble her and ask, "What is that to me and to you?"

"Much in every way" (Rom. 3:2). Now I see clearly that you said, "What is that to me and to you," not as if you were displeased or wanting to disturb your virgin mother's tender modesty. No, when the servants came to you at your mother's bidding you did not hesitate to do what she was prompting you to do. Why then, brothers, did he first respond as he did? For our sake, surely, so now that we have turned to the Lord, concern for our kinsfolk according to the flesh may no longer make us uneasy and their needs may not hinder our spiritual exertion. As long as we are of the world we are assuredly responsible for our kinsfolk. But after we have renounced ourselves, to a much greater extent have we been freed from responsibility for them. [...] 

So then, when he answered his mother - and such a mother - "What is that to me and to you?" the Lord was teaching us in the best way that we should not be more concerned for our blood relatives than religion requires. So too, in another place, when someone told him that she was standing outside with the Lord's brothers, asking to speak to him, he replied, "Who are my mother and my brothers" (Mark 3:33)? Where now are those who are accustomed to have as much family and fruitless anxiety for their blood relatives as if they were still living with them?561 (Translated by Irene Edmonds, Wendy Mary Becket and Conrad Greenia.)562

Bernard posed a question to the minds of the monks: Who is not disturbed by the way the Lord answered his Mother? This was especially pertinent because she was "most gracious and most holy." Bernard rephrased the question and asked, "What is that to you and to her, Lord?" And immediately answered: Jesus was her child and she was his Mother; he was the blessed fruit of her immaculate womb; she conceived him and bore him virginally; he spent nine months in her womb, nursed at her breasts and went to Jerusalem with her. Bernard returned to the original question, "What is that to me and to you?" Within a few sentences Bernard proclaimed the dogmas of Mary's divine maternity and virginal conception and birth. He integrated these truths about Mary into


Sed manifeste iam video, quod non velut indignans, aut confundere volens Virginis Matris teneram verecundiam, dixeris: 'Quid mihi et tibi?' cum, venientibus ad te iuxta Matris praecepta ministris, nihil cunctatus facias quod illa suggererit. Ut quid ergo, fratres, ut quid sic responderat prius? Utique propter nos, ut conversos ad Dominum iam non sollicitet carnalium cura parentum, et necessitudines illae non impediant exercitium spirituale. Quamdiu enim 'de mundo sumus'(John 8:23), debitores nos constat esse parentibus. [...]

Optime ergo nos docuit Dominus, 'ne solliciti simus super' (Matt. 6:25) propinquis carnis nostrae plus quam religio postulet, quando ipsi Matri, et tali Matri, respondit: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' Sic et in alio loco, cum suggereret ei quidam, quoniam 'foris staret cum fratribus Domini, quaerens ei loqui, respondit: 'Quae est mater mea et fratres mei' (Mark 3:33)? Ubi modo sunt qui tam carnaliter et inaniter super carnalibus propinquis suis solent esse solliciti, ac si adhuc viverent et ipsi cum eis?" Bernard de Clairvaux, "Sermo Secundus: De Mutatione Aquae in Vinvum," SC 481, 224, 226.

the reality of the humanity of Christ and the divinity that Christ was about to reveal.

Bernard explained the reason that Jesus spoke these words to his Mother was for their sake. Now that the monks have turned toward the Lord and away from their kinsfolk, they are not to be uneasy about any obligations that they have for their families. Jesus' answer to his Mother was a lesson for them; they should not be more concerned about their blood relatives than religion required. To validate his statement, he employed Sacred Scripture to affirm his interpretation of Sacred Scripture. Jesus used similar terminology in Mark 3:33 when he asked "Who are my mother and my brothers?" This scriptural answer may have been used to solve a practical problem in their community, because Bernard ended by asking "Where now are those who are accustomed to have much family and fruitless anxiety for their blood relatives as if they were still living with them?"

Bernard carried on his discourse on the meaning of the changing of the water into wine for the monastic community. The six water jars represented traditional observances: chastity, fasting, manual labor, observance of vigils, silence and discipline.

5.7.5 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Dominica Infra Octavam Assumptionis, The Sermon for the Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption

Bernard developed this sermon based on the Book of Revelation 12:1. He taught that the twelve stars represented the twelve grand prerogatives of grace which adorned the Blessed Virgin. He identified the first three as prerogatives of heaven: Mary's generation from a line of kings, the seed of Abraham, and stock of David; the angelic salutation; descent of the Holy Spirit upon her; and the conception of the Son of God. The second three were prerogatives of flesh: she was the first of virgins; her virginal fecundity; her easy pregnancy; and her painless child-bearing. The third set of three were prerogatives of the heart: Mary's modest
meekness; her devout humility; her magnanimous faith; and her interior martyrdom.

The prerogatives of the heart was the area of focus for his monks: "And for ourselves, dearest brethren, if we contemplate by the light of faith these glorious privileges of the Virgin Mother, they will be sure to arouse in us sentiments of admiration, veneration, and devotion, yea, and will impart to us no little consolation." Bernard placed his reference to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana as an example of Mary's modesty in the highest degree.

**Oh, yes, Mary was modest in the highest degree. This can be proven from the Gospel.** For where does she ever appear garrulous? Where do we ever find her in the least degree presumptuous? She was content to stand outside the door, seeking a word with her Son, when in virtue of her authority as His Mother she might have unceremoniously entered the house where Jesus was preaching and interrupted the sermon (Matt. 12:46). In the whole text of the four Gospels - unless my memory plays me false - *Mary can be heard speaking not oftener than four times*. The first occasion is where she answered the Angel, but only after she had been addressed by him once and again. The second is where she spoke to Elizabeth, in whose womb the voice of her salutation had made the unborn Baptist to leap for joy, and whilst the mother of John was magnifying Mary, Mary's sole soliciusdte was to magnify the Lord (Luke 1:40-46). The third is where she complained to her Son, when He was now twelve years of age, that she and His father had been seeking Him sorrowing (Luke 2:48). *The fourth is where she spoke to Jesus and the waiters at the wedding-feast (John 2:3-5). Her words on this last occasion gave signal proof of her natural meekness and virginal modesty.* For esteeming as her own the embarrassment of her neighbour, she could not rest easy, neither could she forbear speaking to her Son of the failure of wine. And on
being apparently reproved by Him, she showed how "meek and humble of heart" (Matt. 11:29) she was by answering never a word, yet without losing confidence, since she said to the waiters, "Whatever He shall say to you, do ye" (John 2:5). (Translated by A Priest of Mount Melleray.)

Bernard ended his discourse by praying to the Virgin Mother to obtain grace from her Son, because he loves her and adorns her beyond all others; he invests her with a robe of glory and sets a crown of beauty on her head. "Thou, O Virgin, art full of grace, full of the dew of heaven, 'flowing with delights, leaning upon the Beloved'" (Cant. 8:5).

5.7.6 Commentary on Bernard's Sermon for the Sunday within the Octave of the Assumption

Bernard's thoughtful reading of the Virgin Mary's behavior in the various passages of Sacred Scripture revealed his insight into

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563 Pudibunda fuit Maria: ex Evangelio id probamus. Ubi enim aliquando loquax, ubi praesumptuosa fuisse videtur? Foris stabat quaerens loqui Filio (Matt. 12:46), nec materna auctoritate aut sermonem interrupt, aut habitationem irritat, in qua Filius loquebatur. In omni denique textu quattuor Evangeliorum, si bene meminimus, non nisi quater Maria loquens auditur. Primo quidem ad Angelum, sed cum iam semel atque iterum allocutus eam fuisset; secundo ad Elisabeth, quando vox salutantis eius Ioannem exsultare fecit in utero eum, et, ea magnificante Mariam, ipsa magis Dominum magnificare curavit (Luke 1:46-55); terto ad Filium, cum esset annorum duodecim, quod ipsa et pater eius dolentes quaesissent eum (Luke 2:48); quarto in nuptiis ad Filium et ministros (John 2:3, 5). Et is quidem sermo certissimus index ingentiae mansuetudinis et virginalis verecundiae fuit. Aliorum quippe verecundiam suam reputans, sustinere non potuit, non potuit vini dissimulare defectum. Ubi sane increpata est a Filio, tamquam mitis et humilis corde, nec illi respondit, nec tamen desperavit, ministros admonens facere quod diceret eis. S. Bernardi, "Dominica Infra Octavam Assumptionis," Sermones, EC 5, 270.

her modesty, which he acclaimed to be "in the highest degree." Mary humbly asked to see her Son, even though she had the authority to go in to see him without permission. She placed herself after the others who gathered to listen to her Son. At the Annunciation, Mary allowed the angel to address her twice before she chose to speak. She was listening patiently to the message from God. At the Visitation, Mary was praising the Lord, while she was being praised. She placed God before herself, recognizing the source of her blessings. At the finding of Jesus in the Temple, Mary spoke to her Son after seeking Him sorrowfully [for three days]. At the Wedding Feast at Cana, Mary empathized with the neighbor who was embarrassed by the lack of wine and spoke to her Son; she was not deterred by his apparent reproof, but without a word to him, yet with complete confidence, she advised the waiters to "Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye." Mary placed her neighbor before herself.

5.7.7 Synthesis: Bernard's Comments on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana

Bernard was preaching to his community of monks who believed that Jesus was truly human and truly divine; they accepted Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Lord. His comments on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were not apologetic nor polemical, but educative and exhortative in nature. He focused on the meaning of the enigmatic words that Jesus said to his Mother and how this meaning was to be applied in their monastic lives.

In all three sermons, Bernard interpreted John 2:1-5 literally: Mary and Jesus were literally at a wedding feast, the hosts were truly embarrassed, Mary and Jesus exchanged words, and Mary spoke to the waiters. Mary was truly the human mother of Jesus: she conceived Jesus in her womb, nursed him, and found him in the Temple. She was the Mother and he was the Child.

Bernard led the monks to understand the spiritual meaning of the words that Jesus spoke to his Mother. In the first sermon, he emphasized the relationship of knowledge and understanding that
existed between Jesus and his Mother; the words that seemed to be harsh and austere really were not. In the second sermon, Bernard was clarifying the obligation of the monks to their kinsfolk. In the third sermon, Bernard directed the monk's attention to Mary's humility and her perseverance. There were various possible interpretations to Jesus' words.

Consistent with Patristic exegesis, Bernard validated his interpretation of Scripture by referring to other scriptural sources. He compared Jesus' words to his Mother in John 2:4 to those in Mark 3:33. The modesty of Mary manifested by her actions at the wedding feast was validated by her actions at the Annunciation, Visitation, and the Finding of the Child in the Temple.\(^{565}\)

Marian doctrines were integrated into all three sermons. Bernard made several references to Jesus as Lord and Mary as the Mother of the Lord. Mary's virginity was mentioned in various ways: she had a Virgin's mind; and she was a Virgin Mother, who had an immaculate womb, conceived with modesty and bore without detriment. Bernard extolled Mary's virtues: she was most gracious, most holy, modest in the highest degree, never garrulous, and not presumptuous. He encouraged the monks to contemplate Mary's prerogatives of the flesh and to have sentiments of admiration, veneration, and devotion.\(^{566}\) This is the first time that Mary's prerogatives are mentioned in a sermon about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana.

The Virgin Mother's mediation was Bernard's prevailing message in all three sermons. There were two aspects of this mediation: Mary's sensitivity to the needs of others, and her consistent ability to successfully intercede for them. Bernard described the Virgin Mother as: always merciful, full of tenderest

\(^{565}\) See "Second Sermon" for references to John 2:4 and Mark 3:3, 195-196; see "Assumption" for references to the Annunciation, Visitation, Finding in the Temple, 198.

\(^{566}\) See "First and Second Sermons" for references to Mary as the Mother of the Lord, 192, 195; see "First and Second Sermons" for references to Mary's virginity, 192, 195; see "Second Sermon" and "Assumption" for references to Mary's virtues, 198.
charity, and redolent of mercy. She was persistent and could not rest easy even when she was reproved by her Son, did not lose confidence, but instructed the waiters to follow her Son's directions. Jesus, on the other hand would not hesitate to do what his Mother asked him to do. Their Virgin Mother interceded for the wedding guests who did not ask her for help, she will certainly listen to the monks who pray to her with reverence.  

Isaac of Stella (c. 1110-1169 or 1178)

5.8 The Life and Teaching of Isaac of Stella

Isaac was born in England around 1110. Little was known about his family. His education can be discerned from his writings. He probably studied Scholasticism in the Cathedral Schools in the North of France, sometime in the late 1120s. Bernard McGinn holds that "Isaac's thought shows the impact of the three forces that dominated theological discourse in the period between 1120 and 1150: the theology of Peter Abelard; the revival of Christian Platonism often described as the 'School of Chartres;' and the theology of the Augustinian canons of the abbey of Saint Victor of Paris."  

Sometime in the 1140s, Isaac made a decision to direct his life away from an academic or ecclesiatical career and to a monastic life. Isaac may have entered the Cisercian Order at the abbey of Pontigny, a daughter house of Citeaux in the diocese of

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567 See “First Sermon” for references to Mary's sensitivity to others and mercy, 192; see "Sermon for the Assumption" for reference to Mary's persistence and Jesus' responsiveness, 198.


A change in Abbot Isaac's responsibility at Stella came in 1167. He had been connected to the dispute between Thomas à Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry II of England. Isaac and John Bellesmains, the English bishop of Poitiers, interceded with the abbot at Pontigny on behalf of Becket. Ultimately, Becket was provided hospitality there, where he stayed for two years. In the course of time, Becket went back to England and as history reports, was murdered on December 29, 1170. Isaac left Stella for reasons that are not quite clear. He went to a small monastery, the Abbey Notre-Dame des Chatiliers, on the Island of Ré around 1167. There are two opinions on the length of time Isaac was there: he died shortly after his arrival or was there until 1178. This last opinion was based on the amount of writing that apparently came from this period of time.\footnote{See McGinn, "Isaac of Stella," Selected Works, 173-175; McGinn, "Introduction," Isaac of Stella, xv-xvi.}

Isaac wrote fifty-five sermons, two treatises, and some biblical commentaries. There are four sermons with Marian themes: three on the mystery of Mary's Assumption and one on the Nativity. He also mentioned Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in "A Second Sermon for the First Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany," which is part of this work. The two treatises were: "Letter on the Office of the Mass" and "Letter on the Soul," and some biblical commentaries.\footnote{See McGinn, "Isaac of Stella," Selected Works, 173; Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 170.}

Luigi Gambero found that Isaac of Stella followed Bernard of Clairvaux in his Marian doctrine and devotion. Gambero holds
that "We can easily place him among the best theologians of his time." 

5.8.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Sermo Decimus*, Sermon Ten for the First Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany

Abbot Isaac probably preached this sermon to the monks in his community, when he was at the Abbey Notre-Dame des Chatiliers on the Island of Ré. 

The sermon was pastoral and exhortative in nature. Isaac developed the theme of the marriage of the disciple-monk to Christ, a marriage that is "achieved only if one's life is a conversion-process." He intended to explain "from where, how and to where this process would take us;" so "that we may return to where we had fallen from ... get a foothold in the very place of our fall and so to rise up from it." This conversion was to be accomplished through two processes: understanding, to change from the letter to the spirit, and love, to shift from vice to virtue. With greater understanding and virtue, they would see him who is their true love, even until, with the full embrace of love, they grasp him whom at last they will be granted to see, their beloved.

In the course of developing the conversion process, Isaac explained why the Mother of Jesus obtained the miracle.

"And Jesus' Mother was there" (Jn 2,1). This means that her suggestion to her Son was more than a hint, it was an instance of her intercession. If he granted her a miracle it was precisely because she grasped the mystery. When her

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572 Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 170.


215
Son replied, "Nay, woman, what is that to me and you? " (Jn 2:4), as if to say, "I have power in common with my Father, weakness with my mother," she understood perfectly and advised the servants to do all that Jesus should tell them.\(^{575}\) (Translated by Hugh McCaffery.)\(^{576}\)

### 5.8.2 Commentary

Isaac rephrased John 2:1 and interpreted it literally; Jesus' Mother was there. He immediately moved from the literal to the spiritual meaning of these words. Isaac held that Jesus' Mother, Mary, grasped the mystery that he was divine, with the power from his Father, and human, with the weakness of humanity from her.\(^{577}\) Mary grasped this mystery and understood it perfectly. Mary also had faith in her Son. She was there at the marriage feast with understanding and virtue. The suggestion to her Son was more than a hint, it was an intercession. Because Mary understood, had faith, and did not ignore the mystery, Jesus performed the miracle.\(^{578}\) It was significant that Isaac expressed so clearly what the Mother of Jesus understood so perfectly, the two natures of her Son.

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\(^{576}\) Isaac of Stella, "Sermon Ten," Sermons, 86.

\(^{577}\) Isaac followed Augustine's interpretation of John 2:4. See Tractate 8, 119, and 218 on pages 88-89, 91, 93. Isaac's Latin for John 2:4 ("Quid mihi et tibi, mulier") is the same as the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate. This translation is a paraphrasing that is independent of the original Latin. Hugh McCaffrey's translation is like John Morson and Hilary Costello's translation of Guerric's Sermon 50, 192.

\(^{578}\) See McGinn, "Isaac of Stella," Selected Works, 185.
Adam of Dryburgh / Scotland (c. 1140-1212)

5.9 The Life and Teaching of Adam of Dryburgh\(^{579}\)

Adam was probably born in Berwickshire in Scotland, the province in which he entered Dryburgh Abbey. His parents were thought to be of English or Anglo-Norman origin and ordinary people. Adam entered the Premonstratensian Abbey at Dryburg when he was a young boy. \(^{580}\) The abbey had just been founded in Scotland and the founders perpetuated a continental level of education and training, which was evident in Adam's later writings.

According to his biographer, Adam had an aptitude and zeal for study, which he applied to learning supernatural goals; with study being part of his religious way of life. "Thus highly motivated Adam familiarized himself with the whole range of Christian writers, from Augustine through Gregory and Bede to his early contemporaries, Hugh of St. Victor and Bernard."\(^{581}\)

Adam was ordained to the priesthood, a Premonstratensian Canon, when he was twenty-five. He served as Abbot and was known to be an excellent preacher and was esteemed by his contemporaries. His positions required him to travel to churches and other monasteries to preach and carry out the obligations of his

\(^{579}\) Adam of Dryburgh is also known as Adam of Scotland. His sermons were written in the 1180s, before he became a Carthusian in 1188. This is the reason for including him in the chapter on the twelfth century, even though he died in the thirteenth century. See M.J. Hamilton, *Adam of Dryburgh: Six Christmas Sermons* (Salzburg, Aust.: University of Salzburg, 1974), 63.

\(^{580}\) The Premonstratensian Order was founded in 1120 by St. Norbert (d.1134) for the purpose of reforming the parish clergy. They followed Augustine's rule and were organized according to the Cistercian system. See Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church* (New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1990), 133. Hereafter: Bokenkotter, *Concise History*. They are also known as the Norbertines, the Order of the Canons Regular of Prémontré (O. Praem.) and the White Canons.

position. In 1188, Adam chose to leave the Premonstratensians, become a Carthusian and observe an eremitical way of life. After some difficulty obtaining his permission to leave the Premonstratensians, he ultimately obtained permission and entered the old Priory at Witham, Somerset. 582

One work by Adam during his Premonstratensian years was De Ordine, consisting of fourteen sermons on the dignity of canons, the significance of the white habit, and their vow of profession which leads to a commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine. Another was De Tripartito Tabernaculo, where he described the three levels of biblical interpretations: the historical was an exegesis of Exodus concerning the tabernacle of Moses; the allegorical equated the tabernacle with the Church; and the tabernacle of the human soul in which God dwells. A third book was De Instructione, which was a dialogue between the Heart and the Mind, Anima et Ratio. 583 During the 1180s, he wrote 100 sermons for various liturgical cycles. After he became a Carthusian, he wrote De Quattripartito Exercito Cellae, which followed the model of De Ordine. He wrote many other pieces; the names of which are found on a list, but were lost. 584 Adam lived in the Priory of Witham until his death in 1212, at the age of seventy two.

5.9.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Sermo XLVI: Item Dominica II Post Epiphaniam, the Sermon for the Second Sunday after the Epiphany, Sermon 46

Now I do not doubt that filled with such desires and intent upon these exercises, those holy espousals and interior joys, the bride can unite herself to the Bridegroom and the

582 See Hamilton, Adam, 22. See also 1-28.

583 Hamilton, Adam, De Ordine, 30-32; De Tripartito Tabernaculo, 34-38; De Instructione, 39-41.

584 Hamilton, Adam, 54-59.
soul to God. With zeal in fact she exerts herself in
perfecting her likeness, whether in that which refers to the
exterior man, while by means of a holy life she passes
from vice to virtue and from one virtue to another, as if
passing from evil to good and from good to better. But
also in those things which regard the interior man, while
"gazing with unveiled face on the glory of the Lord, are
being transformed into the same image from glory to
glory, as from the Lord who is the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:18).
Truly these seem to be very much the interpretations of
these things, because Cana, as they say, means zeal and
Galilee means a passing or a revelation. And so the
wedding is celebrated in Cana of Galilee while the bride
exults and rejoices together with her Spouse in the chaste
and sober joys of spiritual gladness. This takes place by
means of the zeal she possesses in her condition of
exterior transformation and the understanding of interior
revelation. Such zeal is created by the devout will, which
is identified with the Mother of Jesus, of whom it is said
that she was present. Certainly, she was, and where, if not
at the wedding feast? She is one who conceived Jesus with
love, our interior grace, who offers us salvation and life
and protects them once given. She conceives him in love
and brings him forth in virtue. She conceives him in love,
I repeat, whenever she suggests secretly to the soul that
which is salvific. That is the reason why it says that the
Mother of Jesus was present. It is necessary in fact that
the devotion of a loving will intervene absolutely in a
typical marriage, the presence of which is so necessary.

"It happened that the wine was lacking," the evangelist
affirms and the mother of Jesus says to him (there is no
doubt that it is Jesus to whom she is speaking); "They
have no wine." There are weddings at times where there is
not enough wine. Who in this life is capable of possessing
a purity that in himself that the spiritual joy does not
encounter some defect? Man never remains in the same
situation; he is always subject to change. At times the divine gift raises him to the heights; other times its weight causes him to fall into the abyss. For this reason, while still at the wedding feast the wine is lacking.

In any case, the wine was lacking. The mother of Jesus does not complain to him. That is to say, the devout will seeks interior grace with a loving request concerning the absence of the cup of interior spiritual joy. The lack of wine no longer renders those invited sad if, in the eventuality of the same lack, Jesus' help will be sought by a maternal request. This signifies that our good desires should not lament at length because of the absence of spiritual joy if, in order to restore the same joy in interior grace, she does not cease to breathe ardent invocations. Therefore the mother of Jesus does not cease to implore, and is believed never to have suffered refusal, even if at the first moment she receives a seeming response of reproof.\(^{585}\) (Translated by Jerome Young.)

\(^{585}\) *Jam non ambigo quin talibus studiis occupata, hujusmodi exercitiis intenta, copulari in sanctis illis nuptiis internis videlicet gaudiis possit sponsa Sponso, anima Deo. Perficere namque zelat similem suam, tam in his, quae pertinent ad hominem exteriorem, dum in sancta conversatione de vito ad virtutem, et de virtute vadit ad virtutem, quasi de malo transmigrans ad bonum, de bono autem ad melius: quam in his, quae spectant ad interiorem, dum revelata facie gloriam Dei speculans in eadem imaginem transformatur a claritate in claritate, tanquam a Domini spiritu' (II Cor. III, 18). Hæc enim innuere videntur interpretationes nimium istorum, quia Cana, ut dicunt, zelum sonat, Galilæa vero transmigrationem seu revelationem. Fiunt itaque nuptiae in Cana Galilææ, dum in castis et sobriis spiritualis jucunditatis gaudiis exsultat, et tripudiat sponsa cum Sponso; idque in zelo, quem habet in affectu exterioris transmigratis, et in intellectu revelationis interioris. Talem zelum devota voluntas format, quae est mater Jesu, de qua dicitur: quia fuit ibi (Joan. II, 1), haud dubium, quin in nuptiis. Hæc et, quæ Jesum, gratiam videlicet internam, per quem salus et vita nobis datur, et data custoditur, concipit per affectum, parit vero per effectum. Per effectum, dico, concipit, dum quod salubre est, occulte in mente proponit. Per effectum vero parit, dum propositum bonum usque ad opus in aperto producit. Apte ergo dicitur, quia mater Jesu erat ibi; oportet enim his nuptiis necessario adsit devotoa voluntatis, cujus quam necessaria sit præsentia, in subsequentibus apparebit. [...]
5.9.2 Commentary

Adam read John's account of the Wedding Feast at Cana in a literal sense, and then created an allegory from it, incorporating some of the essential lessons that he wanted to teach the monks and others to whom he would preach. The wedding was the marriage between an individual monk or person, "bride" to Christ, the "Bridegroom" and the soul to God. The Mother of Jesus was at this wedding and when the wine was lacking, that is, the interior graces are lacking, she intercedes with her Son for the interior graces needed by the bride for interior spiritual joy.

Adam first addressed each monk and reminded him what was needed. As an exterior man, he needed to lead a "holy life" by "passing from vice to virtue and from one virtue to another, as if passing from evil to good and from good to better." Interiorly, he would be transformed into the same image of God. This would

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586 This allegory is like that of Bernard of Clairvaux, "Second Sermon for the First Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany," where the Lord invited the monks to a spiritual wedding in which the bridegroom was Christ and the bride was all of the monks together or each soul individually. The lack of wine was the lack of the grace of devotion and fervor of love. Mary was the Mother of Mercy, the one to whom the monks should turn. See Bernard, "Second Sermon," 201.
take place by the zeal that he possessed in the "exterior transformation and the understanding of interior revelation." This zeal was created by a devout will.

The Mother of Jesus was to be identified as the devout will, present at this wedding. Adam explained, the Mother "conceived Jesus with love" and Jesus was their "interior grace," the one "who offers them salvation and life and protects them." Mary continues to conceive Jesus in love in them, when "she suggests secretly to the soul that which is salvific." Adam promulgated the teaching of Mary's virginal conception and birth, writing "She is one who conceived Jesus with love, and brings him forth in virtue."

Adam returned to the literal sense of John's Gospel and paraphrased verse 2:3, then clarified that Jesus was speaking to his mother. The spiritual meaning of the words, "the wine was lacking," referred to the times in life when the internal graces were lacking and spiritual joy was absent. At these times, the Mother of Jesus, the "devout will," does not complain, but "seeks interior grace with a loving request concerning the absence of the cup of interior spiritual joy." Adam admonished each monk that he should not be sad, because the Mother of Jesus "does not cease to breathe ardent invocations," and "does not cease to implore" to her Son on his behalf; and it is believed that she is never refused her request.

Adam taught that Mary is the Mother of Jesus, a virgin, and present at Cana and at the wedding of each individual with her Son, the Bridegroom. She continuously intercedes on the monk's behalf and never ceases to implore her Son for internal graces for him.

5.10 Summary of Chapter Five

During the twelfth century there many who contributed to the material that led to this period being known as the "The Golden Age of Mary." Seven members of monastic communities who wrote sermons about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were major contributors. Rupert of Deutz, Geoffey of Vendôme, and Peter Abelard were Benedictine abbots; Gueric of Igny, Bernard
of Clarivaux, and Isaac of Stella were Cistercian abbots; and Adam of Dryburgh was a Premonstratensian and a Carthusian. Three sermons were specifically written for Marian feasts: Geoffrey wrote a sermon to be read "On any Feast in Honor of the Blessed Mother, Mother of God;" Guerriic and Bernard wrote sermons for the celebration of Mary's Assumption.

5.11 Summary of the Marian Doctrine Found in the Writings of These Fathers and Pastoral Theologians

Like the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians in the previous chapters, these men preached, wrote, and defended the Councils: Nicaea, First and Second Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Lateran (649); Mary is the Virgin Mother of God.

Rupert and Adam wrote commentaries on John 2:1 as allegories. Mary and the Church are both mothers and to be present at true marriages. According to Rupert, Mary was present at the marriage of Christ to humanity at the Incarnation. Mary and the Church would be at the marriage of Christ to souls. Adam taught that Mary was present at the marriage of Christ to souls.  

Rupert, Geoffrey, Guerriic, and Isaac began with a literal interpretation of Mary's presence and action at the Wedding Feast. John 2:3 was variously interpreted. Rupert thought that she acted out of consideration for those who invited her; Geoffrey held that she commanded with love and her Son fulfilled her request with loving obedience. Abelard stated that Mary did not ask for a kindness, she thought it sufficient to tell Jesus the wine was gone. Bernard held that Mary observed the embarrassment of the good people and pitied them. Adam wrote that the mother of Jesus did not complain to him, her devout will sought interior grace with a loving request concerning the absence of the cup of interior spiritual joy. The spiritual meaning of the text was presented by Rupert and Isaac who followed Augustine and the others in their exegesis of John 2:3 and 2:4; Christ's ability to perform miracles.

*See Rupert, 181 and Adam, 218-219 for Mary's presence at marriages.*
came from the Father and his mortality came from his mother. Christ's redemptive sacrifice was a manifestation of the human nature that he had assumed from his mother.\textsuperscript{588}

There were other lessons gleaned from John 2:4. Jesus' words to his mother provided an opportunity for Rupert to refute the heresies taught by Marcion, Cerinthus, Ebion, Nestorius, and pagans. Guerric taught a moral lesson to his monks; spiritual things come before the flesh. He did so by comparing John 2:4 to Matthew 12:47 and Luke 2:49. He cited Scripture to interpret and explain other Scripture. Bernard employed a dialectic method to determine Jesus' message that was hidden in John 2:4. He acknowledged that Jesus' words "sounded harsh and austere." Bernard agreed, "who is not disturbed" by the Lord's answer to his gracious mother. Bernard explained that the words are misleading. In Sermon One, Jesus did know who his mother was and she knew who her Son was, that was why she said to the waiters, "Whatever he shall say to you, do it." In the Sermon Two, Jesus was teaching a moral lesson, which applied to his monastic community.\textsuperscript{589}

\textbf{Mary's Divine Maternity:} Rupert identified Mary as the Mother of Jesus, who was God made man; Mary was the \textit{Theotókos}. Geoffrey entitled his sermon, "On any Feast in Honor of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God." He also called her the Mother of the Lord, and the Mother of the King of men and Creator. Guerric explained that Mary had the double honor of being a Mother to Jesus; she bore him in her womb and in her spirit, because she did the will of the Father. In a most enlightening way, Guerric wrote, "As the grace of giving birth to God was conferred on her ..., so was the priviledge of glorying in him to


\textsuperscript{589} See Rupert, 174-175, Guerric, 195, Bernard 202-203, 205 for comments on John 2:4.
whom she gave birth. Altogether her own and without comparison was the glory of the Virgin Mother, to see God the King of all in the diadem of the flesh with which she crowned him, so as to recognize God and adore him in her own body and see her own body glorified in God." Bernard referred to Mary as the Mother of the Lord in all three of his sermons.590

Mary's Virginity: Rupert identified Mary as the blessed Virgin, who bore Christ from her virginal womb. Geoffrey wrote that she was the most blessed Virgin, Virgin Mary, Virgin Mother, and Virgin most holy. Guerric called her the Virgin Mother. Bernard expanded on Mary's virginity; she had a Virgin's mind, was a Virgin Mother, who had an immaculate womb, conceived with modesty, and bore him without detriment.591

Mary and the Old Testament: Geoffrey used language that could describe Mary as the New Eve: "she brought forth the death of death, the life of man, the confusion of the devil, the absolution of sinners, the blessedness of all the just."

Mary and the Church: Rupert associated the Church with Mary: both are mothers, Mary is mother of Jesus who is God made man at the Incarnation and the Church is present when each virginal soul becomes espoused to Christ. 592

Other: The abbots presented here wrote in greater depth and richer meaning to the presence and action of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Wedding Feast than those theologians in earlier centuries. Mary was described as a spiritual person, exhibiting her

590 See Rupert, 174; Geoffrey, 184; Guerric, 195; and Bernard, 202, 205, 209 for references to Mary's Divine Maternity.

591 See Rupert, 175, Geoffrey, 184; Guerric, 196; and Bernard, 202, 205, 209 regarding Mary's virginity.

592 See Geoffrey, 184 for reference to the New Eve and Rupert, 181 for reference to Mary and the Church.
knowledge and expressing her reason and will. Rupert held that "The blessed Mother of God chooses to be the heavenly gate of favor." Guerric, like Augustine, taught that Mary welcomed the Lord into the bridal chamber of her womb, carefully tended his humanity, kept all of his words, and stood by his cross. Bernard explained Mary's knowledge relative to Jesus' response to her in John 2:4, "... and she was not ignorant Who He was That spoke. And that you may understand in what manner she received His response ... she immediately saith to the waiters ...." Isaac revealed the reason for Jesus' compliance with his Mother's request, "If he granted her a miracle it was precisely because she grasped the mystery ... she understood perfectly and advised the servants to do all that Jesus should tell them."\(^{593}\) The Virgin Mary knew that Jesus was truly human and truly divine.

Mary's knowledge led to her response of mercy and intercession; she was recognized as the mediator between her Son and the supplicant. Geoffrey assured his monks that the Blessed Virgin would continue to intercede for them from heaven, just as she did at the wedding feast; and her Divine Son "can deny her nothing." Geoffrey extolled the Blessed Mother's virtues that led to her intercession: "This Virgin is so holy, so glorious, so honored, lifted so high by God so humble, so compassionate, so mericful and loving [that she would] place herself between it [a sinful soul destined already for eternal punishment] and the severity of the strict Judge. Abelard conveyed the message that the Mother of Christ was "solicitous for a bodily kindness, and interceded for them ... even if [she seems] to be sternly approached by Him, did not cease to ask, until she obtained what she intended." Bernard described the Mother of Jesus as sensitive to the needs of others, always merciful, full of tenderest charity, and redolent of mercy. Bernard held that Mary was persistent in seeking help, "she could not rest easy, neither could she forebear speaking to her Son" even though she was "apparently reproved by

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\(^{593}\) See Rupert, 174, Guerric, 196, Bernard, 202, and Isaac, 215 for comments about Mary as a spiritual person.
him." Adam taught that the mother of Jesus does not cease to implore and is believed never to have been refused.\textsuperscript{594}

\textsuperscript{594} See Geoffrey, 185; Abelard, 190; and Bernard, 202-203, 205, and Adam, 220 for discussion of Mary's mercy and intercession.
Chapter Six

The Scholastic Period: Thirteenth Century

6.1 Introduction

During the thirteenth century there was continued interest in Marian doctrine and devotion. As in the previous centuries, the Blessed Virgin Mary was studied and venerated in relationship to her Divine Son and God's salvation plan for humanity.

The five authors that wrote about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana represent a variety of religious orders. Bonaventure was a Franciscan. Albert the Great, Hugh of St. Cher, and Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans. Stephen of Salley (Sawley) was a Cistercian.

6.2 Prosperity and Growth in the Church

6.2.1 The Ecumenical Councils

The three ecumenical councils that were held during the thirteenth century did not address any teaching regarding the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) mandated that Catholics had to receive the Sacrament of Penance at least once a year and the Eucharist was defined in terms of transubstantiation. The pastoral mission of the mendicant orders was outlined. The First Council of Lyons (1245) was called by Pope Innocent IV to address internal and external problems facing the Church. The Second Council of Lyons (1274) defined the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, the *filioque* and reinstituted a relationship between Rome and the Greek Church. Bonaventure and Albert the Great attended. Bonaventure died during the council and Thomas Aquinas died on the way.\(^{595}\)

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6.2.2 The Rise of the Mendicant Orders

As economic growth continued and population shifted from the rural setting to the urban community, a new type of religious order came into being. Because they begged for alms for their living, they became known as mendicant orders, from the Latin to beg, *mendicare*. These were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Hermits who formed to meet the needs of the people who gathered around the cities. They followed the monastic ideal of poverty and self sacrifice while staying in the world to carry out their vocations. The members of these orders were called friars rather than monks.\(^{596}\) The friars responded to the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council and became pastoral ministers as: preachers, confessors, and theologians. They became friars with an urban mission.\(^{597}\)

6.2.3 Universities and Scholastic Education

The Cathedral and urban schools gradually evolved into universities. The major European cities established universities: Paris, Bologna, Salerno, Oxford, Cambridge, Naples, and Padua. Some of these were under the tutelage of the new mendicant orders. Papal and royal charters required schools of higher education to become more regimented, with organizations of personnel and curricula. This trend would continue for the next few centuries. Advanced studies were offered in medicine, law, and theology, with foundational courses in liberal arts.\(^{598}\)

Along with these developments came a scientific method of study known as Scholasticism. It evolved out of the availability of Aristotle's writings and a renewal of interest in his work. "The effects on theology were earthshaking ... the works of Aristotle

\(^{596}\) See Bokenkotter, *Concise History*, 134.


\(^{598}\) See Ocker, "Scholastic," *History*, 254.
confronted Christian thinkers for the first time with a completely rationalistic interpretation of human existence and indeed of the whole of knowable reality.” Christian theologians responded by endeavoring to incorporate into one harmonious Christian theology, all of the Greek and Arabic scientific thought. Three outstanding theologians effectively constructed such a cohesive theological system; they were Bonaventure, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas.

6.2.4 The Bible and Biblical Exegesis

The shift from monastic methods of study to scholastic methods was significant. In the monastery, the method continued to include lectio, meditatio, oratio, and contemplatio. This study was primarily silent and meditative. Church Fathers would be consulted and quoted; and sermons or other works were written to be read to the community. They were pastoral and exhortative in nature, directed toward the practice of the Christian life. The scholastic method was quite different. It was oral and interactive, requiring dialogue between master and students. In the beginning there were two basic elements in the pedagogy: the expositio textum [read the text and explain it] and disputatio [disputation of the material]. These steps never stopped evolving and diversifying. The debates were eventually delivered as sermons or speeches. The topics for study were ideas meant to be part of a teacher’s instruction for a universal and anonymous audience. The purpose and the method of these two forms of study produced different writings.

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599 Bokenkotter, Concise History, 145.

600 See Bokenkotter, Concise History, 145.

601 See Leclercq, Love of Learning, 154-155; Ocker, "Scholastic," History, 256.

602 For further discussion on scholastic sermons, see Leinsle, Scholastic Theology, 68-73.
The academic process started with *lectio* then incorporated other literary tools. More attention was given to dialectic and grammar. *Florilegia* ["flower" collections of excerpts from previous writers] and the interlinear or marginal glosses from prior periods were consulted.\(^603\) Some of these glosses were organized into what became known as *catena* [chains], like the *Catena aurea* [chain of gold] of Thomas Aquinas. Collections of *catenae* became reference books and textbooks. Scriptural commentaries continued to be studied.\(^604\) Hugh of St. Cher (1200-1263) developed the *Postilla*, which was a type of running commentary. This name and Hugh's format became the typical Bible commentary of Scholasticism.\(^605\)

The preference for the literal biblical exegesis in the Late Medieval Scholasticism was a result of the teaching of Thomas Aquinas. In his *Summa theologiae*, he reasoned "Since the literal sense is that which the author intends, and since the author of Holy Writ is God, Who by one act comprehends all things by His intellect, it is not unfitting, as Augustine says (Confess. xii), if, even according to the literal sense, one word in Holy Writ should have several senses."\(^606\) Aquinas continued, "Thus in Holy Writ no confusion results, for all the senses are founded on one - the literal - from which alone can any argument be drawn, and not from those intended in allegory, as Augustine says (Epis. 48). Nevertheless,

\(^{603}\) Glosses were explanatory words inserted into the margins or interlinearly into texts to explain difficult or foreign words. See Richard Mc Brien, "Gloss," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 562.

\(^{604}\) See Leinsle, *Scholastic Theology*, 43-46.

\(^{605}\) See Ocker, "Scholastic," *History*, 261. See Leinsle, *Scholastic Theology*, 53 - 54, for the definition of *Postilla*: thought to come from *post illa verba*, [after these verses]; and the sentences and Summas.

nothing of Holy Scripture perishes on account of this, since nothing necessary to faith is contained under the spiritual sense which is not elsewhere put forward by the Scripture in its literal sense."  

Aquinas held, "The parabolic [in parables] sense is contained in the literal, for by words things are signified properly and figuratively."  

While Aquinas recognized all four senses, he clearly held that the literal was the fundamental and all inclusive sense.

The Scholastic method for the study of Theology brought some improvements for the study of the Bible. The first complete glossed Bible appeared in 1220. The Ordinary Gloss became a primary tool for theology faculty. Stephen Langton (d. 1228) corrected the grammatical errors and divided the Bible into chapters by 1203. Thomas Gallus (d. 1246) divided the chapters into paragraphs. The paragraphed Vulgate became the standard edition of the Bible. An alphabetized concordance of the Vulgate became available between 1230 and 1235. This organization of the Bible became the standard for theological study.

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609 Aquinas defined the four senses in the following way: "The author of Holy Writ is God, in whose power it is to signify His meaning, not by words only (as man also can do), but also by things themselves. So whereas in every other science things are signified by the words, this science has the property, that the things signified by the words have themselves signification. Therefore that first signification whereby words signify things belongs to the first sense, the historical or literal. That signification whereby things signified by words have themselves also a signification is called the spiritual sense, which is based on the literal, and presupposes it. Now this spiritual sense has a threefold division. [...] Therefore, so far as the things of the Old Law signify the things of the New Law, there is the allegorical sense, so far as the things done in Christ, or so far as the things which signify Christ, are types of what we ought to do, there is the moral sense. But so far as they signify what relates to eternal glory, there is the anagogical sense." Aquinas, "Senses in Holy Scripture," *Summa theologiae*, 1.10.

6.2.5 A General Overview of Marian Doctrine in the Thirteenth Century

The advancement of the scholastic method for studying theology influenced Marian doctrine. The Franciscans and the Dominicans became experts in Scholasticism. Luigi Gambero contends that "Because of the untiring labors and efforts of the mendicant friars, Marian doctrine became able to take its place within the newly devised structure and division of the theological disciplines that had been worked out according to the new scientific method of Scholasticism."  

The Blessed Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception was not promoted by the scholastic theologians. This can be understood from the teaching of Peter Lombard (d. 1160), a master of the school of the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris. He compiled a work entitled, *Four Books of Sentences*, which was pronounced orthodox at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and became the standard theological textbook. The essential teaching about Mary's freedom from sin can be found in the third book. In it there was a question whether Christ's flesh, taken from the Virgin, was subject to sin. "He answers that it was, just as 'the other flesh of the Virgin,' but that it was purified by the Holy Spirit in such a way that it was united to the Word without any contagion of sin, and that from then on Mary herself was wholly without sin."  

Mary's freedom from sin began at the Incarnation and not at conception. Consequently, most of the great scholastic teachers denied the Immaculate Conception. However, this began to change when the Franciscans, William of Ware (d. c. 1305) and John Duns Scotus (1266-1308), formulated an explanation for and defense of Mary's Immaculate Conception. Ware argued that "What God

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611 Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 196.


could do (potuit), it was fitting (decuit) that he should do so and from this it follows that he did do it (fecit); for the Son should honor the Mother." Scotus, student of Ware, continued the argumentation, "But for no one did he exercise a more excellent form of mediation than for Mary ... But this would not be so if he had not merited to preserve her from original sin. [...] It is a more excellent benefit to preserve a person from evil than to permit him to fall into it and then deliver him from it."614 The Franciscans became defenders of Mary's Immaculate Conception.

In the Scholastic Period, Marian devotion continued to flourish. It was enhanced by the lives and works of three new religious orders that had Marian charisms: the Dominicans, the Servites, and the Carmelites. St. Dominic had great devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and promoted the recitation of the rosary. The Servites were officially known as the Order of Friar Servants of Mary. The Carmelite Order originated around 1200 and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. As the members of each group carried out their particular religious vocation, they promoted Marian doctrine and devotion.

Stephen of Sawley (d. 1252)

6.3 Life and Teaching of Stephen of Sawley (Sallai, Salley)

Stephen was born in the late twelfth century in Easton, Yorkshire, this was why he was sometime called Stephen of Easton. Nothing was known about his parents. Sometime before 1215, he entered the prominent Cistercian Monastery at Fountains, which played a prominent role in Cistercian, ecclesiatical, and political affairs. Stephen entered monastic life as a novice and


235
received his religious formation based on the Rule of St. Benedict. Stephen's writings reveal that he had intimate knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, the liturgy, and the Church Fathers. He was well versed in theology and philosophy.\footnote{See Bede K. Lackner, "Introduction," \textit{Stephen of Sawley, Treatises} (Kalamazoo, Mich.: 1984), 5-23. Hereafter: Lackner, "Introduction," \textit{Stephen of Sawley}.}

Stephen's leadership skills were recognized by the other monks as evidenced by his election to serve as abbot at three different monasteries: Sawley in the south of Yorkshire (1223-1233), Newminster in Northumberland (1234-1247), and Fountains (1247-1252). Stephen attended the General Chapter meetings held in Cîteaux in 1226 and 1230. Bede K. Lackner reported, that Stephen was "not merely a good leader and administrator, but also an experienced director of souls, for the legislation of Cîteaux required such expertise from its prospective abbots."\footnote{Lackner, "Introduction," \textit{Stephen of Sawley}, 10.}

There are four sets of writings purported to be from the hand of Stephen, taken together they form a unit for spiritual teaching and include every aspect of the spiritual life. The \textit{Meditations on the Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary}, to be described later; \textit{Triple Exercise}, three meditations meant to establish a spiritual bond between God and the individual soul; \textit{Mirror for Novices}, a spiritual directory geared toward the daily routine of monastic exercises; and \textit{On the Recitation of the Divine Office}, an essay directed toward a spiritually enriching chanting of the psalms.\footnote{Lackner, "Introduction," \textit{Stephen of Sawley}, 12-22.}

Deyanira Flores wrote, "He was extremely devoted to Our Lady, and called himself her 'servant.' He considered that, 'after God, all his spiritual comfort, his life, his happiness, and hope depended on this most gracious Virgin,' and he constantly 'looked for the help of the Mother of Mercy ....' To his monks he taught that devotion was an essential part of their spiritual life." The \textit{Meditation on the Joys of the Blessed Virgin} was a precursor to the
Rosary; Stephen provided reflections on various mysteries of Mary and Jesus' lives, which are later found in the rosary.\footnote{Stephen’s treatise was first discovered by L. Delisle in the nineteenth century and published by André Wilmart in 1929. The date of the writing of this work is unknown. Deyanira Flores, "Stephen of Sawley," "The Virgin Mary in the Medieval Period," Lecture, International Marian Research Institute, University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio, Summer, 2008, 310.}

Stephen of Sawley's influence on the monks of his time can be determined by his elections to the abbacy at three prominent Cistercian monasteries. His writings would have been part of his fatherly leadership and spiritual direction to his monastic sons. After his death on September 8, 1252 at a daughter-house, Vaudy, the monks buried him in their chapter room, in front of the abbot's chair. An inscription over his grave provides some indication of the reverence the monks had for their abbot; it read 'where [in heaven] he is radiant in glory as a worker of miracles.'\footnote{Lackner, "Introduction," Stephen of Sawley, 8.}

\section*{6.3.1 Meditation X, Meditation Ten on the Blessed Virgin Mary}

The Meditations were written at the request of a monk. Stephen wrote about fifteen joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary and divided them into three phases of her life. The first five joys of Mary are from her birth to the Visitation. The second five refer to Mary's joys from the birth of Jesus to the Wedding Feast at Cana; and the final five reflect on Mary's joys over Christ's redeeming the world to her glorious Assumption.

Tenth Meditation

The tenth meditation, which follows the meditation on wisdom, deals with the miracles of the Lord Jesus and the revelation of his power at the beginning of his public life. The conversion of water into wine marked the first of his miracles; it proved that he was the true God at whose
command nature itself changed (Jn 2:11). In this meditation think of the loving Mother as she begged her all-powerful Son to have mercy and compassion on their embarrassed hosts. It was then that he revealed the power of the Godhead and by this physical act he established one of the Church's sacraments. In matters such as these, who can fully express Mary's joys, extended beyond measure, when her beloved Son, hereto known almost to her, his mother, alone, revealed himself in public (Jn 21:1). This he did in the following manner: on his mother's request, he changed water into wine. On the same day but not the same year, he bowed down for baptism at the hands of John; he made water holy for us in baptism by its contact with his sacred body, and he introduced to all mortals the holy and undivided Trinity: the Father, by his spoken word; the Son, by means of his human presence; and the Holy Spirit, under the appearance of a dove (Mt 3:15-17, Mk 1:10-11, Lk 3:22, Jn 1:31,34).

In all these instances the Holy Mother of God was filled with a joy which surpassed all the joys experienced by any human being. In remembrance of this Joy, say:

Tenth Joy

Rejoice, O most glorious Mother of God, Mary ever-virgin, because you delighted in those sweet joys which the childhood and the wisdom of your Son wrought in your soul. You rejoiced even more when, at the time of his baptism, he revealed himself to the whole world as true God and, at the same time, manifested the Holy Trinity (Mt 3:13-17); and you rejoiced when he changed water into wine and performed other miracles.

Tenth Petition

Sweetest of ladies, mindful of your indescribable joy at your Son's miracles, I implore you to prepare my impure heart so that, upon your glorious intercession, the Holy
Spirit may in his kindness descend into it, make it his abode (Jn 14:23), and enlighten it by revealing the Holy Trinity. May the ardor of the divine presence turn the waters of empty chatter and the passions of the flesh in me into the wine of compunction; may they change the waters of servile fear into the wine of love; may they change the lukewarm waters of neglect and the turbulent waters of carelessness into the unadulterated wine of love and pure devotion-through your constant intercession on my behalf. O clement, O loving, O sweet Mary.

Hail, holy, glorious, perpetually loving Mother of God, Mary ever-virgin, full of grace. The Lord is with you. Blessed are you among women and blessed is the Lord Jesus, the sweet fruit of your blessed womb. Amen. (Translated by Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan.)

620 «Decima meditatio. Decima meditatio post sapienciam miracula domini Iesu meditatur et potenciam ubi occurrat in inicuo, illud inicium signorum (Ioa. II, 11) suorum de conversione aque in uinum, in quo uerus deus comprobatur, ad cuius imperium natura mutatur. In hac ergo meditatio considera piam matrem potenti filio supplicantem, conuiuancium uerecundie misericorditer compacentem, filium deitatis sue potenciam manifestantem et in ipso corporali opere sacramenta ecclesie sue dedicantem. Quis in his exprimat gaudia Marie, scilicet quam inestimabiliter letata sit, cum dilectissimus filius suus, hactenus fere soli matri in terra notus, manifestaut seipsum mundo, manifestaut autem sic (Ioa. XXI,1): ad preces matris aquam in uinum mutando, eodem die licet non eodem anno baptiste manibus se inclinando, aquas nostro baptismati sacri corporis sui contactu sanctificando, partrem in uoce, filium in humano corpore, spiritum sanctum in columbe specie, sanctam, sed et indiuiduam trinitatem mortalibus manifestando? In his omnibus supra omnes mortales gaudio magno repleta est sancta dei genetrix. In cuius gaudii commemoratio dices:

Decimum gaudium. - Gaude, gloriosissima dei genetrix et sanctissima virgo semper Maria, que post illa dulcissima gaudia quibus in te ineffabiliter affecta est anima tua de infanciis et sapiencia filii tui, amplius exultasti in spiritu (Lc. I, 47), quando uerus deum manifestat se mundo in baptisme, in sancte trinitatis ostensione, in aque in unium mutatione et in aliorum miraculorum operatione.

Decima peticio. - Deprecor te, dulcissima domina, per illud indicibile gaudium quod habuisti de omnibus miraculosis operibus filii tui, quatinus tuis gloriosis precibus impurum cor neum preparare digneris ita ut in illud descendere dignetur benignissimus
6.3.2 Commentary

Stephen began his work from a literal point of view, moving then to a spiritual interpretation. He connected the tenth meditation with the ninth reflection on Jesus' wisdom, which he displayed at the Temple in Jerusalem. Mary was enlightened by the gift of understanding and comprehended all the things she heard in this life from her Son, whom she knew as the power and wisdom of God.

The tenth meditation continued the theme of wisdom. Mary's joy came from the knowledge that her beloved Son was true God and had the power of the Godhead. He was about to reveal his divine power in public. Stephen paraphrased John 2:3, stating that the loving Mother begged her all-powerful Son to have mercy and compassion on the embarrassed hosts. On his mother's request, he changed water into wine; thereby, he relieved the immediate concern of the hosts.

The Synoptic Gospels were cited to validate and elaborate Stephen's meditation on Jesus' divine power. At his baptism by John, Jesus made the water holy and instituted baptism, while introducing the undivided Trinity. In all these instances the Holy Mother was filled with joy which surpassed all joys experienced by any human being.

The tenth joy of Mary recalled the delight she experienced in those sweet joys which the childhood and the wisdom of her Son wrought in her soul. Mary experienced joy even more when Jesus revealed his true divinity to the whole world and manifested the Trinity. Mary's joy was essentially associated with her divine Son.

The tenth petition focused on what the monk was to ask the sweetest of ladies, the Mother of God. She was to prepare an impure heart so that the Holy Spirit may descend into it and make it his abode, enlightening it by revealing the Holy Trinity. May the divine presence turn the waters of empty chatter, passions, servile fear, neglect, and carelessness into the wine of compunction, love, and pure devotion. The Holy Spirit would do all of this through the constant intercession of Mary.

Stephen eloquently and consistently identified Mary with glowing titles: Mary was holy, full of grace, glorious, perpetually loving Mother of God, twice the glorious Mother of God, twice the ever-virgin, clement, and the sweetest of ladies. Stephen ends with echoes of the prayers, Hail Mary and Hail Holy Queen. Stephen continued the promulgation of the Marian dogmas from the Council of Ephesus and the Lateran Council. He upheld the teaching of Mary's holiness and fullness of grace; he wrote about her Assumption.

St. Albert the Great (1193-1280)

6.4 Life and Teaching of Albert the Great

Albert was born in 1193 in Lauingen, in Bavarian Suabia in the diocese of Augsburg. He was the eldest son of a powerful and wealthy German Lord. His education as a youth was unknown. In 1212, Albert was sent to study liberal arts at the University of Padua and became exposed to the newly translated works of Aristotle. In 1223, he entered the Order of Preachers against the wishes of his family and was sent to Germany to study theology. His brother Henry followed him into the Dominican Order. Albert was appointed lecturer of theology in 1233 and was sent by his Superior to educate the members of newly formed Dominican
convents, residing in various cities: Hildesheim, Strasburg, Freiburg, and Ratisbon.

Around 1241, Albert was sent to the University of Paris to study. While there, he also lectured on the Bible and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. In 1245, he successfully completed his course of studies and earned a Master of Theology, becoming the first German Dominican to do so. Albert had commenced a course of studies that would take him twenty years to finish. He explained all the known works of Aristotle and explored many other subjects: natural science, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, ethics, economics, politics, and metaphysics.622

In 1246 Albert met a young student named Thomas Aquinas, who became attached to him. Thomas copied Albert's lectures, one copy, *Celestial Hierarchy*, served as the original for the university publication.623 When Albert was sent to Cologne, Thomas accompanied him. While there, Albert taught, preached, and studied from 1248 to 1254. Toward the end of this period, Albert was elected provincial of the German Dominicans, a position which he faithfully carried out until he resigned in 1257. He served as Bishop of Ratisbon from 1260 until 1262 and returned to Cologne to teach, study, and write. Albert participated in many important functions for example, he attended the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and went to Paris to defend the position of the mendicants against the accusations made by the university faculty in 1277.

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Albert was a prolific writer and wrote on many different topics: logic, natural science, psychology, moral sciences, metaphysics, Sacred Scripture, theology, sermons, and Marian works. More than any theologian before him, Albert gave Christian philosophy and theology the form and method which are basically the same as in current use. His theology occupies a place between Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas. The references to Mary are found in his various writings. Joachim Sighart reported, "Albert was so devoted to the holy Mother of God, that he could not conceal her praises, and that he, moreover, appended to all his works something of praise of his beloved Lady, or closed his studies with a song to her glory."  

Albert died in Cologne on November 15, 1280, at the age of 87. He had worked actively until the last two years of his life; known to have practiced a simple way of life and always traveling on foot from place to place. He was known during his life time as "The Great" and became known as "The Universal Doctor," in recognition of his extraordinary genius and extensive knowledge in every field of learning at this time. Albert was beatified by Pope Gregory XV in 1622, and declared Saint and Doctor of the Church by Pope Pius XI in 1931.

6.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast In Evangelium Joannis, Commentary on John

Albert was in Rome to defend the Dominicans against the charges made by the University of Paris theologians. During this time, 1256 to 1257, Pope Alexander IV appointed Albert to explain the Gospel of John and to lecture to the assembly of Cardinals, who were to investigate the matter. This was the commentary that resulted from this request.

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624 Sighart, *Albert the Great*, 322.

"And the mother of Jesus was there." He mentions the miracle was performed in the presence of certain people. Mention is made that the mother was there because (as it is said) she was the sister of the mother of the groom. Or, if this is not granted, at least she was known and a compatriot. [...] Virtuous matrons were invited so that with their teaching and supervision, brides might be informed about virtue of life and the life of virtue. The mother of Christ was the mirror of all virtue. Eccli. 15, 2: "She will meet him like an honored mother." And from this fact, the wedding itself was virtuous. Luke 1, 43: "Whence is this to me, that the mother of the Lord comes to me?" Therefore, because of the mother of God, the wedding was dignified and honored thus. The mother of Christ came to them as eager and dutiful. Eager, that she could adorn all things with the eagerness of beauty. Proverb. 31, 27: "She considered the ways of her household, and did not eat her daily bread idly." Dutiful, that she might comply in necessities. Luke 1, 39: "Arising in those days, Mary went away into the hill country in haste,” so that she might comply with Elizabeth. She did all things beautifully and dutifully. The mother of Jesus is named before the son, because to this point, the Son had not become known according to his divinity, and to this point was showing the reverence of honor to His mother. Luke 2, 51: "He went down with them and came to Nazareth, and there was subject to them." Tob. 4, 3: "You will have honor for your mother all the days of her life." [...] "And the wine having run short, the mother of Jesus says to Him: 'They have no wine.'" Behold the intervention by the mother of mercy of doing the miracle. And He mentions three things: first, the intervention to the Son; second, the instructive response of the Son to the mother; third, the instruction made by the mother of mercy to the servants. About the first, it says thus, "The mother said," who was the mother by flesh and feeling the pity of the mother of future sons of the Church. 1 Kings 2, 20: "Ask, my mother, for it would not be right that I should turn away your face," that is, that I should deny you. Of Jesus, of the Savior who saves from every affliction. Eccl. 35, 26: "The lovely mercy of God in the time of tribulation, like clouds of rain in the time of drought." [...] For He knew it to be written Prov. 31, 6 & 7, "Give strong drink to the mournful,
and wine to those of bitter spirit. Let them drink, and forget their need, and no longer remember their sorrow." For poverty made mourning and shame tribulation, and the Mother aimed to address each of these from the abundance of her Son.

And thus she says, "They have no wine." She does not say: Give them wine, that she might safeguard reverence for her Son, and in placing hope in the generosity and mercy of the Son, only points out the lack. Chrysostom however asks whence she should accept an argument of presumption about the Son, what he could do, because He had not performed any miracle in childhood. This however is not an issue: because she naturally knew the Son to be God, and to be able to do whatever He wanted. To this point, she knew the miracle of the appearance of the star, and the prophecy of Simeon, and the adoration of the Magi, and the words of the shepherds, and the joys of the angels, and the testimony of John and the voice of the Father, and the figure of the dove. From all these things, she had already begun to fathom His divinity, and thus she knew the hour to be the beginning of the manifestation through signs, and therefore, for such necessity and utility, she was asking for it to be the sign. Therefore, from this cause, the prudent mother of Jesus, because she was storing up these things, bearing them in her heart, she said to Him: "They have no wine." [...]

"And Jesus says to her: 'What is this to me and to you, woman? My hour has not yet come.' His mother says to the servants: 'Do whatever he will have told you.'" Behold the instructive reply of the Son to His mother: "What is this to me, etc.?" He says two things, of which one point is about the instruction of those things which pertains to the mother as much as to the care of those who were present; the second point is about the instruction of these things which pertain to Himself. About the first He says, "What to me?" For to me by office of deputation by which I was sent into the world, pertains the care of spiritual matters, not temporal things. Luke 2, 49: "Why is it that you were looking for me? Did you not know that I need to be about my Father's matters?" Whence even when sought to be made king, He fled. And when approached to divide an inheretance among brothers, He said that this did not pertain to Him.
"And to you." Because this matter also was not pertaining to the mother as one who had vowed celibacy. I Cor. 7, 34: "The unmarried woman and the virgin reflect on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit. [...] Matt 6, 33: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things will be added to you." Hence it is that it is not read the Lord to have performed any miracle ever unless for necessity, except for this one alone which was done for supplying the merrymaking. So He says: "What to me," intent on spiritual things, "and to you," intent on celibacy?

"is this, woman?" Neither did He say this out of anger, as certain badly think, or out of indignation, or out of contempt, as the heretics have said. But the most humble guardian did not want to disclose the virginity of the mother, lest through this He appear glorious in the sight of men, before being made manifest through miracles. 2 Cor 12, 6: "I have mercy, lest anyone consider me to be more than that which he sees in me, or anything he hears from me." For otherwise, in this He fittingly calls "woman," because softened by mercy, she feels a soft spot about the ones celebrating the wedding, who from needing to reveal the poverty of wine among the neighbors had been embarrassed. This is the exposition of Origen and Cassian: and I think that it is true and better than others. Whence He calls "woman" on account of her sex, and the trait of her heart softened by mercy. And, in this sense He adds, teaching His mother about those things which pertain to Himself, saying:

"My hour has not yet come." [...] This is therefore Augustine says earlier, because this is the sense: "What is this to me and to you, woman?" supply generally, whence am I able to do miracles? For that which I have from you is common to me and you, only human infirmity and from her I have the ability to die, and for this matter which I will show this, and that they recognize you in this as
mother. "My hour has not yet come," but having on the cross, and in this (because from you and with you I have mortality) I will recognize you to be mother under the cross, and I will commend you to a disciple instead of me when that hour will have come. For from the Father I have whence I can perform miracles. This is the exposition of Augustine. And other things are not changed. And from this Augustine infers that this locution is instructive. Because in divine things which are of God, we ought not to recognize the mother. [...] "His mother says to the servants" Behold, the instruction of the servants. For she knew her Son to be of such mercy that He also empathized with the embarrassment of the spouses, and she instructs to obedience according to her name, because, "Mary" is translated as "illuminatrix" and therefore she illuminates them about what to do. "Do whatever he tells you."626 (Translated by Rory Pitstick.)


neque enim fas est ut avertam faciem tuam,' scilicet ut quidquam negem tibi. 'Jesu,' Saluatoris qui ex omni salvat afflictione. Eccl. XXXV, 26: 'Speciosa misericordia Dei in tempore tribulationis, quasi nubes pluviae in tempore siccitatis.'[...] Et scivit esse scriptum, Proverb. XXXI, 6 et 7: 'Date siceram mœrentibus, et vinum qui his amaro sunt animo. Bibant, et obliviscantur egestatis suæ, et doloris sui non recordentur amplius.' Egestas enim fecit mœrorem et verefundia tribulationem, quorum utrumque mater ex abundantia Filii supplere cogitavit. Et ideo dicit:


'Et dicit ei Jesus: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea.' Dicit mater ejus ministris: 'Quodcumque dixerit vobis, facite.' Ecce instructiva responsio Filii ad matrem: 'Quid mihi, etc.? ' Duo dicit, quorum unum est de instructione eorum quæ pertinent ad matrem quantum ad curam præsentium: secundum autem de instructione eorum quæ pertinent ad seipsum. De primo dicit: 'Quid mihi?' Ad me enim ex officio legationis quo missus sum in mundum, pertinet cura spirituum non temporalium. Luc. II, 49: 'Quid est quod me quærebatis? nesciebatis quia in his quæ Patris mei sunt, oportet me esse?' Unde etiam quæsitus ad regnum, fugit (Joan. VI, 15). Et postulatus ut divideret hæreditatem inter frateres, dixit hoc ad se non pertinere (Luc. XII, 13 et seq.).

'Et tibi.' Quia hoc etiam ad matrem ut quæ cælibatum voverat non pertinebat. I ad Corinth. VII, 34: 'Mulier innupta, et virgo cogitat quæ Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu.' Matt. VI, 31 et 32: 'Nollite solliciti esse, dicentes: Quid manducabimus, aut quid bibemus, aut quo operiemur? Hæc enim omnia gentes inquirunt. Scit enim Pater vester quia his omnibus indigestis.' Hinc est quod talia non vult peti in oratione nisi pro necessitate. Matt. VI, 33: 'Quærite primum regnum Dei, et justitiam ejus, et hæc omnia adiicientur vobis (Luc. XII, 31). Hinc est quod non legitur umquam aliquod miraculum Dominus fecisse nisi ad necessitatem, praeter istud solum quod ad supplementum jucunditatis factum est. Ideo dicit: 'Quid mihi,' spiritualibus intento, 'et tibi,' cælibatui intente?

'Est mulier?' Nec hoc ex ira dixit, ut quidam male sentiunt, vel ex indignatione, vel ex contemptu, ut hæretici dixerunt. Sed humillimus custos noluit detergere virginitatem
6.4.2 Commentary
"And the mother of Jesus was there" was interpreted literally by Albert. Historically, Mary was thought to be the sister of the mother of the groom. If not this, she was a known member of the community. As was the custom, virtuous women were invited to the wedding to teach and supervise the bride regarding the virtue of life and the life of virtue. Mary was the foremost example of a virtuous woman; she was the Mother of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the mirror of all virtue. Albert listed the virtues that Mary manifested: eagerness of beauty, dutiful in complying to

matris: ne per hoc gloriosus in conspectu hominum appareret, antequam per miracula manifestaretur. II ad Corinth. XII, 6: 'Parco autem, ne quis me existimet supra id quod videt in me, aut aliquid audiet ex me.' Aliter etiam in hoc congrue vocat 'mulierem,' quoniam misericordia emollita, mollia sensit de nuptias celebrantibus, qui ex paupertate vini in proximo manifestanda verecundati fuissent. Hec est exposition Origenis et Cassiani: et puto quod vera sit et aliis melior. Unde 'mulierem' propter sexum vocat, et proprietatem cordis per misericordiam emollit. Et in hos sensu addit, instruens matrem de his quæ pertinent ad ipsum, dilicens:


'Dixit mater ejus ministris.' Ecce instructio ministrorum. Scivit enim Filium suum tante misericordiae quod computaretur verecundiae sponsorum: et instruit ad obedientiam secundum nomen suum, quia Maria 'illuminatrix' interpretatur, et ideo illuminat eos de faciendis. 'Quodcumque dixerit vos facit.' Alberti Magni, "In Evangelium Joannis," Opera Omnia (Paris, Fr.: L. Vivès, MDCCCXCVIII), 90-93.
necessities, not idle, responsive to Elizabeth's needs, and did all things beautifully and dutifully. Because Mary was virtuous, the wedding itself was virtuous. Because Mary was the Mother of God, the wedding was dignified and honored.

"And the wine having run short, the mother of Jesus says to Him: 'They have no wine.'" Albert established the true essence of this verse: "Behold the intervention by the mother of mercy of doing the miracle." This will be explained in three parts; the first is the intervention to the Son. Albert provided two reasons why the mother of Jesus made the request, first she was His mother by flesh and, according to the First Book of Kings, Jesus would not turn away from His mother nor deny her. Second, Mary was "feeling the pity of the mother of future sons of the Church," which meant that she knew that she was the spiritual mother to all who would follow her Son in the Church. Mary pitied them and she knew that Jesus was the Savior who saves from affliction. Mary was the mother of wisdom; she knew the spouses and the shame of poverty and grieving that they would undergo when the wine ran short. Therefore, "the mother aimed to address each of these from the abundance of her Son."

Albert began by emphasizing the virtuous way Mary presented the information to her Son: she had reverence for him and she placed her hope in his generosity and mercy. His mother knew that her Son was God, therefore, powerful. She had witnessed many things since his birth and had already begun to fathom his divinity. The hour had arrived for him to manifest his divinity through signs, therefore, she prudently asked for a sign.

Albert's second point was "the instructive response of the Son to the mother: 'What is this to me ...?'" This analysis was divided into two categories: instruction pertaining to his mother and instruction pertaining to himself. Albert explained, "What to me?" meant that Jesus was sent for spiritual matters and not temporal things. Albert referred to Luke 2:49 as an example of Jesus' own words as confirmation of this point. "And to you?" meant that the lack of wine at the wedding did not have to do with
his mother either. She was one who had vowed celibacy and was to "reflect on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit."

"So He says: "What to me," intent on spiritual things, "and to you," intent on celibacy, is this, woman?" Jesus did not make this comment out of anger, or indignation or contempt, as some heretics' state. Jesus called her "woman," because he wanted to keep the miracle of his mother's virginity a secret, so that he would not appear glorious in the sight of men before he manifested his divinity through miracles. Jesus was the most humble guardian of Mary's virginity. Albert went on give another reason for Jesus' use of the term "woman;" it indicated that she was softened by mercy and felt a soft spot for the spouses who were in need.

"My hour has not yet come." Albert continued to explain the instruction that Jesus gave to his mother. He repeats Augustine's explanation of the two natures in Christ: His divinity came from his Father, the source of the power to perform miracles. His humanity came from his mother, the source of his human infirmity and ability to die. Albert affirmed, "Because in divine things which are of God, we ought not to recognize the mother."

Albert addressed his third point, "the instruction made by the mother of mercy to the servants." "His mother says to the servants" meant that Mary knew that "her Son to be of such mercy that he also empathized with the embarrassment of the spouses." True to the meaning of the name of "Mary," which is "illuminatrix," she illuminates the servants on what to do, "Do whatever he tells you."

Albert reverently referred to Mary as the Mother of Jesus, Mother of God and Mother of Christ. He described her virtues throughout this commentary; twice calling her mother of mercy and once mother of wisdom. She was true to her name, she was the illuminatrix telling the servants what to do to allow her Divine Son to manifest His divinity.
There were some first time comments made by Albert: Mary was the sister of the mother of the groom; she was a virtuous woman who was a teacher and supervisor for brides, regarding the virtue of life and a life of virtue; Mary felt the pity of the mother of future sons of the Church; and Christ was the humble protector of Mary's virginity and would not disclose the truth about her virginity.

Hugh of St. Cher (1200-1263)

6.5 Life and Teaching of Hugh of St. Cher

Hugh was born at St. Cher, a suburb of Dauphiné in France. No information is available about his family or early education. As a young man, he studied at the University of Paris and earned a Doctor of Law and a Bachelor of Theology by 1225. He continued his studies there for the next five years under Roland Cremona, the first Dominican Master of Sacred Theology. 627

In 1225, Hugh entered the Order of Preachers at St. Jacques in Paris. His administrative ability was recognized and within a year he was elected Provincial of France, a position which he held for five years. After that position, he was elected the Prior of the Dominican Monastery in Paris. Hugh served again as the Provincial of France from 1236 to 1244. During the years of 1240 and 1241, he also performed the role of the Dominican's Vicar General.

Hugh taught in various times of his life. He taught law before he became a Dominican; and theology and Sacred Scripture at the University of Paris beginning in 1230. At some time, he also taught philosophy.

Pope Innocent IV raised Hugh to Cardinal on May 28, 1244. He became the first Dominican Cardinal and St. Sabina was his titular Church. Hugh assisted Pope Innocent by participating in the First Council of Lyons, 1245; reforming the Carmelite Order by addressing the severity of the rule given to them by Albert the Patriarch of Jerusalem; and by serving as legate to Germany. In 1256, Pope Alexander IV appointed Hugh to a commission to examine the pamphlet written by William of St. Armour, *De Periculis*, which was an inflammatory document against the professors in religious orders who taught at the University of Paris. The commission condemned William and his pamphlet.

Hugh is primarily remembered for three books on the Bible: a Latin Concordance (1240), which served as a model for others that followed; the *Postilla*, which were exegetical notes according to the four senses of Scripture, a document that was reprinted many times; and a Correctory of the Latin Vulgate. His *Postilla super totam biblicam* was an important supplement to the *Glossa ordinaria* for Albert the Great, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and at Oxford. These books facilitated the Scholastic methods for biblical exegesis. Hugh also wrote commentaries on the four Gospels and the Book of Sentences.

Hugh died on March 19, 1263 in Orvieto, Italy. He is known as a theologian and biblical scholar, who served the Dominican Order and the Church in an outstanding and tireless way.

### 6.5.1 *Evangelium Secundum Ioannis*, Commentary on the Gospel of John

*And the mother of Jesus was there, invited to the banquet, and Jesus was also invited, along with his disciples,* not

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629 The Commentary on John may have been written sometime from 1230 to 1236. See Hugh Bernard Feiss, *A Commentary on The Prodigal Son* (Toronto, Ontario: Peregrina Publishing Company, 1996), 27.
his future disciples, as some say, but those already called to the discipleship. How is it that Jesus and his mother and the disciples were invited, since they were poor, such as are not usually invited to banquets? I respond, believe that the husband and wife were poor, and the poor were therefore invited, and perhaps either spouse was a relative of Mary. Christ wished to be present at the marriage for two reasons. First, that he might manifest his glory before the many. Second, that he might show his approval of marriage, against the Manichaens, who condemn marriage.

And the wine being lacking at that same banquet, which is a sign of poverty. The Mother of Jesus says to him, that is, to Jesus. They have no wine, [meaning] the ministers of the banquet, or the husband or the wife. And this is a sign that Mary was of the family of either of the spouses, or of both. Otherwise she would not have been concerned about the lack of wine. And this moves the Blessed Virgin to say to her son, "They have not wine." She did not believe that he did not know, nor that she would offend his sense of compassion or the power of her son. The poverty of the couple, and the shortness of the time, which did not allow for more wine to be sent for, moved the Virgin to make known the lack of wine to her son, whom she knew could supply for any lack.

And Jesus, not offended, or by way of correction or argument, says to her, that is, to his mother, "What is this to me and you, woman, this lack of wine," as if he were saying that knowledge of this lack did not pertain to me, or you, but to those at the wedding, who ought to have provided themselves for all necessities. It is sufficient, therefore that they recognize the lack and thus the grace of the miracles, which you seek that I do, may be pleasing to them. And Chrysostom gives example of a doctor who, if he offers his services to a sick man, will not provide much a cure for the sick, but if he offers his services after
much beseeching, then he shows more reverence for him. "Woman" in this case is not a name for softness or breaking but a sex or condition. So Augustine explains.

"What is this to me and you, woman," commonly is held "what do I possess from you that I am able to perform this miracle [q.d.] do I have from you, whereby I am able to suffer and be moved, because on the Cross I will recognize you in commending you to the Disciple. But I do not have from you whence I can perform miracles. Therefore, in this regard I do not recognize you.

"My hour is not yet come." This is well joined with the other exposition. Thus the first "My hour is not yet come," that is the hour, by which the miracle is pleasing and useful to them for whom you are asking it be done. Truly Christ, the creator of times and hours is not opposed to any hour. Rather all time is the hour of his working what he wishes, as Chrysostom says. Nevertheless as far as men are concerned one hour is more suitable than another, thus here an hour for working the miracle was more useful after recognizing the lack than before. This is joined to the second exposition "my hour is not yet come," that is, it is not yet time for recognizing it, which I have from you, but it will when the Gospel of the Passion is preached.⁶³⁰ (Translated by Jerome Young.)


Prima, vt gloriam fuam coram multis manifestaret. Secundum, vt nuptias approbabat, contra manichæos, qui nuptiis erant contradicturi.
6.5.2 Commentary

Hugh wrote this commentary as a catechesis on the second chapter of John's Gospel. He also took the opportunity to promote Jesus' approval of marriage against the Manichaean heresy, which

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Et deficiens vino, inipso convivio, quod est signum paupertatis. Dicit mater Iesu ad eum, id eft, ad Iesum. Vinum non habent, miniftiri convivij, vel fponfus, & fponfa. Et hoc eft signum, quod Maria erat de parentela alterius coniugum, vel amborum: quia aliter non curaret de defectu vini: Et hoc mouit Beata Virginem, vt diceret fiiio (Vinum non habent) Non quod ipfa crederet ipfum neficire: fed vt ofenderet fium compaffionem, & filij poteftatem. Paupertas autem coniugum, & breuitas temporis, quo non potuit congruere mitti tunc ad vinum, mouit Virginem, vt defectum vini indicaret filio fuo, quem fciebat poffe fupplere omnem defectum.

Et dicit ie id eft, matri fuae [Iesus] non offensus, vel corrigens, aut arguens matrem suam, cuius compaffio gratia erat ei. Quid mihi, & tibi eft, mulier de defectum vini, quaft dicat cognitio huius defectus non pertinet ad me, velad te; fed ad illos quorum fint nuptiae, qui debuerant fibi de omnibus necfariis prouideri. Sufficit ergo, vt ipfi recognofcant defectum, & fic gratia miraculi, quod petis, vt faciam, fuprincipior illis. Et ponit exemplo Chryfoft. de Medico, qui ultror se offerret ægroto, non multum curaret de eo ægroto; fed cum multis precibus ægroto se exhibet ei, tunc multam reuerentiam exhibet illi. Mulier autem in hoc loco non mollitiei, vel fractionis nomen eft; fic exponit.

Quid mihi, & tibi mulier, commune, id eft, quid habeo, a te vnne pooffim hoc miraculum facere? q.d. ex te habeo, vnne pati, & moti pooffum, quod in Cruce recognofcam te Dificipulo commendans; fed ex te non habeo, vnne poffem miracula facere: & ideò in huiusmodi te non recognofco.

condemned marriage. Verses one, three, and four were related to Mary's presence and action at the wedding banquet.

Hugh was consistent with the Scholastic preference for the literal and sought to clarify the meaning of the text from that perspective. Three examples are, the disciples were those who were already called to discipleship; "they" have no wine referred to the ministers or to the husband or the wife; and Jesus' words to his mother were not a correction or an argument.

Hugh employed dialectic to explore why Jesus and his mother were invited to the banquet: Jesus and his mother were poor, so were the husband and wife; Mary was a relative of the husband or wife or both; Jesus wished to manifest his glory before the many and to approve of marriage. Hugh continued the theme of poverty to explain why they lacked wine and why Mary, being a relative, was moved by the poverty of the couple to inform Jesus about the lack of wine.

The commentary on John 2:4 was based on the prior statements that Jesus knew of the lack of wine and that Jesus had the power. Hugh proceeded to explain that Jesus knew the best hour to perform the miracle. Chryostom's teaching served as the basis for his reason. The husband and wife are like the sick man. The sick man shows more reverence to the doctor after he beseeches the doctor for his services. So, too, the wedding husband and wife will have to recognize their own lack of wine and thus the grace of the miracle will be pleasing to them. It was the Blessed Virgin who was moved with compassion to beseech her Son on behalf of the poor couple. The explanation for Jesus' address to his mother as "woman," followed the tradition that it referred only to Mary's gender.

Augustine's explanation of "What is this to me and to you, woman?" given here was restated by many of the theologians prior to Hugh. The nature by which Jesus performed the miracle did not come from her, but the nature by which he was able to suffer and die did come from her. Mary was the source of Jesus' humanity and he would recognize her from the Cross. Continuing on verse
four, "My hour is not yet come," Hugh associated the first hour with the exposition of his divine nature and the working of the miracle that was more useful after recognizing the need. The second exposition of the hour was not yet, but will come when the Gospel of the Passion is preached; that was the hour associated with the human nature that he assumed from his mother.

Hugh portrayed Mary as a poor woman and a member of the family of the husband and/or bride. She was a mother who knew her Son: she knew that he knew about the lack, she would not offend his compassion or his power, he could supply anything that might be lacking, and she had not offended him by her request. Mary was the Blessed Virgin who was moved with compassion to inform her Son of the lack of wine. Mary was the mother who would be recognized by her Son from the Cross and be commended to the Disciple.

**St. Bonaventure (1217-1274)**

**6.6 Life and Teaching of Bonaventure**

Giovanni di Fidanza (Bonaventure) was born in Bagnorea in the vicinity of Viterbo, Italy. Giovanni di Fidanza, a physician, was his father and Maria Ritella was his mother. It is not known how or why he came to be called Bonaventure. Around the age of eight, he was taken to the Franciscan monastery and remained there as an oblate until he was eighteen. In 1236, Bonaventure went to study under the faculty of arts in Paris. He joined the Friars Minor as a dependent of the Roman Province in 1243. Bonaventure was an intelligent and gifted young man as evidenced by his academic achievements: he was a student in theology at the School of Minors under the tutelage of Alexander Hales, the founder of the Franciscan School, from 1243 to 1245; obtained the Magistral Chair in the School of Minors in 1248; earned a Biblical Bachelor in 1250; a Bachelor of Sentences in 1252; recognized as Doctor and Master and given a licentiate in 1253; and finally recognized
as Master *cathedratus* by the faculty of theology of Paris on August 12, 1257.  

Bonaventure was elected to the position of Minister-General of the Friars Minor on February 2, 1257. He remained in the position until he was replaced by Jerome of Ascoli on May 20, 1274. One of his first obligations was to restore unity in the Order. Differences had arisen within the order; the Spirituales wanted strict compliance to the Rule of St. Francis and the Relaxati wanted modifications. Bonaventure opposed both extremes and proposed a reform that was accepted and promulgated at the General Chapter of Narbonne.  

F. Donald Logan remarked, "Contemporaries universally praised the personal saintliness of Bonaventure, particularly his attachment to a simple life of poverty, even in the midst of the great university." That may explain why he was effective in bringing about unity among the friars.

Bonaventure began his teaching and preaching vocation when he held the Magistral Chair in 1248. He continued to preach the rest of his life as Franciscan Friar, Minister General, and as Cardinal. The Franciscan historian, J. Guy Bougerol, provided an example of Bonaventure's method of preaching from his sermon on the multiplication of the loaves, "First, the Catholic doctrine must be drawn out of the Scriptures by means of reading, for the bread consists in the word of God. After reading, there must be prayer: seek in order to find, ask in order to receive, and knock that the

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door may be opened. Seek by reading, ask by praying, knock by working." 634

A theologian and a philosopher, Bonaventure, wrote many books. Paschal Robinson holds, "The greater number of them [his writings] deal with philosophy and theology. No work of Bonaventure's is exclusively philosophical ... he deals with the most important and difficult questions of philosophy in such a way that these four works taken together contain the elements of a complete system of philosophy, and at the same time bear striking witness to the mutual interpenetration of philosophy and theology which is a distinguishing mark of the Scholastic period." 635

Bonaventure quoted Augustine, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, and Bernard of Clarivaux. 636 Besides his philosophical and theological works, he wrote sermons on the Gospels of Luke and John and twenty four sermons on Mary. 637 The Mirror of the Blessed Virgin Mary and The Psalter of Our Lady are two works accredited to Bonaventure; both contain glowing praises for the Blessed Virgin Mary and recognition of her virtues. While Bonaventure denied Mary's Immaculate Conception, he attributed every other kind of perfection to Mary and believed in her bodily assumption into Heaven. 638

634 Bougerol, Bonaventure, 143.

635 Robinson, "Bonaventure," Catholic Encyclopedia, 4. The four works named are: Commentary on the Sentences, Breviloquium, Itinerarium Mentis in Deum and De reductione Artium ad Theologiam.


637 See Bougerol, Bonaventure, 144 - 145, for commentary on the Sermons of Bonaventure, which lists a total of 736 items, of which 569 are complete sermons.

638 See St. Bonaventure, Mirror of the Blessed Virgin and The Psalter of Our Lady (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book, Company, 1932), 5; Robinson, "Bonaventure,"
Bonaventure was a significant force in the Church of his time. On September 1, 1271, he facilitated the election of Theobald Visconti of Piacenza, Pope Gregory X, when the cardinals were unable to elect a pope for three years after the death of Pope Clement IV. Pope Gregory made Bonaventure Cardinal-Bishop of Albano on June 23, 1273. He became the director of the Poor Clares at the request of Cardinal Cajetan in 1264. That same year he founded at Rome the Society of the Gonfalone in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Bonaventure attended the Second Council of Lyons, 1274, and took an active role in the proceedings with the Greek Church. He died during the council on July 15, 1274 at the age of 57.\footnote{See Robinson, "Bonaventure," Catholic Encyclopedia, 2; Bunson, "Bonaventure," Encyclopedia, 134.}

Bonaventure was canonized in 1482 by Sixtus IV; he was made a Doctor of the Church in 1588 by Sixtus V. He is called the Seraphic Doctor.

\textbf{6.6.1 Commentarium in Ioannem, Commentary on John}

Bonaventure's commentary on the Gospel of John was based on an earlier document that he had written as a Biblical Bachelor, around 1250. He expanded this to allow for a more indepth study of the verses, including four hundred fourteen \textit{quaestiones} and twenty six non-literary interpretations.\footnote{See Karris, "Bonaventure," John, 1-2, 21.} Bonaventure developed it as a systematic expository of the whole Gospel of John, employing a dialectic style. It was organized as a \textit{lectio continua}, which was a series of twenty nine sermons, going through all twenty-one chapters of the Gospel according to his divisions.\footnote{A \textit{lectio continua} is a series on larger portions of Sacred Scripture. See Hughes Oliphant Old, "Bonaventure," The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in Catholic Encyclopedia, 4; and Michael O'Carroll, "Bonaventure, St." Theotokos (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf and Stock Publishing, 2000), 84.} Bonaventure
divided the Gospel into two parts: The Word in se (John 1:1-5) and the Word united to the Flesh (John 1:6-21:25). Part two had three sections, the first of which was entitled "The Incarnation" (John 1:6-11:46). John 1:43 to 2:11 was entitled: "The Word's first manifestation, which is given to his disciples." The dominant theme of this section was Christological and was Christ's manifestation or revelation to individuals and groups.  

Robert Karris estimated that Bonaventure wrote these sermons around 1256. At that time, he would have preached to students at the University of Paris. In 1257, he was elected Minister General and preached throughout Europe to his Franciscan brothers. He was a favorite preacher at the court of Louis VII. Bonaventure's commentaries were written from faith and were meant to nurture the faith of those who would read or hear his sermons.

Bonaventure analyzed John 2:1-4 and explored the meaning of John 2:4 in Question Four.

John 2:1-4 Manifestation of the Word Incarnate to His Disciples.

1. (Verse 1). And on the third day, etc. After he has described the call of the disciples, the Evangelist now depicts the manifestation made by the Word and about the Word Incarnate. Thus, the Glossa observes that after John had made revelations about the Lord, the Lord himself

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643 See Karris, "Bonaventure," John, 21 for date of writing; and Old, "Bonaventure," Reading and Preaching, 357 for preaching practice.
revealed himself by a miracle. Now the Evangelist narrates this manifestation in the following order. First, he posits the occasion for the miracle. Second, the petition for a miracle. Third, the miraculous transformation of water into wine. Fourth, the acknowledgment of the miracle. Fifth, the manifestation of Christ and the edification of the disciples, to whom Christ, through this miracle, deigned to make himself manifest.

So first, the Evangelist notes the occasion for the miracle, which occurred when the Lord was present with his disciples at a wedding. So the text says: And on the third day, that is, after the call of the disciples, a wedding took place in Cana of Galilee. Thus, the place is also mentioned. And the mother of Jesus was there. The text does not say that she had been invited, because she had come by reason of kinship and quasi-obligation, just as she had also gone into the mountains to assist Elizabeth as Luke 1:39 states. This is the reason why the Lord was also invited. Therefore, the text continues:

2. (Verse 2). Now Jesus was also invited to the wedding and his disciples. Chrysostom observes: "He was invited to the wedding, not as someone great, but as a relative, and he, being humble, did not spurn the invitation, but went," according to what he teaches in Luke 14:10: "When you are invited to a wedding, go and recline in the last place."

3. (Verse 3). And the wine ran short. The stage is set for the second point, namely, the petition for a miracle, which is made by Jesus’ mother, who commiserates with the

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644 See footnote #2 in text: "Glossa Ordinaria says that this comment derives from Augustine." [...] Bonaventure, Works of Bonaventure, 139.

645 See footnote #4 in text, "Equally important to Bonaventure's argument is Luke 1:36: 'And behold Elizabeth, your kinswoman, also has conceived a son in her old age ..." Bonaventure, Works of Bonaventure, 140.
poverty of the bridegroom. So the text reads: And the wine ran short, and the mother of Jesus said to him: They have no wine. It is as if she were saying: Use your abundance to relieve their poverty, for she knew that he would be "rich in mercy" and power, although he might appear poor and weak. 2 Corinthians 8:9 says: "Although he was rich in all things, he became poor for our sakes." But the Lord indicates to his mother that she could not command him inasmuch as she was his mother nor could he do this insofar as he was her son, for he had to refrain from acting until the proper time had come. So the Evangelist continues:

4. (Verse 4). And Jesus said to her: What is it to me and you, woman? The Glossa remarks: "That is, what does your nature and mine have in common that I should do this?" He calls her woman, not because of weakness, but because of her nature and gender. For she was that woman, about whom Proverbs 31:10 speaks: "Who will find a valiant woman?" As if to say: As a holy woman, you have power to ask this. But as my mother, you may not command it. It was still not the time to perform this work. My hour has not yet come, that is, the hour of my glorification and passion, about which John 17:1 says: "Father, the hour has come. Glorify your son." But his mother, knowing that his response did not stem from indignation, but out of humility and for the purpose of instruction, confidently issues a command. So the text adds:

5. (Verse 5). His mother said to the attendants: Do whatever he tells you. For she knew that he could. She also knew that he knew. She knew that he would, because he was always obedient to her. For Luke 2:51 says: "He went down with them and came to Nazareth and was

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646 See footnote #8 in text, "This is the Glossa Interlinearis. Augustine's Tractate 8 ..." Bonaventure, Works of Bonaventure, 141.
subject to them," namely, Jesus to his parents. And from this she was certain that he would do it. So she said: Do whatever he tells you, as good ministers, so that you may help bring about the miracle, just like the ministers did for Naaman, in 2 Kings 5:13: "Father, even if the prophet had told you to do some great thing, you would have done it." Do whatever he tells you. Do not be diffident. John 11:10 below reads: "If you believe, you will see the glory of God." (Translated by Robert Karris.)

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1."Et die tertio nuptiae etc. Postquam descripta est discipulorum vocatio, describitur hic facta per Verbum et de Verbo incarnato manifestatio; unde Glossa (Scilicet ordinaria, quae dicitur esse Augustini: Post ostensionem Christi per testimonia Ioannis ipse se miraculo ostendit.) dicit, quod post ostensiones factas per Ioannem ipse Dominus miraculo se ostendit. Hanc igitur manifestationem describit Evangelista hoc ordine. Primo innuitur miraculi faciendi occasio; secundo vero, miraculi impetratio; tertio, mirabilis aquae in vinum, conversio; quarto, miraculi approbatio; quinto, Christi manifestatio et discipulorum aedificatio, quibus Dominus per hoc miraculum se ipsum manifestare dignatus est.

(Vers. 1.). Primo igitur innuitur miraculi faciendi occasio, quae fuit, quod in nuptiis Dominus erat praesens cum discipulis. Propter quod dicit: 'Et die tertio," scilicet post discipulorum vocationem, 'nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galilaeae;' tangitur locus. 'Et erat Mater Iesu ibi;' non dicitur, quod fuerit vocata, quia ratione affinitatis ivit tanquam officiosa, sicut etiam abit in montana ad Elisabeth ad serviendum ei, ut dicitur Lucae primo (vers. 39). Ratione huius vocatus fuit etiam Dominus. Proptereta dicit:

2. (Vers. 2.). 'Vocatus est autem et Iesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias.' Chrysostomus (In Ioan. homil. 21): 'Vocatus est ad nuptias, non ut aliquis magnus, sed ut consanguineus, et ipse ut humilis invitationem non respuit, sed ivit,' iuxta quod docet Lucae decimo quarto:'Cum vocatus fueris ad nuptias, vade, recumbe in novissimo loco.'

3. (Vers. 3.). 'Et deficiente vino.' Tangitur hic secundum, scilicet miraculi impetratio, quae facta est a Matre miserante sponsi inopiam. Proptereta dicit: 'Et deficiens vino, dicit Mater Iesu ad eum: Vinum non habent;' quasi dicit: Tua abundantia supple eorum inopiam; sciebat enim, quod esset 'dives in misericordia' (Eph. 2, 4) et potentia, quamvis appareret egenus; secundae ad Corinthios octavo: 'Cum esset dives omnibus, factus est pro nobis egenus.' Sed Dominus, innuens Matri, quod non poterat hoc ipsa praecipere secundum quod mater, nec ipse facere secundum quod eius filius, nec debeat facere, nisi cum adesset tempus proprium; hinc sequitur:

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6.6.2 Commentary on Bonaventure's Commentary on John

Bonaventure established the theme for this sermon in concert with the overall theme of the manifestation of the Incarnate Word, in these verses Jesus was manifesting himself to his disciples. Bonaventure initiated his exposition with the literal sense and then proceeded to penetrate the spiritual meaning of John's Gospel. Consistent with Scholastic methods, he announced the five subdivisions to this sermon. Mary was involved in the *occasion* for the miracle and in the *petition* for the miracle.

In verses 1 and 2, the Lord and the mother of Jesus were present at the wedding, the *occasion* for the miracle, because they were relatives of the wedding party. Bonaventure based his teaching on Sacred Scripture and Patristic teaching. In Luke 1:39, Mary was the *kinswoman* of Elizabeth, which created a kinship and quasi-obligation for her to go into the mountains to assist

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4. (Vers. 4.). 'Et dicit ei Iesus: Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier.' Glossa (Scilicet interlinearis: Augustinus in Ioan. Evang. tr. 8. n. 9): 'Id est, quae natura est mihi et tibi communis, secundum quam hoc faciam?' Mulierem vocat, non a fragilitate, sed a natura et sexu. Haec enim est illa mulier, de qua Proverbiorum ultimo: 'Mulierem fortem quis inveniet?' Quasi dicat: Hoc petere potens es ut sancta mulier, non praecipere ut mater, nec adhuc oportet facere. 'Nondum venit hora mea,' id est meae clarificacionis et passionis, de qua infra decimo septimo: 'Pater, venit hora, clarifica Filiuum tuum.' Sed Mater sciens, hanc responsionem non esse ex indignatione, sed ex humilitate et instructione, fiducialiter praecipit: unde sequitur:

5. (Vers. 5.). 'Dicit Mater eius ministris: Quod cumque dixerit vobis, facit.' Sciebat enim, quod posset; sciebat etiam, quod sciret; sciebat, quod vellet, quia semper ei obediebat; unde Lucae secundo (vers. 10). 'Descendit cum eis et venit Nazareth et erat subditus illis,' Iesus scilicet parentibus; et ex hoc certa erat, quod faceret. Ideo dicit: 'Quodcumque dixerit vobis, facit,' tanquam boni ministri, ut miraculum consequamini, sicut et Naaman, quarti Regum quinto (vers. 13): 'Pater, etsi rem grandem dixisset tibi Propheta, facere debuisses.' 'Facit, quodcumque dixerit vobis;' non diffidatis; infra undecimo: 'Si credideris, videbis gloriam Dei.' "S. Bonaventurae, "Commentarium in Ioannem," Opera Omnia (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), It.: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, MDCCXCIII), 269. Hereafter: Bonaventure, Opera Omnia.

Elizabeth. He concluded, the mother of Jesus was not invited, but attended out of obligation. Similarly, Chrysostom had taught that Jesus attended the wedding because he was a relative, not because he was someone great. Bonaventure made a firm statement that both the Lord and Mary were relatives of the bridal party; this is the first time in this study for such an opinion.

In verse 3, Bonaventure provided more insight into his view of Mary. He held that she made the petition for the miracle, thus making an assumption that this was Mary's intention. The reason for her request was that she "commiserates with the poverty of the bridegroom." Mary expressed compassion for the misery of bridegroom, because of his poverty, consequently Jesus' mother responded to this need by telling her Son, "They have no wine" meaning "Use your abundance to relieve their poverty." Mary was sensitive to the bridegroom's need and she also knew that Jesus was rich in mercy and power and could help. She interceded for the bridegroom.

Bonaventure anticipated the next verse by affirming that Mary was his mother and Jesus was her Son. It was not this filial relationship that was behind the meaning of words that would follow between Jesus and his mother. In this circumstance, Jesus' mother cannot command him inasmuch as she was his mother, nor could he do this because it was not the proper time.

A Glossa credited to Augustine provided Bonaventure with the explanation for Jesus' words to his mother in verse 4. "And Jesus said to her: What is it to me and to you, woman?" meant "That is, what does your nature and mine have in common that I should do this?" Augustine explained further in Tractate eight, number nine, "she was not the mother of [his] divinity and what she sought would be a miracle through [his] divinity." Thus, Bonaventure affirmed the Christological teaching that Jesus was One Person with a divine nature and a human nature; Son of God and Son of Mary.

Why did Jesus call Mary, "woman?" Bonaventure clarified that he did so because of her nature and gender. She was not weak but was like the valiant woman in Proverbs 31:10. As a holy woman, she had power to ask this, but not as his mother. However,
the hour had not come for his glorification and passion. Bonaventure believed that Mary knew that her Son's words were not a response from indignation, but were made out of Jesus' humility and meant for instruction. Because Mary knew this, she then "confidently issues a command."

"His mother said to the attendants: Do whatever he tells you." What followed provides insight into Bonaventure's Mariology: Mary knew that her Son could perform the miracle; she knew that he knew he could; and she knew that he would, because he was always obedient to his mother. Luke 2:51 provided the scriptural reference to validate this statement. She advised the servants not to be distrustful, but to believe in her Divine Son, so they could see the glory of God. Mary participated in bringing others to faith through her Divine Son's manifestation of his glory.

6.6.3 Quaestio IV, Commentary on Question Number Four

Mary was not mentioned in the commentary on the remaining verses. However, Mary was part of "Question 4, which deals with the Lord's answer to his mother in John 2:4: 'What is it to me and you, woman: My hour has not yet come.'"

For either the divine Virgin asked for something that should be asked for or for something that should not be asked for. If she petitioned for something that should be asked for, he need not have given her such a sharp answer. If she was asking for something that should not be asked for, then he need not have listened to her and her petition. [...] I answer. The Lord's response was not insulting, but instructive. For he shows the reason why he heard the request of his mother. Thus, there are three things to be noted in her petition. The one petitioning, and this is the Lord's mother. The persons for whom she is petitioning, and they are the relatives who are poor. The content of her petition, and it is a miracle. The Lord shows in his answer that she should not petition this as mother since
he could not do this with the nature he had received from her. Therefore, he calls her woman, and not mother. She should not ask this for relatives, as one having concern for carnal parents. So he says: "What is it to me and you?" He also shows that a miracle should not be performed to relieve need, but to manifest his glory, for which there was no necessity at the moment. So he says: "My hour has not yet come." Nevertheless, since the woman making the petition was holy, since those, for whom she was petitioning, were poor, and since his glory was about to be manifested to his disciples, he listened to her. 649 (Translated by Robert Karris.)650

Bonaventure continued his firm belief that Jesus' words to his mother were instructive. Doctrinally, Jesus would not perform a miracle with the human nature he received from Mary. That power would come from his divine nature; she should not have asked as his mother. As a moral instruction, one should not ask for relatives, as one having concern for carnal parents. Also, a miracle should not be performed for a need, but for the manifestation of the glory of God.


Mary was holy, like the valiant Woman of Proverbs. The relatives were poor. Jesus was about to manifest his glory to the disciples. These are Bonaventure's reasons why Jesus listened to the petition of his mother.

6.6.4 Commentary on Bonaventure's Commentary on Question Number Four

Bonaventure sought validation for his teaching by referring to Sacred Scripture and the Patristic Tradition: Luke, Paul, and other passages in John's Gospel and the teachings of Augustine and John Chrysostom.

The Marian profile that Bonaventure painted was a person who respected family obligations. Mary was the mother of the humanity of Jesus, not of his divinity. She knew her Son: he was rich in mercy and power, he knew he had the power, and he would obey her command. Mary was a woman who had compassion for the misery of the bridegroom and a mother who took action in seeking mercy from her Divine Son. Finally, Jesus listened to his mother because she was a holy woman, a valiant woman, one who petitioned for the poor and was instrumental in the manifestation of Jesus' glory to his disciples.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225 - 1274)

6.7 Life and Teaching of Thomas Aquinas

Thomas was born around 1225 in the family castle at Roccasecca, in the region of Naples, Italy. Landulph, his father, was Count of Aquino. Theodora, his mother, was Countess of Teano. Thomas was the youngest of nine children. At the age of five, as was the custom for the youngest son to go into the service of the Church, Thomas was taken to the Benedictine Monastery at Monte Cassino. He became an oblate. Over the next five years, he received elementary training in reading and writing, and a foundation in Benedictine religious life. He was recognized as a good student and sent for further study at the University of Naples in the Spring of 1239. During the next four years, he studied liberal
arts and philosophy, the prerequisites for study in theology. Thomas became acquainted with the Dominican friars and was attracted to their order. In April of 1244, he chose to join the Order of Preachers rather than the Benedictine Order. This caused a strong negative reaction from his parents and they took him back to Rossasecca, where the whole family tried to dissuade him. During this time, Thomas prayed, read the whole Bible, and began to study Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It is also thought that he began to write at this time. All efforts to dissuade Thomas from his desire failed and he was allowed to return to the Dominicans in the Fall of 1245.

Thomas returned to a formal education at the University of Paris from 1245 through 1248. He became a disciple of Albert the Great, studied under him and worked as his assistant. When Albert was asked to create a house of studies in Cologne, he took Thomas with him. There Thomas studied, wrote, and continued as secretary to Albert. During this period, 1248 to 1252, Thomas was ordained to the priesthood.

Albert and Hugh of St. Cher recommended to the master general that Thomas be sent to fill the office of bachelor in the Dominican house of studies at Paris. Consequently, Thomas began his first official teaching as Bachelor of *Sentences*, a position he held from 1252 to 1256. In the Spring, he became a Master of Theology and was later admitted to the *consortium magistorum*, along with Bonaventure. Thomas' knowledge of theology and his facility for teaching was recognized. He was appointed Regent Master of Theology in Paris, 1256 to 1259; then Regent Master of Theology in Rome, 1265 to 1268 and for a second time in Paris, 1268 to 1272; finally a Regent Master of Theology in Naples, 1272 to 1273. The three functions of the Regent were: *legere*, reading and commenting on the Bible, *disputare*, conducting disputed questions, and *praedicare*, preaching. Thomas continued to write during this time, especially during the years 1268 through 1272.

Thomas lived according to the rules of the Dominican Order. He traveled by foot to carry out his teaching and preaching assignments. Thomas participated in the Dominican General Chapter meetings in 1259, 1261, and 1263. At the meeting in
Orvieto, he was named the Coventual Lector from 1261 to 1265.  

Thomas was a prodigious writer. Sacred Scripture, the writings of the Latin and Greek Fathers, as well as the works of Aristotle and Boethius served as sources for his work. G. Emery created a catalogue of his works and lists the following categories: theological synthesis, disputed questions, Biblical commentaries, polemical writings, treatises, letters and requests for expert opinion, and liturgical work, sermons, prayers. The most significant theological syntheses are the *Summa contra Gentiles* (Synthesis against the pagans) and *Summa Theologica* (Synthesis of Theology). Thomas wrote commentaries of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Job, Matthew, John, Paul, and the Psalms. He also wrote sermons on the Our Father, Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments. At the request of Pope Urban IV, Thomas composed the *Catena aurea*, texts on the four Gospels from the Latin and Greek Fathers and early councils and the Office for the Feast of Corpus Christi.

Thomas wrote about the Blessed Virgin Mary in *Summa Theologica*, III, qq. 17-35; *Summa Contra Gentiles*, IV, 9, 45; *Commentarium in IV Libros Sententiarum*, III, d.3 and 4; the

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653 Thomas' commentary on John 2:1-4 of the *Catena aurea*, has a great deal of consistency with Thomas' Commentary on the Gospel of John. There are a few differences, but they relate to the comments of different Fathers, rather than that of Thomas. See Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea: Commentary on the four Gospels collected out of the wokers of the Fathers* (Southampton, Eng.: The Saint Austin Press, 1997), 79-82.
Compendium Theologicae; and commentaries on the Bible. Michael O'Carroll holds that "St. Thomas integrated his Marian theology fully into Christology and founded it on a rigorously scientific basis." Urban Mullaney explained that St. Thomas never elaborated a systematic and complete Mariology. He summarized Thomas’ Mariology, "There are three main considerations about the Virgin Mother of God: (1) Her own fullness of sanctity, a fullness by reason of which she was indeed the worthy Mother of God; (2) Her relation to God; and here it is, of course, her Divine Maternity which is the essential consideration; (3) Her relation to us as our Mother, Mediatrix and Queen." Thomas denied Mary's Immaculate Conception; she contracted original sin, but was cleansed before her birth (Summa Theologica III, q. 27, a. 2, ad 2.).

The end of Thomas' life was eventful. The first event occurred, during Mass on September 29, 1273, when Thomas underwent an astonishing transformation. Reginald of Piperno, the faithful scribe and companion of Thomas reported that, "After that Mass, he never wrote further or even dictated anything, and even got rid of his writing material ...." Reginald questioned Thomas why, and Thomas answered "I cannot do any more. Everything I have written seems to me as straw in comparison with what I have seen." The second event occurred on the way to the Second Council at Lyons in January or February of 1274. Thomas struck his head on a branch from a fallen tree and was stunned by the blow. He never recovered from the injury, ending up at a Cistercian Monastery at Fossanova. Thomas died on Wednesday, March 7, after being anointed and receiving the Blessed Sacrament.

656 Torrell, Saint Thomas Aquinas, 289.
657 Torrell, Saint Thomas Aquinas, 290-292.
Thomas Aquinas was canonized by Pope John XXII in 1323. He was declared a Doctor of the Church by Pope Pius V in 1567. He is known as the Angelic Doctor and the Common Doctor. St. Thomas Aquinas' is cited as the model for higher-level education, in the Second Vatican Council document, "Declaration on Christian Education." The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* has sixty-one references to Thomas' documents. Other comments: he is "the greatest scholastic, if not of all, theologians" and "Considered one of the greatest intellectual figures in the history of the world and the Church." St. Albert the Great was supposed to have said of Thomas, "We call him the dumb ox, but he will make resound in his doctrine such a bellowing that it will echo throughout the entire world." And so he did.

### 6.7.1 Evangelium Joannis, Commentary on the Gospel of John

Reginald of Piperno appended a comment to the original manuscript of the *Lectura super Ioannem*, which led scholars to believe that this commentary originated from Reginald's course notes of Thomas' lectures on the Gospel of John. These lectures were probably delivered at the University of Paris, between 1270 and 1272.660

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Lecture One on Chapter Two begins with the text from John's Gospel, verses 1 through 11. The commentary that referred to Mary, the Mother of Jesus was:

335. Above, the Evangelist showed the dignity of the incarnate Word and gave various evidence for it. Now he begins to relate the effects and actions by which the divinity of the incarnate Word was made known to the world. [...]

338. In the mystical sense, marriage signifies the union of Christ with the Church, because as the Apostle says: "This is a great mystery: I am speaking of Christ and his Church" (Eph 5:32). And this marriage was begun in the womb of the Virgin, when God the Father united a human nature to his Son in a Unity of person. So, the chamber of this union was the womb of the Virgin: "He established a chamber for the sun" (Ps 18:6). Of this marriage it is said: "The kingdom of heaven is like a king who married his son" (Mt 22:2), that is, when God the Father joined a human nature to his Word in the womb of the Virgin. It was made public when the Church was joined to him by faith: "I will bind you to myself in faith" (Hos 2:20). We read of this marriage: "Blessed are they who are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rv 19:9). It will be consummated when the bride, i.e., the Church, is led into the resting place of the groom, i.e., into the glory of heaven. [...]

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661 These numbers are in the primary text and will be referenced in my Commentary on Thomas' Commentary.

340. The mother of Jesus is mentioned when he says, the mother of Jesus was there. [...] So I think that they first asked his mother whether Jesus should be invited. That is why the Evangelist expressly said first that his mother was at the wedding, and that later Jesus was invited.

341. And this is what comes next: "Jesus was invited." [...] For among his other acts of humility, the Son of the Virgin came to a marriage, which he had already instituted in paradise when he was with his Father. [...]

343. In its mystical meaning, the mother of Jesus, the Blessed Virgin, is present in spiritual marriages as the one who arranges the marriage, because it is through her intercession that one is joined to Christ through grace: "In me is every hope of life and of strength" (Sir 24:25). 663 [...]

344. At this physical marriage some role in the miracle belongs to the mother of Christ, some to Christ, and some to the disciples. When he says, When the wine ran out, he indicates the part of each. The role of Christ's mother was to superintend the miracle; the role of Christ to perform it; and the disciples were to bear witness to it. As to the first, Christ's mother assumed the role of a mediatrix. 664 Hence she does two things. First, she intercedes, with her Son. In the second place she instructs the servants. As to the first, two things are mentioned. First, his mother's intercession; secondly, the answer of her Son.

663 ST II-II, q. 83, a. 11; III, q. 25, a.5.

664 ST III, q. 26, a.1.
345. In Mary's intercession, note first her kindness and mercy. For it is a quality of mercy to regard another's distress as one's own, because to be merciful is to have a heart distressed at the distress of another: "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" (2 Cor 11:29). And so because the Blessed Virgin was full of mercy, she desired to relieve the distress of others. So he says, When the wine ran out, the mother of Jesus said to him. Note, secondly, her reverence for Christ: for because of the reverence we have for God it is sufficient for us merely to express our needs: "Lord, all my desires are known by you" (Ps 37:10). [...] And so his mother merely told him of their need, saying, They have no more wine. Thirdly, note the Virgin's concern and care. For she did not wait until they were in extreme need, but When the wine ran out, that is, immediately. This is similar to what is said of God: "A helper in times of trouble" (Ps 9:10).

346. Chrysostom\(^{665}\) asks: Why did Mary never encourage Christ to perform any miracles before this time? For she had been told of his power by the angel, whose work had been confirmed by the many things she had seen happening in his regard, all of which she remembered, thinking them over in her heart (Lk 2:51). The reason is that before this time he lived like any other person. So, because the time was not appropriate, she put off asking him. But now, after John's witness to him and after the conversion of his disciples, she trustingly prompted Christ to perform miracles. In this she was true to the symbol of the synagogue, which is the mother of Christ: for it was customary for the Jews to require miracles: "The Jews require signs" (1 Cor 1:22).

347. She says to him, *They have no more wine.* [...]  

348. Then when he says, *Jesus said to her,* the answer of Christ is given. This answer has been the occasion for three heresies.  

349. The Manichaens claim that Christ had only an imaginary body, not a real one. Valentinus maintained that Christ assumed a celestial body and that, as far as his body was concerned, Christ was not related to the Virgin at all. *The source of this error was that he understood, Woman, what does that have to do with me and you? as if it meant: "I have received nothing from you." But this is contrary to the authority of Sacred Scripture. For the Apostle says: "God sent his Son, made from a woman" (Gal 4:4). Now Christ could not be said to have been made from her, unless he had taken something from her.*  

Further, Augustine argues against them: "How do you know that our Lord said, *What does that have to do with me and you?* You reply that it is because John says so. *But he also says that the Virgin was the mother of Christ. So, if you believe the Evangelist when he stated that Jesus said this to his mother, you should also believe him when he said, and the mother of Jesus was there."

350. Then there was Ebion who said that Christ was conceived from a man's seed, and Helvidius, who said that the Virgin did not remain a virgin after

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666 *ST* III, q. 31, aa. 4-5.  

667 *Tract. in Io. 8. 7; PL* 35, col. 1454; cf. *Catena aurea,* 2:1-4  

childbirth. They were deceived by the fact that he said, Woman, which seems to imply the loss of virginity. But this is false, for in Sacred Scripture the word "woman" sometimes refers merely to the female sex, as it does in "made from a woman" (Gal 4:4). This is obvious also by the fact that Adam, speaking to God about Eve, said: "The woman whom you gave me as a companion, gave me fruit from the tree, and I ate it" (Gn 3:12); for Eve was still a virgin in Paradise, where Adam had not known her. Hence the fact that the mother of Christ is here called "woman" in this Gospel does not imply a loss of virginity, but refers to her sex.669 [...] 

352. Since we have eliminated the above opinions, let us look for the reason why our Lord answered, Woman, what does that have to do with me and you? For Augustine,670 Christ has two natures, the divine and the human. And although the same Christ exists in each, nevertheless things appropriate to him according to his human nature are distinct from what is appropriate to him according to his divine nature.671 Now to perform miracles is appropriate to him according to his divine nature, which he received from the Father; while to suffer is according to his human nature, which he received from his mother. So when his mother requests this miracle, he answers, Woman, what does that have to do with me and you? as if saying: I did not receive from you that in me which enables me to perform miracles, but that which enables me to suffer, i.e., that which makes it appropriate for me to suffer, i.e., I have received a human nature from

669 ST III, q.28, aa. 2-3.

670 Serm. de symb. ad catechum. 5. 14; PL 40, col. 644; cf Catena aurea, 2:1-4.

671 ST III, q. 16, aa. 4-5.
you. And so I will recognize you when this weakness hangs on the cross. And so he continues with, My time has not yet come. As if to say: I will recognize you as my mother when the time of my passion arrives. And so it was that on the cross he entrusted his mother to the disciple.

353. Chrysostom\textsuperscript{672} explains it differently. He says that the Blessed Virgin, burning with zeal for the honor of her Son, wanted Christ to perform miracles at once, before it was opportune; but that Christ, being much wiser than his mother, restrained her. For he was unwilling to perform a miracle before the need for it was known; otherwise, it would have been less appreciated and less credible. And so he says, Woman, what does that have to do with me and you? As if to say: Why bother me? My hour has not yet come, i.e., I am not yet known to those present. Nor do they know that the wine ran out; and they must first know this, because when they know their need they will have a greater appreciation of the benefit they will receive.

354. Now although his mother was refused, she did not lose hope in her Son's mercy. So she instructs the servants, Do whatever he tells you, in which, indeed, consists the perfection of all justice. For perfect justice consists in obeying Christ in all things: "We will do all that the Lord commanded us" (Ex 29:35). Do whatever he tells you, is fittingly said of God alone, for man can err now and then. Hence in matters that are against God, we are not held to obey men: "We ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). We ought to obey God, who does not err and cannot be deceived, in all

\textsuperscript{672} Hom. in Io. 22.1; PG 59, col. 134; cf. Catena aurea, 2:1-4.
things. (Translated by Fabian Larcher and James A. Weisheipl.)

Mystice autem per nuptias intelligitur conjunctio Christi et Ecclesiae: quia, ut dicit Apostolus, Eph. 5,32, 'Sacramentum hoc magnum est: dico autem in Christo et Ecclesia.' Et illud quidem matrimonium initiatum fuit in utero virginali, quando Deus Pater Filio humanam naturam univit in unitate personae: unde hujus conjunctionis thalamus fuit uterus virginalis. Psalm, 18, 6: 'In sole posuit tabernaculum suam.' De istis nuptiis dicitur Matth. 22, 2: 'Simile est regnum caelorum homini regi, qui fecit nuptias filio suo:' tunc scilicet quando Deus Pater humanam naturam Verbo suo copulavit in utero virginali. Publicatum autem fuit, quando Ecclesia sibi per fidem conjuncta est, Oseae 2, 20: 'Sponsabo te mihi in fide etc.' De istis nuptiis dicitur Apoc. 19, 9: 'Beati qui ad coenam nuptiarum agni vocati sunt.' Consummatum autem erit, quando sponsa, idest Ecclesia, introductur in thalamum sponsi, in caelestem scilicet gloriam.

De matre quidem, cum dicit: 'Et erat mater Jesu ibi' [...] et ideo puto quod primo consuluerunt matrem, an Jesus esset vocandus. Et ideo signanter dixit Evangelista primo matrem adesse jam in nuptiis, et Jesum postmodum fuisse vocatum: et hoc est quod sequitur, 'Vocatus est Jesus.' [...] Nam inter cetera humilia quae fecit Filius Virginis, venit ad nuptias, qui eas, cum esset apud Patrem, instituit in paradiso. Et de hoc exemplo dicitur, Matt. 22, 2: "Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis credo." [...]
Secundo reverentiam ejus ad Christum: ex reverentia enim quam ad Deum habemus, sufficit nobis ei tantum defectus nostros exponere, secundum illud Psal. 37, 10 'Domine, ante te omne disorderium meum.' [...] Et ideo mater ejus defectum aliorum simpliciter exposuit dicens: 'Venum non habent.' Tertio Virginis solicitudinem et diligentiam: quia usque ad extremam necessitatem non distulit; sed 'deficiente vino,' idest dum esset in deficiendo, juxta illud quod dicitur Psal. 9, 10, de Deo: 'Adjutor in opportunitatibus, in tribulatione.'

Sed quaerit Chrysostomus: Quare ante non incitavit Christum ad miracula? nam de virtute ejus erat instructa per Angelum, et confirmata per multa quae viderat circa ipsum fieri, quae omnia conservabat, conferens in corde suo, ut dicitur Luc. 2. Cujus ratio est, quia antea ut unus aliorum conversabatur: unde, quia non viderat tempus opportunum, hoc facere distulit. Nunc vero post Joannis contestationem, et post discipulorum conversionem, confidenter Christum ad miracula facienda provocat, gerens in hoc figuram synagogae, quae est mater Christi: nam familiare est Judaeis miracula requirere: 1 Corinth. 1, 12: 'Judaei signa petunt.' Dicit ergo ei: 'Venum non habent.' [...]

Consequentem cum dicit, 'Dixit ei Jesus etc.,' ponitur responsio Christi: ex qua quidem responsione triclipis haeresis occasio sumpta est. Manichaei namque dicunt, Christum non habuisse verum corpus, sed phantasticum. Valentinus asserit, Christum attulisse corpus caeleste, dicens, quod quantum ad corpus, Christus nihil pertinet ad Virginem. Et hujus erroris fulcimentum sumit per hoc quod dicit ei Jesus: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' quasi dicat: Nihil a te suscepi. Sed hoc est contra auctoritatem sacrae Scripturae: dicit enim Apostolus, Gal. 4, 4: 'Misi Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere:' non enim posset duci ex ea factus, nisi ex ea aliquid sumpsisset. Arguit praeterea contra eos Augustinus, dicens 'Quomodo scis, quod Dominus dixit: 'Quid mihi et tibi?'

Respondes, quia Joannes Evangelista hoc narrat, Sed ipse etiam Evangelista dicit de Virgine quod erat mater ejus. Si ergo credis Evangelistae in eo quod narrat Jesum dixisse matri: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' credas etiam in hoc ei quod dicit: 'Et erat mater Jesu ibi.' Ebion autem dicens ex virili semine Christum conceptum, et Elvidius, qui dicit quod Virgo post partum non permanedit virgo, sumpserunt erroris fulcimentum ex hoc quod dicit, 'Mulier,' quod videtur corruptionem importare. Sed hoc est falsum; quia mulier in sacra Scriptura quandoque importat solum sexum femineum, secundum illud Gal. 4, 4: 'Factum ex muliere etc.' Et hoc patet etiam per hoc quod Adam ad Deum loquens de Eva, dixit: 'Mulier quum dedisti mihi sociam, dedit mihi de ligno, et comedi:' Gen. 3, 12. Constat enim tunc Evam adhuc virginem fuisse, cum adhuc esset in paradiso, ubi non cognoverat eam. Unde hoc quod hic dicitur, 'Mulier,' non importat corruptionem, sed determinat sexum. [...]

His ergo exclusis, investigemus hujus dominicae responsionis causam. 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' Et quidem, secundum Augustinum, in ipso sunt duae naturae, divina scilicet et humana; et quamvis idem Christus sit in utraque natura, ea tamen quae conveniunt ei secundum humanam naturam, distincta sunt ab his quae conveniunt ei secundum
6.7.2 Commentary

In the narrative of the Wedding Feast at Cana, John showed the dignity of the Incarnate Word and gave evidence for it, section 335. John was clear that the Mother of Jesus was there and had an essential role at the wedding. In section, 338, Thomas identified a mystical meaning for her presence at the marriage: the Incarnation and the beginning of the Church. Mary's virginal womb was the chamber in which the Father united the human nature of his Son in a Unity of person. This marriage of Christ to a human nature signifies the union of Christ to the Church, the beginning of the Church. This union was made known when the Church was joined to him by faith. Three times in the first section, Thomas refered to the womb of the Virgin: the marriage begun in the womb of the

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Miraque autem facere competit ei secundum divinam naturam quam accepit a Patre; pati vero, secundum humanam, quam accepit a matre: et ideo matri exigenti miraculum, respondit dicens; 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' ac si dicat: Illud quod in me facit miracula, non accepi a te, sed illud unde patior idest, secundum quod competet mihi pati, scilicet humanam naturam, a te accepi: et ideo tunc te cognoscam, cum ipsa infirmitas pendebit in cruce: et ideo subdit: 'Nondum venit hora mea;' quasi dicat: cum venerit hora passionis, ibi te matrem cognoscam. Unde et in cruce pendens matrem discipulo commendavit. Secundum Chrysostomum vero, alter exponitur. Dicitur enim quod Beata Virgo fervens zelo honoris filii, voluit quod statim antequam opportunum esset, Christus miracula faceret; et ideo Christus, matre haud dubio sapientior, eam repressit. Noluit enim prius facere miraculum, quam sciretur defectus: quia ex hoc fuisse minus notum, et minus credibile et ideo dicit, 'Nondum venit hora mea;' idest, nondum cognitus sum his qui adsunt. Sed neque defectum vini sentiunt: sine ergo primo hoc sentire; quia cum necessitatem cognoverint, majus reputabunt beneficium quod recipierunt.

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virgin, chamber for this union was the womb of the Virgin, and God the Father joined a human nature to his Word in the womb of the Virgin. Thomas emphasized Mary's role and her virginity in relation to the will of the Father, the humanity of the Son and the origin of the Church. Thomas wrote of Mary's divine maternity, because in Jesus there was a Unity of person.

Next in sections 340 and 341, Thomas literally interpreted John's words, "the Mother of Jesus was there" to mean that she was invited first to the wedding. He reasoned that Mary was asked whether or not Jesus should be invited. Mary apparently told the hosts to invite Jesus; he was invited and out of humility he came to the marriage. This gave Mary a significant part in bringing about the occasion for a miracle and the manifestation of Jesus' divinity. Also, Thomas identified Jesus as the Son of a Virgin, reminding all of Jesus' relationship to Mary and her virginity.

In section 343, there is an allegory: Mary is the one who arranges the marriage, Christ is the Bridegroom, the soul is the Bride, and the disciples are the groomsmen. Thomas identified three significant functions for the Blessed Virgin in this marriage: she is present in spiritual marriages, she is the one who arranges the marriage, and it is through her intercession that a soul is joined to Christ through grace. The groomsmen are responsible for uniting the souls of the faithful in the Church to Christ. Thomas afforded the Virgin Mother a primary and essential role in bringing about the union of each soul to her Divine Son.

Returning to the literal meaning of the verses, Thomas outlined the different roles for the key figures at the wedding in sections 344 and 345. The role of Christ's mother was to superintend the miracle, that is, she was to oversee or direct the miracle. Mary performed the essential role of the mediatrix, by interceding with her Son and instructing the servants. Thomas called attention to the virtues that the Virgin manifested through her intercession: kindness and mercy, reverence toward her Son, and concern and care. Mary's heart was distressed at the distress of another; she acted with kindness and mercy toward them. She had reverence for her Son and simply informed him of the need. Thomas used Mary's action as an example of how we should pray
when in need; merely express our needs to the Lord. Mary's care and concern for others led her to seek help immediately. Here again, Thomas made an example of Mary's action; she was like God who is a helper in times of trouble.

Thomas referred to Scripture and to the writings of the Fathers for the interpretation of Scripture. In section 346, he answered the question raised by Chrysostom, who asked why the Mother of Jesus had not asked for any miracles before this. Thomas answered by referencing Luke 1:26 to 37 and Luke 2:51. The Virgin Mother knew of her Son's power from the angel's announcement and from the many things that she saw happening in his life. However, she waited until John's witness and the conversion of the disciples to faith in her Son, and then she asked him for a miracle. Thomas stated that Mary "trustingly prompted Christ to perform miracles." His mother had no doubt about her Divine Son. Interestingly, Thomas employed typology to provide the reason why the Mother of Christ would ask for a sign; the sign that would provide evidence that Jesus had divine power. The Jews require a sign and Mary was Jewish. The Synagogue, representing Judaism, was the Mother of Christ and Mary was the human Mother of Christ, who was a Jew. Therefore, "She was true to the symbol of the synagogue."

In sections 347 through 350, Thomas addressed verses 3 and 4: the mother of Christ says to him, "They have no wine" and "Jesus said to her, 'Woman, what does that have to do with me and you?'" Thomas began by refuting four heresies. The Manichaens and Valentinus maintained that Jesus did not have a real body or was not related to the Virgin Mary. Thomas explained Jesus' words to his mother by referring to Scripture and Augustine. Paul's Letter to the Galatians was clear evidence that Jesus was made from a woman and had a real body. This woman was the Virgin Mary, Jesus' mother. Augustine held that John's words provided the answer: John wrote that Jesus said this to his mother and John also said that the mother of Jesus was there; this confirmed Mary's motherhood and Christ's humanity. Against the Ebionites and Helvidius, Thomas referred to Galatians and Genesis to provide the
meaning of "woman." He explained this term, related to Mary's gender, and does not imply a loss of virginity.

Next Thomas provided the right interpretation of Jesus' statement to his Mother in section 352. He paraphrased Augustine's explanation: "I did not receive from you that in me which enables me to perform miracles, but that which enables me to suffer, i.e., that which makes it appropriate for me to suffer, i.e., I have received a human nature from you." There was a Unity of person in Jesus; he was One Divine Person with two natures, divine and human. Mary was the source of his human nature.

Chrysostom had a different explanation in section 353; the Blessed Virgin was burning with zeal for the honor her Son. This was the motivation behind her request. However, Jesus' hour had not yet come, because the conditions at the wedding were not right. The Mother of Jesus did not lose hope in her Son's mercy and, with confidence she instructs the servants, "Do whatever he tells you." Thomas emphasized the appropriateness and exemplarity of Mary's words. In her request, "consists the perfection of all justice. For perfect justice consists in obeying Christ in all things."

In summary, Thomas assigned several roles to the Virgin Mary. Her virginal womb was the bridal chamber where the Father united a human nature to his Son and Christ was united to the Church. With this human nature, Jesus was able to suffer and die on the Cross. This associated the Virgin Mary with Christology and Ecclesiology.

Mary has an essential and active role in bringing about the union of each soul to Christ through grace. The Virgin Mary performed critical roles at the wedding: she recommended that her Son be invited and she was the mediatrix by interceding with her Divine Son and instructing the servants what to do. Mary prompted Jesus to perform the miracle, to manifest the sign of his divinity. In requesting a sign, she was true to the symbol of the Synagogue.

Thomas promulgated Mary's virginity by making reference to it seven times in the sections quoted. He also refuted the Ebionites, who denied the virginal conception, and the Helvidians, who denied her perpetual virginity. Thomas defended Mary's divine maternity against the Manichaens and Valentinus. She was
truly the mother of Jesus Christ, who has two natures in the One Person.

Thomas called attention to Mary's virtues: her kindness and mercy; the Virgin's concern and care, she was like God: a helper in times of trouble; she trusted in Christ and did not lose hope in her Son's mercy; and she burned for zeal for the honor of her Son. Thomas recommended the Virgin Mary as an exemplar for us: she had reverence for Christ and merely expressed her need; and she advised the servants to do whatever Christ tells them, for perfect justice consists in obeying Christ.

6.8 Summary of Chapter Six

The Councils held during this period did not address any teaching regarding the Blessed Virgin Mary. The theologians continued to promulgate the teachings of the earlier Councils: Nicaea, First and Second Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Lateran. The rise of the mendicant orders promoted Marian doctrine and devotion wherever they were.

6.9 Summary of the Marian Doctrine Found in the Writings of These Pastoral Theologians

All of the theologians began their exegesis with the literal interpretation of the words; however Albert, Hugh, Bonaventure, and Thomas directed more attention to detail or differences in the literal meaning. Albert explained Jesus' words to his mother: they were not said out of anger or indignation or contempt. Hugh explained who the "they" were who ran out of wine: meaning the ministers or the husband or the wife. Bonaventure clarified that the text did not say Mary was invited then went on to explain why he thought she was at the wedding. Thomas pointed out that at a physical marriage there were different roles to be performed. All of the theologians made references to the spiritual meaning that was derived from the literal. Stephen guided the reader into the spiritual life experienced by the Blessed Virgin Mary; he wrote of the depth of joy that she experienced when her beloved Son revealed the

287
power of the Godhead. Thomas actually referred to "mystical" meaning, to alert the audience to which sense he was referring.675 Other references to Sacred Scripture were integrated into the commentaries by Stephen, Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas. Bonaventure utilized the Glossa Ordinaria. Albert, Hugh, and Thomas defended certain truths against the heretics.676

In reference to verse 2:1, Albert thought that Mary was the sister of the mother of the groom or at least a member of the extended family. Hugh and Bonaventure also thought there was a kinship between Mary and the spouses. Albert, Hugh, and Bonaventure thought that Mary and Jesus, or the bridal couple were poor.677

Verse 2:3 was interpreted in a manner similar to previous writers. Stephen held that Mary wanted to avoid embarrassment for the hosts. Albert said that Mary points out the lack of wine. Hugh noted that the Virgin moved to make known the lack of wine. Bonaventure simply stated that the petition was made by the mother. Thomas called attention to the Mother of Jesus writing, note first her kindness and mercy, for it is a quality of mercy to regard another's distress as one's own.678

Mary's knowledge was part of the teaching of Albert and Bonaventure. Albert wrote that Mary naurally knew her Son to be God and he was able to do what he wanted; she had already begun to fathom his divinity; and she knew the hour was beginning for the manifestation through signs, therefore asked for a sign.

675 See Albert, 244, Hugh, 253, Bonaventure, 263, and Thomas, 275-276 for more literal detail; and Stephen, 238 and Thomas, 275 for mystical meaning.

676 See Stephen, 238, Albert, 244, Bonaventure, 264, and Thomas, 275 for other references to Sacred Scripture. See Bonaventure, 264 for the Glossa Ordinaria. See Albert, 246 for reference to "heretics," Hugh, 254 for reference to Manichaeism, and Thomas, for reference to Manichaeism, Valentinus, Ebionites and Helvidius, 278-279.

677 See Albert, 245, Hugh, 254, and Bonaventure, 263 for kinship. See Albert, 245, Hugh, 254, Bonaventure, 264, 268 for references to poor.

678 See Stephen, 238, Albert, 244, Hugh, 254, Bonaventure, 263-264, and Thomas, 276 for references to 2:3.
Bonaventure held that Mary knew her Son was full of mercy. She also knew that Jesus could perform a miracle and that Jesus knew that he could. Mary also knew that Jesus was always obedient to her.\textsuperscript{679}

Mary's intercessory power for individuals was brought up by Stephen. Stephen advised his monks to ask Mary to prepare his impure heart so that the Holy Spirit may descend into his heart and make it his abode, enlightening it by revealing the Holy Trinity. Through the constant intercession of Mary, the Holy Spirit would turn waters of empty chatter, passions, servile fear, neglect, and carelessness into the wine of compunction, love, and pure devotion.\textsuperscript{680}

Thomas wrote of Mary's intercession for others. Mary's concern was for the wedding party and also for the Church. Thomas identified Mary as the intercessor at the wedding; she intercedes with her Son and instructs the servants. Her intercession was with kindness and mercy full of concern for the distress of others. Thomas also noted the exemplary manner of Mary's words, "So she instructs the servants, 'Do whatever he tells you,' in which, indeed, consists the perfection of all justice. For perfect justice consists in obeying Christ in all things."\textsuperscript{681}

Jesus' response to his mother in verse 2:4 was interpreted somewhat differently. Two held that it was instructive: Albert held that it was instructive of those things which pertain to his mother and instructive of those things that pertain to him. Bonaventure stated that the "Lord's response was not insulting, but instructive; he showed the reason why he heard the request of his mother." Albert, Hugh, Bonaventure, and Thomas interpreted Jesus' word according to Augustine's previous explanation of Jesus' divinity and humanity, where Jesus recognized his mother when he was able to suffer. Similarly, Bonaventure held that Jesus called Mary woman,

\textsuperscript{679} See Albert, 245 and Bonaventure, 264 for Mary's knowledge.

\textsuperscript{680} See Stephen, 238 for intercession for individuals.

\textsuperscript{681} See Thomas, 276 regarding intercession for others. See Thomas, 280 for exemplarity.
because she was not the mother of his divinity. In reference to Jesus' addressing his mother as "woman," Hugh, Bonaventure, and Thomas held that it was in reference to her gender. Albert wrote that Jesus, the "most humble guardian did not want to disclose the virginity of the mother, lest through this he appear glorious in the sight of men, before being made manifest through miracles." Meaning, the virginal conception and birth by Jesus' mother was an indication of his divinity. Also, Albert thought that the word "woman" referred to a more fitting title because Mary had a soft spot for the couple in need.682

**Mary's Divine Maternity:** All of the theologians included terminology indicating their belief in this doctrine. Stephen called Mary the holy and loving Mother of God. Albert addressed Mary as the mother of God, mother of Jesus Christ, the mother of the Lord. Hugh called Mary the mother of Jesus. Bonaventure referred to Mary as the Mother of the Lord and Thomas called her mother of Jesus and mother of Christ.683

**Mary's Virginity:** Stephen referred to Mary as ever-virgin; Hugh called Mary the Blessed Virgin; and Albert said that Mary had taken a vow of virginity and Christ did not want to disclose his mother's virginity. Bonaventure called Mary the divine Virgin. Thomas made several references to Mary's virginity, called her the Blessed Virgin, and a perpetual virgin.684

**Mary's Holiness and Virtues:** Stephen identified Mary as the sweetest of ladies, holy and full of grace, clement, and loving mother. Albert called Mary a virtuous woman, who was the

682 See Albert 247 and Bonaventure, 268 for references to instructive; Albert, 246, Hugh, 255, Bonaventure, 264, 269 and Thomas, 278 regarding Augustine's interpretaton and Bonaventure relating this teaching to why Jesus called Mary woman, 269; Hugh 255, Bonaventure, 264, and Thomas, 278 regarding gender; Albert, 246 for protecting Mary's virginity and soft spot.


684 See Stephen, 238, Hugh, 254, Albert, 246, Bonaventure 268, and Thomas, 275 regarding Mary's virginity.
teacher and supervisor of the bride, mother of mercy, illuminatrix, industrious, mirror of all virtues, and prudent. Bonaventure wrote that Mary was holy and like the Valiant woman in Proverbs. Thomas made a profound comparison between Mary's concern and care and that of God: "This is similar to what is said of God: 'A helper in times of trouble.'"^685

**Mary and the Old Testament:** Thomas wrote that Mary was true to the symbol of the synagogue, which is the mother of Christ: for it was customary for the Jews to require a sign.^686

**Mary and the Church or Individuals:** Albert noted, "Behold the intervention of the mother of mercy of doing the miracle" because she "was mother by flesh and feeling the pity of the mother of future sons of the Church." Thomas wrote of Mary's intercession when a soul is joined to Christ in grace; she arranges these spiritual marriages.^687

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^685 See Stephen, 238, Albert, 244, Bonaventure, 264, and Thomas, 277 for references to Mary's holiness or virtues.

^686 See Thomas, 277 for Mary as symbol of the synagogue.

^687 See Albert, 244 and Thomas, 275 for Mary and the Church or individuals.
Chapter Seven
The Late Middle Ages: Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries

7.1 Introduction
The thirteenth century ended with a well developed systematic form of study in Theology, Christology, and Mariology, primarily due to the outstanding work of mendicant theologians in the universities. This next period was marked with challenges from natural disasters, dissension within the Church due to conflict over the papacy, moral decadence, and the splintering of Catholicism.

Commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana by five theologians will be presented to finalize this historical review on the development of Marian Doctrine. Anthony of Florence and Thomas Cajetan continued the teaching of the Dominicans. Denys, the Carthusian, offered a different perspective. The Jesuits became a strong influence with the work of John Maldonado and Francisco de Suárez.

7.2 Challenges Confronting the Church

7.2.1 Famine, Black Death, and War

The fourteenth century was marked by a devastating famine followed by the bubonic plague, also called the Black Death. The great famine began in 1315 and continued until 1322 and affected large portions of Northern Europe. The estimated mortality rate was 15 to 20 percent of the people. This terrible famine was followed by a much worse disaster in Western Europe, the bubonic plague. It spread throughout the region, first from 1347 to 1350, followed by outbreaks in 1361, 1369, 1370, and 1390. It caused pain, suffering, and left millions upon millions dead. F. Donald Logan described the situation, "It was nothing less than a human disaster on a horrific scale."688 The third challenge came as the

688 Logan, History of the Church, 276, 275-287.
result of the One Hundred Years War between England and France (1337 to 1453). The troops plundered the countryside, people suffered starvation and property was destroyed.

The Church responded to the various demands and the needs of the people, many times becoming victims themselves. Priests, religious sisters, and the laity provided care for the sick and dying without regard to their own health. Exceptions were made to Church rules to allow canons to act as secular priests in the case of emergencies. The concept of purgatory grew in significance leading to an increase in prayers and Masses for the dead. Indulgences became more relevant. Popes Boniface VIII in 1300, Clement VI in 1343, and Sixtus IV in 1476 all made statements regarding the requirements for indulgences.689

7.2.2 The Papacy

The move of the papacy to Avignon came about for many reasons; four significant reasons will be noted here. There had been persistent political turmoil in Rome and the Papal States; two actual physical assaults in 1296 and 1303 on Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) by followers of the French king, Philip the Fair (1285-1314); the vacancy of the papal office due to a division among the cardinals; and the election of a French bishop to the papacy, Clement V (1305-1314). The popes remained in Avignon for almost seventy years, 1309 to 1376. Logan identified the seven popes who served as remarkably able popes: "three (Benedict XII, Urban V, and Gregory XI) were known for their undoubted piety of life, and Urban V was subsequently beatified. To none of them can personal scandals be assigned. Even John XXII, the great administrator ... lived a simple, sober life, and Clement VI ... showed exceptional compassion and generosity to the victims of the Black Death."690

689 Logan, History of the Church, 295.

690 Logan, History of the Church, 307.
The end of the Great Western Schism (1378 to 1417) began after Urban V (1362-1370) returned to Rome at the encouragement of Catherine of Siena. However, his preference was Avignon and he returned there after three years in Rome. Urban was followed by Pope Gregory XI (1370-1378), who returned to Rome in 1376, where the papacy has remained. A period of discord followed with two men elected to the papacy by competing factions; Urban VI (1378) in Rome and Clement VII (1379) in Avignon. When each died, he was replaced. Later, a third pope was elected. The Council of Constance (1414-1418) solved the problem, with the election of Pope Martin V (1417-1431). This council also called for a general reform of the Church.\[691\]

### 7.2.3 Beginning of Church Reform

The Church was suffering from moral decadence, corruption, and poor example set by some popes, bishops and priests.\[692\] The various attempts to reform the Church were made by different popes and councils during this period, none were completely successful. However, during the fifteenth century some of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and later the Carmelites, were successful in reforming their orders. Some efforts to reform the secular clergy were also effective. There were movements by the laity to deepen their own sanctity. Geert (Gerard) Groote (d. 1384) and his disciples founded a popular new movement called *Devotio Moderna*, which was directed at spiritual renewal through inner sanctity. The Oratory of Divine Love was another lay movement originating in Genoa in 1497. Thomas Bokenkotter summarized these efforts, "the general picture of reform activity before Luther shows a number of bright spots. [...] The general state of the Church was one of pervasive corruption, nevertheless. [...] A general reform of the Church could only have

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succeeded if it had reached the top and seized hold of the papacy itself. Unfortunately, this did not happen.” 693

7.2.4 The Splintering of Catholicism

All of the efforts to unite the Greek Church with the Latin Church finally failed with the sacking of Constantinople in 1453, the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the creation of the Orthodox Church. The Protestant Reformation initiated by Martin Luther (1483-1546), followed by John Calvin (1509-1564) and Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) occurred during this time. King Henry VIII (1491-1547) brought about the beginning of the Anglican Church.

7.2.5 Ecumenical Councils, Papal Documents, and Marian Doctrine

The Council of Constance (1414-1418) ended the Great Western Schism. The Council of Basel/Ferrara/Florence (1431-1445) was held to attempt to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches, which failed as mentioned above. Mary's immaculate conception was also addressed. "On September 17, 1438, at the thirty-sixth session, the Council declared that by a special act of prevention, Mary was never stained with original sin. However, the representatives of the Roman Pope did not remain for the completion of the Council ... the declaration was not adopted by the universal Church.” 694

In 1477, Pope Sixtus IV, a Franciscan, wrote in his Constitution entitled Cum Praeexclesia:

Once Mary's divine motherhood and the unique place which it confers upon her in God's plan of salvation had been clearly stated and understood, the reflection of the

693 Bokenkotter, Concise History, 185, 177-185; Logan, History of the Church, 340-346.

694 Wiseman, "Immaculate Conception," 16.
Church turned to the implications of her role for Mary herself. If she was to be at the service of God in the act by which God brought about the salvation of humankind and the conquest of sin, she could not be herself subject to sin. Thus the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception, i.e., her freedom from sin from the very beginning of her existence, became more and more firmly established.  

Pope Sixtus IV also wrote in *Grave Nimis* (1483) that "he forbade anyone to censurate those who celebrated the feast and held the Immaculate Conception as doctrine of faith."  

The Council of Trent (1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1563) was a very important council. It defined Catholic teaching on almost every aspect of Catholic doctrine; imposed new disciplines on bishops and priests; standardized prayers and rituals for Mass; and established seminaries for the training of clergy. The Council of Trent did not define Mary's Immaculate Conception, but stated:  

This same holy Synod declares that it is not its intention to include in this decree dealing with original sin the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, but that the Constitutions of Pope Sixtus IV of blessed memory are to be observed under the penalties contained in those Constitutions, which [the present council] renew.  

Pope Paul IV defended Mary's Perpetual Virginity in his Constitution, *Cum Quorumdam Hominum* (1555).  

We question and admonish all those who [...] have asserted, taught and believed [...] that our Lord [...] was not conceived from the Holy Spirit according to the flesh  

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698 Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 283.
in the womb of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin but, as other human beings, from the seed of Joseph; [...] or that the same Blessed Virgin Mary is not truly the mother of God and did not retain her virginity intact before the birth, in the birth, and perpetually after the birth.  

7.2.6 Church Reform

Pope Pius V (1566-1572) was the first reforming pope; he established high standards for papal morality. Pius also carried out the work of the Council of Trent by publishing *The Tridentine Catechism* to teach the beliefs and practices of the Church and *The Revised Roman Missal* to standardize the liturgy throughout the world. Pius was followed by another reforming pope, Gregory VIII (1572-1585), who continued the decrees of Trent and was a strong supporter of the Jesuits.  

Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) and the Jesuits were significant forces in Catholic reform and influenced the Church for the following four centuries. Ignatius and a group of companions founded the Jesuit Order, the Society of Jesus, in 1534. His writing, the *Spiritual Exercises*, was based on his own spiritual experience and his deep love for God. These exercises became the foundation for personal sanctity and the driving force of the order. Ignatius required all to develop an interior life of prayer and to let that be the source of their apostolate and of all effective action in the Church. The Jesuits served God through meeting the needs of the Pope. They were strong defenders of Catholic orthodoxy against the Protestant Reformers. The Jesuits were excellent educators and taught the Catholic faith through preaching, teaching, writing, founding colleges, pastoring souls, and missionary work. Their missionary activities were successful in many parts of the world.  

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700 See Bokenkotter, *Concise History*, 219.

701 See Bokenkotter, *Concise History*, 220-222.
7.2.7 The Bible and Biblical Exegesis

The Protestant Reformation brought about a need for the Church to promulgate what was approved for Catholics. The canon for the Catholic Bible was defined by the Council of Florence and confirmed at the Council of Trent. The official translation was the 1592 version of the Latin Vulgate, the Sixto-Clementine, named after Popes Sixtus V and Clementine VIII. The interpretation of Sacred Scripture continued to be based on Sacred Tradition, the teaching of the popes, theologians, and councils, and the sensus fidelium. The literal sense continued to be the primary interpretation of the scriptural texts, however the other senses were also considered. This was distinctly different from the Protestant teaching of scripture only and literal sense only. The Council of Trent required bishops to assure that the Bible was studied, preached, and taught in their dioceses. Sermons were to be based on scripture.  

7.2.8 A General Overview of Marian Doctrine in the Late Middle Ages

Marian doctrines were attacked by the Protestant Reformers, the Jansenists, and others. The Jesuits became strong defenders of Catholic orthodoxy, upholding Mary's divine maternity, perpetual virginity, immunity from all sin, both original and actual, her universal mediation, and her spiritual maternity. 


The Blessed Virgin Mary was looked upon as a spiritual mother who would protect her children from evil and guide them to salvation. Luigi Gambero described, "The faithful considered her to be someone close to them, and they were moved to a Marian devotion that stressed the more human aspects of relationship between Christ and Mary." More people said the Rosary and the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

St. Anthony of Florence (1389-1459)

7.3 Life and Teaching of Anthony of Florence

Antoninus was born to Niccolò and Thomasina Pierozzi on March 1, 1389 in Florence, Italy. His father was a notary for the Florentine Republic. They were of the middle class. At the age of fifteen, Anthony appealed to John Dominic, who was at the convent at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, to accept him into the Dominican Order. Anthony was asked to wait one year and was then received into the new priory in Fiesole. Anthony became a great reformer following the leadership of Blessed John Dominic and Pope Gregory XII (1406-1415).Anthony's spiritual nature and administrative skills led to assignments as vicar of the convent at Foligno, sub-prior and prior of the convent at Cortona, and later prior of the convents at Rome (Minerva), Naples (St. Peter Martyr), Gaeta, Sienna, and Fiesole. He became vicar of the Tuscan Congregation from 1433 to 1446, which held to a more rigorous form of discipline.

Anthony participated as a theologian at the Council of Florence in 1439. Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) consecrated him

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704 Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 255.

Archbishop of Florence on March 13, 1446. Anthony continued to live as a faithful mendicant friar, observing the vow of poverty and providing charity to the needy. He carried out church reform in the parishes and religious communities in his diocese. When Pope Eugene lay dying he called Anthony to be with him. Pope Pius II (1458-1464) appointed him to a committee with cardinals whose charge was to reform the Roman Court.

Anthony wrote forty-six sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary. He also wrote a commentary on the first chapter of Luke's Gospel. His work, *Summa Theologica Moralis, partibus IV distincta*, became a source document for manuals for confessors and penitents. It was thought to have been written just before he died in 1459. The Marian themes included in the *Summa* are "marked with a decidedly practical stamp, at the service of the Christian life and devotion to the Mother of the Lord."  

Anthony remained a faithful pastor of souls as Archbishop of Florence until his death on May 2, 1459. He was canonized by Pope Hadrian (Adrian) VI (1522-1523) on May 31, 1523.

7.3.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Summa Theologica Moralis*

"The mother of Jesus was there" (Jn 2:1), that is, at the wedding feast. It was the wedding celebration (as is commonly said) of John the Evangelist, who was a nephew of the glorious Virgin on the mother's side. For the mother of John and of James the Greater, who was called Mary Salome, the wife of Zebedee, by whom she bore John and James, was a sister of the glorious Virgin. And so, as a relative, she was invited to her nephew's wedding as was her Son together with his disciples.

Even though she was the Mother of the Lord and Queen of heaven, being humble, she did not disdain to be present at the wedding of a poor little fisherman who was

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706 See McMahon, "Antonius," Catholic Encyclopedia, 2 of 3; Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages*, 300-301. Tobiah and Sarah were the couple referenced in Tobit 8:4.
so poor that the wine for his wedding celebration was running short. But she made sure that this need was taken care of by her blessed Son, for, being truly merciful, she had sympathy for the embarrassment of the needy couple.

Moreover, her presence and that of her Son did not reprove the state of the spouses who celebrate their wedding in fear of the Lord, as is read of the holy man. Tobit and his wife (see Tob 8:4), but approved of it, even while preferring the virginal or widowed state to that of a married couple, as having greater merit. For [John] did not consummate the marriage he had contracted, but when he saw the miracle of the water changed into wine, he left his wife, laid down the world and took up to discipleship of Christ and remained a virgin forever.

This wedding also symbolizes the spiritual wedding celebrated between Christ and the Church in general, or between God and any individual soul in particular, and in all these cases "the Mother of Jesus was there," the Blessed Virgin Mary.707 (Translated by Luigi Gambero.)

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708 Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 305-306.
Anthony began his commentary on the words, "the mother of Jesus was there," John 2:1, in a literal and historical manner. There was a wedding feast and the glorious Virgin was there. The content of his narrative was an historical reporting of an event. Anthony ended his analysis of the wedding feast in a spiritual and figurative manner, by reminding the readers that the mother of Jesus was there at "the spiritual wedding celebrated between Christ and the Church in general, or between God and any individual soul in particular."

The glorious Virgin Mother of Jesus was the central person in the narrative. She was the point of reference for all of the information. Mary was invited because she was the aunt of the groom, John the Evangelist, the son of her sister Mary Salome. Her Son and his disciples were invited because of her relationship. Anthony stated that it was "commonly said" that it was the wedding celebration of John the Evangelist; this provides more information about the teaching during his time. It is original to Anthony and adds to Albert the Great's comment, that Mary "was the sister of the mother of the groom." 709

Anthony delivered a moral exhortation to the readers in Summa Theologica Moralis. The glorious Virgin and her Son did not reprove the state of marriage. They approved of it, therefore the bridal couple had no need to beg for deliverance like Tobiah and Sarah did in Tobit 8:4. Anthony was quick to add that they preferred the virginal or widowed state, because it had greater merit. Even the groom, John the Evangelist, chose to turn away from marriage, take up discipleship, follow Jesus, and remain a virgin after he witnessed the miracle that Jesus performed.

The virtues of the Blessed Virgin Mary were clearly described. Anthony identified her as the glorious Virgin. He contrasted the height of Mary's greatness, due to her relationship to her Son, with her own humility: "Even though she was the Mother of the Lord and Queen of Heaven," she was humble and "did not

709 See Albert the Great's Commentary on the Gospel of John, 244.
disdain to be present at the wedding of the poor little fisherman." The Virgin Mary was truly merciful and had sympathy for the embarrassment of the needy couple.

Anthony recognized the role Blessed Virgin Mary in the spiritual wedding celebrated between Christ and the Church in general. In addition to this, he taught that the mother of Jesus was present in all cases when there was a spiritual wedding celebrated between God and any individual soul.

Dionysius (Denys) the Carthusian (1402 - 1471)

7.4 Life and Teaching of Dionysius the Carthusian

Dionysius van Leeuwen was born in Rijkel, Belgian Limburg to a family of modest means. He was a good student and was sent to a school at Saint Truiden, where he studied Latin. At the age of thirteen, he transferred to a famous school at Zwolle (Overijssel) and studied philosophy. Dionysius was attracted to the cloistered life and became interested in St. Bruno's Order of the Carthusians. At the age of eighteen, he applied at the Charterhouse at Roermond in Dutch Limburg. Because he was too young to enter, he spent three years at the University of Cologne studying philosophy, theology, and Scripture. Dionysius earned a Magister Artium. While there he had occasion study Thomas Aquinas, whose teaching he followed throughout his life.710

In 1423 Dionysius was allowed to enter the Charterhouse at Roermond. He embraced the cloistered life of the Carthusians with silence, solitude, and seclusion. Dionysius spent more than the customary time in prayer and when he had the opportunity he studied books in Latin and Greek. He wrote around one hundred fifty books, filling forty-two large tomes. He relied on four sources

710 See Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages. 307; Terence O’Reilly, "Introduction," Denis the Carthusian: Spiritual Writings (Dublin, Ire.: Four Courts, 2005), ix. Hereafter: O'Reilly, "Introduction," Denis the Carthusian.
for his work: Sacred Scripture; the Latin Fathers (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and Bede); monastic writers (Bernard of Clarivaux, John Cassian, and John Climacus); Thomas Aquinas; and Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite. 711 Dionysius' work was not original, however he left "an enormous literary output, covering the most varied fields of theological learning: questions of exegesis, commentaries on the Bible and ancient writers, systematic treatises, spiritual and mystical works." 712 He started his commentaries on the New Testament in 1434. His writings were highly esteemed and widely read, because he was concerned about the need for Church reform and "desired to renew theology by returning to its sources." 713 His manuscripts were published as books and widely circulated during the 1520s.

Dionysius wrote two documents regarding Marian Doctrine: De praeconio et dignitate Mariae and De dignitate et laudibus Virginis Mariae. He also composed hymns and wrote thirty-five sermons for the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Interestingly, before the Council of Basel, he held that Mary was conceived with original sin and was purified in her mother's womb. After the council, he declared the Immaculate Conception a truth of the faith and embraced the teaching of Duns Scotus. 714

The Roermond Charterhouse was the home of Dionysius for 48 years. He did leave it in August 1451 to accompany Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) on a mission to reform parishes and religious communities in the Low Countries and the Rhineland. In 1465, he was given the responsibility to build a new charter house at Bois le Duc, which he did for four years. He died March 12, 711

See O'Reilly, "Introduction," Denis the Carthusian, x - xi.

712 Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 308-309.


714 Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 309.
1471. His cause for beatification was never introduced, though he was called blessed by St. Francis de Sales and St. Alphonsus of Liguori. He was known as *Doctor Ecstaticus* because of his mystical experiences.\(^\text{715}\)

### 7.4.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast in *Enarratio in Evangelium*, Commentary on John

And the Mother of Jesus was there, because, according to Sts. Jerome, Bede, and a scribal gloss, the spouse in this wedding was John the evangelist, the son of the sister of the glorious Virgin: and thus from charity and piety she went to the wedding of her nephew, as she had been asked.

And when the wine failed, the Mother of Jesus says to him, whom she knew to be omnipotent: They have no wine. The most merciful Virgin said this out of compassion, as she sympathized with the poverty and dismay of the bride and groom, and with the thirst and want of the others. So the wine ran short, either because all of it had been consumed, or because very little remained: the groom and the bride did not have sufficient wine to offer to the guests, nor for the guests to drink. Furthermore, just as the most pious Virgin was compassionate about their material lack and provided aid, thus, when called upon, she gladly will provide aid for our spiritual needs, which she also does most generously, even when not asked. It is also to be noted how faithfully, briefly, and succinctly she said to her Son: "They have no wine." For indeed she was most certain about the omnipotence of her Son; she was truly trusting most fully about his charity and piety, and was not ambiguous: and so, she thought it sufficient merely to

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insinuate the cause to him, and it would not be necessary to add a prayer. This indeed is the manner of speaking openly and faithfully of lovers, as Mary Magdalene and Martha, when their brother Lazarus was sick, send to Christ, saying, "Lord, behold the one whom you love is sick."

And Jesus says to her: What is this to me and to you, woman? This response seems harsh, yet not without a mystical reason did he speak thus. Therefore, He did indeed respond thus, so as to teach us not to have excessively carnal and weak affection for carnal parents and other neighbors, lest we should offend God from an inordinate love of them, or forsake the way of perfection and justice.

Augustine moreover explains this passage in this manner: "What is this to me and to you, woman?" that is, there is nothing common to me and to you, by reason or virtue of which it would be apt for me to do miracles, or to provide matters of wine supernaturally for these, that you should implicitly ask: for this pertains to me by divine nature, which I did not take up from you. Therefore, in regards to this matter, that I would perform miracles, I am not bound to obey you. My hour has not yet come, that is, the time of persecution and my passion, in which I will do and suffer those things which pertain to me from the part of nature taken up from you, and then I will be solicitous about you, commending you to the beloved disciple. This exposition seems rather obscure.

For his part, Chrysostom explains it thus: "What is this to me and to you, woman?" that is, in this which you ask from me, you are not in agreement or concord with me in regard to the determined hour of doing this miracle, nor is there grounds for you to know the hour with me in this way. "My hour has not yet come," that is, as yet, it is not the time for performing this miracle. Chrysostom moreover imagines that the virgin Mary, seeing that a little of the wine remained, wanted to forestall and by
anticipation take away the confusion which was about to come to the groom on account of the defect of wine, and wished that her Son would miraculously provide sufficient wine before the wine which remained was drunk. But Christ knew that this would not be best, because then the miracle would not have been so noted and appreciated. Because therefore Christ wants to show His divinity, and strengthen the faith of his disciples, He decided to wait until nothing remained of the wine: then indeed the supernatural provision of wine was more welcome to those dining, and more noticed to those present. Yet this exposition seems to include something of an ambiguity. For Mary clearly said to Jesus: "They have no wine." From that, it appears ambiguous whether any of the wine remained.

For this reason, it seems thus able to be proposed, I will in no way refute the expositions offered: "What is this to me and to you, Woman?" that is, what is this to you and me, who are poor people, and do not have solicitude of temporal things, in so far as it pertains to provide wine for these? "My hour has not yet come," that is, not yet is the time fulfilled in which I will manifestly and regularly perform miracles. Indeed, although even before the incarceration of John the Baptist, Christ preached, baptized at least the Apostles, and others through them, and performed some miracles, but this he did not do so lavishly, openly and regularly, but rarely, and comparatively moderately, before a few people. On account of which, Matthew, Mark and Luke ommitted to write those things, beginning with the miracles and teachings taken up by Christ after the incarceration of John, as is clearly apparent from Matthew, Mark and Luke.

His Mother says to the servants, who were about to bring wine to those eating, do whatever he my Son says to you. The optimal Virgin knew she had not been rebuked by her Son, and that she had not spoken reprehensibly,
and that her Son would deny her nothing: for never had she experienced anything of austerity or rejection from him. On the contrary, she knew herself to be so singularly especially loved and honored by him, that she would not suffer a rejection.\(^{716}\) (Translated by Rory Pitstick.)

\(^{716}\) "'Et erat Mater Jesu ibi,' quia secundum B. Hieronymum, Bedam et Glossam, sponsus in nuptiis istis fuit Joannes evangelista, filius sororis Virginis gloriosae: et ita ex caritate et pietate ivit ad sui nuptias consobrini, prout fuit rogata. [...] 'Et deficiente vino, dicit Mater Jesu ad eum,' quem novit esse omnipotentem: 'Vinum non habent.' Hoc misericordissima Virgo dixit ex compassione qua sponsi ac sponsae paupertati ac confusioni, aliorumque siti et defensione condoluit. Defecit itaque vinum, vel quia totem fuerat epotatum, vel quia valde parum remansit: sponsus ergo et sponsa non habuerunt vinum sufficiens ad praestandum convivis, nec convivae ad potandum. Insuper, sicut Virgo piissima illorum corporali dux loquendi plene fiducialiterque amantium, quemadmodum Maria Magdalene et Martha, fratre suo Lazaro agrotante, miserunt ad Christum, dicentes: Domine, ecce quem amas infirmatur. 'Et dicit ei Jesus: Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' Responsio ista quodammodo dura videtur; sed non sine causa mystica sic locutus est. Ideo quippe ita respondit, ut doceret nos non habere affectum nimis carnalem et mollem ad carnales parentes ceterosque propinuos, ne ex inordinato illorum amore Deum offendamus, aut viam perfectionis atque justitiae relinquamus.

Exponit autem Augustinus sic passum istum:'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' id est, nihil commune est mihi et tibi, ex parte cujus seu cujus virtute conveniat mihi miracula facere, seu istis de vino supernaturaleiter providere, ut implicite petis: hoc enim competit mihi divina virtute, quam non sumpsi ex te. Ideo quoad hoc, ut scilicet miracula factam, tibi non teneor obedire. 'Nondum venit hora mea,' hoc est tempus persecutionis passionisque mee, in quo agam et paear ea quae mihi conveniunt ex parte naturae ex te sumptae, et tunc ero sollicitus de te, committendo te discipulo praelecto. Expositio ista videtur satis obscura.

Porro Chrysostomus sic exponit, 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' id est, in isto quod petis a me, non convenis seu concordas mecum quantum ad determinatam horam faciendi miraculum istud, nec est tibi mecum commune hujusmodi horam scire. 'Nondum venit hora mea,' hoc est, adhuc non est tempus faciendi miraculum istud. Imaginatur quippe Chrysostomus, quod virgo Maria videns quod parum supereset de vino, voluit confusionem que sponso imiminebat ex vini defectu, praevire et per anticipationem auferre, et optavit ut Filius suus provideret miraculose de vino sufficienti, antequam
7.4.2 Commentary

Dionysius anaylized the first five verses of chapter two as an historical event. There was an actual wedding with guests. He followed the teaching of the Fathers and notations on a scribal gloss to identify Mary as the aunt of the groom, who was John the Evangelist.

vinum quod supererat ebiberetur. Christus vero scivit hoc non expedire, quia tunc miraculum non faisset tam notum et gratum. Quoniam ergo Christus voluit suam divinitatem ostendere, et discipulorum fidem corroborare, exspectare decrevit quousque nihil de vino permansit: tunc namque supernaturalis de vino provisio magis grata fuit vescentibus, notiorque praesentibus. Verum hae expositio aliquid ambiguissatis videtur includere. Maria enim absolute dixit ad Jesus: 'Vinum non habent.' Ex quo apparebat ambiguum an quidquam de vino superfuit.

Idcirco videtur sic posse exponi, quamvis praetactas expositiones nequaquam redarguam: 'Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?' hoc est, quid ad te et me, qui pauperes sumus, et temporalium rerum sollicitudinem non habemus, in quantum pertinet istis providere de vino? 'Nondum venit hora mea,' id est, necdum impletum est tempus in quo manifeste ac passim miracula agam. Quamvis etenim Christus ante incarceracionem Joannis Baptistae prædicavit, baptizavit, saltem Apostolos, et alios per illos, atque miracula aliqua fecit, hoc tamen non fecit ubertim, aperte ac passim, sed raro, et comparative modice, coram paucis. Propter quod Matthæus, Marcus et Lucas illa scribere omiserunt, inchoantes a Christi miraculis ac doctrinis post Joannis incarceracionem inceptis, ut manifeste patet ex Matthæo, Marco et Luca. defectui compassa est et subvenit, ita et nostris spiritualibus indigentis invocata libenter subvenient: quod et uberrime facit, etiam non rogata. Considerandum quoque, quam fiducialiter, breviter et succinctim dixit ad Filium suum: 'Vinum non habent.' Certissima namque fuit de Filii omnipotentia; de caritate vero et pietate ipsius confidebat plenissime, nec fuit ambiguus: ideo satis putavit ei causam simpliciter insinuare, nec oportere precem su2bjungere. Hic quippe est mo

'Dicit Mater ejus ministris,' qui vinum propinabant edentibus: 'Quodcumque dicerat vobis' Filius meus, 'facite.' Noverat optimæ Virgo se a Filio suo non increpatam, nec se reprehensibiliter esse locutam, et quod Filius suus sibi nihil negaret: nunquam enim aliquid austeritatis aut repulsae fuit ad eo experta. Imo scvit se ab eo tam singulariter præmari ac honorari, ut non pateretur repulsam." D. Dionysii, " Enarratio in Evangelium," Opera Omnia (Montreuil, Fr.: Notre-Dame-des-Pres, MDCCCV), 182-185.

310
Dionysius interpreted Scripture literally and spiritually. The literal sense was the basis for his commentary. He quoted John 2:3 and then proposed possible meanings: "the wine ran short," could mean that it had all been consumed or that very little remained; consequently, the bridal couple did not have sufficient wine to offer to the guests, nor for the guests to drink. Dionysius held to the literal meaning of the Virgin Mother's words to refute Chrysostom's analysis of John 2:4, writing "For Mary clearly said to Jesus, 'They have no wine.'" However, Dionysius aptly moved from the literal to the spiritual significance of the pious Virgin's action. He assured the reader that, like her provision of aid for a temporal need, she would gladly and most generously provide aid for our spiritual needs, even when not asked. Dionysius also referred to the "mystical reason" for Jesus' words to his mother.

Dionysius employed a dialectic method for determining the meaning of John 2:4. He presented what Augustine had written, followed by Chrysostom's thoughts, and ended with his own analysis. He paraphrased Augustine's well known interpretation of Jesus' words as a reference to his divinity and humanity. Jesus did not take his divine nature from his mother and was not bound to obey her when miracles were involved. Her Son would be solicitous of his mother at the time of his persecution and passion and commend her to the beloved disciple. Dionysius offered his opinion, Augustine's "exposition seems rather obscure." Chrysostom had a different understanding: Christ knew that the better time for him to perform the miracle would be when the wine had run out and the miracle would have been so noted and appreciated by those present. His mother's request had been premature; the wine had not yet run out. Again, Dionysius offered his opinion, "Yet this exposition seems to include something of an ambiguity." Dionysius then proposed his own interpretation. First Jesus and Mary were both poor people; and they did not have solicitude for temporal things. Secondly, the hour to which Jesus referred to in John's Gospel was when he would manifestly and regularly perform miracles. This would be after the incarceration of John the Baptist. He supported this view by pointing out that Matthew, Mark, and Luke do not begin recording the miracles of
Jesus until after that, except for some miracles performed before a few people. Dionysius studied the sequence of Jesus' public life according to the four Gospels and interpreted Jesus' words in John 2:4 accordingly.

Dionysius mistakenly identified Mary Magdalene as the sister of Martha and Lazarus. She is now identified as Mary of Bethany referenced in Luke 10:38-42. Mary Magdalene is referenced in Luke 8:2, Matthew 27:56, Mark 15:40, and John 19:25.

The Virgin Mother's virtues were described in glowing terms; she was most pious, glorious, optimal, merciful, compassionate, and sympathetic to the bridal couple and others at the feast.

Dionysius held that the Virgin Mother had knowledge of her Son. Twice, he wrote that Mary knew Jesus was omnipotent. They also had a loving relationship. Mary trusted most fully in the charity and piety of her Son; it was sufficient to simply insinuate the cause to him. Mary also knew that Jesus' words were not a rebuke to her and that he would deny her nothing. Dionysius believed that the manner in which Mary spoke to her Son was the same as lovers speak to each other. He ended this section by writing, "for never had she experienced anything of austerity or rejection from him. On the contrary, she knew herself to be so singularly especially loved and honored by him, that she would not suffer a rejection."

**Thomas Cajetan (1469-1534)**

**7.5 The Life and Teaching of Thomas Cajetan**

Giacomo deVio was born at Gaeta (Cajeta) in Italy on February 20, 1469 into a noble family. He was addressed as Giacomo Gaetano in Italian or Cajetan in Latin. When he was sixteen, he entered the Dominican Order and took the name Thomas, thereafter he was known as Thomas deVio Cajetan or just Cajetan. Cajetan was an intelligent and studious young man; he studied in Naples and Bologna and was given a teaching position at Pavia when he was
twenty-three. In 1491 he was a Bachelor at the University of Padua. In 1493, he received the Chair of Thomistic metaphysics at the same university. Cajetan supported the papacy at the Council of Pisa (1511) and the Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517) and worked for the reform of the Church. Pope Leo X made him a cardinal in 1517.717

One significant responsibility that Cardinal Cajetan was given by Pope Leo was to be the Legate to Germany in 1518. He was to interest Emperor Fredrich III in the support of a crusade against the Turks and to meet with Luther to obtain the recantation of some of his teaching. He failed in both efforts. Cajetan and Luther met between October 12 and 14, however, they reached no agreement regarding the relation of faith to sacrament. Cajetan upheld the primacy of sacrament and Luther upheld the primacy of faith.718 In 1520, Cajetan assisted in the writing of the bull, Exsurge Domine, which condemned Luther.

Cajetan wrote one hundred fifty seven works covering topics of philosophy and theology, and biblical commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. Cajetan studied Sacred Scripture from a literal perspective. He felt that the Catholics would be better able to defend their position when speaking to Reformers, if they referred only to the literal meaning. To this end, he wrote commentaries on the Old Testament with the assistance of rabbis and on the New Testament by consulting the Greek texts that were available to him. He did this writing between 1523 and 1534. His commentary on Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica is considered one of the classics of Scholasticism.719


718 Bokenkotter, Concise History, 194.

Cajetan attended the consistory convened by Pope Clement VII on March 23, 1534, which upheld the validity of the marriage between King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. This was the last official act of his life; he died that same year and was buried in a humble tomb in the vestibule of the Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Cajetan is remembered as a Thomistic theologian and a strong supporter of the papacy and Church reform.

7.5.1 Mary in *Evangelium secundum Ioannem Commentarii*, Commentary on John

"The Mother of Jesus says to him." From this, it appears that the groom was related to the blessed Virgin. It was his responsibility to provide the wine, but he did not have the means to do so. "They do not have wine." Join these words with the moment of the wine running out, and see that thus she did not say, "There is no wine," or "No one has wine," but they do not have wine, because the wine was running short in the sense that, since there were many banqueters, there would not be enough for all. So, while there still was some wine left, it was also true that there would not be enough for the many persons who would be drinking.

And so consideration was given at the same time both to modesty and security. For she does not say, "I ask you to consider the honor of your relative" and similar words, but only points out the lack of wine and the necessity of wine. Not so that the Son would know that it was she who brought the matter forward, but to respect the order of the divine will, which has decreed that in necessities we should have recourse to God himself. For this reason, she presents the necessity.

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And Jesus says to her, "What is it to me and to you, woman?" Thus it is the Greek text. They are not words of one who rebukes or corrects or rejects his mother, but he wanted to teach that at the moment, the matter did not concern either of them. For the sense of the phrase is, what matter is it to you and to me that there is a shortage of wine? For you are a woman, and thus the lack of wine will not be blamed on you. For it is for the groom to provide, and not for you, who are a woman. Thus the headwaiter called the groom, who needed to look out for the wine, and not any woman. I, however, am waiting for the time of doing this miracle.

This waiting is what is meant by his saying, "My hour has not yet come." If he would have spoken more openly, he would have said: Even if the hour of the shortfall of wine has come, still, it is not yet the opportune moment for my miraculous intervention, because the lack of wine is not yet such as to make known the miracle. The Mother in fact did not wait until the wine was lacking, but when it began to run out, she thought to prevent the coming deficiency.

That such was the authentic sense of these words, is proven by the mother's understanding. She is fact understood that her request had been heard and would be fulfilled, but with a certain passing of time, namely when the wine would be completely out. Otherwise, she would not have commanded to the servants to do all which Jesus would have ordered. And this also seems to be the literal sense, for all of the words refer to the lack of wine and the requested miracle. Why then did He not give an explicit refusal by saying, "This does not pertain to you or to me, woman, because my hour has not yet come," but rather he uses the interrogative form, asking "What is it to me and to you?" It is evident that he did so for motives of filial reverence. Indeed, by posing a question, we employ a more tempered form of refusal, because in a certain sense
we leave the verdict to the person addressed, so the matter never reaches the point of a formal denial. For this reason, also when he was found in the temple, he had recourse to a similar mode of response, "Why did you search for me? Did you not know...."

And here also the motive he called his mother "woman" becomes clear: to indicate the reason why the lack of wine should not be blamed on her, since it is not the duty of the woman to provide wine in a wedding.

Nor should "woman" be considered a term of seduction, but merely the designation of sex. This is clear from Chapter 2 of Genesis Eve, created as a virgin, is called, "woman," as it says that the Lord built up the rib which he had taken from Adam into a woman. Neither therefore is "woman" to be taken in the associated sense of "the weaker sex," nor, according to sacred scripture, is "woman" a term of seduction. And these things are mentioned against Helvidius, who denied the perpetual virginity of blessed Mary.

"His mother says to the servants: 'Do whatever he tells you.'" These words manifestly testify that the blessed Virgin understood the words of Jesus in an explicit sense. Therefore, she commands the servants to do whatever Jesus says. Obviously noticing the clear shortfall of wine, she prepares the servants to carry out whatever Jesus will command.721 (Pitstick)

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721 "'Dicit mater Iesu ad eum.' Hinc apparet pertinentiis ad beatam virginem ponendum cuius erat prouidere de vino, nec habebat modum prouidendi. 'Vinum non habent.' Iunxie haec cum tempore deficiëntis vini: & vide quod ideo non dixit vinum non est, vinum nullus habet, fed vinum non habent, quia vinum deficiëbat sic vt quum bibendum esset multi conuentiae non haberent vinum. Vnde cum hoc quod aliquid vini haberetur, verum quoque erat quod vinum non habent multi quod bibant.

Hunc autē esse germanum fenfum istius literæ teʃtatur intellectus matris. nā intellexit petitionem iuam fuila exaudītam & adimplendam, fed cum aliūqua dilatatione: donec fcelicet deficeret vinum. alioquin nó fabiunxsīfet præceptum miniftris quodcumque dixerit & ce. Apparet quoque hunc esse literalem senſum: ex eo quod ſingula verba ſic referuntur ad propoʃtum deficientis vini & miraculi petiti.

Quare autē nó aperta negatione infrinxerit matrem (dicendo neque tua intereʃt mulier neque mea quia nondum venit hora mea) fed interrogatīuo modo loquendi tēns, dicendo quid mihi & tibi est? In promptu ſti ratio filialis reuerentiœ... modeitus enim negationem damus interrogaendo (tanquam reparingo iudicium illi quem alloquimur) quam formali negatione. Vnde etiam in templo inuentus, ſimili loquendi modo vyfæ ſt quid est quod me querebatis nesciebatis, & c.

Et hinc patet etiam quare appellaerit matrem mulierem: ad significandum fcelicet rationem qua no imputan dus illi effet defectus vini. non enim est muliebre officium prouidere de vino in nuptiis.

7.5.2 Commentary

Cajetan employed four principles for his analysis of John 2:1-5: he considered the literal sense of Sacred Scripture, compared the Latin with the Greek text, consulted other passages of Sacred Scripture, and referenced Patristic teaching. Cajetan analyzed John's words in reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana and limited his commentary to the literal sense, even referring to it in his text, "And this also seems to be the literal sense ..." He confirmed the Latin words by commenting that he had referred to the Greek, "Thus it is in the Greek text," thereby adding credibility to his analysis. The correct definition for the term "woman" was determined by reference to Genesis II, where it meant Eve's gender. Also, "woman," was not a term of seduction or a statement about Mary's perpetual virginity. Here he named Helvidius whose teaching was refuted by Jerome in, "Against Helvidius: The Perpetual Virginity of Blessed Mary."722

The essence of Cajetan commentary revolved around who had responsibility for the supply of wine, the actual amount of wine, and the meaning of Jesus' words to his mother in reference to that supply. The responsibility for the supply of wine belonged to the groom. Mary was related to him and he did not have the means to provide more wine. However, Jesus' words were meant to remind his mother that she was a woman and women are not responsible for the lack, nor will she be blamed for it.

Cajetan believed that in the beginning the wine was running short, meaning that there would not be enough wine for the banquetors. Mary was concerned about the situation, before the actual deficiency. Mary understood the authentic meaning of her Son's words to her; "her request had been heard and would be fulfilled, but with a certain passing of time, namely when the wine would be completely out." Jesus wanted the opportune "hour" for

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the miracle, so that his miracle would be made known. Then, when the wine actually ran out, the Blessed Virgin commands the servants to "Do whatever he tells you." "Obviously noticing the clear shortfall of wine, she prepared the servants to carry out whatever Jesus will command."

The characteristics that Cajetan gives to the Blessed Virgin Mary are: blessed, perpetual virgin, modest in approaching her Son, and compassionate to the needs of the groom. Mary brought the lack of wine to the attention to Jesus, because humans are to have recourse to God himself in times of necessity; Jesus was God.

Her Son had filial reverence for his mother. His words were not a form of rebuke or correction or rejection of her. He knew his mother understood, she would tell the servants at the proper time. Mary understood the mind and will of her Son and acted on that understanding.

**Juan Maldonado (1533-1583)**

7.6 The Life and Teaching of Juan Maldonado

Juan Maldonado (Maldonatus) was born outside of Spain at Casas de la Reina, Estremadura. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he went to study at the University of Salamanca and remained there until 1558. While there, he studied Latin, Greek, philosophy, and theology, eventually earning a doctorate and teaching there. 723

In 1558, Maldonado was admitted into the Salamanca College of the Society of Jesus and sent to Rome to be received. He became a Jesuit in the Novitiate of San Andrea on August 19, 1562. In 1562, he was ordained a priest and taught philosophy at the Roman College. In 1564, Maldonado was sent to the Collège de Clermont in Paris, where he was both student and teacher. He

learned Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, and Arabic. He taught philosophy in 1564 and 1565 and theology from 1565-1574. The first five years he lectured on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, but in 1570 he developed his own theological studies. Maldonado gave precedence to Sacred Scripture, the Church Fathers, tradition and other theologians, placing the philosophers last. Maldonado drew the criticism of some theologians at the Sorbonne, who believed that he denied the Immaculate Conception. This was disproved and Maldonado was defended by the Archbishop of Paris, the papal nuncio, and by the Holy See. In January 1575, the bishops of Paris completely vindicated him. Despite this, Maldonado left Paris and went to Bourges, France and began to write his "Commentary on the Gospels." During his stay in Bourges, Maldonado was assigned to duties within the Jesuit Order. In 1578 to 1579, he was the visitor of the French Province of the Society; and in 1580, he was chosen as elector at the fourth general congregation in Rome. Maldonado's superior, Acquaviva, ordered him to remain in Rome. Pope Gregory XIII commissioned him to work on a critical edition of the Septuagint.\textsuperscript{724}

Maldonado's greatest work was his "Commentary on the Gospels." His goals were to conserve our ancient religion, bequeathed from the beginning by the voice of Christ, next by writings of the Apostles, and the very Holy Fathers. "Maldonado certainly guided the Catholic Reformation toward a serious and equally learned reading of the Bible by clerics in the course of their study and in their ministry."\textsuperscript{725} On January 5, 1583, fifteen days after Maldonado presented his unfinished Commentary to the Superior General of the Jesuits, he died. He was not yet fifty years of age. Maldonado's works were published posthumously.


\textsuperscript{725} Bedouelle, "Biblical Interpretation," History, 439.
7.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast in *Commentarium in Joannis*, Commentary on John

"When the wine ran short, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine.' And Jesus said to her, 'What is this to me and to you, woman?'" Mary in this circumstance was not rebuked; and in fact Christ, who is a judge so just and wise, and moreover her Son, could not have rejected her without any fault on her part. Furthermore, if the mother had felt herself an object of rebuke, she would not have persisted to tell the servants to obey her Son, for if she had committed a fault worthy of rebuke, she would have made it worse with impertinence.

Why then did Jesus respond in a manner that seemed to be a rebuke? There are some who think that not only is there no sense of rebuke, but even the words themselves carry no such hint. But I do not think I could prove that idea, because it is clear that the speech as a whole does contain a tone of rebuke that it would be imprudent to deny. The common interpretation of the ancient authors and of those more recent is that Christ was speaking as God, and for that reason, that he was God, he was working miracles, and with this type of rebuke he wanted to demonstrate that he was about to perform a miracle not as a man (that is, the son of a woman), but as God, and in this matter, he had nothing in common with his mother. [...]  

*His mother says to the servants: do whatever he tells you.* From these words, as we have said above, it appears that his mother was not rebuked by Christ, for, if that had been so, she would not have continued to prepare things for the future miracle. For from Christ's response, she understood not only was he not unwilling to do the miracle, but rather, that he was intending to do it, as Chrysostom, Cyril, Theophylactus, and Euthymius observed. And Juvenecus also references this
meaning: "Overjoyed, she then calls the table servants." He considers her overjoyed by the response of Christ for she recognized that he was intending to do the miracle. This is more probable than the position of Bede, who held that even though she believed that Christ had refused, she still knew him to be merciful and benign, and so would still persevere, hoping that he would be moved by prayers or mercy.

No one, whom I have had, seems to have given consideration to the fact that the mother of Christ seems to have known something, not just about the miracle, but even about the manner in which Christ was about to perform it. For why would she have said to the servants, "Do whatever he tells you," if she had not known that Christ would command them to fill the jars with water? For Christ would have been able to perform the miracle otherwise, without help from the servants. I prefer to think that the most holy Virgin had known the matter in virtue of a prophetic spirit, and not because there had been any communication between Christ and her about this proposition. For what pious person would deny that she had a prophetic spirit? (Translated by Rory Pitstick.)

726 "Et deficiente vino, dicit mater Jesu ad eum: Vinum non habent. [...] 'Quid mihi, et tibi est mulier?' Hinc sequiter Mariam hoc loco non fuisse reprehensam, nec enim potuit Christus tam aequus, tam sapiens judex, et praeterea ejus filius eam sine culpa reprehendere. Nec mater reprehensa perrexisset dicere ministris, ut filio suo pararent, priorem enim culpam culpa majore pertinaciae cumulasset. Cum ergo reprehendentis modo respondet? Sunt qui putent non solum reprehensionem hic nullam esse, sed nullam etiam reprehensionis speciem verba prae se ferre. Illud libenter amplector, hoc posterius probare non possum, quia tam perspicuum est, totam orationem speciem habere reprehensionis, ut prudenter negari non possit. Communis et veterum et recentiorum auctorum interpretatio est, Christum tanquam Deum loqui, ea enim ratione, qua Deus erat, miracula faciebat, voluisseque specie reprehensionis ostendere, se non tanquam hominem, id est mulieris filium, sed tanquam Deum miracula facturum, qua quidem ratione nihil cum matre haberet commune. [...]"
7.6.2 Commentary

Maldonado carefully analyzed the literal meaning of the words that Jesus said to his mother and considered whether he meant them to be a rebuke to his mother or not. Maldonado concluded that Jesus’ words were not a rebuke even though they seemed to be. He reasoned that Jesus was a just judge and his mother was without fault, therefore he would not have rebuked her. Also, Mary would not have told the servants to do whatever Jesus tells them, if Jesus had rebuked her.

Using a discursive method, Maldonado searched the reason why Jesus' response seemed to be a rebuke. One opinion he accepted as valid was that of Augustine and other church fathers, who explained that Jesus was speaking as God and was about to perform a miracle; in so doing, he had nothing in common with the humanity that he assumed from his mother.

Another valid reason for assuming that it was not a rebuke was found in Mary's actions: she understood that her Son was not only willing to do the miracle, but also intended to perform the

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miracle and she continued to prepare things for the future miracle. She would not have done this otherwise. Again, Maldonado validated his opinion by referring to other theologians. He did give some attention to Bede's opinion, but considered it less acceptable.

Maldonado then proposed an original idea, stating "No one seems to have given consideration to the fact that the Mother of Christ seems to have known something, not just about the miracle, but even about the manner in which Christ was about to perform it." This was an insightful comment. Mary knew that Jesus would use the help of the servants and therefore was instrumental in having them assist Jesus in his miracle. The most profound and original statement Maldonado added was his belief that Mary had a prophetic spirit. "I prefer to think that the most holy Virgin had known the matter in virtue of a prophetic spirit, and not because there had been any communication between Christ and her about this proposition." Maldonado continued, "For what pious person would deny that she had a prophetic spirit?"

Maldonado described Mary as holy, a virgin, and the mother of Christ. She was compassionate toward the wedding party and was overjoyed because Jesus would perform the miracle on their behalf. Mary understood her Son and his intention at the wedding feast, which suggests a relationship between mother and Son. The most unique attribute that Maldonado assigned to Mary was that she had a prophetic spirit!

**Francisco de Suárez (1548-1617)**

**7.7 The Life and Teaching of Francisco de Suárez**

Francisco de Suárez was born on January 5, 1548 in Granada, Spain. At the age of thirteen he enrolled at the University of Salamanca and began the study of Law. On June 16, 1564, Suárez entered the Society of Jesus. He continued at the university, dedicating his time to the study of Philosophy and Theology. From 1570 to 1574, Suárez taught Philosophy at the University of Salamanca and then at the University of Segovia. During this period, in March of 1572, he was ordained to the
priesthood. Suárez started teaching Theology in September, 1574 at the Jesuit College, Valladolid and spent the rest of his academic career teaching at various Jesuit institutions, including Rome. Suárez also entered into theological and political debates.  

Suárez developed his own school of thought, which came to be known as Suarism. His classes were part of the curriculum in several universities in Spain, until his teaching was suppressed for political reasons. He is considered the founder of international law and his principles still form the basis for legal systems in Hispanic countries. Sarah Jane Boss wrote, "His moral theology and theory of canon law was employed in Catholic ethical thinking until recently, and his Metaphysics was the standard work in European universities - both Catholic and Protestant - for the better part of two centuries." Suárez's writings are published in twenty six large volumes.

Suárez spent his last years teaching at the University of Coimbra until he retired in 1615. He died in Lisbon on September 25, 1617 at the age of sixty-nine. He was recognized as an excellent religious, modest and prayerful. Pope Paul V (1605-1621) gave Suárez the honorific title Doctor eximius, an outstanding and pious doctor, after he wrote a pro-papal treatise entitled, "On the ecclesiastical immunity violated by the

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Venetians." Suárez became known as Doctor eximius in the history of Scholasticism.\textsuperscript{729}

7.7.1 Mary in \textit{Disputatio} I, The Dignity and the Virginity of the Mother of God

Suárez established a scholastic Mariology in the 1580s, which is thought to be one of the first systematic treatment of Marian doctrine. It is found in \textit{Disputationes}, in the part of his commentaries on questions 27 to 37 of part three of Thomas Aquinas' \textit{Summa Theologica}. Suárez's approach was completely Christocentric: Christ is God, Mary is the mother of Christ, Mary is the Mother of God. He based all Marian doctrines on these truths; her dignity and predestination are related to her divine maternity. Suárez supported his teaching by referencing Sacred Scripture, the Church Fathers, Church Councils, and other ecclesiastical writers.\textsuperscript{730}

In the first disputation, "The Dignity of the Mother of God in General," Suárez posed the question, "Whether the Blessed Virgin was truly and properly the Mother of both God and man?" First, he established that this topic began to be discussed at the time of the Council of Ephesus in response to the error of Nestorius. Second, Suárez affirmed that "The truth is that the Blessed Virgin was in the real and proper sense the Mother of God." He cited five councils as verificaiton of this statement, and then added, "But to prove this truth by proper principles, I must make several suppositions." He wrote:

\textit{The Virgin Mary the True Mother of Christ.}


First, the Blessed Virgin was really the mother of this man, Christ. This is expressly stated in John (2:1), "And the mother of Jesus was there," twice in Luke (1:43) "And whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and (2:34) "Simeon ... said to Mary his mother," and in Matthew in both the first and second chapters: "take the child and his mother" (1:20). [...]

Second, that Christ is the son of the Virgin is confirmed by His own words to her when He was dying on the cross: "Behold thy son" (John 19:26). For as Augustine (In Joannem, Tract. 119), Chrysostom (In Joannem, Hom. 84), and Cyril of Alexandria (In Joannem, XII, 34) remark, by those words He taught that we should honor and care for our parents. Thus Christ recognized and honored the Virgin as His Mother and even in His last hour showed His great care for her. Cyprian also comments on this: "Now you are swayed by tender affection for Your Mother. This marriage-chamber of Your human nature You entrust to Your beloved steward; zealously do You provide for the Blest of Women apostolic patronage, and enjoin on the disciple the faithful service of the Virgin" (De cardinalibus Christi operibus, caput or concio "De resurrectione Christi"). Ambrose says, "Christ bore witness to this on the cross and between His Mother and His disciple apportioned the loving duties of mother and son" (Epistola 82 in fine). Finally, Jerome treating of the subjection of Christ to the Virgin says, "He reverenced the Mother whose Father He Himself was, He honored the nurse whom He had nursed. He recalled His birth in another's womb and His hours in another's arms. Thus when He hangs upon the cross, He entrusts to His disciples the parent whom before the cross He had never given up" (Epistola 47). Gregory Nazianzen beautifully teaches this same truth (Oratio 51 or Epistula 3 ad Cledonium).
Reply - Why Christ calls the Virgin Woman, not Mother.

You will object: What about the passage in John (2:4) - and others also - where Christ calls the Virgin woman, but never Mother? [...]

The reply to the first objection is that Christ spoke that way because it accorded with His reserve and dignity and "because," as Augustine says, "He wanted to give us an example." For He said, "call none your father upon earth" (Matthew 23:9). Moreover, as Nicholas of Lyra observes perhaps in that passage from John (19:26), Christ avoided addressing the Virgin as Mother to save her feelings.

But in the other passage from John (2:4) Christ so acted in order to call attention to the fact that the work and miracle which the Virgin requested was proper to the divine power and not to the human nature which alone He had taken from His Mother as Augustine points out (In Joannem, Tract. 8; De fide et symbolo, 4). Or, to be sure, just as He called Himself the "Son of Man" so by a figure of speech, Christ addresssed the Virgin as woman to indicate that she was that woman through whom the harm wrought by the first woman would be repaired. 731 (Translated by Richard J. O'Brien.) 732

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7.7.2 Commentary

Suárez took the literal meaning of the words and analyzed the assumption that "The Virgin Mary [was] the True Mother of Christ" from two perspectives: Mary was his mother and Christ was her son. He affirmed that Mary was Christ's mother by continuing the Patristic tradition that Sacred Scripture was to be referenced to interpret and validate the understanding of other passages in Sacred Scripture. He cited three different gospels: John, Luke, and Matthew, with four different references to support his thesis that the Blessed Virgin was really the mother of Christ Jesus, the Lord. Of significance was that Suárez referred to John

humanitatis tuæ cubiculario dilecto condonendas, et provides sedulo benedictæ inter mulieres, Apostolicam clientelam, et obsequium Virginis discipulo tradis;' et Ambr. 1. 10, Epist. 82, in fine: 'Testabatur,' inquit, 'de Cruce Christus, et inter matrem, atque discipulum dividebat piætatis officia.' Denique Hieronymus, tom. 1, Epist. 47, de Vitando suspecto contubernio, agens de subjectione Christi ad Virginem: 'Venerabatur,' inquit, 'matrem, cujus ipse erat pater; colebat nutritium, quem nutriderat, gestumque se meminerat alterius uto, alterius brachii; unde et in Cruce pendens commendat parentem discipulo, quam nunquam ante Crucem dimiserat;' eamdem veritatem eleganter docuit Nazianz., orat. 51, seu Epist. 3, ad Cledon., prope initium.

Responsio. - Virginem cur mulierem, non matrem, Christus appellat. - Dices: quid igitur tam illo loco, quam Joan. 2, et aliis locis, Virginem mulierem vocat, nunquam vero matrem? et quod difficilius est, cur, Matth. 12, matrem negare visus est, dicens: 'Quae est mater mea?' Ad priorem partem respondetur, Christum illo modo fuisse locutum, quia ita debeat, tum propter Christi modestiam et gravitatem; tum etiam (ait Augustinus) 'propter exemplum nostram;' dixerat enim ipse, Matth. 23: 'Nolite vocare vobis patrem super terram.' Fortasse etiam in illo loco Joan. 19, matris appellacionem vitavit, ne Virginem amplius commoveret, ut ibi notavit Lyran. In alio vero loco Joan. 2, id fecit, ut indicaret, illud opus, et miraculum quod Beata Virgo postulabat, esse divinæ virtutis, non humanitatis proprium, quam solam a mater susceperat, ut August. notat, tractat. 8 in Joan., et lib. de Fide et Symbolo, cap. 4, vel certe, sicut se vocabat 'filium hominis;' ita virginem per antonomasiam mulierem appellabat, ut eam esse indicaret mulieram illam, per quam damna prime mulieris instauranda forent." Francisci Suarez,"Disputatio I," Opera Omnia (Paris, Fr.: Ludovicus Vivès, 1856), 3 - 4.

2:1 as evidence of the maternity of Mary by stating, "And the mother of Jesus was there."

Next, Suárez stated that Christ, himself, confirmed in his own words that he was the Virgin's Son, when he was dying on the cross (John 19:26). To explain this premise, he cited the writings of seven fathers of the church. Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria taught that the child was to honor and care for the parent. Cyprian's words convey the same meaning; Jesus had tender compassion for his mother and enjoined on the beloved disciple the faithful service of his mother. Ambrose wrote likewise. Jerome and Gregory of Nazianzen wrote of Christ's subjection to his Mother as evidence that Jesus was the son of Mary.

Once Suárez had established that Mary was the mother of Christ and he was her son, he posed the next question: "Why Christ calls the Virgin Woman, not Mother?" Suárez cited John 2:4 as evidence of this. He provided four possible answers. In the first two arguments, Suárez inferred from one premise to another. The first point came from Scripture and Augustine. Augustine thought that Christ spoke this way in accord with his reserve and dignity and he wanted to teach a lesson: Christ taught that none are to be called father on earth; therefore, none should call anyone mother on earth. Second, Nicholas of Lyra held that Christ avoided addressing the Virgin as Mother in John 19:26, because of her feelings; Christ did likewise in John 2:4.

Continuing to explore Jesus calling his mother, "woman," rather than "mother" in John 2:4, Suárez cited Augustine, Christ wanted to call attention to the fact that the work and miracle were from his divine power and not to the human nature, which he had taken from his mother. Suárez added a final argument: Christ called himself the Son of Man, referring to his humanity and his ability to suffer and die; Christ addressed Mary as the Virgin and woman to indicate that it was through her that the harm wrought by Eve would be repaired. In this, Mary was recognized to have soteriological importance. Suárez had successfully established that
the Virgin Mary was the true Mother of Christ, which was his premise in proving "Whether the Blessed Virgin was truly and properly the Mother of both God and man."

In the commentary on John 2:1 and 2:4, Suárez referred several times to Mary as the true Mother of Christ, the Lord and as the blessed Virgin or the Virgin.

7.8 Summary of Chapter Seven

The years between 1300 and 1617 were marked with challenges from outside the Church and dissension within the Church due to conflict over the papacy, moral corruption, and the splintering of Catholicism. The Council of Constance, the Council of Basel/Ferrara/Florence, and the Council of Trent addressed these different issues. Trent brought the needed definition of Catholic doctrine, standardization of the liturgy throughout the Church, establishment of seminaries for the training of clergy and began a universal and aggressive reform of the Church.

All of the Pastoral Theologians presented in this chapter were involved in this reform effort. Anthony of Florence carried out reforms in his Dominican communities and in his ministry. Dionysius influenced Church reform in the Carthusian Order and other people, through his writings and missionary work. Cajetan, a Dominican of influence, supported the papacy in various missions and wrote in support of Church reform. Maldonado guided the Catholic Reformation by educating the clergy on the learned reading of the Bible. Suárez, a Jesuit, guided the Church reform through his treatises on moral theology and theory of canon law and metaphysics. 733

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733 See Anthony, 301, Dionysius, 305, Cajetan, 313, Maldonado, 320, and Suárez, 325 for Church reform.
7.9 Summary of the Marian Doctrine Found in the Writings of These Pastoral Theologians

Council proclamations and papal constitutions promote the Blessed Virgin Mary's divine maternity, perpetual virginity, and immaculate conception. At the Council of Basel/Ferrara/Florence, there was a declaration that Mary was never stained by original sin. However, due to the absence of the pope from the council, the declaration was never adopted by the universal Church. Pope Sixtus IV wrote a Constitution in which he associated Mary's divine maternity with her freedom from original sin, her immaculate conception. The Council of Trent affirmed Pope Sixtus IV's statement and held that it was not the intention of the Synod "to include in the decree dealing with original sin the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary." Pope Paul IV defended Mary's perpetual virginity in his Constitution, *Cum Quorumdam Hominum*.

All of the theologians in this period began their exegesis of the second chapter of John with the literal interpretation of the words. In reference to John 2:1, Anthony, Dionysius, Cajetan, and Suárez indicate that the Mother of Jesus was literally there at the wedding. Anthony, Dionysius, and Cajetan made varying references to the tradition at the time about the historical family of Mary; she was the aunt of the groom, who was John the Evangelist and sister of Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee. Dionysius held that Jesus and Mary were poor like the bride and groom. Anthony highlighted Mary's humility by recognizing that she was the Mother of the Lord and Queen of Heaven, yet came to the wedding of a poor fisherman.734

Dionysius and Cajetan interpreted Mary's words literally in 2:3, and proposed different ways to explain them. Dionysius held that the wine ran short either because all of it had been consumed

734 See Anthony, 301, Dionysius, 306, Cajetan, 314, and Suárez, 327 for literal presence of Mary. See Anthony, 301, Dionysius, 306, and Cajetan, 314 for Mary's historical family. See Dionysius, 308 for poverty; Anthony, 301 for Mary's humility.
or because little remained. Cajetan focused on Mary's words and discussed what she literally did or did not say. Anthony, Dionysius, and Cajetan considered Mary's intercession to be for the temporal needs of others. Anthony said that Mary "being truly merciful, she had sympathy for the embarrassment of the couple." Dionysius wrote, "The most merciful Virgin said out of compassion, as she sympathized with the poverty and dismay of the bride and groom, and with the thirst and want of others." Cajetan held that Mary informed her Divine Son about the lack of wine, because it was "to respect the order of the divine will, which was decreed that in necessities we should have recourse to God himself." 735

A spiritual interpretation of Sacred Scripture was presented by Anthony and Dionysius, Anthony wrote that "this wedding symbolizes the spiritual wedding celebrated between Christ and the Church or between God and any individual." Dionysius held that the aid that Mary gave to the bridal couple for their temporal need is a sign that she gladly will generously provide for their spiritual needs. Dionysius, Maldonado, and Suárez referenced the spiritual meaning that Augustine gave to Jesus' words; indicating that he would perform the miracle from his divine nature and not the human nature that he assumed from his mother. 736

Anthony offered a moral exhortation in his commentary. He held that the presence of Mary and Jesus at the wedding indicated that they approved of marriage, but they preferred the virginal and widowed state. 737

John 2:4 was analyzed by Dionysius, Cajetan, Maldonado, and Suárez. Dionysius proposed three explanations for Jesus' words to his Mother. He presented the teachings of Augustine and


736 See Anthony, 302, Dionysius, 306, Maldonado, 322, and Suárez, 328 for spiritual sense of Scripture.

737 See Anthony, 302 regarding moral exhortation.
Chrysostom, but proposed his own interpretation: Jesus and Mary do not have solicitude for temporal things; and the hour when Jesus will manifestly and regularly perform miracles will be after John the Baptist was incarcerated. Cajetan focused on Jesus' addressing his Mother as "Woman:" she would not be blamed for the lack of wine because she was a woman; the term designated her gender and was not a reference to her perpetual virginity. Maldonado and Suárez presented as acceptable Augustine's traditional interpretation Jesus' words differentiating his divine nature and the human nature he assumed from his mother. Suárez held that Christ wanted to call attention to the fact that the miracle did not come from the nature he assumed from his mother. Of note, Suárez recognized the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in God's salvation plan. He explained, "just as He called Himself the 'Son of Man' so by a figure of speech, Christ addressed the Virgin as woman to indicate that she was that woman through whom the harm wrought by the first woman would be repaired." 738

Dionysius, Cajetan, and Suárez did not consider Jesus' words to be a rebuke, but were to be instructive. Dionysius agreed that they sounded harsh, but there was a mystical reason for them. People were not to be too attached to carnal things or parents, lest they offend God and forsake the way of perfection and justice. Cajetan believed that they were "not words of one who rebukes or corrects or rejects his mother." Mary understood that her request was heard and would be fulfilled ... when the wine would be completely out." Cajetan credited Mary with having compassion; she wanted to prevent the deficiency. Suárez presented the unusual and insightful teaching of Nicholas of Lyra, "Christ avoided addressing the Virgin as Mother to save her feelings," referring to John 19:26. 739

Maldonado differed with his contemporaries; he thought there was a certain tone of rebuke. He agreed with the "ancient


739 See Dionysius, 307, Cajetan, 315, and Suárez 328 for words not a rebuke.
authors and others," Christ was speaking and acting as God and he wanted to demonstrate that he was about to perform a miracle, not as a man but as God. In this matter, he had nothing in common with his mother. Maldonado went on to acknowledge that his mother did not appear to be rebuked by her Son, because she continued to prepare things for the future miracle. Maldonado held that Mary knew about the miracle and even about the manner in which he was about to perform it. Maldonado contended, "I prefer to think that the most holy Virgin had known the matter in virtue of a prophetic spirit, and not because there had been any communication between Christ and her about this proposition."

Dionysius and Cajetan wrote of a loving relationship between Jesus and his Mother. Dionyius believed that "her Son would deny her nothing: for never had she experienced anything of austerity or rejection from him. On the contrary, she knew herself to be so singularly especially loved and honored by him, that she would not suffer a rejection." Cajetan was of the opinion that Jesus answered to his Mother in John 2:4 with a question due to motives of filial reverence.

Suárez wrote extensively about Jesus' filial reverence for his mother in reference to John 19:26. Christ confirmed that he was the son of the Virgin, when he was dying on the cross. Suárez cited Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria and agreed with their teaching, "Christ recognized and honored the Virgin as His Mother and showed His great care for her." To magnify this view, he quoted Cyprian, "Now you are swayed by tender affection for Your Mother. This marriage chamber of Your human nature You entrust to Your beloved disciple; zealously do You provide for the Blest of Women apostolic patronage, and enjoin on the disciple the faithful service of the Virgin." Suárez added further comments by Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory of Nazianzen, providing a magnificent summary of the Marian Doctrine on the association of

740 See Maldonado, 321 for a tone of rebuke.

741 See Dionysius 309 and Cajetan, 315 regarding special relationship between Jesus and his Mother.
John 2:4 with John 19:26. More importantly, they all express their beliefs that Jesus loved his beloved Mother and wanted to take care of her after his death.\textsuperscript{742}

**Mary's Divine Maternity:** All of the theologians included terminology indicating their belief in this doctrine. Anthony identified Mary as the Mother of the Lord. Dionysius, Cajetan, and Maldonado all stated that she was the Mother of Jesus who was God. Suárez developed his Systematic Mariology based on this doctrine and everything else follows from this office.\textsuperscript{743}

**Mary's Virginity:** All of the theologians referred to Mary as Virgin. Anthony identified her as the Blessed Virgin Mary and glorious Virgin. Dionysius was effusive in his language, Mary was the: glorious Virgin, merciful Virgin, pious Virgin, and optimal Virgin. Cajetan upheld Mary's perpetual virginity. Maldonado called her holy Virgin and Suárez made several references to her as Virgin.\textsuperscript{744}

**Mary' Holiness and Virtues:** All of the theologians referred to Mary as blessed or holy. Anthony characterized Mary as being humble, even though she was the Mother of the Lord and Queen of Heaven. Cajetan considered her modest. Anthony, Dionysius, Cajetan, and Maldonado identified Mary as merciful or compassionate.\textsuperscript{745}

**Mary and the Old Testament:** Cajetan associated Mary with Eve, both were women and virgins. Suárez recalled that Jesus called Himself, "Son of Man," as a figure of speech; he "addressed the Virgin as woman to indicate that she was that

\textsuperscript{742} See Suárez, 327.

\textsuperscript{743} See Anthony, 301, Dionysius, 306, Cajetan, 314, Maldonado, 321 and Suárez, 327 for the Divine Maternity.

\textsuperscript{744} See Anthony, 301, Dionysius, 306, Cajetan, 314, Maldonado, 322, and Suárez, 328 for the Virgin Mary.

\textsuperscript{745} See Anthony, 302, Dionysius, 306, Cajetan, 314, Maldonado, 322 for Mary's holiness and virtues.
woman through whom the harm wrought by the first woman would
be repaired.\footnote{746}{See Cajetan, 316 and Suárez, 328 for references to Mary and Eve.}

Mary and the Church or Individuals: Anthony simply stated that the Blessed Virgin Mary would be present at the
spiritual wedding celebrated between Christ and the Church and between Christ and the individual soul.\footnote{747}{See Anthony, 302 regarding Mary and spiritual weddings.}
Chapter Eight

Summary

8.1 Fathers and Pastoral Theologians Represented in this Dissertation

In the periods studied there were twenty eight writers who made thrity seven referenes to Mary in John 2:1-5. These men represent the leading voices of the Church of their time. In the Patristic Period, Hilary, Ambrose, Maximus of Turin, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine, Gaudentius, and Quodvultdeus were bishops and are recognized as saints. Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine are doctors of the Church. In the Early Middle Ages, Pope Gregory, Bishop Gregory of Tours, and Bede are recognized as saints, while Pope Gregory and Bede are doctors of the Church. Alcuin was a noted abbot. During the Golden Age of Mary, writers came from Benedictine, Cistercian and Carthusian monasteries and were all abbots: Rupert, Cardinal Geoffrey of Vendôme, Peter Abelard, Guerric of Igny, Isaac of Stella, and Adam of Scotland. Bernard of Clairvaux is recognized as saint and doctor of the Church. Guerric of Igny became a blessed. In the Scholastic Period, Abbot Stephen of Sawley continued the Cistercian influence, while Bishop Albert the Great, Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher, and Thomas Aquinas represented the Dominican Friars. Cardinal Bonaventure was a Franciscan Friar. Albert, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas are recognized as saints and doctors of the Church. In the Late Middle Ages, Anthony of Florence and Cardinal Cajetan contributed a Dominican perspective, while Dionysius wrote as a Carthusian. The newly formed Jesuits were represented by Juan Maldonado and Francisco Suárez. Anthony of Florence is recognized as a saint.

8.2 Genre

The most common genre found was the homily, sixteen in all. During the Patristic Period they were preached or written by Ambrose, Maximus, Augustine (3), Gaudentius and Quodvultdeus;
in the Early Middle Ages by Bede; and in the Golden Age of Mary by Geoffrey, Abelard, Guerric, Bernard (3), Isaac and Adam; and three were specifically written for feasts of Our Lady by Geoffrey, Guerric, and Bernard. The second most frequent genre was the biblical commentary found in the following order: Ambrose in the Patristic Period; Alcuin in the Early Middle Ages; Rupert wrote two in the Golden Age of Mary; Albert, Hugh, Bonaventure (2), and Thomas Aquinas in the Scholastic Period; and Dionysius, Thomas Cajetan, and Maldonado in the Late Middle Ages. The reference to the Blessed Virgin Mary was integrated into doctrinal treatises by Hilary, Augustine (2), and Quodvultdeur in the Patristic Period; Albert in the Scholastic Period; and Suárez in the Late Middle Ages. There were three exhortations written: Ambrose and Paulinus promoted virginity, while Stephen of Sawley encouraged all to meditate on the joys of Mary. The last two references were made by Pope Gregory in his letter to Eulogius and Gregory of Tours in the History of the Franks during the Early Middle Ages.

8.3 Foundation for Marian Doctrine by the Latin Fathers in the Second and Third Centuries

Tertullian and Cyprian were theologians and influential in the Latin Church of their time. Tertullian formulated the theological definition of the Trinity as one divine substance in three persons and the Christological concept of Christ's divinity and humanity, two distinct substances, joined in one person, without the substances being mixed. Cyprian taught that the Body and Blood of Christ were offered as an oblation; and the Last Supper and the Eucharistic Sacrifice of the Church are representative of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in God's salvation plan flowed from these Theological and Christological teachings. Jesus, her Divine Son, had two distinct natures human and divine. Jesus' life and death were an oblation for the salvation of humanity.
8.4 Marian Doctrines in the Prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The primary purpose of this dissertation was to determine the development of Marian Doctrine as reflected in the Commentaries on the Wedding at Cana. Prior to reviewing the summary of this development, it is necessary to comment on the Marian Doctrine that was found in reference to the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which were woven into the work of each theologian. Throughout the entire period studied, the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians consistently recognized the essential role the Blessed Virgin Mary performed as the Mother of Jesus in the work of salvation that God the Father accomplished through Christ in the Holy Spirit. She was intimately involved in the history of salvation. The commentaries on the prerogatives are not a development of Marian Doctrine, but an affirmation of them in the teaching and preaching of these theologians. They will be followed by a review of the development of Marian Doctrine in a verse by verse review of commentaries on John 2:1-5.

During the Patristic Period (fourth and fifth centuries), the First Council of Nicaea (325) proclaimed that Jesus is consubstantial with the Father and God. The First General Council of Constantinople (381) confirmed this and defined the role of the Holy Spirit. The General Council of Ephesus (431) established that the Word united himself in person to the flesh, which led to the holy Virgin Mary being the Theotókos. The General Council of Chalcedon (451) declared that Jesus has two natures, one divine and one human, hypostatically united in one Divine Person. Mary conceived and gave birth without losing her virginity. The Marian Doctrines of her divine maternity and virginity were defined; she is the Virgin Mother of God.

All of the Fathers promulgated Mary's divine maternity and virginity. Their commentaries recognized Mary as the Mother of the Son of God, of the Lord, of God. She is the one who gave us God and the Virgin who gave birth to God. Augustine held that the Son of God knew his mother before he created her, in
predestination. The majority of the Fathers wrote of Mary's virginal conception and birth. Ambrose held that Mary received an incentive to virginity and Paulinus wrote that she was a consecrated virgin. Ambrose, Gaudentius, and Quodvultdeus taught that she was a perpetual virgin. Several commented on Mary's holiness: holy, full of grace, model *par excellence* of holiness, the holy virgin whom God chose to be his home.

During the Early Middle Ages (sixth through eleventh centuries), the Second General Council of Constantinople (553) upheld the teachings of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon and affirmed the Marian Doctrines of Mary's divine maternity and perpetual virginity. The Lateran Council (649) did likewise. All of the ecclesial writers promulgated the same Marian Doctrines. The Blessed Virgin Mary is the Mother of the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God; she is Virgin Mother of the only-begotten Son made flesh and a perfect man, in the world of time. Christ adopted his flesh from Mary's virginal flesh. The descriptions were simple and complete.

The Golden Period of Mary (twelfth century) brought greater attention to Mary with doctrinal and exegetical studies, along with liturgical worship and popular devotion. The Blessed Virgin Mary was called *Theotókos*, the Mother of God, by Rupert of Deutz, consistent with the teaching from the Council of Ephesus. Mary was most frequently identified as the Mother of the Lord. Guerric recognized a double honor for Mary: she is Jesus' Mother according to the flesh and in the spirit. All of the ecclesial writers wrote of the Blessed Virgin Mary's virginity. Geoffrey was most effusive: blessed Virgin, Virgin Mary, and Virgin Mother. Bernard explained Mary's virginity: she has a Virgin's mind, was a Virgin Mother, who had an immaculate womb, conceived with modesty, and gave birth without detriment. There was more mention of Mary's holiness or blessedness woven into the commentaries. Guerric anticipated the dogma of the Assumption, "Altogether her own and without comparison was the glory of the Virgin Mother, to see God the King of all in the diadem of the flesh with which she crowned him, so as to recognize God and
adore him in her own body and see her own body glorified in God."

During the Age of Scholasticism (thirteenth century), all of the theologians made reference to Mary's divine maternity consistent with previous theologians. She is Mother of the Lord, Mother of God, Mother of Jesus Christ. Stephen added two descriptive terms, holy and loving, to the title of Mother of God. All wrote of Mary's virginity: Albert said that she had taken a vow of virginity; Stephen and Bonaventure stated that she was a perpetual virgin. Mary's holiness was brought up by several. Stephen identified Mary as the sweetest of ladies, holy, full of grace, clement, and loving mother.

During the Late Middle Ages (fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries), the Council of Basel/Ferrara/Florence (1431-1445) declared that Mary is free from original sin, but this teaching was not adopted because the pope had left the council. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) affirmed Pope Sixtus IV's proclamation in Cum Praeclarescia (1477) of Mary's Immaculate Conception. However, the theologians of this period did not write about this doctrine in their commentaries on John 2:1-5. They did recognized Mary's divine maternity consistent with previous theologians. She is the Mother of the Lord, Jesus, who is God. Suárez developed the systematic treatment of Marian doctrine based on Mary's divine maternity; he held that all of her dignity and predestination are related to this privilege. This was similar to Anselm's teaching in the Scholastic Period, when he united Marian doctrine and devotion by employing "a scholastic argumentation to work out the consequences of Mary's divine motherhood in a strict parallelism between it and the fatherhood of God, which leads necessarily to her share in Christ's work of redemption ... and so to her being also the mother of men, whose prayers are as necessary to our salvation as the Incarnation itself." All of the theologians referred to Mary as a virgin. Anthony called her the Blessed and Glorious Virgin. Cajetan was most fulsome in his language; Mary was glorious Virgin, merciful Virgin, pious Virgin, and optimal Virgin. Mary's
holiness or blessedness was part of each of the writers' commentaries.

What is significant about the references to the prerogatives given to the Blessed Virgin Mary is that there was consistent recognition of her divine maternity, virginity, and holiness throughout the period studied. What varied were the terms employed by the individual writers to describe Mary and the various doctrines.

8.5 Mary and the Old Testament

Four Marian Doctrine themes were integrated into the commentaries that fall under this category: references to Mary and Eve as virgins and women, Mary as descendant from David, Mary as the New Eve, and typological references to Mary and Sion or synagogue. Gaudentius and Cajetan noted that Jesus' reference to his mother as "woman" had the same meaning as the reference to Eve in Genesis. The term was employed to designate gender not to indicate a non-virginal state.

Augustine and Bede held that Mary was a descendent of David. Augustine explained, Jesus was the "son of Mary, so likewise is he called son of David; and son of David because son of Mary ... David's son according to the flesh, David's Lord according to his divinity." Bede wrote similarly.

Geoffrey and Suárez followed Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Tertullian who held that Mary was the New Eve; she was a virgin, obedient to God, and brought life, reversing the disobedience and death wrought by Eve. Irenaeus wrote that Mary became the cause of her salvation and that of the whole human race. Ambrose called Mary the New Eve who gave us God. Geoffrey called Mary the sweetest mother "who brought forth the death of death, the life of man, the confusion of the devil, the absolution of sinners, the blessedness of all the just." Suárez held that the Virgin "was that woman through whom the harm wrought by the first woman would be repaired."
Gaudentius proposed that Mary be considered the Mother of the Lord, just like the holy patriarchs and prophets were, because Jesus took his origin from their flesh.

Quodvultdeus identified Mary as the Mother of Sion; both Mary and Sion were virgin mothers, in whom Christ formed himself. Thomas employed typology to provide an explanation for why Mary would ask for a miracle; a sign of Jesus’ divinity. The Jews require a sign and Mary was a Jewish woman. The synagogue, representing Judaism, was the Mother of Christ and Mary was the human Mother of Christ. Therefore, Mary was true to the symbol of the synagogue.

8.6 Summary of the Themes of Marian Doctrine Found in the Commentaries on John 2:1-5

The development of Marian Doctrine by the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians was found in the verse analysis of their commentaries. First, the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary was understood in relationship to Christology, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology throughout the period studied. The womb of the Virgin Mary was the Bridal Chamber for the marriage of Christ to his Church. She was also the Mother of Christ's humanity, with which he would die on the Cross. During the Golden Age of Mary, this role of the Blessed Virgin Mary developed to include recognition of her role in the spiritual marriage of Christ to the Church and to individual souls.

Throughout the period studied, the Blessed Virgin Mary was recognized for her concern for the temporal needs of the bridal party. During the Golden Age of Mary and continuing, this concept developed to include her concern for spiritual needs. This addition brought about comments regarding the effectiveness of her intercession. Along with this, the Blessed Virgin's qualites and virtues were recognized, which indicated an interest in her personal characteristics. Further development occurred with comments about the Blessed Virgin's knowledge of her Son's divinity and his reasons for changing the water into wine.
Beyond the Blessed Virgin Mary's role in relation to her Son and the Church, the Fathers and Pastoral Theologians provided an interesting idea about her relationship to the bridal party.

8.6.1 John 2:1 "On the third day there was a wedding in Cana in Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there."

Two themes are found in the commentaries: her personal history and Mary's role as mother at the wedding of the Bridegroom, Christ, to his Bride, the Church or an individual soul. It is to be noted that not all writers included a commentary on verse one in their work.

During the Patristic Period, Augustine wrote that the "Word was the Bridegroom, and human flesh the bride.... The womb of the Virgin Mary, in which he became head of the Church, was his bridal chamber." Mary's role in Ecclesiology was introduced.

Gaudentius proposed an interesting, though unique and not repeated concept. The mother of Jesus was there "among the Gentiles, for we read that blessed Mary took her origin from a mother from the tribe of the Moabites. For Boaz begot Obed of Ruth who was a Moabite woman." Gaudentius connected Old Testament messianic prophecies to Matthew's genealogy and applied them to Mary.

During the Early Middle Ages, Bede, like Augustine, associated the wedding at Cana with the Incarnation. The first marriage took place when Christ came as the Bridegroom to take the Church as his Bride. "His nuptial chamber was the womb of his incorrupt mother, where God was conjoined with human nature, and from there he came forth like a Bridegroom to join the Church to himself."

During the Golden Age of Mary, the deep spirituality of monastic life and their meditative method of reading and reflecting on Sacred Scripture were found in the writings of Benedictine and a Premonstratensian/Carthusian. Rupert wrote a commentary on
John 2:1 as an allegory. It was composed to promote the doctrine of the Incarnation and to refute heresies. Mary and the Church are both mothers and both are necessarily present at the celebration of a true marriage. Following Augustine and Bede, Rupert considered the marriage being celebrated was the Incarnation of God in the womb of his mother; his divinity was being manifested with a miracle. In the Church, the marriages being celebrated were the espousal of virginal souls to Jesus, by those who believe that Jesus is God made man. Mary must be present at both marriages.

Adam also wrote an allegory, where the wedding was the marriage between an individual monk/bride to Christ, the Bridegroom, and also the marriage of a soul to God. The Mother of Jesus was at this wedding, when the wine was lacking [the wine referred to the monk's interior graces], which the monk needed for his interior joy. The Mother of Jesus was the devout will who "conceived Jesus with love," and Jesus was the monk's "interior grace," and Jesus was the one "who offers him salvation and life and protects him." This Mother continues to conceive Jesus in love in the monk, when "she suggests secretly to the soul that which is salvific."

The method of biblical exegesis in the Scholastic Period was more literal than the previous periods. There was more interest in Mary's personal history. Albert, Hugh, and Bonaventure held the belief that Mary was at the wedding by reason of kinship. Albert stated (as it is said) that Mary was the sister of the mother of the groom. He then provided more insight into Mary's spiritual nature: she was a virtuous matron, at the wedding to teach, supervise, and inform the bride on the virtue of life and life of virtue. The Mother of Christ was the mirror of all virtue. The wedding was dignified and honored, because of the presence of the Mother of God. Hugh added the speculation that Mary and Jesus were poor people. Thomas interpreted the fact that the Mother of Jesus was mentioned first, to mean that she was asked whether or not Jesus should be invited.
Similar to Rupert and Adam, Thomas wrote of the mystical meaning of the Blessed Virgin's presence; she is present in spiritual marriages as the one who arranges the marriage, because it is through her intercession that one is joined to Christ through grace.

In the Late Middle Ages, Anthony, Dionysius, and Cajetan continued to restate the assumption that the Mother of Jesus was related to a member of the bridal party. Anthony provided the most complete information: "the wedding celebration (as is commonly said) of John the Evangelist, who was a nephew of the glorious Virgin on the mother's side. For the mother of John and of James the Greater, who was called Mary Salome, the wife of Zebedee, by whom she bore John and James, was a sister of the glorious Virgin." Dionysius added that Jerome, Bede and a scribal gloss related that John the Evangelist was the groom and the son of the glorious Virgin's sister. Anthony highlighted Mary's humility by recognizing that she was the Mother of the Lord and Queen of heaven, yet she came to the wedding of a poor fisherman.

Anthony wrote about Mary's presence at spiritual marriages as did Rupert, Adam, and Thomas. He ended his commentary, "This wedding also symbolizes the spiritual wedding celebrated between Christ and the Church in general, or between God and any individual soul in particular, and in all these cases 'the Mother of Jesus was there,' the Blessed Virgin Mary."

Suárez employed this verse to substantiate the true humanity of Jesus. "The truth is that the Blessed Virgin was in the real and proper sense the Mother of God. The Blessed Virgin was really the mother of this man, Christ."

8.6.2 John 2:3 "When the wine ran short, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine.'"

There are four themes found in these commentaries: Mary's intercession for the temporal and/or spiritual needs of others, her compassion and mercy, her knowledge of her Son's divine power, and her role in the union of Christ to the Church.
In the Patristic Period, all of the Fathers recognized Mary's statement to her Divine Son as a plea for temporal help, that is, she wanted Jesus to do something about the lack of wine. The Mother of Jesus' motivation for the request was her compassion and concern for the wedding party. Hilary described the situation, "the bridegroom is sad, the family embarrassed, and the celebration was endangered." Mary's knowledge of her Son's divine power was described by Ambrose and Quodvultdeus. They believed that she had learned more about her Son from the time he was twelve and in the Temple. Ambrose held that Mary pressed Jesus to perform a miracle. Similarly, Quodvultdeus stated that Mary thought she could give orders to her Son, as if she were the mistress of the house, and asked him to change the water into wine.

In the Early Middle Ages, Gregory the Great and Bede quoted this verse, however neither one provided any insight into why Mary approached her Son. Gregory incorporated this verse into his polemic against some heretics. Jesus is consubstantial with the Father and has divine power. Gregory must have believed that his Mother knew about this power, because he wrote that she "wanted him to perform a miracle when the wine ran out." Gregory believed that Mary interceded with her Divine Son for temporal needs.

In the ecclesial writers of the Golden Age of Mary, Rupert, Bernard, and Albert recognized Mary's compassion for the temporal needs of the wedding party. The Mother of Jesus thought the scarcity of wine would sadden the people. Bernard added that she observed the embarrassment of the good people and pitied them; she is always merciful and full of the tenderest charity. Albert thought that "the Mother of Mercy "was solicitous for a bodily kindness and interceded with her Son to grant that kindness.

The Mother of Jesus knew that he had divine power to perform the miracle. Rupert stated the Blessed Virgin recognized the "creator of all things, the power of God dwelling in her flesh, which she had born." Isaac believed that Mary grasped the mystery.
that Jesus had power from his Father and weakness from her; Mary's suggestion to her Son was more than a hint, it was an instance of her intercession.

The concept of Mary's intercession was expanded to include spiritual needs by Rupert, Geoffrey, Abelard, and Bernard. Rupert believed that "The blessed Mother of God chooses to be the heavenly gate of favor for the banqueters." Geoffrey advised that "It would be wrong to doubt that this most Blessed Virgin accomplishes in heaven what she accomplished on earth." Abelard noted that Jesus responded to the insinuation of his mother's will by performing the miracle. He asks, "What therefore will she accomplish through her prayer, when the faithful beseech her to intercede for them with her Son?" Bernard wrote similarly, the monks can turn to the Mother of mercy, when their wine of grace, of devotion, and fervor of love runs out. If Mary sympathized with the people at the wedding, all the more will she be sympathetic to those who respectfully call on her.

In the Scholastic Period, the recognition of Mary's role as intercessor for temporal and spiritual needs followed that of the previous period. Albert, Hugh, and Bonaventure identified the poverty of the couple as the reason for Mary's intercession. This was consistent with the value of poverty for the mendicant way of life. Stephen held that the Mother of Jesus wanted to avoid embarrassment to the hosts. Thomas wrote, "note first her kindness and mercy, for it is a quality of mercy to regard another's distress as one's own."

Albert and Thomas believed that there were spiritual reasons for Mary's intercession. Albert thought the Mother of Jesus was "feeling the pity of the mother of future sons of the Church, which meant she would be the spiritual mother to all of those who would follow her Son in the Church. Like Augustine, Bede, and Rupert, Thomas wrote of the two marriages, the first one was "the union of Christ with the Church, which was begun in the womb or the Virgin, when God the Father united a human nature to his Son in a Unity of person." Mary was present at spiritual marriages as
the one who arranges the marriages. She was the mediatrix who did not wait until they were in extreme need, but asked in a way similar to God, "A helper in times of trouble." The Mother of Jesus trustingly prompted Christ to perform miracles as a sign, because she was true to the symbol of the synagogue, for it was customary for Jews to require signs.

All of the theologians held that the Mother of Jesus knew of his divinity. Stephen believed that the "loving Mother begged her all powerful Son ... it was then that he revealed his Godhead and by this physical act he established one of the Church's sacraments." Albert contended Mary knew her Son to be God and able to do whatever he wanted. The petition for the miracle, according to Bonaventure, was a request for him to use his abundance, because she knew he was rich in mercy and power.

In the Late Middle Ages, Anthony, Dionysius, and Cajetan considered Mary's intercession to be for the temporal needs of others. Anthony and Dionysius considered Mary to be truly merciful or the most merciful Virgin, who had sympathy and compassion for the bride and groom. Cajetan identified Mary's motivation to be more theological, it was "to respect the order of the divine will, which has decreed that in necessities we should have recourse to God himself." Dionysius also wrote of the Mother of Jesus' concern for the spiritual needs of others. "Just as the most pious Virgin was compassionate about their material lack and provided aid, thus, when called upon, she gladly will provide aid for our spiritual needs, which she also does most generously, even when not asked." Anthony, Dionysius, and Cajetan were the only ecclesial writers who commented on this verse. Each one made references to Mary's knowledge of the divinity of her Son.

8.6.3 John 2:4 "[And] Jesus said to her, 'Woman, how does your concern affect me? My hour has not yet come.'"

This verse brought forth four topics in commentaries relating to Marian Doctrine: Jesus addresses his Mother as
"woman;" whether or not Jesus rebuked his mother and Mary's understanding of his intention; recognition of Mary's divine maternity and her as the source of Jesus' human nature; and Jesus' expression of filial love and concern for his mother.

During the Patristic Period, Augustine made reference to Galatians 4:4 to make his point, that: "He was made of a woman," thereby, refuting the Apollinarian and Docetic heresies by affirming that Jesus was fully human and fully divine, despite the fact that he addressed his Mother as "woman."

Ambrose, Maximus, and Quodvultdeus considered Jesus' words, "how does your concern affect me?" to be a rebuke. Ambrose thought Jesus checked his mother because she expected him to act as a human. Maximus stated, "it can hardly be doubted that these were words of displeasure," because she asked her Son for earthly wine, "when he had come to offer the peoples of the whole world the new chalice of eternal salvation." Quodvultdeus thought Jesus wanted to let his Mother know that it was not her place to give an order to God. In each case, Jesus' humanity and divinity in relationship to his Mother were part of their analyses.

Augustine considered Jesus' words to be an indubitable mystery. He reasoned that Jesus would not teach others to have contempt for their mothers nor dishonor them; and Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary. Augustine recommended that one should have the piety to believe and "By this piety he will learn to understand also why Jesus answered thus, if by praying he knocks at the door of truth, and does not approach it with wrangling."

Ambrose, Augustine, and Quodvultdeus focused on the Christological truth that Jesus was one Divine Person with two natures. Ambrose called this a dual sonship, one affiliated him to his heavenly Father and the other subjected him to the weariness and labor of his mother. Augustine expanded on this concept and his understanding was accepted by Quodvultdeus and many other theologians who followed him. Because of this, Augustine's Tractate 8 will be quoted here:
Our Lord Jesus was both God and man. According as He was God, He had not a mother; according as He was man, He had. She was the mother, then, of His flesh, of His humanity, of the weakness which for our sakes He took upon Him. But the miracle which He was about to do, He was about to do according to His divine nature, not according to His weakness. [...] His mother then demanded a miracle of Him; but He, about to perform divine works, so far did not recognize a human womb; saying in effect, "That in me which works a miracle, was not born of you, you gave not birth to my divine nature; but because my weakness was born of you, I will recognize you at the time when that same weakness shall hang upon the Cross." [...] He does recognize her. For then did He recognize her, when that to which she gave birth was a-dying.

Augustine clearly affirmed Mary's divine maternity and explained her role as the source of Jesus' humanity, with which he would suffer and die.

Augustine, Maximus, Gaudentius, and Quodvultdeus interpreted the hour that Jesus spoke of as the hour of his crucifixion. Augustine and Quodvultdeus, as noted above, associated Jesus' words to the human nature he had assumed from his Mother. Maximus called it "the most glorious hour of his passion." Gaudentius added that the hour of his passion would occur when all things were completed whether of teaching or of divine works, he would die for the life of believers. These four Fathers associated the humanity of Jesus with redemption, which was indirect recognition of Mary's role in salvation.

Augustine and Quodvultdeus assigned a filial sentiment to John 19:26: Jesus "commended with human affection the mother by whom He had become man" or "He recognized His mother and commended her to His beloved disciple, appropriately shows His human affection at the moment he was dying as a Man."
During the Early Middle Ages, Gregory of Tours explained Jesus' reference to his Mother as "woman" in a legal dispute, by writing that Jesus "is called Son of man, because he was the Virgin's son, which is to say, the son of a woman." Woman was a generic term.

Bede, like Augustine, did not regard Jesus' words to his Mother to be a rebuke. Bede reasoned that Jesus "would not dishonor his mother, because he orders us to honor our father and mother, nor would he deny that she was his mother, since he would not disdain to adopt his flesh from her."

Gregory the Great, Bede, and Alcuin continued Augustine's interpretation of Jesus' words referring to his divinity, which was about to be disclosed by the power of the miracle, and his humanity, which was taken from his Mother and would be demonstrated at the hour when he was on the cross. All three of these theologians also included references to John 19:26, when Jesus did acknowledge his Mother and commended her to the beloved disciple, whom he especially loved. Jesus' filial relationship and concern for his Mother can be understood here.

During the Golden Age of Mary, there was no discussion on why Jesus addressed his Mother, "woman." Rupert, Guerric, Bernard, and Adam discussed whether or not Jesus rebuked her. All agreed that he did not; his words were meant to be instructive. Rupert was teaching that Christ's divinity was hidden in his humanity. And Mary "is to be believed and confessed as the mother of God and man, because she truly conceived the incorporeal Word of the Father with the hearing of the heart, by believing, and she bore from her flesh the One embodied from the virginal womb." Mary was the Theotókos. Rupert defended this Marian Doctrine against the heresy of Nestorius. Of note here, is Rupert's recognition of Mary's active role in hearing, believing, and bearing the Incarnate Word from her virginal womb. Bernard wrote as if he were questioning Jesus: was he not a child and Mary his Mother; why ask what he had to do with her, when he was the fruit of her immaculate womb; did he not spend nine months in her womb, suck at her virginal breasts, and was subject to her. In this,
Bernard was emphasizing the natural, maternal role that Mary performed for her Divine Son. Gueric and Bernard considered Jesus' words as instructive to the monks; they were to put God's will before their affection for carnal attachments or for the needs of their kinsfolk. Continuing on the theme of God's will, Gueric wrote that Mary" so valued the Father's will that the Father could foretell to her: 'You shall be called 'My will is in her.'"

In another sermon, Bernard acknowledged that Jesus' words might sound harsh and austere, however, "He knew to whom He was speaking, and she was not ignorant Who He was that spoke," because she presumed on the goodness of her Son and proceeded to instruct the servants. Adam agreed with Bernard, at the first moment Mary received a response of reproof, but did "not cease to implore, and is believed never to have suffered refusal."

Rupert and Isaac employed Christological terminology consistent with Augustine, "I have power in common with my Father, weakness with my mother." Rupert and Gueric included a reference to John 19:26. Gueric wrote, "loving her as he did Jesus loved her to the end, so as not only to bring his life to an end for her but also to speak almost his last words for her benefit. As his last will and testament he committed to his beloved heir the care of his mother." Gueric emphasized the love that Jesus expressed for his mother at the end of his life, including offering his life for her and taking care of her. Gueric added a reference to the time after Mary's assumption. The Virgin Mother was able to "see God the King of all in the diadem of the flesh with which she crowned him, so as to recognize God and adore him in her own body and see her own body glorified in God."

The theologians of the Scholastic Period were all concerned about the literal meaning of the word, "woman." According to Albert, Hugh, Bonaventure, and Thomas all considered the term to refer to Mary's gender and not to her virginity. Also, Albert felt that the term of "woman" called attention to the feminine qualities of Mary; she was softened by mercy and felt a soft spot for the poverty of the people celebrating the wedding. Bonaventure believed that Mary was holy like the valiant woman in Proverbs.
Thomas supported their interpretations by citing Genesis 3:12 and Galatians 4:4. Bonaventure and Thomas referred to Sacred Scripture to interpret and confirm the meaning of other scriptural texts.

Thomas refuted three heresies that originated from Jesus' question to his mother, as if it meant, "I have received nothing from you." He referred to Galatians 4:4 and to the teaching of Augustine by confirming that Christ had a real body and was related to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Jesus' response was not a rebuke but was meant to be instructive. Albert wrote that Mary should have been concerned about spiritual things, because she had taken a vow of celibacy and would have reflected on the things of the Lord, so that she would be holy. Jesus, too, was intent on spiritual things. In addition to this, Jesus "did not want to disclose the virginity of his mother, lest through this he would appear glorious, before the miracle." Thus Mary's virginal birth was recognized as miraculous.

Bonaventure held that Jesus' words were a rebuke, even though he called her "woman" and not mother, because his divine nature was not from her. His mother could not command him to perform a miracle, even though she commiserated with the poverty of the bridegroom and knew that her Son was rich in mercy. However, Mary knew that Jesus' "response did not stem from indignation, but out of humility and for the purpose of instruction." Nevertheless, Jesus listened to his mother and performed the miracle, because she was holy, the people were poor and his glory was about to be manifested to the disciples.

Albert, Hugh, Bonaventure, and Thomas followed Augustine's interpretation of Jesus' words. Albert and Hugh actually identified Augustine by name; Albert added several points from Augustine's commentary. Albert, Hugh, and Thomas included a reference to John 19:26, where Jesus commends the care of his mother to the beloved disciple.

During the Late Middle Ages, Cajetan wrote that "woman" referred to Mary's gender and was not meant to suggest the weaker
sex nor a term of seduction. Cajetan confirmed the perpetual virginity of blessed Mary and refuted the teaching of Helvidius. Suárez held that Christ wanted to call attention to the fact that the miracle did not come from the nature he assumed from his mother.

Dionysius, Cajetan, and Suárez did not consider Jesus' words to be a rebuke, but were to be instructive. Dionysius believed Jesus was teaching that people were not to be too attached to carnal things or parents, lest they offend God and forsake the way of perfection and justice. Cajetan held that Jesus wanted to inform his mother that women were not responsible for the lack of wine. Mary "understood that her request was heard and would be fulfilled ... when the wine would be completely out."

Maldonado was of a different opinion; Jesus' words did have a certain tone of rebuke. He agreed with the "ancient authors and others," who wrote that Jesus wanted to demonstrate that he was about to perform a miracle, not as a man but as God. Despite the tone of rebuke in her Divine Son's voice, Mary continued to prepare things for the future miracle.

Suárez wrote extensively about Jesus' filial reverence for his mother in reference to John 19:26. Jesus confirmed that he was the son of the Virgin, when he was dying on the cross. Suárez cited Augustine, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria and agreed with their teaching, "Christ recognized and honored the Virgin as His Mother and showed His great care for her." (304) Suárez added further comments by Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory of Nazianzen, providing a magnificent summary of the Marian Doctrine on the association of John 2:4 with John 19:26. More importantly, they all express their beliefs that Jesus loved his beloved Mother and wanted to take care of her after his death.

8.6.4 John 2:5 "His mother said to the servers, 'Do whatever he tells you.'"

Four themes are found in the commentaries on this verse: Mary's knowledge of her Divine Son's intentions, the effectiveness of her intercession, the manifestation of Christ's divinity, and soteriological or ecclesiastical results of the miracle.
In the Patristic Period, Maximus and Gaudentius commented on this verse. Maximus validated his belief in Mary's Divine Maternity and because of this she knew in advance what would happen and foresaw the Lord's will. With this knowledge, she advised the servants to do whatever he told them. Maximus had introduced the four reasons for Jesus' attendance to be to: institute and sanctify marriage, take a new bride for himself through the conversion of the Gentiles, make himself known by miracles, and give new wine that was to offer the people of the whole world the new chalice of salvation.

Gaudentius followed the same thought. Because Mary was filled with the Holy Spirit and after the divine birth, she knew the power of the response of Jesus, but also foresaw the "true universal order of the future wine changed by Him from water." Significantly Gaudentius reflected on this and wrote, "For what could be hidden to this mother of wisdom, who had capacity for God, who was the most worthy home of such power?" Gaudentius added a further understanding of this verse. Mary and the people of the holy patriarchs and prophets were both mothers, in the sense that Jesus took his origin from their flesh. Both mothers interceded on behalf of the Gentiles for the joy of heavenly wine, the wine of the Holy Spirit. These mothers are intermediaries with Christ; the apostles, apostolic priests, and ministers are to carry out with prompt obedience whatever the Lord Jesus will command them. Through Mary's divine maternity, she knew of her Son's divine power and his intention. She, like the holy people of the Old Testament, was a mother and wanted to bring salvation to the Gentiles. Mary carried out her role as intercessor and conveyed the instruction to the servants.

During the Golden Age of Mary, Rupert and Isaac made references to Mary's instruction to the servants that were more Christological in nature. Rupert commented that Mary knew her Son's will and that he had the power to perform the miracle. Both Jesus and his mother wanted to address the lack of wine, thereby gladdening their hosts. Mary advised the servants to be trusting and obedient to Jesus' direction, because she wanted them to make a way of manifesting the glory of God. Isaac wrote that Mary
understood perfectly the mystery that her Divine Son had power in common with the Father and weakness from her. When she made her suggestion to him, it was more than a hint it was an instance of her intercession. Therefore, she advised the servants to do all that Jesus should tell them.

In the Scholastic Period, Stephen's comments highlighted the effectiveness of the mother of Jesus' intercession. He wanted to encourage the monks to rely on Mary as their loving Mother, because she "begged her all-powerful Son to have mercy and compassion on their embarrassed hosts." Stephen added Christological and Ecclesial dimensions to his teaching by stating it was after Mary's comment to her Divine Son that Jesus "revealed his Godhead and by this physical act established one of the Church's sacraments."

In the Late Middle Ages, Cajetan and Maldonado believed that the Blessed Virgin understood that her Divine Son intended to perform the miracle. Cajetan held that Mary wanted to prevent the wine from running out and so advised her Divine Son of the situation. When Jesus responded as he did, she understood that her request had been heard and would be fulfilled. After the wine was completely out, she advised the servants to carry out her Son's command. Mary understood the words of Jesus explicitly.

Maldonado had a similar understanding of Mary's knowledge, she understood not only was he not unwilling to perform a miracle, but he intended to do so. He agreed with Juvencus that Mary would be overjoyed by the responses of Christ for she recognized that he was intending to perform the miracle. Maldonado added an original concept; "the mother of Christ seems to have known something, not just about the miracle, but even about the manner in which Christ was about to perform it." He asked why Mary would have advised the servants to do what Jesus told them, if she had not known how he planned to perform the miracle. Christ could have performed the miracle without the servants, if he chose to do so. Maldonado summarized his thoughts, "I prefer to think that the most holy Virgin had known the matter in virtue of a prophetic spirit, and not because there had
been any communication between Christ and her about this proposition. For what pious person would deny that she had a prophetic spirit?" This is a fitting way to end this commentary on John 2:5.

8.7 Final note

The voices of a pope, many bishops, Benedictine, Cistercian, and Carthusian monks, Dominican and Franciscan friars, Jesuit priests, saints, fathers, doctors and pastoral theologians of the Church continue to echo in the minds and hearts of the faithful in the Church and to call others to learn about God's salvation plan begun with a *fiat* of a young virgin named Mary. They tell of how the presence and role of the mother of Jesus at the Wedding Feast at Cana still exemplifies perfect discipleship, because she advises all people to seek help from her Divine Son and she directs everyone to do whatever he tells them and to be brought to faith in him. These holy men remind the reader that the holy Mother of Jesus listens attentively to the needs of others and answers their prayers when called upon. She will attend the wedding of the soul to the Bridegroom, her Divine Son.
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