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The Use of the Wedding Feast at Cana, John 2:1-11

By the Latin Fathers in the Development of Marian Doctrine

From the Second to the Eighth Century

A Thesis submitted

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Licentiate of Sacred Theology

with specialization in Marian Studies

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Précis

The early Church Fathers searched the Gospel of John 2:1-11 for meaning and analyzed the verses to understand Jesus and his teaching, so that they might follow him in their communities of faith. In time, they became interested in understanding the role Mary played and the meaning of her words and actions. At the Wedding Feast at Cana, Mary 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. She was also present at his last sign, his death, and exaltation on the Cross.

This thesis presents the principal interpretations of Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, John 2:1-11, by the Latin Fathers in the second to eighth centuries.

In chapter one, the role of the Church Fathers is reviewed. This includes identifying their characteristics, qualifications, contribution to tradition, and primary concerns. Following this information is: a statement of purpose, scope of the thesis, and the present state of the question, which indicates what is original about this work. Presented next is the structure, which includes the periods referenced, names of authors, and topics covered. Subsequent to this is a review of foundational material for understanding Patristic biblical exegesis: fundamentals of Patristic exegesis, the Latin translation of the Bible referenced, the spiritual nature of John's Gospel, and the methodology applied to develop the Fathers' portrait of Mary according to Marian Anthropology. The last section provides a more detailed review of the method to be employed to analyze, compare, and summarize the writings.

Chapter two initiates the journey into Latin Patristic exegesis and hermeneutics of John 2:1-11 in the pre-Nicene Period. The earliest extant material is presented here 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, the major threats of heresies from within the Church, and persecutions from Imperial leaders. The main section of the chapter begins with "The Life and Works of Tertullian" and includes his three references to John 2:1-11; the most notable being *De anima*, where he defends Jesus' true humanity. "The Life and Works Cyprian" follow with an analysis of *Epistvla LXIII*, in which he refers to the blood of Christ as an oblation. The last section explains why these two Fathers were included in this thesis, even when they did not write about Mary; they provided the foundation for Marian Doctrine.

Chapter three covers the period that includes the First Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople, where Christological Doctrines were defined. These dogmas are clearly evident in the writings that will be presented next. This chapter follows the same pattern as chapter two. The Introduction presents the names and places of origin of the great Fathers who will be studied. This is followed by an overview of the Latin Church in the West, including 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 and work of each Father is presented in chronological order: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Maximus of Turin, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine of Hippo, and Gaudentius of Brescia. At the end of the chapter there is a comparison of their works.

Chapter four begins with the Council of Ephesus and includes the other councils that define and confirm Mary as the Mother of God and perpetual virgin. The groundwork established by the teaching of the Fathers and confirmed by the prior Councils, now reveal Mary in relationship to her Divine Son and the Trinitarian plan of salvation for all people. The chapter
begins with an Introduction providing the names and places of origin for the Fathers to be included. This is followed by a brief overview of the Latin Church in the Roman Empire: the challenges faced by the Fathers, the Popes' and the Church's response to the barbarian invasions, and the collapse of the Roman Empire. Other relevant material covered includes: the role of monasticism and missionary work, the Ecumenical Councils, Church life during this time of challenge, and the teachings about Mary. The life and work of three Fathers are presented next: Quodvultdeus, Pope Leo, and Bede. At the end of the chapter, there is a comparison of writings for this period.

Chapter five is the final summary of the Fathers' biblical exegesis; Mary's role in Systematic Theology: Theology, Christology, Soteriology, and Ecclesiology; Mary's role in Practical Theology, through biblical commentaries, doctrinal treatises, pastoral exhortations, and in defense of the faith; a portrait of Mary according to the Marian Anthropological model: the historic life of Mary, Mary as a spiritual subject, Mary as a theological person, and last, the universal significance of Mary; and a summary of the Marian Doctrine developed throughout the period.
Guidelines


2. Two exceptions
   a. *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.*
   b. There are footnotes that refer to the text and discussion of material in the thesis; these are introduced in the following way, "Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for discussion of Mary's titles as Mother of God. See Hilary, 69 and 177, Ambrose, 82 and 177, Maximus, 103 and 177, and Paulinus, 113 and 177. The first page number refers to the page where the primary text is given and the second number refers to the discussion or integration of the information.

3. The capitalization of pronouns follows the primary source.

4. The date convention reflects the primary source, for example, Roman numeral or Arabic.

5. 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.
Chapter 1
Purpose, Scope, Structure, and Method

1.1 Introduction

There are few citations referring to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in the writings of the Latin Fathers; however they are of great importance and reveal profound mysteries about the love of God and his salvation plan for all humanity. The writings about Mary that do exist have special significance, given the needs of the nascent Church at the time of the Fathers.

"They had to establish and set forth in detail the primary truths of Christian revelation, on the Nature of God, His Unity of Being and Trinity of Persons; the Incarnation and Divinity of the Word; the Personality of the Holy Ghost; the Unity and Catholicity of Christ's Church; the Communion of Saints, the doctrines of original sin, and grace. They had at the same time to contend against and refute many subtle heresies that endangered the faith on all points, and with which heresiarchs from every quarter were continually assailing the Church."  

Mary, the human mother of the Son of God, affirmed his humanity, which was the means for the salvation of humanity. She was instrumental in the manifestation of Jesus' first sign of divinity, which brought the disciples to faith in him. Mary was also present at the last sign, his death, exaltation, and return to the Father.

The commentaries of the Fathers regarding Mary remain relevant today. In the Second Vatican Council document, *Lumen Gentium*, many references to their writings are found throughout chapter eight, the section dedicated to Our Lady. Augustine recognizes Mary as the mother of the members of Christ. Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Jerome comment on Mary as the

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1 The term "Fathers of the Church" refers to all of the writers quoted and studied in this thesis. They are accepted as the renowned ecclesiastical figures of the early Church who had a significant role in the elucidation, defense, and propagation of the faith.


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New Eve. Ambrose affirms Mary's perpetual virginity, her role in relationship with Christ the one Mediator, and as a type of the Church in the order of faith, charity, and perfect union with Christ. Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, and Isaac of Stella all identify the Church as Virgin and Mother, like Mary. The witness of these Fathers is associated with the Second Vatican Council pronouncements, affirming the relevance and importance of Mary. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church recognizes the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the plan of salvation, the Blessed Virgin and the Church, the cult of the Blessed Virgin in the Church, and Mary as sign of true hope and comfort for the pilgrim people.

Equally significant is the reference to the Fathers of the Church in the Prologue of the Catechism of the Catholic Church. The Fathers are cited as one of the primary sources for the "organic synthesis of the essential and fundamental contents of Catholic Doctrine, as regards both faith and morals, in the light of the Second Vatican Council and the whole of the Church's Tradition." The other three sources are Sacred Scripture, liturgy, and the Church's Magisterium. Examples of the references to the Fathers in the Catechism are: Irenaeus is quoted as writing that Mary is the "cause of salvation for herself and the whole human race;" Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Jerome call Mary the New Eve; and Augustine identified Mary as the "symbol and most perfect realization of the Church and mother of the members of Christ."  

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3 See Austin Flannery, gen. ed. Vatican Council II: Constitutions, Decrees, Declarations: Lumen Gentium (Northport, N.Y.: Costello, 2007); Augustine, #52; Irenaeus, Epiphanius and Jerome, #56; Ambrose, #57, #62, #63; Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, and Isaac of Stella, #64. Lumen Gentium, hereafter: Flannery, LG.


5 See CCC, Irenaeus, # 494; Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Jerome, # 494; and Augustine, #506 and #963.
After recognizing the importance the Conciliar Fathers and the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* place on the Fathers of the Church and their writings, specifically relating to Mary, reference is made to the recommendations by the Pontifical International Marian Academy for direction in applying these teachings to current Mariological efforts. "In this period of great change, it is necessary that theologians, students of Mariology, and those who welcome Mary into their lives as the inestimable gift of the crucified Christ (John 19:25-27) become part of our world's actual historical-cultural setting, and, following the example of the Mother of the Lord, choose the values of life, of solidarity and service, for promoting and advancing a 'civilization of love.'"  

The Academy recommended further that Mary be seen from an anthropological perspective, so that Mary's exemplar life can be understood and modeled by members of the Church.

Divine Revelation relating to the Blessed Virgin Mary was studied and applied by the Fathers of the Church to meet the challenges of their time. This then became part of the Patristic legacy of the Church. This legacy is to be recalled and re-incorporated into the Church and into the lives of the faithful, so that Mary can continue her God given role, in the mission of salvation with her Divine Son.

1.2 Purpose

The primary purpose of this thesis is to present an original synthesis and analysis of the use of the Wedding Feast at Cana, John 2:1-11, by the Latin Fathers in the development of

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7 See PIMA, xviii.
Marian doctrine from the second to the eighth century. The goal is to state what they wrote about Mary and what they understood her role to be in God's salvation plan as revealed in this sacred text, specifically the meaning of the presence and action of Mary at the wedding feast, where she was recognized as the mother of Jesus and was the necessary catalyst for Jesus' manifestation of his divinity, the first sign that resulted in inciting faith in his disciples. This sign pointed to the last sign, Jesus' death on the Cross.

The Patristic development of Marian doctrine will be formulated from the Fathers' writings according to their biblical exegesis and hermeneutical applications of John 2:1-11 into Systematic Theology, Practical Theology, and Marian Anthropology. This is the primary focus of the thesis. In addition to this information, other Marian teachings by each Father will be provided in a separate section. In this way, a more complete report can be provided to better understand the development of Marian doctrine.

This work also provides the opportunity to reflect on the meaning of Sacred Scripture in the lives and works of the Fathers, and to deepen our understanding of Divine Revelation through the minds and hearts of these early voices of authority. They transmitted the Divine Revelation that originated in Jesus Christ, was taught to the apostles, and carried on by their successors. The Fathers continue the apostolic tradition and are part of the apostolic succession. They are the approved masters, the authority on revealed truths and the authoritative witnesses to the faith of the Christian people, living in the complex and challenging time of the second to the eighth century. The writings of these early theologians have great value for our study, as confirmed by the Second Vatican Council and the *Catechism of the Catholic Church.*
1.3 Scope

This thesis will present the principal commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, as recorded in the Latin Tradition, from Tertullian to Bede: Tertullian (160-225), Cyprian of Carthage (200-258), Hilary of Poitiers (315-367), Ambrose of Milan (339-397), Jerome (345-407), Maximus of Turin (d. 408-423), Paulinus of Nola (353-431), Augustine of Hippo (354-430), Gaudentius (370-410), Quodvultdeus (390-457), Leo the Great (c. 400-461), and Bede the Venerable (673-735).

1.4 Present State of Research: Status Quaestionis

There have been many books written about the Gospel according to John and most of them 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 for the second to eighth centuries, according to the method to be employed in this thesis. The following review verifies this statement.

1.4.1 Source for Patristic Quotations, without Commentary

*Corpus Marianum Patristicum* is an excellent source for the writings during this period.\(^8\)

1.4.2 Patristic Marian Writings with References to the Wedding Feast at Cana

Bertrand Buby in *Mary of Galilee: the Marian Heritage of the Early Church* provides Patristic Marian thought by the great western theologians; only Jerome and Augustine were quoted regarding the Wedding Feast at Cana.\(^9\)

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9
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.\(^9\)

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 their teaching regarding the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Wedding Feast at Cana is mentioned by Augustine and Severus of Antioch.\(^11\)

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.\(^12\)

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

Cornelius Á Lapide in *The Great Commentary* provides a commentary on The Wedding Feast at Cana, which includes references to Bede, Augustine, Jerome, and Gaudentius.\(^13\)

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10 See Raymond F. Collins (Louvain, Belg.: American College, Fall, 1970): 104, 105, and 106.


13 See Cornelius Á Lapide (Edinburgh, Scot.: John Grant, 1908), 80, 82, 84, 85, and 87.
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.  

1.4.4 Patristic Marian Thought without Reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana  

Walter Burghardt in "Mary in Western Patristic Thought," *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.  

Le Chanoine G. Joussard in *Maria: Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge*, book 1, reviews the Patristic teachings about Mary's Divine Maternity, virginity, and holiness. There are no references to the Wedding Feast at Cana.  

Johannes Quasten in *Patrology*, volume 2, provides the writings of Cyprian and Tertullian, none of which are those about the Wedding Feast at Cana. In volume 4 of this series, Angelo Di Berardino, ed. presents many Latin writers, none of whom commented on John 2:1-11.  

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17 See Johannes Quasten and Angelo Di Berardino, eds. (Notre Dame, Ind.: Ave Maria, 1986).
1.4.5 Commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana but not from the Patristic Period

Robert Garafalo in *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.\(^{18}\)

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 Fathers.\(^{19}\)

1.5 Structure: Period, Author, Writings

The writings of the Fathers will be organized into three periods according to the Church Councils: pre-Nicaea (before 325), Nicaea to Ephesus (325 to 431), and Ephesus to the Third Council of Constantinople (431 to 681).\(^{20}\) Period one will include: Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage. Period two will include: Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Maximus of Turin, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine of Hippo, and Gaudentius of Brescia. Period three will include: Quodvultdeus, Leo the Great, and Bede the Venerable.

Within each period, each author will be presented in chronological order, including a brief biography and pertinent contextual information relating to historical, socio-cultural,


\(^{20}\) Organizing the writers according to the councils is a literary device that seems reasonable. The councils refer to a known timeline and provide official statements regarding Theology, Christology and, indirectly, Mariology. Organizing according to the councils does not indicate that there will be a thorough review of the councils, nor of the teaching of the individual Father in reference to these councils. Comments will be included when pertinent. It is noted that Bede, who died in 735, is included because he was born before 681 and made significant contributions to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in his commentary on the Gospel of John.
ecclesiastical aspects, and Marian teaching. Following this, the Father's references to John 2:1-11 will be cited, analyzed, categorized, and explored.

1.6 Method

The purpose of this thesis is to present the use of the Wedding Feast at Cana by the Latin Fathers in developing Marian doctrine; specifically, focusing on Mary and the Father's understanding of her role in God's salvation plan relative to her Divine Son, Jesus, and his mission carried out by the Church. From the writings that include Mary at the Wedding Feast, four categories will be developed and analyzed: Biblical Exegesis, Mary and Systematic Theology, Mary and Practical Theology, and Marian Anthropology. In addition to this, other comments about the Father's Marian teaching will be given in each author's introductory section and included in the Marian doctrine summary at the end, after the above categories.

The following explanation of this method is divided into two parts: a) the foundation for understanding Patristic biblical exegesis and b) the actual method employed to analyze, compare, and summarize the writings of the Fathers.

1.6.1 Foundation for Understanding Patristic Biblical Exegesis

The four foundational subjects are: fundamentals of Patristic exegesis, the Latin translations of the Bible, the Gospel according to John, and Marian Anthropology.

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21 Detail will follow in section 1.6.1.4, 19 to 29.
1.6.1.1 Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis

In the analysis of the writings of the Fathers under study in this thesis, the following assumptions will be applied in the commentary on the different works. Fundamental to their 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." 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. Jesus Christ was the recapitulation or summing up of the Father's plan; he was the Logos of the Father. The method of 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.

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Jesus' life, death, resurrection, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit were recognized as fulfilling these prophecies.  

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. 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'." Orthodoxy also required the agreement amongst the Fathers, a consensus of opinion on essential points of doctrine at a given moment. 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 Holy Spirit, and the supervision of the bishops, the authentic interpretation and application of the Bible would occur.

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25 See Kelly, Doctrines, 65.

26 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 18.

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

Another significant influence on patristic exegesis was a treatise written by Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine (De doctrina Christiana)*. 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.\(^{29}\) 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 a knowledge of the philosophical principles implied or stated by the authors of the New Testament."\(^{30}\) 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."\(^{31}\) 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 ...."\(^{32}\) Robertson asserts that *On Christian Doctrine* "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 during the


\(^{32}\) Robertson, Translator's introduction, *Christian Doctrine*, x.
thirteenth century." Thus, the authentic interpretation and application of the Bible continued under the influence of one very important Father of the Church, Augustine, Bishop of Hippo.

1.6.1.2 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 thesis 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 Vetus Latina (Old Latin) 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

33 Robertson, Translator’s introduction, Christian Doctrine, xxi.


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.\textsuperscript{36} Jerome had a similar concern.\textsuperscript{37}

Given the number of versions of the Latin Bible, confusion resulted. Pope Damasus (366-384) 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 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.\textsuperscript{38} In the Middle Ages, this translation became known as the Latin Vulgate or \textit{Vulgata Latina}.\textsuperscript{39}

The result of research for this thesis revealed that all of the Fathers used Latin that was consistent with the \textit{Vetus Latina}, in the \textit{Bibliorum Sacrorum, Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica};\textsuperscript{40} John 2:1-11 reads,

\begin{quote}
\textit{Et die tertia nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galileaea: et erat mater Jesu ibi. Vocatus autem et Jesus, et discipuli ejus, ad nuptias.}
\end{quote}

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{37} See Metzger, \textit{Early Versions}, 290, and 334.
\item \textsuperscript{39} See Metzger, \textit{Early Versions}, 286-290, 330. In the Middle Ages, the term \textit{"Vulgate"} was used for this translation, meaning "common translation."
\item \textsuperscript{40} \textit{Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica}, D. Peter Sabatier, ed. (Regis Typographum & Bibliopolam, MDCCXLIII). Hereafter: \textit{Vetus Latina}. It is of note that the Latin for John 2:1-11 in this translation of the Bible is exactly the same for the \textit{Vulgata} as for the \textit{Vetus Latina}. Given that most of the Latin translations studied in this thesis are consistent with both, only exceptions will be stated.
\end{enumerate}
Et deficiente vino, dicit mater Jesu ad eum: Vinum non habent.

Et dicit ei Jesus: Quid mihi et tibi est mulier? nondum venit hora mea.

Dicit mater ejus ministris: Quodcumque dixerit vobis, facit.

Erant autem ibi lapideae hydriae sex positae secundum purificationem Judaeorum, capientes singulae metretas binas vel ternas.

Decit eis Jesus: Implete hydrias aqua. Et impleverunt eas usque ad summum.

Et dicit eis Jesus: Haurite nunc, et ferte architriclino. Et tulerunt.

Ut autem gustavit architriclinus aquam vinum factam, et non sciebat unde esset, ministri autem sciebant, qui hauserant aquam: vocat sponsum architriclinus.

et dicit ei: Omnis homo primum bonum vinum ponit: et cum inebriati fuerint, tunc id, quod deterius est. Tu autem servasti bonum vinum usque adhuc.

Hoc fecit initium signorum Jesus in Cana Galilaea; et manifestavit gloriam suam, et crediderunt in eum discipuli ejus.41

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1.6.1.3 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 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.

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41 The English translation 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 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." New American Bible: Catholic Study Bible (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1990), 150. Hereafter, NAB. All future quotations are from this Bible.
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, the embodiment of divine glory. 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 17b:1-4). Jesus reveals the Father's glory to the disciples through the manifestations found in the Book of Signs (chapters 2:1-12:50); the Father reveals the Son's glory after his passion, self-sacrificing death on the Cross, and resurrection in the Book.
of Glory (chapters 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).\footnote{NAB, 175.} 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 Roten comments, "... John stresses more forcefully Mary's role within the context of the memoria passionis, mortis et resurrectionis. 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."\footnote{Johann G. Roten, "Memory and Mission: A Theological Reflection on Mary in the Paschal Mysteries," \textit{Marian Studies} 42 (1991): 82-83. Hereafter: Roten, "Memory and Mission," \textit{Marian Studies}.} 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).\footnote{NAB, 151.}

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

\[^{46}\text{NAB, 175.}\]
\[^{48}\text{NAB, 151.}\]
symbolize the messianic nuptials and the New Covenant,\textsuperscript{49} 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," symbolizes Jesus' resurrection.\textsuperscript{50} 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).\textsuperscript{51} "Woman" may be symbolic of the Daughter of Zion, the ideal Zion of eschatological time (Ps. 86:5; Isa. 60); or refer to the New Eve (Gen. 3:15; Rev: 9), or the Bride, or be a symbol of the Church.\textsuperscript{52} The "hour" may refer to the end time (Dan. 11:40, 45 LXX [Septuagint]); 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{53} John's Gospel is rich in symbolism and challenged the Fathers to search the Scriptural text to uncover the hidden messages.

\textsuperscript{49} See de la Potterie, \textit{Mary}, 196 to 201.


\textsuperscript{53} See de la Potterie, \textit{Mary} for reference to "hour" as end time; R. E. Brown, \textit{Gospel} and de la Potterie, \textit{Mary} for references to the beginning of the messianic revelation, 517, 518, and 188; and R. E. Brown, \textit{Gospel} for reference to the passion, death, resurrection, and glorification, 504.
1.6.1.4 Marian Anthropology

Scholarly thought in the twenty-first century is showing more interest in Mary from an anthropological perspective. While this is a fairly recent phenomenon, the roots of this interest reach back to the apocryphal literature, to The Proto-Gospel of James, which was enunciated as early as 130-150 CE. There was a natural curiosity about the Virgin Mary of Nazareth and believers sought to fill in information that was not revealed in the New Testament.

One aspect of this study of Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana is to develop an original portrait of Mary, as revealed in the words of the Fathers by applying the principles of theological anthropology to Mary. Theological anthropology, rooted in Divine Revelation, seeks to explain man and his destiny from God's point of view. God has revealed the mystery of Trinitarian life and man's salvation through redemptive incarnation. Mary participated in this redemptive incarnation in a unique and essential way. Theological anthropology of Mary seeks to explain the person and life of Mary from God's perspective, relative to her actions as a human being and as the predestined Mother of the Son of God. Presented another way, it explains what we can learn about God and our relationship with him from the person and life of Mary. To know Mary is to begin to know God.


55 See Buby, Marian Heritage, 35.

Johann G. Roten stated that a comprehensive study of the theological anthropology of Mary can be obtained by assessing her according to all four perspectives: historic life, spiritual subject, theological person, and universal significance. To provide a complete picture of Our Lady, all four must be included.\(^{57}\)

### 1.6.1.4.1 Historic Life of Mary

This aspect of Marian anthropology seeks to develop a profile of Mary as a real person, one who lived at a specific time and in a particular place. There are two general categories covered: biographic description and social milieu.

The biographic material refers to the history of her life: the possible date and place of her birth, her parents, ethnicity, and life. For example, Mary may have been born between 18 - 16 BCE in Nazareth, in the hill country of Southern Galilee, Palestine. Mary was the child of Jewish parents, Anne and Joachim.

The social milieu reveals the environment within which Mary lived: the religious practices, cultural influences, social setting, economic status, and political forces. For example, Mary lived a religious life in accordance with the Hebrew Scriptures and rabbinic traditions; the prevailing culture in her small community was based on these Jewish religious practices; she spoke Aramaic; the economic status was that of an agrarian society; and there were political pressures from the Romans, who occupied the area from 63 BCE.

1.6.1.4.2 Mary as a Spiritual Subject

This refers to Mary as a moral being with reason and will; one who is in relation with another. This aspect would be reflected in Mary's call from God, her acceptance of God's call, her assumption of this role to become Mother of the Son of God, and then her self-identification with the role as the servant of the Lord. Mary, as a spiritual person, refers to her as being in a transcendental relationship with God. This includes all steps in a vocation process.

A brief explanation of a spiritual subject will facilitate discerning how the Fathers might recognize these attributes in Mary's actions. In the beginning, man was created in the image and likeness of God, full of original holiness and justice. As a human being he has a body and soul; blessed with intelligence, the capacity for truth, and free will, the freedom to choose. He also has the capacity to enter into relationship with others.

God invites each person to accept his call to holiness and demands each one's free response to his initiative. This requires one to be open to accept, in faith, God's call and be moved by the will, to follow the call. This involves both reason and volition. As a moral being, man has the capacity to know and love God or to make choices contrary to that Good.

The following are some examples of how Mary might be understood as a spiritual subject. At the Annunciation Mary was a virgin; her virginity was a sign "of her total self-giving

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59 See CCC, #2002.
to God in virginity."\(^{60}\) Mary was identified as "full of grace" (\(\text{kécharitômêné}\)), indicating "she was wholly borne of God's grace".\(^{61}\) This substantiates the moral character of Mary. The Virgin Mary was actively present and entered into dialogue with the angel, asking "How can this be, since I have no relations with a man?" (Luke 1:34)\(^{62}\) After consideration of the angel's response and without any coercion or consultation with Joseph, Mary proclaimed her \(\text{fiat}\), her "yes" to the invitation given to her. Mary actively exercised her intellectual powers, in faith, to make her free-will decision. The common patristic patrimony about Mary's conceiving Christ was that Mary "bore Christ spiritually in her heart and mind through faith even before doing so physically in the flesh and in her womb."\(^{63}\) Mary became entirely dependent, in faith, on God, giving over her will to the Divine Will. She not only remained a virgin consecrated to God, but at the same time, she became a mother. "She is a mother in so full a sense that, in bearing the very Son of the Father, she bears the whole of mankind, ultimately, to the life of son and spouse of God, to share in the life of the only-begotten Son."\(^{64}\) Thus, Mary can be identified as a spiritual subject. She exercised her intellect and will in deciding to become the "Servant of the Lord." Mary entered into an intimate relationship with the Blessed Trinity; she is the Mother of the Son of the Most High, through the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit. "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14).

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\(^{60}\) See Pope John Paul II, "\text{Redemptoris Mater}," \text{Mother of Christ, Mother of the Church} (Boston, Mass.: Pauline Press, 2001), #39.

\(^{61}\) See \text{CCC}, #491. Mary is full of grace. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception affirms that Mary was preserved from the inheritance of original sin from the moment of her conception.

\(^{62}\) \text{NAB}, 99.


"Mary attains a union with God that exceeds all the expectations of the human spirit." Mary is in a transcendental relationship with God.

1.6.1.4.3 Mary as a Theological Person

Here we refer to Mary's identification with the mission which she accepted from God at the Annunciation. This means that the role of motherhood becomes her life project, that she is transformed in and through the project, and that her transformation is intensified by the unity between herself and her maternal role, and herself in her maternal role and God. The following are some ways that Mary can be recognized as a theological person according to these three interrelated phases: identification with her mission, transformation by her divine maternity, and unification with God.

**Mary Identifies with Her Mission:** With her fiat, she became the Servant of the Lord and united her will with the Divine Will. Her freedom and her motherhood became inseparable. When she gave her wholehearted consent, including intellect and will, body and soul, and conceived the Son of God, by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, she combined her vocation call with her ministry. "Mary's self-identity is shaped by Christ into the personality of his disciple and associate." By her continuing "yeses" to God, she lives her life at the service of her Son and becomes part and parcel of his salvific work and the mission of the Church.

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67 See Donald De Marco, "The Virgin Mary and the Culture of Life," The Virgin Mary and Theology of the Body (Stockbridge, Mass.: Marian Press, 2005), 99.

Mary is Transformed by Her Divine Maternity: Mary advanced in her own faith journey, while she continued in her commitment to the work of her Son. She learns from her Son's life, keeping all things, pondering them in her heart (Luke 1:19; 2:19, 51). Mary is transformed by all of the events of her Son's life, from the Annunciation, through his public ministry, passion, death, and resurrection. She continued to live out a life of faith waiting for the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

Mary is United to God, Through Her Life and Role as Mother of God: "The Yes of the Servant of the Lord is and becomes her true 'inner form,' that which closes more and more the gap between her person and her mission (from the Annunciation to Pentecost), so that more and more she becomes a) the embodiment of Christ's mission and b) the personal universalization of her mission. Thus she is actively present in all of salvation history of her Son's mission."⁶⁹ This gap between person and mission is filled through her cooperation with the Holy Spirit. A similar comment is found in Lumen Genitum, "the blessed Virgin advanced in her pilgrimage of faith, and faithfully persevered in her union with her Son until she stood at the Cross, in keeping with the divine plan, suffering deeply with her only begotten Son, associating herself with his sacrifice in her mother's heart, and lovingly consenting to the immolation of this victim who was born of her."⁷⁰ Mary lived out her role as Mother of God, in cooperation with the Holy Spirit, in

⁶⁹ Roten, "Memory and Mission," Marian Studies, 111.

⁷⁰ Flannery, LG #58.
such a way that she brought about a new unity between God and humanity; at the same time, her whole being was transformed into total dedication to God and humanity.\textsuperscript{71}

\textbf{1.6.1.4.4 Universal Significance of Mary}

Mary's life and role in salvation history serve as ideals, standards, and guidelines for the Church and all people. They have universal significance for all time. Mary is the concrete person in whom all of the messianic prophecies of the Hebrew Scriptures came together through her \textit{fiat} and divine maternity. As mother, disciple, and associate of her divine Son, Mary is the point of reference for the perfect way to bring Christ into the world, to live a life in accord with Christ, and to bring others to him for their eternal glory. Mary shows the way to a relationship with the Triune God, through her Son, to the Father, in the Holy Spirit. The Church and all people can look to her for meaning and direction.

There are three phases in understanding Mary's universal significance to the Church, as a whole, and to members of the Church as individuals. Mary is archetype, exemplar, and model. As archetype, Mary is the perfect reference, the original blueprint; all after her take inspiration from her. She is the ideal. Mary becomes an exemplar, when she is recognized as the ideal model, possessing all desirable characteristics and virtues; her characteristics and virtues are conceptualized and admired. Mary becomes the model, when her virtues are conceptualized and actualized. Following Mary means more than just admiring her qualities; it includes incorporating them into action. All people are called to integrate these attributes into everyday


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practice, whether in Church life or in individual life. The following are some examples of how one might recognize these aspects of Mary.

**Mary as Archetype of Holiness, Virginity, Motherhood, and Eschatological Figure:** Mary is the archetype of holiness at her conception and throughout her life. The angel Gabriel identified the Virgin Mary as "full of grace" (Luke 1:28); and the Church recognizes her as "all holy and free from every stain of sin, as though fashioned by the holy Spirit and formed as a new creature." Mary freely and obediently cooperated with God's plan and "was free from every personal sin during her whole life." Mary is the perfect realization and pattern of the Church's holiness.

Mary's perpetual virginity manifested Mary's relationship to God: she was totally dedicated to him, receptive to him, docile to his will, and then abandoned herself to the divine will as the Servant of the Lord, "Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to your word" (Luke 1:38). Mary's perpetual virginity "typifies complete commitment and continuous fidelity to Christ and his mission." Mary was a perpetual virgin, just as the Church is a perpetual virgin, both espoused to God and totally faithful to him.

Mary's divine motherhood flowed from her perfect faith and receptivity to God, along with the graces that flowed from the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit. Her *fiat* led to the

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72 Flannery, *LG*, #56.


wedding of divinity and humanity, to a new unity between God and humanity. Mary gave Jesus the ability to be a member of the human race and ultimately it's Savior. She carried out her maternal role in a life of love and service to her Divine Son and others. She accepted whatever God's will might be, including the death of her Son on the Cross, and waiting for the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. "By reason of the gift and role of her divine motherhood, by which she is united with her Son, the Redeemer, and with her unique graces and functions, the Blessed Virgin is also intimately united to the Church." 76 The Church is called to be the virginal mother of Christ, constantly faithful to his word and to share his life of redeeming love for all.

Mary is the archetype of what "the Church is called to be and to become in all her members as the fullness of grace and glory (Assumption)." 77 Mary is already "the Virgin without stain, she is the promise already fulfilled, the pledge already actualized, of what all of us together are to become." Mary "proclaims, prefigures and realizes in a wholly unique manner, all the sanctity to be attained ultimately by the Church, when it shall have perfection." 78 The Virgin Mary has already been presented to Christ as the beginning of a new era; the Church will be presented to Christ at the end of time as the Virgin, 'without spot or wrinkle' (Eph. 5:27).

Thus Mary is recognized as the archetype for holiness, perpetual virginity, motherhood, and eschatological figure; all of this relates to her vocation as the Mother of the Son of God, through the action of the Holy Spirit, in the Father's salvation plan for humanity.

76 Flannery, LG, #63.


78 Bouyer, Seat of Wisdom, 128-129.
Mary is the Exemplar: The example that Mary gave through her entire life, form the basis for the understanding of how the Church should function and the individual person live a life of holiness and total commitment to the will of God, for the glory of God and the salvation of humankind. She is the "most excellent exemplar of the Church in the order of faith, charity and perfect union with Christ that she is remembered as the Virgin, stressing her total dedication to God in Christ though the Spirit." The Scriptural images that facilitate understanding Mary as exemplar are: attentive Virgin, "who receives the Word of God with faith, that was the gateway and path to the Divine Motherhood;" Virgin in prayer as in her Magnificat and prayer at Cana, when she told her Son of a temporal need; Virgin-Mother, as the one "who believing and obeying ... brought forth the Father's Son;" and Virgin presenting offerings to God as at the Presentation and on Calvary. Mary was the perfect example of how to lead others to her Son, to be totally dedicated to his mission and to be an integral part in the community of Christ's followers.

Mary as Model: Meditating on Mary as archetype and exemplar, must lead to action. The values demonstrated by her life are to be integrated into Church life and individual practice. Mary displayed a lifelong endeavor to implement God's call in life. She was dedicated to God, and practiced a life of virginity, virtue, prayer, and holiness. Mary had an intimate relationship with her Divine Son: she was his mother, loved him, and cared for him; in turn, he loved her and cared for her. She can teach how to do what Christ wants. Mary is the first and most perfect

79 Roten, "Memory and Mission," Marian Studies, 86.

Christian living in, through, and for Christ. Mary is the eminent member of the Church and shows what apostolic faith should be.

1.6.2 Method Employed to Analyze, Compare, and Summarize the Writings

The Father's writings on the Wedding Feast at Cana and their interpretations of the role of Mary will be organized, analyzed, and summarized according to four categories: biblical exegesis, Mary in relation to SystematicTheology: Theology, Christology, Ecclesiology, Soteriology, and in Mariology; Mary in Practical Theology: in the life of the Church; and Marian Anthropology. In the first category, the Fathers' commentaries will be analyzed to gain insight into how Mariology was integrated into the disciplines of Theology, Christology, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology. The second category will focus on the hermeneutical application of the meaning of Mary and her role and mission in relation to the varying needs of the Church: in biblical exegesis, doctrinal pronouncements, and pastoral requirements, that is, catechesis, apologetics, exhortation, and polemics. The third category is to develop an original portrait of Mary by developing a theological anthropology of Mary; specifically, determining if, how, and when the historical figure of Mary emerges, the vocation of Mary as a spiritual subject is disclosed, the mission of Mary as a theological person is described, and the universal significance of Mary is recognized. In addition to this, other Marian teachings by the Fathers will be summarized after the above categories. A final category, Marian Doctrine will be developed from the material studied.

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81 When an author has more than one reference to Mary at the Wedding Feast, each will be analyzed separately, but summarized together according to these four categories; this will be found in Ambrose, Augustine, and Gaudentius. Additionally, when a Father's comments do not relate to the categories under study, there will be no comments made. Sometimes, the categories will be combined when the same information belongs to both.
1.6.2.1 The Fathers' Interpretation and Application of John 2:1-11

The goal for biblical exegesis is to determine what each Father believed the meaning of the words in John 2:1-11 to be;\(^\text{82}\) the specific focus is what each Father wrote about Mary and what they understood her role to be in the mission of her Divine Son. The primary method to be employed derives from Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* and the principles covered in the "Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis.\(^\text{83}\) These principles provide the direction for understanding how the Father's read and interpreted the Divine Scriptures according to their rules.

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 preceed or follow the reference, provided they relate to the Father's commentary. Then the commentary of each of the Fathers will be analyzed to discover his understanding of the meaning of the John's words,\(^\text{84}\) according to the method instituted by Origen and the Alexandrian school.

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\(^{82}\) Non-canonical paraphrasing of John 2:1-11 will be duly noted as it occurs.

\(^{83}\) Augustine, *Christian Doctrine*, Books Two and Three, 34 to 101, referring to guidelines for determining the literal or figurative meanings in an effort to discover those things that are to be understood; and the principles covered in the "Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis" in section 1.6.1.1, 10.

\(^{84}\) "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*. 
and assimilated by the Latin Fathers.85 This method is called the threefold interpretation of the Scriptures: literal or historical, moral, and spiritual senses.86

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. Associative strategies may be found, attempting to link images or themes with other similar images or themes.87 The moral sense refers to what we must do with the message revealed in Sacred Scripture. It is the interpretation of Sacred 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."88 The spiritual or allegorical sense refers to unity of Sacred Scripture, that which the Holy Spirit enables us to understand about Christ and his message, the unity and diversity of the Bible.89 As a matter of note, all Fathers began their exegesis with the literal. Therefore, in this thesis, recognition will be given to the other senses that are mentioned.


86 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 O'Keefe and Reno, Sanctified Vision, 132, 135. This threefold method is later developed into a "Fourfold Meaning of Holy Scripture" as discussed in the Methods of Theology Class, June, 19, 2007.


88 Augustine, Christian Doctrine, 88.

Another strategy that the Fathers employed was to "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." Corinthians

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 figures and events of the New. 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.

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. 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

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90 Pontifical Biblical Commission, Interpretation of the Bible in the Church (Boston, Mass.: Pauline Press, 1993), 100.

91 See Kelly, Doctrines, 71.

92 See O'Keefe and Reno, Sanctified Vision, 81.

93 See O'Keefe and Reno, Sanctified Vision, 91 and 92.
salvation.\textsuperscript{94} The Fathers dedicated themselves to the careful review of Sacred Scripture, wanting to discover the Divine Revelation within the text and to apply it to life in the Church.

Augustine, in \textit{On Christian Doctrine}, provided useful information on the interpretation of Sacred 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."\textsuperscript{95} 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.\textsuperscript{96} Scripture should be used to interpret Sacred Scripture. Augustine advised that there are three prerequisites necessary to approach the treatment of Sacred Scripture with security: recognize that the end of the commandments is charity, have a pure heart and a good conscience, and study Sacred Scripture with an unfeigned faith.\textsuperscript{97}

\subsection*{1.6.2.2 Application of Biblical Exegesis and Comparison of Writings}

The second aspect of biblical exegesis was the interpretation of the findings from step one and applying the message into a new context, to help themselves and others enter into the mysteries of salvation. The Fathers' interpretations are organized into: Mary in Systematic Theology, Practical Theology, and Marian Anthropology. Comparisons and comments will

\textsuperscript{94} O'Keefe and Reno, \textit{Sanctified Vision}, 93.

\textsuperscript{95} Augustine, \textit{Christian Doctrines}, 87 and 8.

\textsuperscript{96} See Robertson, Translator's Introduction, \textit{Christian Doctrine}, xi.

\textsuperscript{97} See Augustine, \textit{Christian Doctrine}, 33.
follow the findings in the categories that were mentioned, along with other Marian teachings, specifically relating to the formation of Marian doctrine.

1.6.2.3 Overall Comparison and Final Summary

An assessment of the findings will reveal how the Fathers utilized the references to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in the development of Marian doctrine. These principles were based on the Fathers' interpretation of Mariology into the disciplines of Systematic Theology, Practical Theology, Marian Anthropology, and Marian Doctrine. The Fathers' other writings about Mary will be included in each Fathers' section, at the end of each period, and in the final summaries. Assumptions will be made relative to the changes that occurred over time and the possible correlation between the changes in the three major categories. The result will be an original synthesis of all of the writings by the Latin Fathers, revealing what they understood Sacred Scripture to say about Mary, her presence and purpose at the Wedding Feast at Cana, and her role in the work and mission of her Divine Son, Jesus, the Christ.
Chapter 2
Latin Christianity in Roman North Africa: Tertullian and Cyprian

Pre-Nicaea

2.1 Introduction

Latin Christianity had an outstanding beginning in Roman North Africa under the guidance of two dedicated and influential theologians, Tertullian\(^98\) and Cyprian. The Church of North Africa produced some of the earliest writings in the Latin Church and made contributions to Theology, Christology, and Ecclesiology. It may have been the site where the first Latin translation was made, if not, there is evidence of significant use of the *Vetus Latina*.\(^99\) Roman North Africa is also the beloved *home of Augustine* and his followers.

Tertullian and Cyprian both referred to John 2:1-11 in their works, however, neither one mentioned Mary's role in this pericope. 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.\(^100\) Some of the work of Tertullian and Cyprian became foundational for the doctrine of the Trinity and the two natures of Christ, which led the way to understanding Mary and her relationship to the Trinity

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\(^98\) 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 and 112. Hereafter: Jurgens, "Tertullian," *Faith*.

\(^99\) See "The Latin Translations of the Bible," in section 1.6.1.2, 13 to 15.

\(^100\) See Livius, *Blessed Virgin*, xiv.
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. It is because of the importance of these two outstanding men, their work and the Church in North Africa that a brief survey of their works on the Wedding Feast at Cana will be presented.

2.2 The Church in Roman North Africa

Tradition is that the Church in Roman North Africa was evangelized from Rome, however, little is known for certain.\textsuperscript{101} There is evidence that the Church was vibrant from the second to the seventh centuries.\textsuperscript{102} 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."\textsuperscript{103} 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.

Which Bible did Tertullian, Cyprian, and others have to form the basis for their beliefs, argumentation and writing? There is reference to a Latin New Testament in the year 180 in the *Acts of the Martyrs of Scilli*. The "Vetus Latina," "Old Latin," Bible, that contained a Latin translation of the *Septuagint* and the books of the New Testament, was thought to have been translated in North Africa. The earliest evidence of this Bible comes from the writings of Tertullian, and especially from Cyprian. In about the year 250, it was recognized as authentic

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105 See Norris, "Articulating," *Cambridge*, 82.

106 See Quasten, "Africans," *Patrology*, 243 and 244.


"as shown by Cyprian's adherence to it throughout his works."\textsuperscript{109} Cyprian's consistent use of the Bible is recognized as a standard because of the respect that others had for him.

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."\textsuperscript{110} This became the standard for determining orthodoxy from heresy.\textsuperscript{111}

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.\textsuperscript{112} For example, Tertullian took up the arguments for adopting God as the Creator of the world \emph{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

\textsuperscript{109} See Quasten, "Africans," \textit{Patrology}, 244.

\textsuperscript{110} Kelly, \textit{Doctrines}, 30.

\textsuperscript{111} See "Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis: orthodoxy," section 1.6.1.1, 11.

\textsuperscript{112} See Thomas P. Rausch, \textit{Who is Jesus?} (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2003), 148.
nothing (Adversus Hermogenem). Tertullian's argument challenged the Gnostic and the Marcion views, by implying their inconsistencies. His teaching reflected 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."  

Another example of Tertullian's 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?" 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 Praxean, 8), and the first to develop the formula of one substance in three persons."  

Tertullian went on to answer some Christological questions in Adversus Praxean, 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


114 Gnosticism probably originated almost 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 and rejected the authority of the Church and its traditions. See Robert A. Krieg, The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism (San Francisco, Ca. Harper Collins, 1995), 563.  

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


117 O' Collins, Tripersonal God, 105.
each substance remaining intact. In addition to this, “Against Marcion and the Gnostics, Tertullian emphasized that it was for the sake of our salvation that the Word becomes flesh and takes on a real human existence.”

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. 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.” This difference between the Latin and Greek fathers increased 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 “suspicious 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

118 Marcion (ca. 85 - ca. 160) was a heretic who followed Gnostic beliefs. Some of these are: the God of love revealed in Jesus Christ was utterly different from the God of law revealed in the OT; the God of the OT was rejected and so was creation; matter and the body are evil; and Christianity replaced Judaism. Marcion believed in a Docetic Christology that denied the reality of Jesus’ human body. See Richard P. McBrien, "Marcion," HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 813.


120 See Quasten, "Africans," Patrology, 246.

disasters." \(^{122}\) 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*. \(^{123}\) Similarly, Tertullian is quoted as saying in *Apologia* 40, "If there is an earthquake, a famine or pestilence, the cry is raised, 'the Christians to the lions.' " \(^{124}\) Cyprian's writings refer to the severe persecutions of their Church under the Roman emperors Decius (249-251) and Valerian (257-258). \(^{125}\) These major threats and bloody persecutions have produced many martyrs, including Bishop Cyprian, 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." \(^{126}\)

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123 See Behr, "Social," *Cambridge*, 60.


125 See Bright, "Church," *Encyclopedia*, 23.

2.3 Life and Works of Tertullian

Quintas Septimius Florens Tertullianus was born in Carthage to pagan parents. Educated in law, he gained fame in Rome as an advocate.\(^{127}\) He became a convert to Christianity in 193 and transferred his interests and education to the defense of Christianity. Jerome concluded that he was a priest because of his unique position and respected role as a teacher; however, others do not agree with this opinion, one reason given is that he never refers to his clerical status.\(^{128}\)

Tertullian was a man of “splendid intellect, to whom the filial spirit of Cyprian accorded the loving tribute of a disciple, and whose genius stamped itself upon the very words of Latin theology, and prepared the language for the labours of a Jerome.”\(^{129}\)

Tertullian gradually converted to Montanism.\(^{130}\) His writings reflected his changing views: "On Baptism" was written during his Catholic period, 197 to 206, reflecting his orthodoxy; "On the Soul" was written during his semi-Montanist period, 206 to 212, reflecting his transition period; and "On Monogamy" was written during his Montanist period, 213 to 220.

\(^{127}\) See Quasten, "Africans," *Patrology*, 246 to 247.


\(^{130}\) Montanism is a mid to late second century apocalyptic and charismatic movement within Christianity, emerging in Phrygia ca. 155-60. Montanus claimed that he was the Holy Spirit incarnate and he recruited others to prophecy. His teaching (of a speedy end to the world and the restoration of rigorous ascetic practices) threatened to undermine traditional authorities such as the Sacred Scripture and the office of the bishop. See Richard Mc Brien, “Montanism,” *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 890. There was no indication that they deviated from the ordinary pattern of Christian teaching. See Norris, “Articulating,” *Cambridge*, 84.
reflecting a rigorist tendency and a developing anticlericalism. Augustine converted the last of a group called the Tertullians in the fourth century.

Tertullian produced a significant number of written works and was quoted by many writers. There are thirty-one surviving treatises, which are grouped into the categories of apologetic, anti-heretical and parenetic writings. His literary career spanned the years 197 to 220. He died around 250.

Gambero writes, “His numerous writings exercised a determining influence in the formulation and development of Christian doctrine in the West, especially Trinitarian theology and Christology.” And again, “Tertullian’s Christology anticipates the declarations of the Council of Chalcedon (451) by two and one-half centuries.”

2.3.1 Jesus at the Wedding Feast at Cana in the Writings of Tertullian

Tertullian referred to John 2:1-11 in three of his works: De baptismo, On Baptism; De anima, On the Soul; and De monogamia, On Monogamy. His goal was to apply the teachings of Jesus to a community of believers, based on what was prefigured in Old Testament and fulfilled in the New Testament by Jesus Christ.

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132 There are some who think that Tertullian left the Montanists and founded his own sect called the Tertullianists. Others think that his name was attached to a group of North African Montanists. See Jurgens, “Tertullian,” Faith, 112.
134 Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 60 and 61.
2.3.1.1 *De baptismo*, On Baptism

*Numquam sine aqua Christus!* *Siquidem et ipse aqua tinguitur, prima rudimenta potestatis suae vocatus ad nuptias aqua auspicatur.*

Never is Christ without water: if, that is, [as is the case,] He is Himself baptized in water; inaugurates in water the first rudimentary displays of His power, when invited to the nuptials. (Translation by S. Thelwall.)

On Baptism was a treatise written between 200 and 206, in his Christian period. It was written as a catechesis for those "becoming formed in the faith;" it also served as an apologia, and a polemic against the Cainite heresy, Marcion, and Gnostics who taught that all matter was evil, including water.

2.3.1.1.1 Analysis

Tertullian's teaching was, "Happy is our sacrament of water, in that, by washing away the sins of our early blindness, we are set free and admitted into eternal life!" His treatise, "On Baptism," is recognized as "extremely important for the history of the liturgy of initiation and the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation ... the earliest work on the subject." It represented the early Church's teaching on original sin, baptism, grace, and salvation.

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137 See Tertullian, "On Baptism," *Ante-Nicene,* 669. The Cainites were part of a second century Gnostic sect "characterized by radical oppositions to the God of the OT, in whom they saw a malevolent and inferior power, enemy of the higher, good God, 'Sophia.' Consequently they exalted Jahweh's enemies, from Cain to Esau and Judas (whom they honoured for having permitted Christ's saving death). Secondly they repudiated the Mosaic Law and followed an unscrupulous and immoral conduct." Emanuela Prinzivalli, "Cainites" *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1992), 139.


139 See Quasten, "Africans," *Patrology,* 278.
Tertullian developed an argument to support the use and efficacy of water in the Sacrament of Baptism by revealing the biblical references to the "sanctity of water" and "the grace of water." He quoted the Old Testament (Exod. 14:27-30) and explained how the Exodus prefigured Baptism; how Moses prefigured Christ and the sweet water of Marah prefigured baptismal water (Exod. 15:24-25); and that, "Never is Christ without water. He ... inaugurates in water the first rudimentary displays of his power, when invited to the nuptials..." Thus, Tertullian cited Christ's action as the standard to authenticate the use of water, as prefigured in the Old Testament and from his own deeds. At the Wedding Feast at Cana, Christ chose water to manifest his divine power and inaugurate his earthly mission, which included Baptism with water for the "washing away the sins," whereby "we are set free and admitted into eternal life."

2.3.1.2 De anima, On the Soul

Sic enim et Marcion phantasma eum maluit credere, totus corporis in illo designatus veritatem. Atiquin ne in apostolis guidem eius ludificata natura est; fidelis fuit et usus et auditus in monte (Matthew 17:3); fidelis et gustus uini illus, licet aquae ante, in nuptiis Galitaeae (John 2:1); fidelis et tactus exinde creduli Thomae (John 20:27). Recita Johannis testationem: quod uidimus, inquit, quod auduimus, oculis nostris, et manus nostrae contractauerint de sermone vitae (1 John 1:1).

On this pernicious principle, Marcion 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 at the Transfiguration (Matthew 17:3); they tasted the wine changed from water at Cana in Galilee (John 2:1). Thomas believed when he touched the wound in His side (John 20:27). Finally, listen to the word of St. John: 'What we have seen, and heard, perceived with our eyes, what our hands have handled of the word of life (1 John 1:1). (Translated by Peter Holmes.)


142 Tertullian, "De anima," Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnholti, Belg.: Brepols, 1954), 806.

2.3.1.2.1 Analysis

On the Soul is a treatise written between the years of 208 and 212, during Tertullian’s semi-Montanist phase. It is a polemic against the heretic, Valentinus,\(^{144}\) and the followers of Marcion.

Tertullian established a foundation for the nature, unity, and function of the soul. He wrote, "... we say that it has its own origin in the breath of God .... We base that statement on the clear assertion of divine Revelation, which declares that ‘God breathed the breath of life into the face of man and man became a living soul.’ (Gen. 2:6)"\(^{145}\) Tertullian held that the soul, which is the same as the mind, had the function of giving life and intelligence.\(^{146}\) The soul directs its functions, throughout the body, from the heart. The soul has a rational function that comes from God. However, there is an irrational element which comes from sin as the result of the temptation of the Devil and the consequent effects of original sin. The senses, together with the mind, are the soul's sources of knowledge.\(^{147}\)

Tertullian attacked Marcion and wrote the above quotation to substantiate his argument about the validity of the senses and that Christ had a real body. One of the examples that he cited was when the apostles "tasted the wine changed from water at Cana in Galilee." Therefore,

\(^{144}\) Valentinus was one of the Gnostic leaders and founders of a widespread sect in Rome in the second century. He integrated Platonic thought into his Christian teaching. See G. W. Mac Rae, “Valentinus,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 2002), 374 and 375.


\(^{146}\) Tertullian supports the idea that the embryo is a living being, however, he considers that the act of generation reproduces the entire human, body and soul, which denies that God directly creates each individual soul. This is the heresy called traducianism. He rightly refutes the doctrine of transmigration of the soul, a teaching of Plato and others. See Quasten, "Africans," *Patrology*, 288.

Tertullian read the Wedding Feast at Cana literally, supporting the true humanity of Christ, by referring to his physical body.

2.3.1.3 De monogamia, On Monogamy

... cum ille uorator et potator homo, prandiorum et coenarum cum publicanis et peccatoribus frequentator (Matthew 11:19; Luke 7:34), semel apud unas nuptias (John 2:1-11) coenat multis utique nubentibus. Totiens enim voluit celebrare eas auotiens et esse.\textsuperscript{148}

[Jesus] while that "man gluttonous and toping," the "frequenter of luncheons and suppers, in the company of publicans and sinners (Matthew 11:19; Luke 7:34)," sups once for all at a single marriage (John 2:1-11), though, of course, many were marrying (around Him); for He willed to attend marriages only so often as (He willed) them to be.\textsuperscript{149} (Translated by S. Thelwall.)

2.3.1.3.1 Analysis

On Monogamy was written after 213 and belongs to Tertullian's Montanist period. It was a polemic against Gnostics and Christians. He wrote, "Heretics do away with marriages (Gnostics); and Psychics accumulate them (Christians). The former marry not even once; the latter not only once."\textsuperscript{150} He wrote to promote continence or monogamy.

Tertullian provided evidence from the Old Testament to reinforce monogamy: God created one man and one woman (Gen. 1:27; 2:23-25); or when Noah had one wife, and their sons were in single marriages (Gen. 7:6-7).\textsuperscript{151} He related this primeval teaching to Christ's answer to the question of Moses' bill of divorce (Matthew 19:8), reaffirming, "And accordingly,

\textsuperscript{148} Tertulliani, "De monogamia," Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Tyrmholti, Belg.: Brepols, 1954), 1240.


those whom God ‘from the beginning’ conjoined, ‘two into one flesh’ man shall not at the present day separate.”

Among the examples from the New Testament, Tertullian made reference to Jesus at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Jesus "sups once for all at a single marriage," thus affirming monogamy; and he was not marrying as the "many who were marrying around him," thus affirming continence. Tertullian was attempting to take the life of Christ as the standard for life in his community of believers.

Tertullian wrote, "And indeed, it was a virgin, about to marry once for all after her delivery, who gave birth to Christ’s parentage, by means of a mother who was both virgin, and wife of one husband." Hence, Tertullian was supporting his thesis on continence and monogamy.

Gambero commented on Tertullian’s denial of Mary’s perpetual virginity, “On the basis of an alleged necessity to give a moral example, Tertullian also denies Mary’s virginity after giving birth.” Gambero stated, "The case of Tertullian teaches that the claim of clarity at any cost about the mysteries of faith, especially when accompanied by a polemical spirit, is a dangerous attitude." Tertullian studied the Sacred Scriptures for meaning in his life and his work. His interests led him into heresy, allowing him to create his own meaning of Divine Revelation.


154 Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 65.

155 Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 65.
St. Cyprian of Carthage (200/210 - 258)

2.4 Life and Work of Cyprian

Caecilius Cyprianus, with the cognomen of Trascius, was born to pagan parents, who were rich and well educated. He was educated as a rhetorician and became a master of eloquence. He did not marry. After his baptism and renunciation of his worldly possessions, he spent time studying Sacred Scriptures and the teaching of Tertullian. Soon after his conversion, he became a priest. Shortly after this, between 248 and 249, he was elected bishop, by the voice of the people.

During the time Cyprian held the Episcopal role, he was absorbed in the affairs of the Church. From his writings, it was apparent that he was a pastoralist, with "noble qualities of heart that attract charity and gentleness, prudence and spirit of union." Cyprian was different from Tertullian, his teacher, who was quite intemperate. Cyprian, however, was dependent on Tertullian for theology.

In 252, Carthage suffered a severe plague and the pagans blamed the Christians for it, because they had provoked the wrath of the gods. "Cyprian's care for the sick and his charitable

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156 The life and works of Cyprian are known from three sources: his own letters and treatises; from Vita Cypriani, which was written after his death by his deacon, Pontius; and from Acta Proconsularia Cypriani. See Ronald E. Heine, "Cyprian and Novatian," Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 152. Hereafter: Heine, "Cyprian," Cambridge.


support of all afflicted by the catastrophe did much to mitigate the enraged pagans.\footnote{160} This is a clear indication of the extent to which Cyprian's charity and example had influence on those who knew him.

Most of Cyprian's letters were generated out of one type of crisis or another. Some of the themes were: church discipline and moral purity, practical charity, and almsgiving. He also was responsible for the compilation of three biblical testimonia.\footnote{161} There is evidence that he wrote twelve treatises and eighty-two letters.\footnote{162} As bishop of Carthage he played a leading role; his position would later be known as a "metropolitan."\footnote{163}

There is little commentary on Cyprian's Marian teaching, however, he is considered the first Father to relate Isaiah 7:14 to Genesis 3:14f.\footnote{164} Cyprian wrote, "... containing the mystery of Christ,' includes the truth, 'that a sign of His birth would be this, that of a virgin He would be born man and God, Son of man and of God.'"\footnote{165}

Under the persecution initiated by the Emperor Valerian, Cyprian was banished to Curubis on 30 August 257. On 14 September 258 he was beheaded not far from Carthage.


\footnote{163} See Fahey, *Cyprian*, 17.


\footnote{165} Burghardt, "Mary," *Mariology*, 135.
Cyprian was the first African bishop martyred. He is considered the Founder of Latin Theology, and the theological authority of the West prior to Augustine. “In Christian antiquity, as in the Middle Ages, he was one of the most popular authors and his writings are extant in a great number of manuscripts.”

“A final quote: “This is a man who, whatever else, cared, whilst upholding that supremely Roman virtue of pietas, a familial loyalty towards God, his Father and his Mother, the Church, as well as towards the sons entrusted to his tutelage.” Cyprian left quite a legacy for others to imitate. Cyprian was included in the Roman festal calendar on September 16 by Pope Damasus I (366-384).

2.4.1 Jesus at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Epistula LXIII, Letter 63

Quam uero peruersum est quamque contrarium, ut cum Dominus in nuptiis de aqua uinum fecerit (John 2:1-11), nos de uno aquam faciamus, cum sacramentum quoque rei illius admonere et instruere nos debeat, ut in sacrificiis dominicis uinum potius offeramus, nam quia apud Iudaeos defecert gratia spiritualis, defecit et uinum: uinea enim Domini sabaoth domus Israel est (Isa. 5:7). Christus antem docens et ostendens gentium populum succedere et in locum quem Iudaei perdiderant nos postmodum merito fidei peruenire, de aqua uinum fecit (John 2:1-11), id est quod ad nuptias Christi et ecclesiae Iudaetis cessasset plebs gentium succedere et in locum quem Judaei perdiderant nos postmodum merito fidei peruenire, de aqua uinum fecit (John 2:1-11), id est quod ad nuptias Christi et ecclesiae Iudaetis cessasset plebs gentium succedere et in locum quem Judaei perdiderant nos postmodum merito fidei peruenire, de aqua uinum fecit (John 2:11). So you can appreciate the extent of our perversity and wrongheadedness if we should turn wine into water, whereas at the marriage feast the Lord turned water into wine (John 2:1-11), and that symbolic action, too, ought to warn and guide us that it is wine we should offer in the sacrifices we make to the Lord. And so it was that when the Jews had come to lack spiritual grace, they also lacked wine; “for the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel” (Isa. 5:7). Now Christ has taught and revealed that the Jews are to be succeeded by the multitude of the Gentiles and that through the merits of our faith we are

166 See Bright, “Cyprian,” Encyclopedia, 387.


169 Quasten, "Africans, Patrology, 344.

170 Clarke, Introduction, Cyprian. 20.

171 Cypriani, "Epistula LXIII," Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vindobonae, Aust.: C. Geroldi, 1871), 710 and 711.
to take over that place which the Jews had forfeited. For He turned water into wine (John 2:1-11), that is, He revealed that upon the desertion of the Jews the peoples of the Gentiles should rather come flocking in together in their crowds at the wedding between Christ and His Church. For that waters signify the nations the Holy Scripture declares in the Apocalypse with these words: "The waters you saw, upon which that harlot sits, are the peoples and populations, the nations of the heathen and tongues" (Rev. 17:15).\(^{172}\) (Translated by G.W. Clarke.)

### 2.4.1.1 Analysis

Cyprian wrote about the marriage feast in *Epistvla LXIII*, Letter 63. It is a sacramental catechesis sometimes called, "On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord" (*De sacramento calicis domini*).\(^{173}\) The date for Cyprian’s writing is debated, either before the Decian persecution, 248-249 or after his return to Carthage, 254-256. There is evidence to support either period.\(^{174}\) Letter 63 is addressed to “his brother Caecilius,” an episcopal colleague, but it was intended to be an encyclical and directed to episcopal colleagues in general.\(^ {175}\)

The work is primarily catechetical, but could become anti-heretical, if those, “whether through ignorance or naïveté,” are “adopting newfangled and man-made inventions” continue to “deviate from what Christ our Master both prescribed and practiced”\(^ {176}\) Cyprian explained, “I am truly astonished how this practice can have arisen whereby, contrary to the prescriptions of

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175 See Clarke, Notes, *Cyprian*, 291. The priest Caecilius is credited for Cyprian’s conversion and name. It is unclear whether the letter is written to the same person or not. It is possible that Cyprian intended it to be an epistolary dedication, honoring Caecilius, as a leading and trusted colleague.

176 Cyprian, "Letter 63," 98.
the gospel and of the apostles, in some places water, which by itself is incapable of signifying the blood of Christ, is offered in the Lord’s cup.”  

Cyprian’s "Letter 63" is valuable for several reasons, it is the: “only ante-Nicene writing that deals exclusively with the celebration of the Eucharist;” secondly, it is the “first extant extended study on the nature of the Eucharist;” and finally, the “first to testify explicitly to the doctrine that the body and blood of the Lord are the oblation.” Cyprian wrote, “For Christ bore the burden of us all, having borne the burden of our sins.”

Cyprian’s thesis can be divided into three premises: by Christ’s blood we “have been redeemed and quickened,” “wine signifies the blood of Christ” therefore, “wine must be in the cup as foretold by sacred type and testimony to be found throughout the Scriptures.”

In the Old Testament, Cyprian cites references where "wine signifies the blood of Christ," they are: Noah “drank wine” which “appears as a type presaging the Lord’s passion” (Gen. 9:20 ff.); Melchizedek, “a priest of most high God,” offered bread and wine, is a type of the Lord’s sacrifice” (Gen. 14:18 ff); and “in the blessing of Judah … a figure of Christ is

177 Cyprian, "Letter 63," 103.
178 Clarke, Notes, Cyprian, 381.
179 Clarke, Notes, Cyprian, 288.
180 Quasten, “Africans,” Patrology, 381.
portrayed ... *He shall wash his raiment in wine and his robe in the blood of the grape*” (Gen. 49:11). 185

For the second premise, "wine must be in the cup," Cyprian referred to Christ at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Cyprian advised doing as the Lord did at the marriage feast, he "turned water into wine, and that symbolic action, ought to warn and guide us that it is wine we should offer in the sacrifices we make to the Lord." 186 Cyprian then explained what happened “when the Jews had come to lack spiritual grace, they also lacked wine; *for the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel*” (Isa. 5:7). 187 Consequently, Cyprian interpreted the text to mean that Christ taught that the Jews were to be succeeded by the Gentiles, because the Jews had forfeited their place. 188 The sign that this was so, was that he turned water into wine. The "Gentiles should rather come flocking in together in their crowds at the wedding between Christ and His Church." 189

The third premise, we "have been redeemed and quickened," by the blood of Christ, signified by wine in the cup at the Eucharistic celebration. Cyprian recalled the consecration by Jesus at the Last Supper, saying, “Here we find that the cup which the Lord offered was mixed and what he called blood was wine (Matthew 26:27) ... if there is no wine in the cup, the Lord’s

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185 Cyprian, "Letter 63," 100.
186 Cyprian, "Letter 63," 104.
188 See Cyprian, "Letter 63," 104.
189 Cyprian, "Letter 63," 104.
sacrifice is not duly consecrated and celebrated unless the offering and sacrifice we make
Corresponds with His passion.”\textsuperscript{190}

Cyprian returned to the theme of wine versus water. The water represented God’s peoples
“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.”\textsuperscript{191}

Cyprian explained, “For if Christ Jesus, our Lord and our God, is Himself the great High
Priest of God the Father and if He offered Himself as a sacrifice to the Father and directed that
This should be done in remembrance of Him, then without a doubt that priest truly serves in
Christ’s place who imitates what Christ did and he offers up a true and complete sacrifice to God
the Father in the Church when he proceeds to offer it just as he sees Christ Himself to have
Offered it.” Johannes Quasten explained the significance of this statement saying, “Thus Cyprian
is the first to testify explicitly to the doctrine that the body and blood of the Lord are the
oblation.”\textsuperscript{192}

Cyprian wrote a treatise, "On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord" to teach the proper
Way to celebrate the Eucharist and to admonish those who offer water in the cup. All were to
Follow what Christ both prescribed and practiced during his life. The Wedding Feast at Cana
Served as one of the examples: the Lord turned water into wine, which was a symbolic action to
Warn and guide that it is wine that should be offered in the sacrifices made to the Lord. Christ

\textsuperscript{190} Cyprian, "Letter 63," 103.

\textsuperscript{191} Cyprian, "Letter 63," 105.

\textsuperscript{192} Quasten, “Africans,” Patrology, 381.
also revealed that by the desertion of the Jews, he extended his invitation to the Gentiles, to the wedding of Christ and his Church.

2.5 Foundation for Marian Doctrine in the Writings of Tertullian and Cyprian

During the period before the Council of Nicaea, 325, two great Latin theologians in Roman North Africa contributed significantly to Theology, Christology, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology. Tertullian and Cyprian read, studied, and interpreted the actions of Jesus Christ at the Wedding Feast at Cana, in ways that were consistent with later Church Councils.

Tertullian, in "On Baptism," wrote of the divinity of Christ that was revealed by his power over water: changing water into wine and baptismal water into waters of grace that wash away sins and lead to eternal life. "On the Soul," supported the humanity of Jesus, emphasizing the fact that the disciples perceived him and his works by their senses. Tertullian also defended: One God, the Creator of everything out of nothing; the Trinity was one substance with three persons; and in Christ there are two distinct substances, joined in one person, recognizing the divinity and humanity of Christ.

Cyprian wrote in Letter 63, "On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord," that the water represents God's people and wine signified the blood of Christ, when mixed the people are made one with Christ, bonded and united with him. The Body and Blood of the Lord are offered as an oblation, a sacrifice, to the Father.

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.
2.6 Marian Teaching

The Eve-Mary analogy was a significant teaching in the formation of Marian doctrine. Three theologians searched Sacred Scripture to understand Mary's role in God's redemption plan and her virginity: Justin Martyr (d. c. 165), Irenaeus of Lyons (d. c. 202), and Tertullian of Carthage (d. c. 140). In Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, he wrote that "[The Son of God] became man through a Virgin, that the disobedience caused by the serpent might be destroyed in the same way it had been originated. For Eve ... brought forth disobedience and death." Irenaeus 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. "Irenaeus, like Justin before him, emphasized both the virginity and the obedience of Mary as opposed to the disobedient virgin Eve .... For through her obedience Mary became 'cause of salvation' *not only* for her self, but for the whole human race ...." Tertullian held that "virginity, disobedience, and death were balanced by virginity, obedience, and life." In addition to this, he applied this teaching in an argument for the virginal conception of Christ and focused on Mary's faith. However, he held that Christ's birth was a normal birth and that Mary had a spousal relationship with Joseph, denying a perpetual virginity. Tertullian also believed that Mary had imperfections and drew unwarranted

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193 See Burghardt, "Mary," *Mariology*, 111.

Justin was the first theologian to refer to Isaiah 7:14 to clarify the meaning of Mary's virginity. In the \textit{Apologia}, he intended to have the pagans understand that Mary was the virgin referenced this passage. She conceived by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit and remained a virgin.\textsuperscript{200} Justin also referred to this passage in the \textit{Dialogus cum Tryphone}, where he debated with the Jews regarding the Septuagint term "virgin" in contrast to "young girl." He contended that what was extraordinary was that a virgin would be with child, not that a young girl would be with child.\textsuperscript{201}

Cyprian was the first to associate Isaiah 7:14 with Genesis 3:14-15, Burghardt quoted Cyprian writing, "'containing the mystery of Christ,' includes the truth, 'that a sign of His birth would be this, that of a virgin He would be born man and God, Son of man and of God."\textsuperscript{202}

Irenaeus made one reference to Mary in John 2:1-11 in \textit{Adversus haereses}. He held that Jesus cautioned his mother against, "untimely haste," in wanting a miracle.\textsuperscript{203}

\textsuperscript{198} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 121.
\textsuperscript{199} See Graef, \textit{History}, 33 and 34.
\textsuperscript{200} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 118.
\textsuperscript{201} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 118.
\textsuperscript{202} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 135.
\textsuperscript{203} See Burghardt, "Mary," \textit{Mariology}, 140.
Chapter 3

Latin Christianity in the West

Nicaea to Ephesus

3.1 Introduction

Comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were included in the writings of the Fathers in this period. Her entrance was always Christological, that is, how she was associated to Jesus' humanity, mission, and the "hour" of his death. John 2:1-11 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. Jerome was from Stridon, Dalmatia. Augustine was from Hippo, 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. 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 that 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. This recognition brought with it a price; the Roman civil authority intervened in Church affairs. 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."206

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."207 The result was the beginning of a

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separation between East and West "created by political events, by language and vocabulary, and by intellectual and theological traditions." 208

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. 209 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." 210 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 .... "211 This encounter occurred when the Greeks united the Christian tradition with that of the Greek philosophical


209 See Comby, Church History, 119-120.


culture and "embodied Christian doctrine in a scientific theological system." This Greek scientific theological system was introduced into the West by Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Victorinus.

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. The First General Council of Constantinople (381) 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."

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.

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213 See Dawson, *Making of Europe*, 47.


216 Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 8 and 9; *CCC*, #242.
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. Augustine eventually wrote a monastic rule for his community. Jerome supervised monasteries. Paulinus founded an aesthetic community in Nola.

3.2.3 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.'" The Roman See was recognized as having the apostolic prerogative and the Romana fides was the norm of Catholic orthodoxy.

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."

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218 Dawson, Making of Europe, 51.

219 See Dawson, Making of Europe, 50.

220 Dawson, Making of Europe, 51.
3.2.4 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, except for Jerome who was ordained a priest but not given specific pastoral duties.221

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.222 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 divine realities, and to transform the lives of believers."223 The primary context for communicating these divine truths was during the Eucharistic liturgy.224 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


224 "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.
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."\textsuperscript{225} 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.

\textsuperscript{225} Pinckaers, \textit{Sources}, 207.
3.3 Life and Work 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. 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. Emperor Constantius had taken charge of the West after the violent death of Constans (350). Constantius intended to force his Arian views on the prelates in Western Europe by calling them to Councils of Aries (353) and Milan (355) or, as in the case of Hilary, to Béziers (356) to condemn Athanasius and the doctrine defined at the First Council of Nicaea. When Hilary refused to do so, 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 synods*, he wrote that until 355 he had not even heard of the term *homoousios*. 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

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227 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*.

Phrygia. He continued his attack on the Arians in Poitiers, throughout Gaul, and parts of Italy. Gambero wrote, "... he was called the 'Athanasius of the West.'" Hilary also tried to heal the wounds caused by the anti-Catholic policy of Constantius. He was a true pastor.

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.

Gambero writes, "Hilary's temperament was honest and humane. He was an open minded man, capable of understanding the views of others, even those of his adversaries. Even in the fog of anti-heretical polemics, his conduct was always governed by a profound respect for man, in whom he discerned the image of God." Hilary had an amazing intellect that allowed him to discover, through faith, the meaning of the Trinity from Sacred Scripture. He had strength of character and significant teaching ability to pass on to others what he believed, especially under the circumstances. He was a prayerful man and frequently inserted his prayers in *De Trinitate*.

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.

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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." Augustine, Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas praised De Trinitate. Pope Pius IX proclaimed Hilary a doctor of the Church in 1851.

3.3.1 De Trinitate, On The Trinity

This is a doctrinal treatise, sometimes called De fide or Adversus Arianos libri. 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 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 The First Council of Nicaea and defend Athanasius.

Hilary, a student of Origen, interpreted Sacred Scripture literally and then sought the deeper spiritual meaning. He believed, "Heresy does not come from Scripture, but from the understanding of it; the fault is in the mind, not in the words." He used Sacred Scripture to interpret Sacred Scripture. For example in Book Four, he quoted from the Old Testament to validate that Jesus was God and was present alongside the Father. And in Book Six, New Testament passages are cited to confirm that Christ was the Son of God. De Trinitate was

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234 McKenna, Introduction, Hilary, xv.
236 See McKenna, Introduction, Hilary, vii.
238 See Simonetti, Patrology, 41.
written in Latin; Stephen McKenna contends that it was a direct translation from the Septuagint or from a Latin version of the Bible that is no longer extant.  

### 3.3.2 Hilary's Writing about the Wedding Feast at Cana and Mary

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. 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).

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.

Nuptiarum die uinum in Galilea ex aqua factum est. [...] Sponsus tristis est, familia turbatur, sollemnitás nuptialis conuiuii periclitatur. Jesus rogatur. Non exsurgit aut instat, sed quiescentis eius hoc opus est. Aqua hydriis infunditur, uinum calicibus hauritur.

On the wedding day in Galilee, when water was made wine. [...] 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. (Translated by Stephen McKenna.)

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239 See McKenna, Introduction, Hilary, xii.

240 See Hilary, Trinity, 77 and 78.

241 NAB, 172.

242 Hilarii, "De Trinitate," Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhouti, Belg.: Brepols, MCMLXXIX), 76.

243 Hilary, Trinity, 68.
3.3.2.1 Analysis

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." 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." 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; a teaching that he learned while in exile in Phyrgia.

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

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244 Hilary, Trinity, 80.


246 See CCC, # 242.
overcomes the death of man. Christ, Son of God, dies, but all flesh is vivified in Christ.  

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 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." 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." 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.

**Biblical Exegesis:** Hilary did not directly quote John 2:1-11, but paraphrased the verses and provided his interpretation of them. One could understand from Hilary's 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

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248 Hilary, *Trinity*, 78.

249 Hilary, *Trinity*, 72 and 73.
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.

**Mary in Relation to Systematic Theology: Theology, Christology, Soteriology, and Mariology:** From a theological perspective, Hilary upheld the official teachings of the Church, that the Father and Son are equal by explaining that the Father lost nothing when he generated the Son, just as Mary brought forth a Son without loss of her integrity. This was a manifestation of the power of God.\(^{250}\)

Christologically and soteriologically, Hilary taught that Jesus is the Son of God and has two natures: as the Son of God, he manifests his divinity in his works; as man, by the power of God, he is born from a virgin and dies so that all flesh is vivified. The salvation of all people began with the birth and was accomplished in the Passion.\(^{251}\)

Mary was recognized by Hilary as the Virgin Mother of God's Son. Her maternal role included caring for her Divine Son from cradle and infancy to perfect manhood.\(^{252}\)

**Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church:** Mary's role at the Wedding Feast at Cana was part of a doctrinal discourse on the power of God, because she requested Jesus to help. Hilary also associated this power with the inconceivable birth of Jesus by the Virgin Mary and the salvific death of Jesus. Therefore her role in *De Trinitate* was a catechesis on Theology, Christology, and Soteriology.

\(^{250}\) See Hilary, *Trinity*, 80.

\(^{251}\) See Hilary, *Trinity* for references to Jesus' two natures, born of a virgin, dies for all flesh, and accomplished in the Passion, 77 and 78.

\(^{252}\) See Hilary, *Trinity*, 77, 72, and 73.
Marian Anthropology: Mary's action at the Wedding Feast at Cana provided a glimpse of Mary as an historic person, attending a wedding. In a spiritual sense, she was an independent person, taking an initiative on her own. She was moved by charity to help, involving her intellect and will. She was in relationship with the bridegroom and the family. From Hilary's other comments in the same chapter, one finds expressions of Mary as a theological person. She identified with her role as Mother of the Son of God. The vocation that Mary accepted with her fiat came to fruition when she brought forth a Son without the loss of her virginity, through the power of God. She assumed a life of service to her Son and became actively involved with him from "cradle and infancy to perfect manhood." Hilary described the quality of Mary's service as "with motherly love." Mary was part of God's salvation plan for all humanity, which began with the Virgin birth and was accomplished in the death of her Son.

3.3.3 Marian Doctrine

Hilary referred to Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, the one who cared for Jesus from conception until his adulthood, and was present at the beginning of his public ministry. Mary's virginal birth of Jesus was evidence of the same power of God that Jesus manifested, at Mary's request, at the Wedding Feast at Cana and that resulted in eternal life for humanity, by Jesus' passion and death. Hilary included a unique analogy between the birth of Jesus by Mary, without the impairment to her integrity, and the Father's generation of the Son, without loss to the nature of the Father.254

253 See Hilary, Trinity for references to Mother of the Son of God, 77; without loss of her virginity, 80; mother from cradle and infancy to manhood, 72 and 73; and Mother role in God's salvation plan, 77.

254 See Hilary, Trinity for references to Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, 77 and 78; and for Mary's virginity in partu, 80; for Mary's motherhood from conception to Jesus' adulthood, 72 and 73.
Other writings about Mary: Hilary taught that Mary was a virgin in his commentary on Matthew's Gospel. He referred to Mary's virginal conception of Jesus by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit and explained the brothers of Christ as those of Joseph from a former marriage.255 This, together with Hilary's teaching above, constituted his belief in her perpetual virginity.

Hilary's teaching that Mary is the Mother of God anticipated the Chrisological dogma asserted at the General Council of Ephesus (431). His teaching that Mary was "ever virgin," a perpetual virgin: before conception, during birth, and after birth anticipated the Second General Council of Constantinople (553) and the Lateran Council (649).256

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St. Ambrose of Milan (339/340 - 397)

3.4 Life and Work 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.257

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. Scholars decided that Ambrose did not know Hebrew and preferred the Greek Septuagint as his Old Testament source; however, he was familiar with Hebrew words and meaning.258 Ambrose was known to be a lifelong student and was admired by his contemporaries, including Augustine.259 Maria Grazia Mara described Ambrose's method of preparation, "Study and meditation on the Word of God.

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were the basis of his theological, moral ascetic, political, and social thought and the source of his activity as pastor and preacher.\textsuperscript{260}

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.\textsuperscript{261} He had a thorough knowledge of the Catholic faith and the teaching of Nicaea. He was a competent, political negotiator. Ambrose approached his responsibilities in two ways: by preaching, teaching, and writing orthodoxy; and politically through activism and physical confrontations.

Three examples serve to demonstrate Ambrose's methods: he opposed the pro-Arian empress mother Justina and obtained the election of a pro-Nicene bishop, Anemius, 376. Around 378, Ambrose formed an alliance with Gratian, son of Valentinian I, who asked to be instructed in the faith against the Arian heresy. Subsequent to this, there was an increase in anti-heretical politics in the Empire, especially after the Council of Aquileia (381) and Council of Rome (382). The last example, Ambrose and a "multitude of the faithful" encamped in the Basilica Porciana, chanting and praying, rather than allow this church be given to Auxentius, an Arian bishop, for services. Augustine wrote that this was the origin of the Ambrosian chant.\textsuperscript{262}


\textsuperscript{261} Ambrose also successfully fought: against paganism with the help of Gratian, and against the heresies of Bonosus at the Council of Capua and Jovinian at the Council of Milan (393). See Mara, "Ambrose," \textit{Encyclopedia}, 28.

\textsuperscript{262} See Mara, "Ambrose," \textit{Patrology}, 146 and 147.
Ambrose continued his episcopal responsibilities, despite his political challenges. He created new episcopal sees in Northern Italy and named bishops for each area, among them was Paulinus of Nola.

One of Ambrose's interests was the veneration of the remains of holy people. He requested the body of a Milanese Catholic bishop, exiled for anti-Arianism, to be returned. He discovered the bodies of martyrs Gervasius and Protasius and followed with liturgical celebrations. Later, he did the same for the martyrs Vitalis and Agricola, and for the relics of Nazarius and Celsus. Some hagiographic literature about this remains today.

Ambrose held that the Church has sovereign power over the state. When Theodosius, a Catholic from Spain who was elevated by Gratian to be Emperor of the East in 379, massacred a large number of people in Thessalonica in 390, "Ambrose invited Theodosius to perform public penance before again entering the church and receiving the sacraments. The reconciliation after the public penance took place at Christmas of 390." There was perfect accord between these two men until the death of Theodosius in 395. Ambrose died two years later.

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

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263 See Mara, "Ambrose," Patrology, 147, 149 and 150.

264 Mara, "Ambrose," Patrology, 149.
recognized as the founder of liturgical hymnody.\textsuperscript{265} 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.\textsuperscript{266} Old and New Testament references appear throughout the commentaries. He refers to Sacred Scripture to explain or confirm his interpretation of Sacred 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...

\textsuperscript{265} See Mara, "Ambrose," *Patrology*, 153 to 177.

\textsuperscript{266} See Mara, "Ambrose," *Patrology*, 164 and 165.
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{267}

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{268} After other recommendations to the reader, he began the study of the actual text from the beginning verses.

In Book Two, 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{269} 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 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."\textsuperscript{270} Ambrose expressed the two natures of Jesus Christ very clearly. Mary was the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{267} 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 and 86.


\textsuperscript{269} Ambrose, Commentary on Luke, 49.

\textsuperscript{270} Ambrose, Commentary on Luke, 50.
\end{footnotesize}
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,

*Alibi eum ad mysterium mater inpellit, hic mater arguitur, quia adhuc quae humana sunt exigat. sed cum hic duodecim describatur annorum, illic discipulos habere doceatur, uides matrem didicisse de filio, ut exigeret a ualidiore mysterium, quae stupebat in iuniore miraculum.*

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.)

### 3.4.1.1 Analysis

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

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

3.4.2 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Ambrose's De institutione virginis, On The
Education of Virgins

Ambrose wrote treatises on the ascetical and ethical life, five of them are related to
virginity. 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." In 377, Ambrose wrote one book, De virginibus ad
Marcellinam, On Virginity for Marcellina, his sister, at her request. It was a long and

274 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.


276 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.

277 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 Neumann, Virgin Mary, 155, and 164 to 173.

278 Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 190.
comprehensive work with three books or sermons. 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 institutione virginis*, On the Education of Virgins (391 or 392), and *Exhortation virginitatis*, Exhortation of Virgins (393-394).

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

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At this point, the second purpose for his exhortation becomes apparent; it was also a polemic against Bonosus²⁸³ 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 Sacred 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,

⁶Et tamen cum omnes ad cultum virginitatis sanctae Mariae aduocentur exemplo, fuerunt qui eam negarent virginem perseverasse. Hoc tantum sacrilegium siilere iamdudum malimus, sed quia causa vocuit in medium, ita ut eius prolapsionis etiam episcopus argueretur, indemnum 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?²⁸⁴

Nevertheless while everyone is being summoned to the cult of virginity by [holy] Mary's example, there have been some 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)²⁸⁵

(Translated by Charles William Neumann.)

²⁸³ 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.

²⁸⁴ Ambrose, "De Institvtione, 136.

²⁸⁵ See Neumann, Virgin Mary, 212. Neumann made some modifications to the Migne text to make the reading coherent in his translation.
3.4.2.1 Analysis

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.\(^{286}\) 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 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."\(^{287}\) Next and more importantly, Ambrose employed an associative strategy and turned to Sacred Scripture to explain Sacred 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

\(^{286}\) Ambrose 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.

\(^{287}\) Neumann, *Virgin Mary*, 237.
an incentive to virginity, but also gave us God. Ambrose linked the divine maternity and
virginity, a theme that he repeated.288

3.4.3 Synthesis of Ambrose's Comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana

**Biblical Exegesis:** Ambrose studied Sacred Scripture and read it according to the literal
and spiritual senses, then gave a moral exhortation. He interpreted Jesus' actions in Luke and
John according to the manifestations of humanity and divinity. He explained Mary's role in
relationship to her Divine Son according to the different circumstances. Ambrose also referred to
the Apocryphal writings in explaining Mary's increased understanding of her Son's actions.

**Mary in Relation to Systematic Theology: Christology and in Mariology:** In
Expositio Secundvm Lvcam, Ambrose's comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in
his commentary on Luke's Gospel originated from a Christological interest and concern. Jesus
had two natures, human and divine, and each nature could be identified by the capacity exhibited
by the action taken by Jesus. Ambrose explained this phenomenon as Jesus' dual sonship, Son of
God and Son of Mary. Mary, full of grace, holy and perpetual virgin, was the Mother of the
nature that was subject to weariness, labor and death.289 Ambrose's teaching is consonant with
the decrees of the First Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople.

**Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church:** In both works, Ambrose was
motivated by pastoral concerns. In the Expositio Secundvm Lvcam, he was concerned that his
community avoids errors regarding the Trinity and the Person and Natures of Christ. A

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289 See Ambrose, *Commentary on Luke* for references to Jesus' humanity, divinity and dual sonship 50.
Ambrose, *Commentary* for references to Mary as full of grace and holy, 29. "On the Education of Virgins,"
Neumann, *Virgin Mary* for reference to Mary's perpetual virgin, 209 to 213.
secondary, but significant, reason was as a polemic against Arians and Sabellians. In *De institutione virginis*, he held that Mary's virginity and all of her privileges related to the Divine Maternity. Given this was part of a polemic against heretics; his primary purpose was to defend Mary's holiness and her perpetual virginity. All three attributes were interrelated: holiness, perpetual virginity and divine maternity.

**Marian Anthropology:** In *Expositio Secvndvm Lucam*, Mary was a real person and present in the Temple and at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Both situations reflect Mary's personal, religious, cultural, and social characteristics. Ambrose revealed Mary as a spiritual subject, exerting her will in making a request to her Divine Son; she was in relationship with him. As a theological person, Mary accepted her mission as Mother of the Son of God. She stayed with him during his formative years and was present at his first miracle. Ambrose presented Mary as the mother who matured in her knowledge about her Divine Son and God's will for each of them.  

In *De institutione virginis*, Ambrose recognized Mary's holiness, perpetual virginity and her Divine Maternity. Mary had "received an incentive to virginity and she also gave us God." As a theological person, she actively assumed the role that the Father had prepared her for. Mary continued in her virginal commitment to the Father throughout her life, closely united to God in holiness. Ambrose recognized the universal significance of Mary in calling her model of virgins, the one who was calling everyone to the cult of virginity. She was the

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290 See Ambrose, *Commentary on Luke* for references to Mother of God, Jesus during formative years, at Jesus' first miracle, and matured in her knowledge, 50.


292 See Ambrose, "*De Institutoe,*" 134.

293 See Neuman, *Virgin Mary*, 212.
archetype of virgins, the Virgin of virgins, as well as the exemplar of what a virgin should be like and the model for a holy life of virginity.

3.4.4 Marian Doctrine

Ambrose identified Mary as the Mother of God when he wrote of her in his commentary on Luke, referring to the dual-sonship. Mary is also the one who "gave us God." Ambrose believed that Mary was a perpetual virgin because she is the Mother of God, as stated in De institutione virginis.\(^{294}\) This teaching is in anticipation of the recognition of the true, divine motherhood of Mary that results from the Christological dogma asserted in the Council of Ephesus.

Ambrose defended Mary's perpetual virginity. In De institutione virginis, John 2:4 was the first Scriptural citation that Ambrose explained in his refutation of Bonosus' arguments. He included Galatians 4:4 in this argument, and then he went on to comment on to the other four biblical references that the heretics had used to deny Mary's perpetual virginity.\(^ {295}\) In chapter six, he added the nine arguments for the fittingness of Mary's perpetual virginity.\(^ {296}\) Ambrose was

\(^{294}\) See Ambrose, Commentary on Luke for reference to "dual-sonship, 50; "De Institvtione Viriginis for references to Mary "gave us God" and Mary's perpetual virginity associated with her divine maternity, 134. See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 192.

\(^{295}\) Ambrose explained: Matt. 1:18, antequam convenire (before they came together) and Matt. 1:25, Non cognovit eam donec peperit (he knew her not until she brought forth) by saying that in Sacred Scripture, before and until refer to a state of affairs during a period, they do not imply a change after that period; Matt. 1:19, noluit eam traducere (not willing to publically expose her) by writing that Joseph did not know the mystery and suspected only the worst about Mary; and Matt. 12:46 and other references to fratres Domini (brothers of the Lord) as probably Joseph's sons, as was the tradition of his day, probably derived from apocryphal writings, Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of Peter. See Neumann, Virgin Mary, 236-257.

\(^{296}\) Ambrose gave nine positive arguments for Mary's perpetual virginity: Christ's choice of a virginal Mother, who would preserve immaculate the heavenly place in which he had resided; as Christ's choice of a model of virgins, Mary would have remained a virgin; reward of virgins intended for Christ's Mother; Mary's awareness of her dignity; Joseph's respect for Mary's dignity; Mary's virginity attested to on Calvary by Christ; Mary's courage on
clearly Mariological in his focus; Mary was the model for virgins and a perpetual virgin. In the first part, he was giving advice to Eusebius on how to take care of his daughter, Ambrosia, a consecrated virgin. Mary was the model to be followed by Ambrosia and other Christians. Mary was a model *par excellence* of holiness for anyone living a consecrated life of virginity. Ambrose recognized Mary as the New Eve.297

In other writings, Ambrose wrote about Mary's perpetual virginity in *De Virginibus* and throughout his writings. He refuted the teaching of Helvidius, who held that Mary did not remain a virgin after the birth of Jesus. Ambrose cited John 19:26f as proof for Mary's perpetual virginity.298 Gambero is convinced that Ambrose had a "decisive influence on the development of Marian doctrine in the West. In particular, Ambrose made a definitive contribution to a portrayal of the Mother of the Lord as devoid of any defect or imperfection, radiant with exceptional greatness and holiness." 299 Ambrose's teaching on Mary's perpetual virginity anticipated the Second Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.

Ambrose is also credited for being the first Christian author to call Mary "type and image of the Church."300 In his commentary on Luke, he wrote, "It is good that Mary is both a wife and a virgin, for she is a figure of the Church who is without stain, and yet a spouse. As a virgin she has conceived us by the Spirit; as a virgin she brings us forth without the pangs of labor. There may, too, be another reason why Holy Mary became fruitful by One who was not her husband,

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297 Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers*, 198; see Ambrose, *De Institutione Virginis*, 134.
298 See Neumann, *Virgin Mary*, 181 to 204.
for the individual churches - made fruitful by the Holy Spirit and by grace - are visibly united to a mortal bishop." 301 Ambrose was indeed a champion for Marian teaching, his beliefs would be carried on by many Fathers who followed him.

St. Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus) (347 - 419/420)

3.5 Life and Work of Jerome

Jerome was born in Stridonia on the border between Dalmatia and Pannonia, a region that was part of the Latin world and shared the Latin culture. His parents were Christians. He had one brother, Paulinian, and a younger sister, both of whom followed him into monastic life.302

Jerome was a student from the time he was young. From 360 to 367, he studied grammar and rhetoric in Rome, under the tutelage of Aelius Donatus. While there, he studied the classics, Virgil, Cicero, Pliny, Sallust, Terence, Plautus, Lucretius, Horace, and Lukan. About 370, in Aquileia, he copied the great Christian classics, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hilary. It was here that the study of Sacred Scripture became his primary interest. Following this, while living in the desert of Calchis, he studied Greek and Hebrew; and studied under skilled exegetes, one being, Evagrius of Antioch. While translating the Latin New Testament for Pope Damasus, he further developed his knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Scriptures. Jerome studied Hebrew from rabbis in Rome and Bethlehem.303

Jerome was baptized in Rome at the age of nineteen. Around 377, Paulinus ordained Jerome to the priesthood, although he was never given a pastoral assignment at that time or at any other time of his life.304

302 See Gribomont, "Jerome," Patrology, 212 and 213.


Monastic life was of great interest to him from the time he was in Trier, where he was exposed to the Eastern ideal of monasticism lived by the exiled Athanasius. Around the age of twenty three, he became part of a small community of men in Aquileia, where his desire for the ascetic and monastic life was nurtured. In 373, he went to live in the desert where he spent the next several years living a life of penance, prayer, and meditating on the Sacred Scriptures. While in Rome as secretary to Pope Damasus, he established several monastic communities. In 386, he moved permanently to Bethlehem where he established a monastery for men and a convent for Paula, who was his friend, follower, and benefactress. These were Latin communities, where he conducted a Bible school and carried on his prolific biblical translations and adaptations of exegetical works. This monastery was to be his place of residence for 34 years. 305

The Latin Vulgate was the most important contribution that Jerome made to the Church. He translated the various versions of the Latin New Testament into one Latin text based on the original Greek (382-85) and the translation of the Old Testament, first from the Septuagint then from the original Hebrew, into Latin (390-405). 306

Jerome did not write a formal treatise on the interpretation of Sacred Scripture like Augustine's *On Christina Doctrine*. He did make remarks in various documents. E. F. Sutcliffe explained, "In three places he lays it down that the Scriptures should be understood in three ways, justifying this principle by reference to the Septuagint version of Prov. xxii. 20 as a command to write the Scriptures in our hearts in a threefold manner. The triple interpretation is explained differently in the three passages, except that in each the literal sense is placed first. In

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two of them a connection is made with the threefold concept of man as body, soul, and spirit, thus showing a dependence on Origen.\textsuperscript{307} The Council of Trent acclaimed Jerome the greatest doctor of Scriptural exegesis.\textsuperscript{308}

There are many others works that Jerome contributed to the Patristic period: many translations and reference books, polemical works, biblical commentaries, homilies, lives of hermits, and correspondence.\textsuperscript{309}

In the last years of Jerome's life, he suffered from poor health, failing vision, loss of his close friends, and the burning of his monasteries at the hands of Pelagian terrorists. Jerome was working on the \textit{Commentary on Jeremiah} at the time of his death.\textsuperscript{310} He was promoted to Doctor of the Church in 1298.

3.5.1 Christ\textsuperscript{311} at the Wedding Feast at Cana in \textit{Epistula XLVIII (Ad Pammachium), Letter to Pammachius and Mary's Virginity in partu}

Jerome wrote this letter in 393 or 394, in response to a request from Pammachius, a patristic friend from schooldays, now a senator and son-in-law of Paula. Apparently some of Jerome's Roman friends were uneasy with the way he had been excessive in praise of virginity in

\textsuperscript{307} E. F. Sutcliffe, "Jerome," \textit{The Cambridge History of the Bible} (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 89 and 90. His exegesis had two senses: literal or historical and spiritual. Spiritual referred to an allegorical application or tropological meaning, i.e., metaphor.

\textsuperscript{308} See Gambero, \textit{Mary and the Fathers}, 204.


\textsuperscript{311} As far as this author could find, Jerome does not write about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, only Christ. Jerome was included in this thesis because of his prominence and his writing about Mary's perpetual virginity. Also, Jerome interpreted Christ's presence and action similar to that of Tertullian.
depreciation of marriage in *Adversus Iovinianus*. Pammachius actually withheld the books from circulation pending a clarification from Jerome. The Letter to Pammachius was Jerome's reply and the *apologia* for *Adversus Iovinianus*.\(^{312}\)

Two aspects of Jerome's letter are relative to this thesis and will be presented here: his position on virginity, chaste widowhood, and marriage; and his explanation of Mary's virginity *in partu*.

Jerome used Sacred Scripture to clarify his position on virginity and marriage, reminding the reader, "I have said that there are diversity of gifts (1 Cor. 12:4) in the Church, and that virginity is one gift and wedlock another. And shortly after I have used the words: 'I allow marriage also to be a gift of God, but there is a great difference between gift and gift.'"\(^{313}\) Jerome went on to explain, that "virgins are the first fruits unto God, then widows and wives who live in continence must come after the first fruits - that is to say, in the second and third place."\(^{314}\) There was *greater merit* for the life of virginity. Continuing his defense, he likened himself to the church stating, neither he nor the Church condemn marriage, only subordinate it.\(^{315}\) Next, appealing to Christ as his standard, Jerome repeated what he had written in *Adversus Iovinianum*:


\(^{315}\) In *Adversus Iovinianum* Jerome wrote, "All I say now is, that as mere virginity without other works does not save, so all works without virginity, purity, continence, chastity, are imperfect. And we shall not be hindered in the least from taking this view by the objection of our opponent that our Lord was at Cana of Galilee, and joined in the marriage festivities when He turned water into wine. [...] For by going once to a marriage, He taught that men should marry only once. Moreover, at that time it was possible to injure virginity if marriage were not placed next to it, and the purity of widowhood in the third rank. But now when heretics are condemning wedlock, and despise the ordinance of God, we gladly hear anything he may say in praise of marriage. *For the Church does not condemn*
In describing our Lord's visit to the marriage at Cana of Galilee, after some other remarks I have added these: "He who went but once to a marriage has taught us that a woman should marry but once; and this fact might tell against virginity if we failed to give marriage its due place - after virginity, that is, and chaste widowhood." (Translated by W. H. Fremantle.)

3.5.1.1 Analysis

Jerome clarified and supported his statements on the priorities of the three different states of life, including marriage. He turned to Christ as the example and the teacher for Christian living to support his position that there was more merit in the consecrated life of virginity. In so doing, he addressed the question about his position on Mary's virginity in partu. "Christ Himself is a virgin; and His mother is also a virgin; yea, though she is His mother, she is a virgin still. For Jesus has entered in through the closed doors (John 20:19), and in His sepulcher - a new one hewn out of the hardest rock - no man is laid either before Him or after Him (John 19:41). Mary is 'a garden enclosed ... a fountain sealed' (Cant. 4:12). [...] She is the east gate, spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 44:2:3), always shut and always shining, and either concealing or revealing the Holy of Holies; and through her 'the Sun of Righteousness' (Mal. 4:2), our 'high priest after the order of Melchizedek' (Heb. 5:10), goes in and out."
Jerome highlighted the fact that Jesus and Mary were both virgins, therefore the higher standard to be followed. In attempting to explain Mary's virginity in partu, he held that both the appearance of the risen Lord and the Virgin Birth are mysterious and miraculous. Each one was a manifestation of the omnipotence of God. "Simply attribute to the power of God the fact that he was born of the Virgin, and that this Virgin remained a virgin even after giving birth." Thus, Jerome clarified his position and condemned the heretic Jovinianus, who denied Mary's virginity in partu. He joined the ranks of those who had already condemned this teaching: Pope Siricius and the Synod of Rome (390) found Jovinianus' doctrines as "contrary to Christian law," and he and his eight close associates were excommunicated; and by Ambrose and the Synod of Milan, who endorsed the excommunication.

Jerome held that marriage was one of the states in life; according to merit, it came after virginity and chaste widowhood. He cited Christ's presence and action at the Wedding Feast at Cana as confirmation of the value of marriage, once, which Jerome held. Consistent with Origen, he began with the literal meaning of Sacred Scripture, and then interpreted it in a moral or tropological sense, that is, how the Scriptural message was to be carried out in the life of the Christian. In this case, recommending virginity first, then chaste widowhood, and marriage once.

In explaining Mary's virginity in partu, Jerome began with the literal meaning of the words, for example, virgin, closed door, sepulcher, then explained the spiritual or allegorical meaning beneath the text, attempting to explain the miraculous, that is, how Mary remained a

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virgin while giving birth to her Divine Son. And he used Sacred Scripture to explain Sacred Scripture.

The "Letter to Pammachius" can be classified as Ecclesiological and Mariological in nature. It is Ecclesiological in the sense that Christ and his teaching formed the basis for how to live one's life in the Christian community. It is Mariological in that Jerome defended Mary's virginity in partu, by recognizing the power of God.

This letter was primarily pastoral in nature. Jerome was very concerned that he makes his position clear to his friends and followers in Rome. He did exalt virginity, but he did not condemn or disparage marriage. It was also a polemic against Jovinianus and his teachings.

3.5.2 Marian Doctrine

Jerome did not include Mary in his reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana in the Letter to Pammachius, but in it he did explain and defend Mary's virginity in partu, by citing several Scriptural passages from the Old and New Testaments.321

Jerome defended Mary's virginity in two other documents: "Adversus Helvidium, Against Helvidius" (383) and "Adversus Jovinianum, Against Jovinianus" (390). "Against Helvidius" is outstanding because in it Jerome employed his extensive knowledge of Scripture and biblical exegesis to defend the Church's teaching that the Mother of the Lord remained a Virgin after his birth. Bertrand Buby stated "Jerome offers the reader the most complete range of texts which mention Mary in the New Testament. He also makes use of other Christian writers such as Irenaeus, Justin and Athanasius. [...] Jerome offered parallel passages and multiple meanings for

words which are multivalent such as 'brothers' and 'sisters' and 'first-born,' or 'until,' 'know,' and 'came together.' Therefore, this treatise is a wealth of information for anyone interested in studying Mary as revealed in Sacred Scripture. It is perfect for catechesis and apologetics.

"Jerome's teaching on the perpetual virginity of Mary," wrote Buby, "is his greatest gift to the Catholic tradition of Marian theology today." 323

"Against Jovinianus" was a response to a monk, who attacked virginity and the ascetic life by holding that the salvation that Christ attained was equal for all people. Jerome championed virginity and the ascetic life, to the extent that he seemed to condemn marriage. Jovinianus also held that the birth of Our Lord was a true parturition. Jerome wrote two books in response to these charges. He held that Mary was ever-virgin, referring to the periods before and after the birth of Jesus. However, Gambero writes, "Jerome remained somewhat hesitant in confronting the theme of virginity in partu." 324 This was so until Jerome's Letter to Pammachius when he wrote of Mary's virginity in partu.

Besides Jerome's strong defense of Mary's perpetual virginity, he made several references to Mary in relation to the Old Testament prophecies, especially Isaiah 7:14 and Psalm 97; and about her holiness. 325 Michael O'Carroll comments "Though he [Jerome] lived before the

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322 Buby, Marian Heritage, 144.

323 Buby, Marian Heritage, 143.

324 Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 209.

325 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers for references to Mary in the Old Testament, 210; and Mary's holiness, 212 and 213.
Theotokos controversy, he equivalently affirmed the orthodox doctrine - God was born of a virgin.\textsuperscript{326}

Jerome defense of Mary's perpetual virginity anticipated the proclamations of the Second Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council. Jerome also wrote of Mary as the Mother of God, in anticipation of the recognition of the true divine motherhood of Mary that results from the Christological dogma asserted in the Council of Ephesus.

\textsuperscript{326} "Jerome," \textit{Theotokos} (Eugene, Ore.: Wipf and Stock, 1982), 196.
3.6 Life and Work of Maximus of Turin

Nothing specific is known about Maximus Taurinensis' date or place of birth, or his education. Michelle Pelligrino observed that Maximus must have had solid theological training at some point. What was known about him came from his Sermon 33, which suggested that he came as an adult to Turin in Northern Italy. This was around 390. He may have been ordained there 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 *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).

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

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329 See Ramsey, *Introduction, Sermons of Maximus*, 1. *De viris illustribus* is also known as *De viris illustribus*. 
extensive and effective until it replaced the irresponsible evasion of the magistrates and civil institutions.\textsuperscript{330} He 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{331} 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 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. He remembered the various martyrs of his time: Cyprian, Laurence, Octavus, Adventus, Solutor of Turin, Cantus, Cantianus, Cantianilla, and Eusebius.\textsuperscript{332} 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.\textsuperscript{333}

3.6.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in \textit{Homilia XXIII, Sermon 23, On the Epiphany of the Lord}

This sermon is "tributa / attributed" to Maximus of Turin in Migne's \textit{Patrum Latinorum, Homilia XXIII, De Epiphania Domini VII}; in the \textit{Journey with the Fathers: Commentary on the

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{330} Pope Benedict, \textit{Church Fathers}, 130.
\item\textsuperscript{331} Pellegrino, "Maximus #1," \textit{Encyclopedia}, 548.
\item\textsuperscript{333} See Pellegrino, "Maximus, #1, \textit{Encyclopedia}, 548.
\end{footnotes}
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.\(^{334}\)

Sermon 23 is included in this thesis for the following reasons. It was attributed to Maximus as noted above and not to another bishop of Turin named Maximus.\(^{335}\) Second, Gennadius of Marseilles, the author of De viris illustribus, 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."\(^{336}\) Third, through the years, there was a lot of confusion about who really wrote the different sermons. For example, many of Maximus' sermons were attributed to Ambrose and Augustine; and others thought to be by Maximus were later ascribed to Jerome and Basil.\(^{337}\) This speaks to the quality and soundness of Maximus' preaching relative to the other Fathers of this period. Fourth, Boniface Ramsey stated "in fact Maximus gives the impression that the


\(^{335}\) Current scholarly opinion is that there were two bishops of Turin named Maximus. The first Maximus is the saint and the one presented in this thesis. The second bishop signed the acts of the Council of Milan (451) and the Council of Rome (465) and wrote the address at the dedication of the ecclesia maior of Milan after the ruin caused by the invasion by the Huns (452). See Michele Pellegrino, "Maximus of Turin #2," Encyclopedia (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1992), 549.

\(^{336}\) See Ramsey, Introduction, Sermons of Maximus, 1.

\(^{337}\) For further discussion see Ramsey, "The Problem of the Text in Maximus," in Introduction, Sermons of Maximus, 4 and 5.
celebration of the miracle of Cana used to be for him the unique aspect of the feast [the Epiphany].

In Maximus' sermons there are three other references to the Wedding 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."

Vadit ad nuptias, non sumpturus pocula, sed daturus; nam cum defecisset nuptiantibus vinum, ait illi beatissima Maria: "Vinum non habent." Cui velut indignans respondit Jesus: "Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier?" Haec verba indignantis esse quis dubitet? Sed idcirco, ut reor, quia tam temere ei mater de defectu carnalis poculi suggerebat, qui venerat totius orbis gentibus novum salutis aeternae calicem propinare. Quod enim ait, "Nondum venit hora mea:"
imilum nimium gloriosissimam passionis suae horam, aut illud redemptionis nostrae vinum, quod vitae omnium proficeret, promitebat. Nam quod petebat Maria erat gratiae temporalis; quod Christus parabat, quodii sempiterni. Nec tamem piguit benignissimum Dominum, dum manga veniunt, parva praestare; ideo venerabilis Maria et vere ut mater Domini in spiritu futura praenoscens, ac dominicam praevidens voluntatem, sollicite ministros admonuit, dicens: "Quodcumque dixerit vobis facite." Sciebat profecto mater sancta objurgationem illam Domini filiique sui non trascentis ofensam praetendere, sed miserationis portare mysterium. Tunc Dominus incipit a matris relevatae matris relevans [Alias revelans] pudorem, suamque jam aperiens majestatem, expectantibus

338 At this time in the West, there were four events commemorated on the Feast of the Epiphany on January 6: the birth of Christ, the adoration of the Magi, the baptism of Christ, and the miracle of Cana. See Boniface Ramsey, Notes, The Sermons of St. Maximus of Turin (New York, N.Y.: Newman Press, 1988), 279.

339 See Maximus, Sermons, "Sermons 101, 102, and 103," all entitled "A Sequel on the Same Holy Day" [The Epiphany], 228, 230, and 231.

340 See Maximus, Sermons, 72.
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. 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.)

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." 343

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..." 343

341 "Maximi Taurinesis," PL, 274 to 276.
342 Maximus, Sermons, 72 and 73.
343 Maximus, Sermons, 73.
the Father; for as a man he was present at the wedding, and as God he changed water into wine."  

3.6.1.1 Analysis

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.

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."

**Biblical Exegesis:** 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 surmized

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344 Maximus, *Sermons*, 73.
there was a misunderstanding between mother and Son. 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. 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.

Mary in Relation to Christology in both Systematic and Practical Theology: Mary's role in Homilia XXIII was related to Christology and soteriology. Mary was the source of Jesus' humanity, which was manifested at the hour of his death. Jesus came to the wedding to offer the whole world the new chalice of salvation. She was an instrument in the miracle that revealed the divine power of her Son, Jesus. This biblical commentary is primarily a catechesis on the divinity and humanity of Jesus.

In the second part of the sermon, Maximus used terminology consistent with the First Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, writing, "he whom we confess to be the Son is also the

345 See Maximus, Sermons, 72 and 73.

346 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; Epi. 5: 22-23), 72.

347 See Maximus, Sermons for references to Mary as source, new chalice of salvation, and Mary as instrumental in the miracle, 72 and 73.
Son of God. Let us believe not only that he shared our nature, but also that he was consubstantial with the Father." Maximus held to the tradition of the Fathers.

**Marian Anthropology**: Maximus called Mary by name. She was the Mother of Jesus and attended a religious and social function with him and others. Maximus described her spiritual attributes to be "most blessed Mary" and "holy Mary" and "holy Mother." She displayed her concern for others by noting that there was no more wine. As a theological person, Mary was "in very truth," the Mother of the Lord. She had exceptional knowledge about her Son, his will, and his planned action. This suggests that Maximus believed that Mary had insight and understanding in Jesus' person and mission, possibly born from intimacy, sharing, and mutual respect. Mary was identifying with her Son and being shaped by him. She was his disciple and was learning from him about the proper times for him to carry out the Father's plan. Mary was Jesus' associate, her request for help resulted in the miracle that brought the disciples to faith.

Jesus demonstrated loving concern for his Mother and wanted to spare her any embarrassment from his actions. Maximus recognized mutual love between Mother and Son.

**3.6.2 Marian Doctrine**

Maximus recognized Mary as holy, blessed, and believing. In Homily 23, Maximus identified Mary as the Mother of the Lord in anticipation of recognition of the true divine motherhood of Mary that results from the Christological dogma asserted at Council of Ephesus.

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348 See Maximus, *Sermons*, 73.

349 See Maximus, *Sermons* for references to Mary's attributes, Mother of the Lord, and her knowledge of Jesus' will, 72 and 73.
Maximus' other Marian teachings revolved around Mary's role as the Virgin Mother of the Savior. He held that Mary was of David's line and the shoot of Jesse, fertile, delicate, and virginal. Using typology from the Old Testament, holy Mary was the Ark of the Covenant, because she bore the master of the covenants. Mary was compared to the fleece that the prophet David prophesied about when he said, "He will descend like rain upon fleece." Maximus explained, "Clearly Mary is fleece since from her tender womb came forth the lamb who Himself, bearing His mother's wool (that is, flesh), covers the wounds of all peoples with a soft fleece. For every wound of sin is covered with the wool of Christ, tended by the blood of Christ, so that it may receive health, clothed in the garment of Christ." Maximus also identified Mary as the Second Eve and as an instrument of our salvation.

The attributes most often applied to Mary were virginity and chastity; he alluded to her virgininal conception and birth stating, "Mary having brought forth as a virgin ..." Maximus also identified her as holy, believing, and immaculate. However, Walter Burghardt identified Maximus as one of the Fathers who implied that the Blessed Virgin sinned venially, referencing


351 See Burghardt, "Mary," *Marilogy*, 146.

352 See Maximus, *Sermons* "Sermon 5" for reference to Mary's virginity in partu, 23; and "Sermon 62" for reference to Mary being immaculate, 154. Regarding the use of the word "immaculate," Ramsey, in his note, explained that with the total reading of this reference, immaculate does not imply an immaculate conception for Mary, but that Mary was immaculate before bearing Christ, as a result of a divine gift. See Ramsey, Notes, *Sermons*, 328.
one of his sermons, "On Holy Epiphany."\textsuperscript{353} In reviewing the wording in this sermon, these words may be what caused the question, "she cast from herself her own sins."\textsuperscript{354}

\textsuperscript{353} See Burghardt, "Mary," Mariology, 401.

\textsuperscript{354} See Maximus, Sermons, 34.
3.7 Life and Work of Paulinus of Nola

Meropius Ponticus Anicius Paulinus was born to Christian parents, of Senatorial aristocracy living in Bordeaux, in Aquitania. Paulinus received an excellent liberal education, appropriate to his class and station in life. One of his teachers was Ausonius, known as an outstanding rhetorician and refined poet.\(^{355}\)

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."\(^{356}\) 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.\(^{357}\)

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 a sign from God that he was called to another vocation. Paulinus and


\(^{356}\) See Pope Benedict, *Church Fathers*, 161.

\(^{357}\) See Pope Benedict, *Church Fathers*, 161.
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{358}

Subsequent to this, in 395, they moved to lead an ascetic life following a monastic model near the tomb of St. Felix in Nola. Both committed themselves to the consecrated life, living in chaste brotherhood and in separate monasteries.\textsuperscript{359} 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.\textsuperscript{360} He died on June 22, 431.

Paulinus' literary work consisted primarily of letters and poems. He wrote many letters to friends and famous people. His correspondence provides an interesting insight into Paulinus, his interests and his friends. He wrote to Augustine and Jerome for clarification of Scriptural passages or doctrinal issues; to Delphinus in gratitude for baptizing him; to Pammachius at the death of his wife; and to Sulpicius Severus regarding his spiritual life and monasticism.\textsuperscript{361} Two notable letters sent to Paulinus in response to his request are: \textit{Benedictions of the Patriarchs} from Jerome, and \textit{De cura pro mortuis gerenda}, a treatise on care for the dead, from Augustine.\textsuperscript{362}


\textsuperscript{361} Sulpicius Severus followed Paulinus' example and sold all of his property and went into monastic life. He was instrumental in developing Gallic monasticism while he remained in frequent contact with Paulinus in Italy. See P.G. Walsh, Introduction, \textit{The Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola} (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1966), 3.

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." 363

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 his poems and ample correspondence are rich in a lived theology, woven from God's Word, constantly examined as a light for life." 364

3.7.1 Mary in Relationship to the Wedding Feast at Cana in Carmina XXV, Poem 25

Paulinus composed Carmina XXV as an epithalamion, a marriage song, for celebrating the nuptials of Julian of Eclanum365 and Titia. The date of the composition is unknown, but thought to be between 400 and 406.366 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

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363 Walsh, Introduction Poems of Paulinus, 3.

364 Pope Benedict, Church Fathers, 162, 165.

365 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, 1975), 399 and 400 for discussion for this dating. Hereafter: Walsh, Notes, Poems of Paulinus.

366 See Walsh, Notes, Poems of Paulinus, 400.
they should live as consecrated virgins, if not, may their chaste offspring become a priestly race.\textsuperscript{367} 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.\textsuperscript{368}

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."\textsuperscript{369} He offers advice to the young couple, such as, the bride should reject worldly objects and put on the shining grace of God, bedecked with a dowry that brings salvation and have a soul adorned with the virtues of chastity. The groom, a cleric and lector, should be dedicated to consecrated books and spurn all eagerness for a handsome bearing.\textsuperscript{370} He must love his wife, because 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."


\textsuperscript{369} Paulinus, \textit{Poems}, 245.

\textsuperscript{370} See Paulinus, \textit{Poems}, 246 to 248.
Paulinus offers a Scriptural affirmation for the advice that he had just given to the bride and groom. 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. 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 became the mother of a Boy though she was untainted by a husband. (Translated by P.G. Walsh.)

3.7.1.1 Analysis

Mary would come and visit the bridal couple, each one consecrated to God, interwoven together; with Christ as the groom's head and the groom as the bride's head. The bride would welcome Christ's presence in her husband through humility.

Consecration to God and the virtue of humility became the themes in Paulinus' commentary about "Mary, the Mother of God, who gave birth to God without loss of her virginity." The essential characteristic cited about Mary was that she was a "consecrated virgin,

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371 Paulini Nolani, Carmen XXV (Vindobonae, Aus.: Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie, MCMCIX), 243.

372 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.

373 Paulinus, Poems, 250. All capitalization reflects the text.
reflecting her total commitment to God and her receptivity to God's will for her. God chose her to "build Himself a pleasing temple with a hidden roof-aperture." God silently "glided down" upon her. Through this secret visitation, "God took the form of man from His virgin mother." God chose this "deception" for "the salvation of men." God chose Mary to be his associate in his plan for the salvation of all men.

**Biblical Exegesis:** 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. 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." To accentuate the meaning of Mary's perpetual virginity, Paulinus returned to the literal sense and explained how this was so in everyday terminology.

**Mary in Systematic Theology in Christology and Soteriology:** Mary was a consecrated virgin; because of this she was chosen by God to become the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, the Mother of the Lord. Mary was the virgin mother from whom God took the form of man for the salvation of men.375

**Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church:** Paulinus' poem was a form of pastoral exhortation. He focused on the example of Mary and her life to encourage the young

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couple to lead a consecrated life dedicated to God and united together in Christ. Paulinus explained that Mary's virginity resulted in the most excellent cooperation possible with God and was the best outcome for all of humanity. Therefore, Paulinus recommended that the bridal couple agree to live a life of virginity, as brother and sister. This was what Paulinus and Therasia decided to do shortly after their marriage. Paulinus explained, that virginity "... is preferable, that they keep their bodies innocent of the flesh." If they did this, Mary would visit them.

**Marian Anthropology:** Paulinus recognized Mary as an historic person by calling her by name, spouse to Joseph, and mother to Jesus. In a spiritual sense she was a consecrated virgin.\(^\text{376}\) Paulinus did not refer directly to Mary's *fiat*, but her consent was implied by the way he described Mary's approval through her docility to the actions of God in her life. Paulinus created the sense that Mary was empty of her own desires and completely the slave of the Lord. This was a perfect example of a vocation story. As a theological person, Mary was the consecrated virgin within whom God built himself a pleasing temple with a hidden roof-aperture.\(^\text{377}\) Mary's universal significance was established as the archetype of virginity, the consecrated virgin whom God chose to build himself a pleasing temple and gave birth to God without loss of her virginity. She is the ideal exemplar for the image of how to give oneself totally to God. She was the model to be followed in everyday life. And Mary will visit those who follow her example.

\(^{376}\) See Paulinus, *Poems*, 250.

3.7.2 Marian Doctrine

In Poem 25, Paulinus taught that Mary was the Mother of the Lord this anticipated the recognition of her true divine motherhood that results from the Christological dogma asserted in the Council of Ephesus. Paulinus recognized Mary as a consecrated virgin, who had a virginal conception and birth in Poem 25. Paulinus also presented Mary as a humble person, open to the work of God in her life.

In other writings, Paulinus included Mary in both his letters and poems in the following ways. Mary was the Virgin Mother of God and the Virgin whom God silently approached and permeated like rain that falls upon fleece. Mary was a virgin at conception and a virgin in childbirth. In a typological analogy between Mary and Eve, Paulinus likened Eve, the first virgin, and the tree in the Garden of Eden, to Mary, the second virgin, and the Cross, the second tree. Paulinus also wrote about Mary at the Annunciation and Visitation. At the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, Paulinus associated Simeon's prophecy to Mary with her maternal feelings and anguish at the foot of the Cross.

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378 See Paulinus, Poems, 250.

379 It would seem that Paulinus meant to consider Mary to be a perpetual virgin in Poem 25, given that he stated that she was a consecrated virgin and the purpose for the poem was to encourage the young couple to live as consecrated virgins, as he and his wife did. Paulinus did not directly refer to Mary's virginity post partum.

St. Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430)

3. 8 Life and Work 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 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 Sacred Scripture without profit. Next he followed the Manichaeans, whose belief seemed to coincide with his thinking. Agostino Trapè explained that there were three principal

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382 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 and 811.
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 Manichaeans."

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 Sacred Scriptures; and the Sacred Scriptures are guaranteed and read by the Church. The way to Christ was in 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 28 August 430.

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 thesis, and De civitate Dei (413-426). He authored dogmatic books, like De fide et symbolo (393), which is also referenced in this thesis, 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 thesis;\(^\text{386}\) exegetical commentaries on Genesis, Job, the Heptateuchum, Sermon on the Mount, Paul's Epistles, and Matthew. He published polemical treatises against the Manichaeans, Donatists,\(^\text{387}\) Pelagians,\(^\text{388}\) Arians, Priscillianists,\(^\text{389}\) Marcionists, and heresies, in

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\(^{386}\) See "Fundamentals of Patristic Exegesis," in section 1.6.1.1, p. 12.

\(^{387}\) 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.

\(^{388}\) 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.
general. In addition to this, he wrote 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.  

Augustine furthered the understanding of Theology, Christology, and spirituality. In *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." 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."

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

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389 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 and 1054.


and moral theory. [...] He is deservedly called the doctor of grace." 393 Any other comments about the accomplishments of this great Christian thinker are beyond the scope of this paper.

There are many, many complimentary comments about Augustine. The following few will serve to provide an example of the esteem in which he is held. Buby stated, "Augustine is a giant among the Fathers of the Golden Age in his voluminous writings about Mary. He is reckoned as one of the geniuses of the Western world." Gambero commented, "His intuitions and perspectives on Marian doctrine are singularly profound and anticipate the statements of the Second Vatican Council. Suffice it to say that Augustine is the Father of the Church most often cited by the Council and that citations of or references to his works and teaching are to be found in almost all of the conciliar documents." According to Augustino Trapè, Pope Pius XI considered Augustine a man "to whom, of all who have flourished from the beginning of mankind until today, hardly any or at least very few can be compared." Pope Benedict XVI identified him as "the greatest Father of the Latin Church ... man of passion and faith, of the highest intelligence and tireless in his pastoral care, a great saint and Doctor of the Church...." 394 One can perceive some of the greatness of Augustine from the words of these holy and learned men of the Church.

**Mary at The Wedding Feast at Cana in Augustine**

Augustine referred to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in five of his works: *De vera religione*, "Of True Religion;" *De fide et symbolo*, "Of Faith and the Creed;" *Tractatus in Ioannis*

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Evangelicum, CCXIV, "Commentary on the Gospel of John, 2:1-4, Tract 124; "Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelivm, CXIX, " Commentary on the Gospel of John, 19:24-30, Tract 119; and Sermo CCXVIII, " Sermon 218, Concerning the Passion of the Lord," John 19:17-42. In each work, he explained Jesus' words to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in relationship with her presence at the foot of the Cross. Although he was consistent in his message, he integrated it into various teachings about the Catholic Religion, the creed, and Sacred Scripture.

3.8.1. Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in De Vera Religione, On 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." 395 Augustine knew their 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." 396 This worship of God was in the Christian religion, the true religion. 397 De vera


religione was one of five works, which Paulinus of Nola would later refer to as the "Pentateuch against the Manichees." Some of the ideas in this work become part of the De Civitate Dei.

In De vera religione, Augustine repeated the doctrine that there is one true God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 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." Herewith, Augustine upholds the proclamations of the First Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople. Following these doctrinal statements, he explained Jesus' words at the Wedding Feast at Cana, writing,

Doctrina enim deus apparebat, ætatis homo. Item aquam in unum conversurus ut deus dicit: "Recede a me, mulier, mihi et tibi quid est? Nondum venit hora mea." Cum autem uenisset hora, quia ut homo moreretur, de cruce cognitam matrem commendavit discipulo, quem prae ceteris diligebat.

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). (Translation by John H. S. Burleigh.)

3.8.1.1 Analysis

Mary was the woman of whom the Wisdom of God, the Word, was made flesh for our salvation. Augustine explained why Jesus revealed the hidden message within the words that Jesus spoke to his mother. The hour for Jesus to recognize her had not come at the Wedding Feast.

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399 Augustine, "True Religion," Augustine, 239.

400 Avrelii Avgvstinii, "De Vera Religione," Corpus Christianorvm, Series Latina (Trvnholti, Belg.: Brepols, MCMLXII), 206.

401 Augustine, "True Religion," Augustine, 239 and 240.

402 All of Augustine's writings will be analyzed separately, with a summary at the end.
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." 411 This was how Augustine explained Jesus' statement to his mother,

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 unum 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, id est, qua te cognoscam. tunc enim ut homo crucifixus cognouit hominem matrem et dilectissimo discipulo humanissime commendavit. 412

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 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. 413 (Translation by John H. S. Burleigh.) 414

3.8.2.1 Analysis

Augustine explained Jesus' words within a Christological and a Soteriological context. He 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.


413 See Augustine, "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 358 and 359.

414 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.
Being God and preparing to reveal his divinity, Jesus did not recognize the mother of his human character. However, when he was being crucified in the humanity he assumed from Mary, during his temporal dispensation, he recognized her. He also performed the appropriate filial task and commended her to his beloved disciple. This was all part of the mystery of our salvation.

3.8.3 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Tractatvs VIII, Tract 8

*Tractatvs in Ioannis Evangelicvm*, VIII was part of a commentary that consisted of 124 sermons, either preached or dictated.\(^415\) 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."\(^416\)

In *Tractatvs VIII*, 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."\(^417\) Or against the astrologers, who thought that Christ was under fate

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\(^{415}\) Henry Chadwick holds that there are about a thousand of Augustine's sermons that have survived. See Chadwick, "Augustine," *Cambridge*, 340.


\(^{417}\) 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.
and not under his own power, when he referred to the hour. Augustine upholds the teachings of the First Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople, in his response to these two groups. This is an exegetical masterpiece for these four verses, as well as a polemic against the Manicheans and an apologetic for the astrologers. Augustine wrote about John 2:1-11 in Tractate 9, but made no reference to Mary.

In *Tractatus VIII*, Augustine presented one 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" and asked what her concern had to do with him.

Augustine 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. As Augustine 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. It pointed to the spiritual reality that lay beneath this event that makes us aware of something beyond what is immediately apparent.

In *Tractatus VIII*, 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

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

419 See Augustine, *Christian Doctrine*, 34.
which were done by the man Jesus, so let us wonder at the things which were done by Jesus God.\textsuperscript{420}

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 good and evil, that is right from wrong.\textsuperscript{421} 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."\textsuperscript{422} 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,

\textsuperscript{420} Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #1.

\textsuperscript{421} See Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #2.

\textsuperscript{422} Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #3.
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 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 continued his teaching that came from the proclamations at the First Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople.

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424 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.

425 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #5.
Augustine started to unravel the mystery that was hidden beneath the literal words. The reason that Jesus called his mother, "Woman," was not due to the source of the material. 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 do not approach it with wrangling."  

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 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

426 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #6, 7.

427 Avrelii Avguvstinii, "Tractatvs VIII," Corpus Christianorvm, Series Latina (Tvmholti, Belg.: Brepols, MCMLIV), 87 and 88.
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. 428 (Translated by John Gibb.)

Augustine continued his commentary 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." 429

3.8.3.1 Analysis

Augustine continued emphasizing the doctrinal message that the Lord Jesus Christ was
both God and man: as God he had no mother and, as man, he had a mother of his flesh, Mary. 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. The purpose for the incarnation was for our sakes, for our
salvation.

Jesus' words to his mother pointed to two hours of mystery: the hour when he did not
recognize his mother at the Wedding Feast at Cana, because the source of his divine power was


not from Mary's womb; and the other hour when he would recognize his mother, because she was the source of his flesh, that which was dying on the Cross. The weakness of the human flesh, which he received from his mother, does die. Augustine believed that Jesus did this to make a distinction in the faith of the believers.

Augustine recognized the relationship between Jesus and Mary. 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, was mother to him and was the woman who created him. He created her and governed her.

Mary was also part of the fulfillment of the messianic prophecies from the Old Testament. She was one of the Chosen People, one under the law, and of David's seed. From her, Jesus assumed his humanity, that which would hang on the Cross.\(^430\) Mary was inter-Testamental; she was the Israelite, living according to the covenant of the Old Testament, who became the Mother of the Messiah, the Messiah who established the new and everlasting covenant of the New Testament.\(^431\)

### 3.8.4 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in *Tractatvs CXIX*, Tractate 119

*Tractatvs in CXIX* 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.\(^432\) This was a sermon about the

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\(^{430}\) See Augustine, "Tractate 8," *Church Fathers*, #9.

\(^{431}\) Mary is recognized as the Daughter of Sion. "After a long period of waiting, the times are fulfilled in her, the exalted Daughter of Sion and the new plan of salvation is established when the Son of God has taken a new nature from her, that he might in the mysteries of his flesh free man from sin." Flannery, *LG*, #55.

crucifixion. 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,

_Haec nimirum est illa hora de qua Jesus aquam conuersurus in uinum, dixerat matri: "Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea." Hanc itaque horam praedixerat quae tunc nondum venerat, in qua debearet agnoscre moriturus, de qua fuerat mortaliter natus. Tunc ergo divina facturus, non diuinitatis, sed infirmitatis matrem ululat incognitam repellebat; nunc autem humana iam patiens, ex qua fuerat factus homo, affectu commendabat humano. Tunc enim qui Mariam creauerat, innotescet a uirtute; nunc vero quod Maria pepererat, pendebat in cruce._

This, without a doubt, was the hour whereof 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 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. (Translated by John Gibb.)

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..."

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433 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.


what was needful, that there was also added to it the portion of the blessed Mary, as if she were
his mother; ...."436 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."437

3.8.4.1 Analysis

In this dramatic scene, Augustine associated Mary with Jesus' capacity as a mortal man,
with his infirmity, suffering, and mortality. He also described Jesus' tenderness in commending
Mary to the disciple, by qualifying it as with "human affection." Jesus was also teaching a moral
lesson on how children were to care for their parents, saying, "... 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."438 Jesus reaffirmed that
Mary was his mother and that he was carrying out his filial duty to her. The Beloved Disciple,
John the Evangelist, 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.

3.8.5 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 *Tractatus CXIX* was similar to *Sermo CCXVIII* (John 19:17-42).

This sermon was delivered on the Parasceve [to recent converts],

*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.*

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. (Translated by Mary Sarah Muldowney.)

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440 See Muldowney, Notes, "Sermon 218," *Augustine,* v.


Later in Sermon 218, Augustine wrote, "As for the blood and water which His side, pierced with the lance, poured forth upon the earth without doubt they represent he sacraments by which the Church was formed, as Eve was formed from the side of the sleeping Adam who was the form of the future."^443

3.8.5.1 Analysis

Augustine believed that Jesus would appropriately show human affection for his mother. The time he chose to do so was when he was dying as a man, with the human nature that he assumed from his mother. Augustine, typologically, recognized the sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist that came from the crucifixion of Christ.

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

Biblical Exegesis: "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 Sacred Scripture to discover those things which were to be understood and proceeded to provide a hermeneutic application. Sacred 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 Sacred Scripture, Augustine would investigate and look for solutions from Sacred

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." This all came together with the other Sacred Scriptures and the Conciliar pronouncements.

The literal meaning always formed the basis for his exegesis; 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.

In *De fide*, *Tractatus VIII*, and *Tractatus 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*, Augustine added "depart from me" to the verse. He did the same in *Tractatus 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.

**Mary in Relation to Systematic Theology: Christology, Theology, Soteriology, and Ecclesiology:** Mary, in reference to Christology, was a woman, who became the Virgin of whom the Son of God was born through the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit. It was the Virgin

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445 See Augustine, "True Religion," *Augustine* for reference to depart from me, 239 and 240; and "Tractate 119," *Church Fathers* for reference to repelled, #1. Augustine's paraphrasing is non-canonical.
Mary's body that Jesus inhabited and left pure and entire, when he was born. Mary was the woman from whom the Wisdom of God, the Word, was made flesh. She was not the mother of his divinity. Mary was the mother of his whole human nature, which was, body, soul, and spirit; and with this humanity, he suffered infirmity, weakness, suffering, and death. Mary was Jesus' mother whom he recognized from the Cross, when he was dying. She was the mother that he was concerned about and with affection commended her to another "son," the beloved disciple.

Reflecting on Mary's relationship with the Trinity, Augustine reminded others that there is one true God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Son is consubstantial with the Father, God from God, Light from Light. The Son, the Wisdom of God, became flesh in the Virgin Mary and dwelt among us. Mary had a special relationship with the Holy Spirit, who participated with her to form Jesus in the humanity that he assumed. Unique to Augustine, was his teaching on the predestination of Mary. Jesus knew Mary in predestination, even before he was born of her and he created her before he was created from her.

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447 See Augustine, "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 358, for references to the virgin birth by the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, Jesus inhabiting and left pure Mary's body, and Jesus' whole human nature; "True Religion," Augustine, 239, for reference to Jesus as Wisdom of God; "Tractate 119," Church Father, #1 and "Tractate 218," Church Father, 167 and 168, for reference to Jesus' hanging on the Cross; "True Religion," Augustine, 239 and 240, and "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 358 and 359, for references to the beloved disciple.

448 See Augustine, "True Religion," Augustine, 239, for references to One God, consubstantial with the Father, and the Wisdom of God; "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 357 and 358, for reference to God from God, Light from Light and Mary's relationship with the Holy Spirit; "Tractate 8," Church Father, #9, for reference to Mary's predestination.
Mary's role in Soteriology according to Augustine, must be understood in the light that Mary did not merit to be the mother of the Redeemer, she was predestined for it. However, it is apparent that she cooperated with the motherhood that she was destined for and in so doing she contributed to the salvation that Jesus achieved by dying on the Cross. The real and whole human nature that Christ assumed and liberated was given to him by his mother. Mary was the true mother of Jesus' true flesh, his true death, and his true resurrection. The human nature that he assumed for our salvation was given to him by his mother. Mary brought forth that which was hanging on the Cross for our restoration.449

There are two references to Mary that can be understood from an Ecclesiological perspective. Augustine allegorized the meaning of Christ coming to the wedding. He was the Bridegroom who came to take the Church as his Bride. Christ did this in the bridal chamber, which was the womb of the Virgin Mary.450 Thus the beginning of the Church was when Christ became the Head, and the body was the Church, in Mary's womb. Mary was the mother of the members of the Church, because she cooperated by her charity, so that members of the Body of Christ could be born in the Church. The second reference was at the crucifixion, when water and blood flowed out from the pierced side of Christ. These represent the sacraments by which the Church was formed.451

Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church: Augustine wrote about Mary in connection with biblical commentaries, doctrinal formation, and pastoral concerns. All five of

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449 See Augustine, "Tractate 8," Augustine, #9, for reference to Mary as the true mother; "Faith and Creed," Augustine, 358, for reference to Mary and our salvation.

450 See "Tractate 8, Church Fathers, #4.

his works included commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. John 2:4 was of primary interest, especially because the meaning of Jesus' words were ambiguous, confusing, and possibly a denial of his humanity, that is, he had no mother; therefore, Augustine was very careful to explain their meaning and to validate his views with other Scriptural passages. Also, there was reference and connection between the Old and New Testaments; *Tractatus VIII* referred to the messianic prophecies that were fulfilled through Mary.

**Marian Anthropology:** Augustine recognized an historical aspect of Mary. He identified her by her name. She was a real woman, a descendent of David, and a woman under the law of the Old Testament. Mary was a real mother to Jesus. She was at the Temple in Jerusalem, at the Wedding Feast at Cana and at the foot of the Cross.

Mary was a spiritual person with intellect, will, and in relationship with others. She was a perpetual virgin and dedicated herself to the will of God; she manifested docility toward him. Mary was more blessed because she believed in her heart before she conceived Christ in her womb and gave birth to him. She was credited for her faith. Augustine called her Blessed Mary one time in *Tractatus CXIX*. At the Wedding Feast at Cana, she was concerned about others and made their needs known to her Divine Son. In *Tractatus VIII*, Augustine wrote that Mary demanded a miracle from her Son.

To understand Mary as a theological person, it is important to remember that Augustine believed that Mary was predestined for her role as Mother to the Son of God, the Savior of all humanity, through the gratuitous grace of God. This was God's purpose for her existence. Mary, for her part, gave birth to the Lord Jesus Christ and was mother to him. God created her and governed her. As mentioned above, she can be recognized for her faith in God, by which she
conceived in her mind before conceiving in her womb. That was Mary's participation in the Incarnation, whereby she was the mother of the human nature of Christ. Mary also, was involved with her Divine Son through various phases of his life until his death on the Cross, when he redeemed all humanity with the human nature that he had assumed from Mary. Augustine revealed a concern that he thought Jesus had for his mother, stating in *Tractatus CXIX* that "He commended with affection the mother by whom He had become man" and in *Sermo CCVIII*, that he "commended her to the beloved disciple, appropriately shows His affection at the moment when He was dying as a man." 452 This suggests that there was an intimate relationship between mother and son.

3.8.7 Marian Doctrine

In the commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast, Augustine taught that Mary was the mother of God; she was predestined for this role. Mary was the woman under the Law and she was of David's seed. Mary was associated with the profound mystery of the Trinitarian plan for the salvation of all humanity. This plan included the incarnation of "the Son, the Wisdom of God, his only Son, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, deigned to assume our human nature ... became a man born of a woman." It was in her womb that Jesus "assumed our whole human nature," and "the weakness" with which he would "hang upon the Cross." Augustine clarified Jesus' words in John 2:4: when Jesus was preparing to manifest his divinity at the Wedding Feast at Cana he did not recognize his mother, however, when it was the hour that he would die in his humanity, he did recognize his mother. 453

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453 See Augustine, "Tractate 8," *Church Fathers*, #9, for references to Mary's predestination, being of the seed of David, woman under the law, and the weakness; "True Religion, Augustine, 239, for reference to Wisdom of
This thesis cites two places where Augustine commented on Mary's virginity: Faith and Creed and Tractate 8. In Faith and Creed, he stated that the Son of God "deigned to take upon himself 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."\footnote{454}

In the other writings by Augustine, he asserted that Mary's role in her divine maternity, within the Providence of God in the plan for the salvation of all people, was to be both mother and virgin. Augustine felt it was essential in defending the faith, that Christ was born of a virgin, thus affirming the divinity of the Child; and that he was born of a human mother, in fulfillment of Sacred Scripture. Mary was from the Davidic lineage as well as the priestly line of Aaron, through her relationship with Elizabeth. She was also a descendant of Adam and Eve, Abraham, Judah, Isaac, and Jacob.\footnote{455}

Augustine firmly held and defended Mary's perpetual virginity writing, "A virgin she conceived, a virgin she gave birth, a virgin she remained."\footnote{456} According to Saint Augustine, Mary took a vow of virginity before the Annunciation writing, "Indeed, her virginity was itself more beautiful and more pleasing, because Christ, in His conception, did not Himself take away that which He was preserving from violation by man; but, before He was conceived He chose


one already consecrated to God."\textsuperscript{457} Augustine added further, "She possessed in her body two things deserving of honor: virginity and fecundity, since she remained inviolate and yet conceived."\textsuperscript{458} Augustine explained virginity \textit{in partu}, by referring to Ezekiel 44:1-3 and the post resurrection appearances in John 20:19-29. Mary's relationship with Joseph was as a spouse, in chaste brotherhood.\textsuperscript{459} His teachings about Mary's perpetual virginity were confirmed at the Second Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.

Mary's holiness was associated with her role as the Mother of the Son of God, the Savior. She was preserved by God from every stain of sin and imperfection, not from personal effort, but by a special grace from God. Many scholars read Augustine's writings about Mary's immunity from sin and debate whether or not he intended to include original sin in his meaning. Luigi Gambero thinks it is safer to think that Augustine did not include original sin in his thinking given his comments in numerous texts.\textsuperscript{460} Agostino Trapè wrote that Augustine did intend to include immunity from original sin, when he wrote, "Except the holy Virgin Mary, of whom, out of honor for the Lord, I absolutely do not want there to be any question when sin is spoken of ...." Trapè considers the words regarding sin, to refer to a principle that is universal.\textsuperscript{461} Mary's holiness originated from her own great faith, in that, she conceived Christ in her mind before she conceived him in her body. Her holiness also came from her obedience to the


\textsuperscript{458} See Augustine, "Holy Virginity," \textit{Augustine}, 150.

\textsuperscript{459} See Buby, \textit{Marian Heritage}, 185 and 186.

\textsuperscript{460} See Gambero, \textit{Mary and the Fathers}, 226 to 228.

will of God, her charity, humility, and holy modesty. Augustine held that it was more important that Mary be a disciple of Christ than to be his Mother. 462

Mary is a member of the Church and, thus, the Church is greater than Mary. She is Mother to the members of the Church, because she cooperated by her charity, so that members of the Body of Christ could be born in the Church. When Mary gave her free and informed fiat, she became Mother of the incarnate Word and offered her moral cooperation in the work of salvation. 463 Following Ambrose, Augustine wrote frequently about Mary being a type or model of the Church. In Sermon 213, Augustine associated Mary's virginity and fecundity with that of the Church writing, "She [the Church] imitates Mary, who gave birth to the Lord. Didn't the virgin, Saint Mary, both give birth and remain a virgin? So to the Church both gives birth and is a virgin." 464 Mary was the Virgin Mother of the Redeemer and the Church is the virgin and mother of the redeemed. 465

Augustine's teaching about Mary was summarized by Buby, "[His] Marian doctrine is the crowning synthesis of what had been handed down from the Scriptures and what had been expounded, preached, and defended by the sub-apostolic writers and the theologians of the West and of Alexandria who had preceded him." 466


463 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 222 to 225; and Trapè, "Augustine," Patrology, 433.


465 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 222 to 225; and Trapè, "Augustine," Patrology, 433.

466 Buby, Marian Heritage, 171.
3.9 Life and Work of Gaudentius

Gaudentii of Brixien's 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, and heretics. Philaster attempted unsuccessfully to remove the Arian bishop, Auxentinus, from Milan. He attended the Council of Aquileia in 381, which deposed the Arian bishops Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundianus of Singidunum. Gaudentius followed the example of his teacher, as will become evident from his actions as the bishop of Brescia.

Philaster died in 390. At the time of Philaster's death Gaudentius was in the East. He returned with relics of St. John the Baptist and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, relics which he

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received at Caesarea in Cappadocia from the nieces of St. Basil. He added them to other relics from the area and placed them in a basilica, which he named *Concilium Sanctorum*.  

Upon his return he 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 were seized at Athens and sent to Constantinople by boat and without food. After three days, they were imprisoned in a fortress called Athyra, on the coast of Thrace. There they were offered a bribe of 3,000 gold pieces to enter into communion with Atticus, be silent about John Chrysostom, and not demand a new synod to review his case. They refused and were put out to sea on an unseaworthy vessel. However, they arrived safely at Lampsacus and made their way back to Italy. The whole trip took four months.

It was thought that Gaudentius had met John Chrysostom at some point. John wrote several letters to Gaudentius, expressing his gratitude for the attempt to help, even though their

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venture to bring John out of exile failed. 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

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474 See Glueck, "Gaudentius," Microfiche, 14 to 16.

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.

Manilo Simonetti wrote, "Although he does not display originality in any field, Gaudentius shows himself always at ease whether in exegesis, in the enunciation of Trinitarian doctrine in polemic with the Arians, or in overtures of a disciplinary, or hortatory nature. His simple, clear, and precise form testifies to the author's good scholastic preparation." John Chapman remarked that Ruffinus, "praises the intellectual gifts of the Bishop of Brescia, saying that even his extempore speaking is worthy of publication and of preservation by posterity."

In 404, Gaudentius delivered a sermon on the fourteenth anniversary of the death of Bishop Philaster. Another point of interest, in a Christmas homily, is that he spoke that the threat of the barbarians was imminent, which forewarns the events that were to come. In a second homily on the dedication of a basilica, he alluded to the presence of the marauders. Given that there were various invasions by the barbarians, it was not clear to which one he was referring. However, these homilies were the last known writings by Gaudentius. 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.  

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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 sermons were catecheses on Baptism. They were addressed to "Neophytes" and were meant for the instruction of the newly baptized and as a pastoral exhortation for moral living to his congregation. Sermon 8 was also a polemic against the Manicheans. It was given on the Second Sunday after the Epiphany.

3.9.1 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

480 Gaudentius stated, "This [increase and multiply] displeases the wretched Manicheans. 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 Manicheans 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.
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.\footnote{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.}

Gaudentius made reference to Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, Jesus, the Savior of the human race. He did so 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."\footnote{Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 99.} 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."\footnote{Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 100.} So high was Jesus' esteem for virginity that he chose the Virgin Mary to be his mother and then miraculously maintained her virginity \textit{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:

\begin{verbatim}
Et die tertia, inquit, nuptiae fiebant in Cana Galilaeae: et ibi erat mater Jesu. Vocatus est autem et Jesus, et discipuli ejus ad nuptias. Et vinum non habebant, quoniam consummatum erat vinum nuptiarum. De qua inopia tunc in aenigmate ait Mater Domini ad eum, "Et vinum non habebant." Ait illi Jesus: "Quid
\end{verbatim}
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. It is concerning that need that the mother of the Lord enigmatically then said to Him: "They have no wine." Jesus says to her, "What is that to me and to you, woman? My hour has not yet come." "Do whatever He will tell you." (Translation by Ambrosius Glueck.)

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

"And they were without wine because the marriage wine had been all consumed" meant that the Gentiles did not yet have the wine of the Holy Spirit. Gaudentius also held that the nuptial wine of the Holy Spirit was already lacking at the ceasing of the prophets who ministered to the people of the Jews. Jesus would fill new wine skins with the new wine of the Holy Spirit through baptism. "All things have been made new in such a way, however, that their origin from

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

487 de la Potterie commented on this statement, "Gaudentius understood very well that the 'wine' of Cana has a symbolic significance. But that the symbolism had the meaning he attached to it is very unlikely. See, de la Potterie, Mary, 183.
the old might remain, for wine is not from nothing but is produced from the ancient element of water." The letter of the law kills, but when tempered by the Holy Spirit it regenerates life.  

3.9.1.1 Analysis

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.

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. 

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488 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 8, "Microfiche, 112 and 113.
489 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.
490 Gaudentius' assumption about a connection between Mary and Ruth is not found in the other Fathers.
3.9.2 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."491

Sed jam quid Dominus ei responderit, attonitis mentibus audiamus. Ait illi Jesus: "Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea." Juxta intellectus simplicis rationem probare suffecerit, beatam Mariam virginem sexus causa mulierem nuncupatam, sicut in Genesi de Eva scribitur .... 492

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." 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 .... (Translated by Ambrosius Glueck.)493

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.494

Christ is the Son of God, born of a woman, for the 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."495 Two reasons were given 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."\textsuperscript{496}

Gaudentius exhorted his followers to believe that Mary conceived as a virgin and gave birth as a virgin by the omnipotence of God.\textsuperscript{497} 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."\textsuperscript{498}

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."\textsuperscript{499} 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 virgin."\textsuperscript{500} Indeed, God's power was manifested in the virginal birth, while making her the mother to the only Son of God.

\textsuperscript{496} See Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 116.


\textsuperscript{498} Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 117.

\textsuperscript{499} Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 118.

\textsuperscript{500} Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 118.
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." 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 to this mother of wisdom, who had capacity for God, who was the most worthy home of such power? (Translated by Ambrosius Glueck.)

Continuing in Sermon 9, Gaudentius wrote, "What is that to me and to you? My hour has not yet come." The Lord's answer does not fit with his mother's suggestion; this led Gaudentius to believe that Jesus was speaking of a mystery and was speaking spiritually. Gaudentius reasoned that it was not the time for the wine of the Holy Spirit to be given to the Gentiles,

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503 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 118.
because that could come only after the death and resurrection of Jesus. Gaudentius posited that the words of Jesus might have been an explanation to Mary; he had to complete his public ministry with teaching and miracles before his death. Mary was acting in haste, though she knew what was to come.

Gaudentius then reflected on Mary's knowledge and understanding of Jesus' mission. She knew that her present suggestion was not disdainfully received, but that it was amplified in mystery according to this spiritual reason. Gaudentius believed that Mary "... 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 ...," 504 because she was filled with the Holy Spirit and had given birth to the Son of God. Validating his assumption, Gaudentius asked, "For what could be hidden to this mother of wisdom, who had capacity for God, who was the most worthy home of such power?" 505 Thus, Gaudentius assumed that Mary had exceptional knowledge about her Son, his mission, and the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

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

504 Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 119. de la Potterie made this point, "Gaudentius of Brescia says too much when he writes that Mary is thinking here of the wine of the Holy Spirit. Mary evidently is thinking of the ordinary wine for the wedding feast." See de la Potterie, Mary, 185.

the flesh, that He might give us in need the joy of heavenly wine."⁵⁰⁶ 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; this latter group by reason of the origin of Christ. "These mothers are intermediaries with Him for our needs."⁵⁰⁷ 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."⁵⁰⁸

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.

3.9.2.1 Analysis

Mary 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.

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 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.

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

Biblical Exegesis: 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 the Matthew's genealogy and in relationship to the patriarchs and
prophets. 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, and then given a moral interpretation.

Gaudentius literally interpreted Jesus' words to his mother and stated that they did not fit his mother's suggestion. Gaudentius had a preference for the heavenly and hidden meaning 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.

**Mary in Systematic Theology: Christology, Theology, and Soteriology:** Gaudentius' writings were primarily Christological. He gave full attention and place of honor to Jesus, however, he recognized Mary in relationship to Jesus, according to her presence and activity at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Mary was the holy virgin mother from whom the Son of God, the Word of God, chose to be born. Mary's virginal conception and virginal birth were made possible by divine omnipotence and accomplished for the purpose of providing the height of reverence for the beginning of the human life of the Son of God. Jesus became incarnate so that the world may see its Maker. Gaudentius followed the proclamations of the First Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople in Sermon 8, when he wrote, "For the Son of God, God without beginning, has taken beginning of flesh from the virgin in the last age."  

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511 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 100.


Gaudentius wrote about the theology of the Trinity according to the proclamations of the same councils mentioned above, "God is one in Trinity; there is one divinity and one power of the Trinity, and yet remains a true distinction of subsisting persons." 514 Mary was recognized as being the chosen woman to give birth to God the Son, by the Holy Spirit.

From a soteriological perspective, Gaudentius recognized Mary as the virgin and woman who was chosen to give birth to Christ who came for the following reasons: for the benefit of humanity, to ransom those under the law, to relieve this perishing world, and to refashion man by the Holy Spirit. 515 Mary was indirectly, but essentially, associated with the salvific work of Christ.

Gaudentius recognized Mary as instrumental in bringing Jesus' message to the Church of the Gentiles; she intercedes on their behalf, was an intermediary with Christ for their needs, and recommends that the apostolic priests and ministers obey whatever the Lord Jesus tells them. 516

Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church: Mary was included in Gaudentius' Sermon 8 and Sermon 9, as part of his biblical commentary. The sermons were primarily pastoral catecheses to the newly baptized and other members of his congregation.

Marian Anthropology: Gaudentius presented Mary as literally present at the Wedding Feast at Cana. She was an acting and involved mother and woman. Culturally, she belonged to

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the Moabites and followed the Jewish traditions of her time. Mary's spirituality was described by Gaudentius in various ways: she was "holy," "most blessed virgin Mary," and "blessed Mary." He believed that God chose Mary to be the mother of his Son, because of the esteem he had for her virginity. Mary chose to be in relationship with her people and observed the teachings of the Old Testament. As a theological person, Mary was the Virgin Mother of the Son of God. Her virginal conception, and especially, her virginal birth were evidence that "she might remain a more sacred virgin" by divine omnipotence. Mary was privileged to have exceptional knowledge about her Son and his plans, because she was filled with the Holy Spirit and had given birth to the Son of God. Mary had become the "mother of Wisdom, who had the capacity for God, who was the most worthy home of such power." There was universal significance to the way that Gaudentius presented Mary. She took an active role in interceding on behalf of the Gentiles. Along with the patriarchs and prophets, Mary tells the apostles and apostolic priests that both the law and prophets recommend to them that they carry out whatever the Lord Jesus will command them.

Thus, Mary was in a virginal relationship with God and was chosen to be the mother of the Son of God for the salvation of humanity. Evidence of this is her cooperation with God's plan as Virgin Mother of the Savior of humanity and her active role in carrying out his mission to the Gentiles.

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517 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 100 and 111, for references to Mary as holy Virgin and Blessed Mary; and Gaudentius, "Sermon 8, Microfiche, 99 and 106, for God chose Mary.

518 Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, for references to divine omnipotence, exceptional knowledge and mother of Wisdom, who had capacity for God, 119.

3.9.3 Marian Doctrine: Gaudentius recognized Mary in relationship with both the Old and New Testaments. She was the "woman and virgin" who was prefigured by Eve, born under the law, and associated with the patriarchs and prophets in bringing Christ's message to the Gentile Church. She was the messianic Daughter of Zion, becoming the icon of the Church. 520

Mary is the Mother of the Son of God, Word of God and God; she is the Mother of the Lord and Mother of Wisdom, who had capacity for God. The Word was made Flesh in Mary so that the world might be able to see its Maker and that Christ could refashion man, by the Holy Spirit. Mary was the woman, who at the divine birth began to be a mother and remained a more sacred virgin. 521 Gaudentius anticipated the recognition of Mary's true divine motherhood that results from the Christological dogma asserted in the General Council of Ephesus.

Gaudentius wrote of Mary's virginity at Jesus' conception, birth, and after his birth. He stated that Christ taught that virginity is better since he thought it worthy to be born of it; a holy virgin provided the height of reverence to forever attend to his beginning. He explained Mary's virginity in partu by referring to the power of the Risen Lord to pass through closed doors. 522

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520 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 111, for reference to Mary in the Old and New Testaments; "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 115, for reference to Eve; "Sermon 9" Microfiche, 118, for reference to Woman under the Law; and "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 119, for reference to patriarchs and prophets.

521 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 119, for references to Mary as: Mother of the Son of God, God, Mother of the Lord, and Mother of Wisdom, who had capacity for God; Word made flesh, 116; and the divine birth, 118 and 119.

522 See Gaudentius, "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 99 and 100, for reference to Mary's virginal conception and birth; "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 116 and 117, for reference to the same; "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 116, for reference to Mary's virginity after Jesus' birth; "Sermon 8," Microfiche, 100, for reference to virginity as the height of reverence; and "Sermon 9," Microfiche, 117, for the closed door.
Gaudentius' teaching about Mary's perpetual virginity anticipated the Second Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.\textsuperscript{523}
3.10 Comparison of Writings for Chapter Three: Nicaea to Ephesus

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. Verification of this is found by references to Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian, and others in the Second Vatican Council's *Lumen Gentium, Dei Verbum, Sacrosanctum Concilium,* and *Gaudium et Spes.* "Our Lady," chapter eight of *Lumen Gentium,* confirms this fact, as well as references to the Fathers in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church.*

**Biblical Exegesis:** In accordance with Patristic exegesis, three Fathers made references to Christ and his relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Maximus held that the old order was symbolic of Israel and the new bride was the Church. God's power manifested in the Old Testament was the same as the power that Christ manifested when he changed water into wine. Augustine and Gaudentius reread the Old Testament and recognized prophecies and symbols that applied to Mary. Both wrote of Mary's relationship with the messianic prophecies; she was of the seed of David, from whom the Son of God was born. Gaudentius recommended that Mary be received figuratively as the people of the holy patriarchs and prophets, recognizing both as mothers to the Lord. Continuing on this theme, he taught that both of these mothers were
intermediaries with Jesus on behalf of the Gentiles. One could consider her the messianic Daughter of Zion and the icon of the Church.\(^{524}\)

All of the Fathers in chapter three followed Origen's Alexandrian threefold method of exegesis: literal or historical, spiritual, and moral. They always began with the literal, but placed more emphasis on the spiritual meaning, frequently employing allegory. Being pastors, they also included moral exhortations in their works. They were always teaching the faith, defending the faith, and combating heresy.

These Fathers sought to understand and to validate their understanding of Scripture, by referring to other Scriptural sources. Gaudentius made reference to Matthew's genealogy, when presenting Mary's heritage. Ambrose explained Jesus' words to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana with the words that Jesus said to Mary in the Temple at the age of twelve in Luke 2:42-49. Ambrose and Gaudentius explained the words that Jesus addressed to his mother as "Woman" in the same way that the author of Genesis explained Eve: both Mary and Eve were woman and virgin. "Woman" refers to gender and sex, not to marital affairs. Augustine and Gaudentius identified Mary as the woman to whom God sent his Son, by whom he was born under the law in Galatians 4:4. Paulinus explained Mary's virginal conception by referring to Judges 6:37 and Psalm 71:6. Gaudentius provided an explanation for Mary's virginity in partu by calling attention to Jesus' post resurrection appearances in John 20:19-29 and Luke 24:39. Maximus and

\(^{524}\) Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Maximus, 102 and 105, regarding new bride; Maximus, 107, Jerome, 97, Augustine, 132 and 138, and Gaudentius, 152 and 159, regarding Old Testament prophecies; and Gaudentius, 157, 158 and 159, regarding patriarchs and prophets.

The Fathers sought to explain Mary's person, presence, interaction with Jesus, and action at the Wedding Feast at Cana in relation to her Divine Son and God's plan of salvation. The exchange of words between Mary and her Son has been a matter of much debate.\footnote{Francis J. Moloney holds that John 2:4, \textit{Quid mihi et tibi est} (τί ἐμοί καὶ σοί) is notoriously difficult to translate. He wonders whether it is a question or a statement. See \textit{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 Varghese, \textit{Imagery}, 79. 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 Brown, \textit{Gospel}, 99. de la 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, \textit{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," \textit{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 Perkins, "Gospel," \textit{New Jerome}, 954.} Maximus, Augustine, and Gaudentius commented on it. Each held that there was a misunderstanding between mother and Son. Maximus suggested the reason for this was that Mary mentioned to him casually about the lack of earthly wine, when he was about to offer the peoples the new chalice of salvation. Augustine wrote that Jesus said, "depart from me" or that he "repelled" her as one unknown, because she was the mother of his human infirmity and not the source of his divine power, which he was about to reveal. Gaudentius commented that the Lord's answer did...
not fit with the mother's suggestion, because the Lord was speaking in mystery and spiritually. He went on to explain that Mary acknowledged the profound mystery and understood that her suggestion was not disdainfully received by her Son. Augustine added an interpretation of John 19:26-27 that expressed an element of filial concern for his mother, indicating that Jesus commended her most considerately to his beloved disciple and he recognized his mother and appropriately showed his human affection.527

**Mary in Relation Systematic Theology: Christology, Theology, Soteriology, and Ecclesiology:** The primary focus for all of these Fathers was Christological, that is, Jesus' divinity and humanity. Their secondary interest originated from a Theological perspective, that is, Jesus' divinity and his relationship with the Father. Emerging from these two areas of pursuit was their interest in the soteriological effect of Jesus' birth, life, death, and resurrection in God's salvation plan for all humanity. Two Fathers connected Mary with the Church.

Reviewing some of the Christology found in chapter three, it was clear that the Fathers proclaimed and defended the belief that Jesus was the Son of God and Son of Mary, both divine and human.528 Hilary wrote that the Son of God is seen as man, but appears as God in the works of man. His miracles glorify the Father, who, for our salvation, willed that his Son be born of the Virgin. Ambrose spoke of the dual sonship of Jesus: the one that affiliates him with the Father is totally divine, and the one that affiliates him with his Mother subjects him to weariness and labor. Maximus clarified that Jesus' humanity would be manifested at the hour of his passion and

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527 Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Maximus, 103 and 104, Augustine, 123, 131, and 138, and Gaudentius, 154 and 158 regarding misunderstanding; Gaudentius, 157 and 160, regarding mystery; and Augustine, 123, 126, 131, 134, 136, and 139, regarding 19:26 and 27.

528 The teaching of the Fathers will be confirmed at the Council of Ephesus, the General Council of Chalcedon, Second Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.
our redemption. The transformation of the water into wine revealed Jesus' divinity. Paulinus reminded his listeners that God took the form of man from his virgin mother. Augustine identified Jesus as God when he was about to turn water into wine. But when his hour had come and he was about to die, he recognized his mother from the Cross. Augustine also clarified that Jesus had no mother as far as his divine nature was concerned; but in that hour when Jesus was crucified he would recognize his mother's human nature. Gaudentius was concerned that his followers should know that Mary was the holy, virgin mother from whom the Son of God, the Word of God, chose to be born. He was born of a virgin, the Word made flesh, yet remaining God, so that the world might be able to look upon its Maker and, with the Holy Spirit, he might refashion man.529

The Fathers consistently affirmed that Jesus was the Son of God, God, thus their secondary focus was Theological. Hilary stated that the Father and the Son are equal, and that the Father lost nothing when he generated the Son, just as Mary's integrity was not impaired when she brought forth her Son. Maximus wrote that Jesus shared our nature, but was also consubstantial with the Father. Augustine held that Jesus was Son by nature and born uniquely of the substance of the Father, being what the Father is, God from God, Light from Light. The Son of God 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. Augustine

529 Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 70 and 72 regarding Son of God seen as Man; Ambrose, 79 and 85 regarding dual sonship; Maximus, 103 and 105 regarding hour of passion; Paulinus, 113 and 114 regarding form from virgin mother; Augustine, 132 and 139 regarding no mother for human nature; Gaudentius, 151, 153, and 159 regarding Mary was the virgin mother of God; and Gaudentius, 154 and 155, and 160 regarding look upon the Maker.
explained that Mary was the woman, chosen by God, to be an instrument in God's salvation plan for humanity.\(^{530}\)

This leads to their third focus, that of Soteriology. Hilary contended that the Father willed that his Son be born as a man from a virgin, for our salvation. That which began at the Incarnation was accomplished in the Passion. Maximus reminded his followers that the Lord came to give new wine, to offer the people of the whole world the new chalice of eternal salvation and joys that are eternal. Augustine stated that the Word was made flesh for our salvation and restoration. Mary was the true mother of Jesus' true flesh, true death, and true resurrection. The human character that he assumed for our salvation was given to him by his mother. Gaudentius recognized Mary as the virgin and woman who was chosen to give birth to Christ who came for the following reasons: for the benefit of humanity, to ransom those under the law, to relieve this perishing world, and to refashion man by the Holy Spirit.\(^{531}\)

Augustine and Gaudentius associated Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana with Ecclesiology. Christ came to the wedding as the Bridegroom, to take the Church as his Bride. Christ did this in the bridal chamber, which was the womb of the Virgin Mary. This was the beginning of the Church, when Christ became the head of the Church, and the body was the Church. Augustine also associated the blood and water that flowed form the side of Christ as the

\(^{530}\) Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 70, and 72, regarding Father and Son equal; Maximus, 103 and 105, regarding Jesus shared our nature; and Augustine, 122, 132, and 139, regarding substance of the Father, God from God, and Mary's predestination.

\(^{531}\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 71 and 72, regarding our salvation; Maximus, 102 and 105, regarding new wine; Augustine, 124, 122, 126 and 140, regarding our salvation and restoration, our salvation; and Gaudentius, 155, 155, and 161, regarding ransoming those under the law, relieve a perishing world, and refashion man.
Sacraments by which the Church was formed. Gaudentius held that Mary interceded on behalf of the Gentiles and instructed the followers of Jesus to do whatever they were told.532

**Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church:** Six Fathers were found who included Mary in their writings on the Wedding Feast at Cana: Hilary, Ambrose, Maximus, Paulinus, Augustine, and Gaudentius. Three were doctrinal treatises: Hilary's *De Trinitate*, Augustine's *De vera religione*, and *De fide et symboło*. Seven were homilies with biblical commentaries: Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, Maximus' *Homilia XXIII*, Augustine's *Tractatvs in Ioannis Evangelicvm, VIII, CXIX and CCXVIII*, and Gaudentius' *Sermo VIII* and *IX*. One was a pastoral letter: Ambrose's *De institutione virginis*. There was one poem by Paulinus, *Carmina XXV*. Three of Jerome's works were briefly reviewed because of their significance to the teachings about Mary: *Adversus Helvidium, Adversus Iovinianum* and *Epistvla Ad Pammachium*.

The Fathers were pastors and one way of teaching their congregations was by explaining Sacred Scripture in biblical commentaries and homilies. Other times, the Fathers catechized recent converts.533 The doctrinal treatises were intended for other bishops and their congregations.534 One of the major tasks of the time was to teach right doctrine and to refute error. Hilary and Ambrose wrote against the Arians by defending the true humanity of Christ that Jesus assumed from his mother. Ambrose opposed the teaching of Sabellius and affirmed the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity. Ambrose also, defended Mary's perpetual virginity against

532 Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Augustine, 130, 137, and 140, and Gaudentius, 158 and 159, regarding Mary and the Church.

533 See Augustine, 136 and Gaudentius, 150.

534 See Hilary, *68 and Augustine*, 123.
Bonosus. Augustine and Gaudentius defended the true humanity of Jesus against the Manichaeans.\textsuperscript{535}

\textbf{Marian Anthropology:} There was clear evidence that there was growing and consistent interest in Mary as a person, in her interaction with her Son, her action, and her place in the salvation gained through the death of her Son.

The Fathers recognized Mary from an historical point of view, that is, from biographic and social perspective. Ambrose, Maximus, Paulinus, Augustine, and Gaudentius identify her as mother of the: Lord, Jesus or Christ. Mary was addressed as woman by Ambrose and Jerome. She was called by her name, "Mary," by Ambrose, Maximus, Paulinus, Augustine, and Gaudentius. Gaudentius provided an interesting and original idea about Mary's lineage, from his biblical exegesis about Cana of Galilee of the Gentiles. He surmised that because Mary was in Galilee, she was a Gentile. In consulting Matthew's genealogy for Jesus, he believed that Mary was a descendant of the Gentile, Ruth the Moabite; hence, Mary was a Moabite. From a social standpoint, Gaudentius mentioned that she was espoused to Joseph.\textsuperscript{536}

Mary, according to Marian Anthropology, was a moral being with reason and will, and was in relationship with others. Mary was moved by charity and concern for others and took the initiative to request for help from Jesus when the wine ran short. Hilary described the wedding

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{535} See Hilary, 66, and Ambrose, 79, for references to Arianism; Ambrose, 79, for reference to Sabellius; Ambrose, 83, for reference to Bonosus; and Augustine, 122, and Gaudentius, 148, for references to Manichaeism.

\textsuperscript{536} Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 80 and 86, Maximus, 103 and 106, Paulinus, 113 and 114, Augustine, 126, 132, 134 and 139, and Gaudentius, 151 and 160, regarding Mary as mother; Ambrose, 82 and 86, Maximus, 103 and 106, Paulinus, 113 and 115, Augustine, 132, 134, 136 and 141, and Gaudentius, 154 and 162, regarding Mary being named; Gaudentius, 152 and 162, regarding Mary as a Gentile; Gaudentius, 152 and 160, regarding Mary being espoused to Joseph.
\end{footnotesize}
scene, "The bridegroom is sad, the family is embarrassed, the celebration ... endangered;" then Jesus was requested to help. Ambrose commented that His Mother "presses Him for a miracle." Maximus stated that "the most blessed Mary" told Jesus about the lack of wine. Augustine added another dimension to Mary's request, "His mother then demanded a miracle of Him." Gaudentius offered another insight, "the mother of the Lord enigmatically" told Jesus they had no wine. In each case, Mary was involved and active in the events of the Wedding Feast at Cana. 537

References to Mary's moral qualities were mentioned by Maximus. He called Mary "most blessed Mary" and "holy Mary." Augustine called her, "Blessed Mary."538 Gaudentius identified her as "holy virgin."539 Other works provided more references to spiritual aspects of Mary.540

Some of the Fathers taught that Mary was a consecrated virgin; this was a sign of her humility, total commitment to God, and her receptivity to God's will for her. Mary was chosen to be the mother of the Lord, because she was a virgin. Ambrose held that Mary had "received an incentive to virginity, but also gave us God." Paulinus stated,... in this consecrated virgin God built himself a pleasing temple with a hidden roof." Gaudentius held that God chose the holy

537 Refer to the pages indicated in the thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 69 and 71, regarding embarrassed; Ambrose, 80 and 86, regarding presses; Maximus, 103 and 106, for lack of wine; Augustine, 131 and 141, demanded; and Gaudentius, 154 and 158, regarding enigmatically.

538 Augustine held that Mary's holiness was associated with her Divine Maternity and not from any merit of her own. Mary's personal holiness originated from her own great faith, in that, she conceived Christ in her mind before she conceived him in her body. Neither of these comments was made in reference to the Wedding Feast at Cana. Refer to page 144 for the reference to this in the thesis.

539 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discusison. See Maximus, 103 and 106, regarding most holy, blessed Mary and holy Mary; Augustine, 135 and 141, regarding Blessed Mary; and Gaudentius, 151, 152 and 162, regarding holy virgin.

540 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Maximus, 107, regarding Mary as holy, believing, and immaculate; Augustine, 144, regarding Mary's holiness.
Virgin to be home. Augustine wrote, in other writings, that Mary was already consecrated to God before the Annunciation and that Mary was a perpetual virgin.

Mary was identified as a theological person, one who was intimately involved with God and who carried out the mission she accepted at the Annunciation. The Fathers wrote that Mary was the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, who was God. This was a significant event in the relationship between Mary and God. This was the beginning of Mary's life project in communion with the Trinitarian God. Hilary wrote that Mary brought forth a Son without loss of her virginity through the power of God. She raised her Divine Son from cradle, to infancy, through perfect manhood, with motherly love. Mary contributed in her own way to the human growth of her Divine Son, who ultimately was nailed to the Cross and died so that all flesh is vivified.

Ambrose wrote similarly, Mary accepted her mission to be the mother of the Son of God. She stayed with him during his formative years and was present at his first miracle. Augustine wrote about Mary's Divine Maternity from a somewhat different orientation. He presented Mary as a passive participant or an instrument of God's work. "God most high ... deigned to take upon him the whole of human nature in the womb of a Virgin, inhabiting the body of his mother and being born of it ... while leaving it pure and entire." Jesus would recognize "his mother's human nature" from the Cross. Augustine did explain that as God "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

541 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 82 and 86, regarding incentive to virginity; Paulinus, 113 and 115, consecrated virgin; and Gaudentius, 151 and 162, regarding God chose the holy Virgin to be his home.

542 Refer to Augustine, 143, in this thesis for the text and discussion.
created, He knew her as His mother .... [...] The same both the Lord of Mary and the son of Mary; the same both the Creator and created from Mary. “

Mary was transformed by her Divine Maternity. She gained greater knowledge about her Son and his mission. Ambrose wrote that Mary learned more about her Son from the time he was twelve until he was at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Maximus believed that Mary "... in her spirit [she] knew in advance what would happen and foresaw the Lord's will ...." and so advised the servants. Gaudentius held that Mary had exceptional knowledge because she was filled with the Holy Spirit and had given birth to the Son of God. Gaudentius believed that Mary had become the mother of Wisdom and had the capacity for God, because she was the most worthy home of God. 

Maximus and Gaudentius wrote about Mary as an associate in the work of her Son. Maximus presented Mary as knowing that Jesus would perform a miracle, which was his first sign and manifested his glory, and the disciples believed in him. Gaudentius united Mary with the Patriarchs and Prophets in interceding for the Gentiles and telling the ministers to carry out whatever the Lord Jesus commanded them.

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543 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 71 and 73, regarding Mary and Jesus' growth; Ambrose, 80 and 86, regarding formative years; Augustine, 124, 126 and 139, regarding God deigned to take whole human nature, Augustine, 126 and 139 for Mary's purity, Augustine, 123, 126, 132, 134, 136 and 140 for Jesus' recognized mother from the Cross, and Augustine, 132 and 133 for Mary's predestination.

544 Refer to the pages indicted in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 80 and 86, regarding Mary learning from her Son; Maximus, 103 and 104, regarding Mary knowing in advance; Gaudentius, 157 and 162, regarding exceptional knowledge; and Gaudentius, 157 and 162, regarding Mother of Wisdom.

545 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion of the topics. See Maximus, 103 and 104, regarding knowing that Jesus would perform; and Gaudentius, 158 and 163, regarding telling the ministers to do as Jesus commanded.
Ambrose and Paulinus recognized Mary specifically for her universal significance. Mary showed the perfect way to live a life in accord with the Triune God, through virginity. Ambrose wrote about his experience, that "everyone" was being summoned to the cult of virginity by Mary's example. She was the archetype for virgins. Mary's example was the model that all people were called to follow at this time. Paulinus promised that Mary would come to visit the bridal couple, if they were consecrated to God and lived as brother and sister. Mary was the archetype of humility and virginity for them, because she was a consecrated virgin in whom God built himself a pleasing temple and silently glided down upon her. If they live in accordance with Mary's example, they will meet Christ the Bridegroom. 546

3.11 Marian Doctrine

Mary was the Mother of the Son of God; the Mother of the Lord; the one who gave us God; the one who gave birth to God; the virgin who gave birth to the Son, who was consubstantial with the Father and one with the Father; Mary was the mother of the humanity of Christ, who was recognized by him when he hung upon the Cross. 547 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 *sensus fidelium* at the time.

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546 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 82 and 86, regarding all summoned to virginity; and Paulinus, 113 and 115, regarding Mary as a consecrated virgin.

547 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 71 and 73, and Gaudentius, 151, for the mother of the Son of God; Maximus, 103 and 104, Paulinus, 113, and Gaudentius, 152, for the Mother of the Lord; Ambrose, 82, for the one who gave us God; Paulinus, 113, for the one who gave birth to God; Augustine, 123 and 125, for the virgin who have birth to the Son consubstantial with the Father; Augustine, 123, 125 and 126, for the mother of Christ's humanity; and Augustine, 123, 126, 132, 134, and 140, for the mother recognized from the Cross.
A second topic of great importance to the Fathers was Mary's virginity. Paulinus held that Mary was a consecrated virgin. Augustine wrote that Mary took a vow of virginity. Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Paulinus, Augustine, and Gaudentius all taught that Mary was a perpetual virgin. Maximus wrote of Mary's virginal conception and birthing. 548

Several Fathers commented on Mary's holiness. Ambrose wrote that Mary was holy, full of grace, and the model *par excellence* of holiness. Maximus believed that Mary was a holy, believing, and immaculate woman; however, he modified this by saying that she sinned venially during her life. Gaudentius identified her as the holy virgin that God chose to be his home. Augustine taught that Mary's holiness originated from her great faith, obedience to the will of God, her charity, humility, and holy modesty. There is scholarly debate whether Augustine believed in Mary's Immaculate Conception. 549 The Eve / Mary parallelism was part of the teachings of Ambrose, Maximus, and Gaudentius. 550 Mary was identified as a type of the Church by Ambrose *and* Augustine. 551

The Fathers of this period shared a common belief that Mary was the Mother of Jesus Christ who is God and consubstantial with the Father. All of the Fathers, except Maximus, 548 References to Mary's virginity are from the commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana and the other Marian teaching of these Fathers. Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for references to Mary in this paragraph. See Paulinus, 113, for Mary as a consecrated virgin; Augustine, 143, for a vow of virginity; Hilary, 69 and 74, Ambrose, 87 and 88, Jerome, 97, Paulinus, 116, Augustine, 143, and Gaudentius, 163, for Mary as a perpetual virgin; and Maximus, 107, for Mary's virginal conception and birth.

549 *Refer* to the pages indicated in this thesis for the references to Mary's holiness. See Ambrose, 84, 87 and 88, for fullness of grace and model *par excellence*; Maximus, 107, for reference to holy, believing, and immaculate; and Gaudentius, 151, regarding holy Virgin; Augustine, 144, for reference to her faith, obedience, charity, humility and holy modesty and Mary's Immaculate Conception.

550 See Ambrose, 88, Maximus, 107, and Gaudentius, 163.

551 See Ambrose, 88 and 89 and Augustine, 145.
believed and taught that Mary was a perpetual virgin. Maximus did not confirm nor deny Mary's virginity after childbirth in the material found by this author. There was no variation in their beliefs from the beginning of this period to the end, nor was there a difference according to the place where the Fathers ministered.
Chapter Four

Latin Christianity in the Roman Empire

Council of Ephesus to the Third Council of Constantinople

4.1 Introduction

Comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were included in the writings of the Latin Fathers 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 two Latin Fathers who included Mary in their homilies. They were: Quodvultdeus from Roman North Africa and Bede, the Venerable, from Northumbria, Northern England. Pope Leo, the Great, will be included because of his prominence in this period and because of his Tome ad Flavianum, which was adopted at the Council of Chalcedon. This Council defined solemnly the doctrine of the two natures of Christ united in the second person of the Trinity. Thus, reaffirming that Mary was the Mother of God. Pope Gregory the Great will also be included because of his contributions to the Church and to the people of Italy.

The numbers of authors during this period are few. This may be due to the upheaval that existed in the Western Roman Empire. It was not a time 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 is lost.
4.2 The Latin Church in the Roman Empire

4.2.1 Challenges Faced by the Fathers of the Church

The fifth through the eighth 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 Huns who had been displaced by the Chinese, began to move westward, then south-eastern into Europe. They displaced other peoples who were in their way. These various displaced groups of peoples were generally called Goths. The Goths were pushed into the Roman Empire, as were other Germanic peoples. These barbarian invasions and settlements had started in the early years of the fifth century and continued through the sixth century. Rome had been captured and sacked by the Visigoths in 410; they proceeded to conquer and settle in the south of Gaul and Spain. The Vandals who were invading Hippo as Augustine lay dying in 430, continued on to conquer Carthage in 439. Ultimately they settled in Spain. Pope Leo the Great convinced Atilla the Hun to abandon his plans to invade Rome and to withdraw beyond the Alps. In 455, Pope Leo intervened on behalf of the unarmed Romans, that they be spared massacre and torture, while Rome was sacked by Genseric and his Vandals. In 500, the Ostrogoths ruled Italy. The Franks ruled from south-western Germany across Gaul to the Atlantic waters of the Bay of Biscay. The Burgundians controlled the Rhone valley. The Anglo-Saxons invaded Britain. This was a tumultuous time in the Roman Empire and for the Church.

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552 See Logan, History of the Church, 14.

553 See Logan, History of the Church, 17.
The last Roman emperor was an adolescent by the name of Romulus Augustulus. In 476, he was dethroned by the Barbarian Odoacer. From that time on there was no emperor in the West. The Roman Empire in the Latin West had disintegrated into a multitude of Barbarian kingdoms; this empire was ruled by Germanic kings.\(^5\) The empire in the East continued to exist without invasions, until the Arab invasions in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The results of the ongoing invasions and settlements produced changes in the lifestyle of the people. Trade and city life decreased, while there was an emphasis on farming and the rural life, resulting in the transformation of the State into an Agrarian society. The destruction of political and social systems led to a general decline in moral standards and a lack of interest in study and the arts.\(^4\) This produced a vacuum in society that became an opportunity for the Church.

The Germanic tribes were originally pagans. However, an Arian Christian and bishop, Ulfilas (c. 311-383), the son of a 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."\(^6\) The Franks defeated the Arian Germans. Clovis became the new Constantine.\(^7\)


\(^6\) Logan, *History of the Church*, 14 to 16.

\(^7\) See Comby, *Church History*, 120.
4.2.2 The Popes and the Church Respond

The Church was able to fill in the vacuum that resulted from the disintegration of the Western Roman Empire. 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. The Eastern Church appealed to Rome for difficult cases, for example the Christological dispute that led to the Council of Chalcedon (451). With the decline of the Roman Empire in the West, the Bishop of Rome became the representative of the Roman tradition. Two popes made significant contributions to the Church and society during this period, Leo the Great (440-461) and Gregory the Great (590-604). Pope Leo the Great will be presented along with the commentary on the Council of Chalcedon in the introductory section and his writings about Jesus at the Wedding Feast at Cana will be discussed in the following section dedicated to his life and work. Pope Gregory will be presented first, even though no writings of his were found on the Wedding Feast at Cana.

Gregory the Great was a well educated Benedictine monk, assumed the papacy at a time when there 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

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558 See Logan, History of the Church, 174 and 175.
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. Pope Gregory's authority extended into civil matters, which became the standard for other popes in the medieval period. Christopher Dawson holds, "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."\(^{559}\) Pope Gregory was identified as "Consul of God" on his tomb in St. Peter's. His treatise, *Pastoral Care*, and the *Dialogues* caused Gregory's name to be placed with Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome as a Father of the Church.\(^{560}\)

### 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

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\(^{559}\) Dawson, *Making of Europe*, 175.

\(^{560}\) See Logan, *History of the Church*, 48 to 51.
became a place of learning, where Sacred Scripture, works of early Christian authors, and classical writings were studied. The monks integrated their practice *Lectio Divina* into their reading of Sacred Scripture. They developed a pedagogy whereby Latin could be learned from books, the method was then applied to reading the Bible, liturgical, and theological books. Manuscripts were copied and distributed throughout the Continent, along with their biblical and grammatical commentaries.  

St. 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 land owning corporations, which they managed as part of the Benedictine rule, *Ora et Labora*.

Pope Gregory sent St. Augustine to Canterbury, England to establish religious organization and unification. St. Wilfred and St. 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."

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The monasteries in the Eastern Church continued to thrive within a stable and prosperous empire. The monks were able to concentrate on in-depth questions of Theology and Christology, as well as, development of spirituality and mysticism.

4.2.4 Ecumenical Councils

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. 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." 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." 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 (Theotokos) (since she begot according to the flesh the Word of God made flesh), anathema sit." Thus Mary truly became the Mother of God, the

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563 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 Christotokos, Christ bearer, rather than Theotokos. See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 235. The heresy founded by Nestorius is known as Nestorianism. There are adherents to Nestorianism today.

564 Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 220.

565 Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 220.

566 Neuner andDupuis, Christian Faith, 222.
*Theotókos*. 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). 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 Jesus Christ, born from the womb of a virgin, does not make his nature different from ours.569

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

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567 See Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 220 and 221; *CCC*, #466.

568 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.

Leo. The General Council of Chalcedon held that in Christ there are two natures, one divine and one human, hypostatically united in one Divine Person. Thus, Mary was the Virgin Mother of God.

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. 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.

The Lateran Council (649) was convened by Pope Martin I and was not an ecumenical council. While it was held to condemn Mono-energism and Monothelitism, it 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.

570 See Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers*, 305.
571 See Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 226 and 227; *CCC*, #467.
572 See Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 231 to 234.
574 See Neuner and Dupuis, *Christian Faith*, 240.
The Third General Council of Constantinople (680-681) was convoked by Emperor Constantine IV with the full consent of Pope Agatho. The Council 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. This was the final condemnation of Monothelitism (680-681). This council was entirely Christological.

4.2.5 Church Life

During the time of barbarian challenges to the life of the Roman people and the Church, Leo implored his followers to practice Christian charity. He reminded them that the whole Church was the Body of Christ. In Sermon 46, he instructed them to perform works of mercy by giving alms. In Sermon 12, Leo encouraged Christians to practice prayer, fasting, and almsgiving even if they lacked the resources, because Christ knows their needs and would be generous to them.

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

575 See Neuner and Dupuis, Christian Faith, 246.


577 See Comby, Church History, 76 to 79, 146.
Continent. The manuals were used as guidelines for appropriate penances. After the individual confessed, the priest gave them absolution and imposed the recommended penance.\textsuperscript{578}

Liturgy was considered an act of worship and a norm for Christian living. St. Prosper of Aquitaine (430) coined the axiom, \textit{legem credendi lex statuat orandi}, "what is believed is celebrated and that what is celebrated flows into the life of faith."\textsuperscript{579} 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 \textit{Sacrosanctum Concilium} with its frequent references to actively participating and living the mystery proclaimed in liturgy."\textsuperscript{580}

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 according to the Roman territorial dioceses and not according to specific peoples.\textsuperscript{581}

\textsuperscript{578} See Logan, \textit{History of the Church}, 25.


\textsuperscript{580} Thomas Thompson, "The Virgin Mary in the Liturgy and Devotion in the West," Lecture, International Marian Research Institute, University of Dayton, Ohio, Summer 2009, 51 and 55.

\textsuperscript{581} See Logan, \textit{History of the Church}, 57 and 58.
The cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary grew in the Latin Church. After the General Council of Ephesus, more churches were dedicated to Mary and the number of feasts in her honor increased. Her name was gradually included in the liturgy. The three solemnities of Marian feasts during this period were: her divine maternity, January 1, the Annunciation, March 25, and the Assumption, August, 15. The *memoria* of Mary was the Nativity of Mary on September, 8. The joint *memoria* of Jesus and Mary was the Presentation in the Temple on February 2.\(^{582}\)

Graef summarized the status of the Latin Church from this point, "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."\(^{583}\) The only Latin authors to write more about the Mother of God were the Spanish theologians, Leander of Seville (d. ca. 600), his brother Isidore (d. 636), and Ildefonsus of Toledo (d. 667). Ildefonsus wrote a treatise in Mary's perpetual virginity and included a chapter on Mary's intercession.\(^{584}\)


\(^{583}\) Graef, *History*, 92.

\(^{584}\) Graef, *History*, 110.
4.3 Life and Work 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.

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

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586 Augustine, *Writings*, 114, 117.

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. Réne 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 among those determined to be authored by Quodvultdeus. The sermons were thought

588 Finn, Quodvultdeus, 2.
589 See Finn, Quodvultdeus, 2.
591 For further discussion on Réne Braun's work see Robert B. Eno, "Quodvultdeus of Carthage," Preaching in the Patristic Age" (New York, N.Y.: Paulist Press, 1989), 153 and 160.
to have been preached in Carthage and Liber was written in Naples between 445 and 450.\textsuperscript{592} 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.\textsuperscript{593}

4.3.1 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.\textsuperscript{594} 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 the Son always was. And if God is the Father, God is the Son also: Nothing other than God can proceed from God."\textsuperscript{595}


\textsuperscript{594} Quodvultdeus succeeded Bishop Capreolus in 437. See Finn, \textit{Quodvultdeus}, 92.

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 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

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596 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.
597 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.
598 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.
599 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.
600 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.
her virginity. 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." Quodvultdeus held that when the angel greeted Mary, the Holy Spirit made her fruitful, and Jesus protected her virginity.

In the following sections, 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 talking about a father on earth whom he did not know, but about him 'who made heaven and earth.' Quodvultdeus continued,

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601 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.

602 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34. Finn holds that this refers to Mary's sinlessness and holiness. See Finn, Quodvultdeus, 104.

603 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34 -36. The lower case “s” reflects the original text.
Agnoscat et eius adolescentiam, uideat multa et magna miracula, conversionem aquirum in uinum. In quo primo miraculo putavit illa femina iubere se filio possere tanquam mater dominam quae se agnoscebat ancillam. "Fili," ait, "deficit illis uinum, fac rursus ut aquirae convuerantur in uinum." Et ille ut distinguerent 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? mundum uenit hora mea." Tanquam ei diceret: Veniet hora, quando id quod natum est de te in cruce pendens agnoscat te et discipulo dilectum commendet te; in hoc autem miraculo quid mihi et tibi? Non enim hoc processit ex te, sed ex eo qui fecit te: non tibi competet ut iubeas Deo, competet autem ut subditas 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, lapeorum mundationem, claudorum cursus, surdorum auditus, daemonum fugaiones: et quod maius his omnibus, mortuorum resurrectionem. Sed adhuc agnoscat haec mater, et expauescat filii sui etiam iuventutem. 604

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 awe of her young son. 605 (Translated by Thomas Macy Finn.)

Continuing on the theme of a wedding, Quodvultdeus advised that a bride 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." 606

4.3.2 Analysis

As Quodvultdeus developed his commentary on the second article of faith, "We believe in his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Holy Spirit from the virgin Mary," he wanted to emphasize
that Jesus had two natures, human and divine and there was a difference between his humanity and his divinity. Quodvultdeus chose the exchange between Jesus and his mother at the Wedding Feast at Cana as the example for his explanation.

Quodvultdeus had acknowledged Mary as the virgin mother who recognized whom she carried. Yet Mary, who acknowledged that she was a handmaid, gave her Son orders to perform a miracle. This miracle would require a power that did not come from her, but from the one who made her. Mary's request, as paraphrased, indicated that Mary did not have complete understanding about her Son. Quodvultdeus gently encouraged Mary saying, "Let her also recall ... let her see the many miracles ... let this mother now recognize and stand in awe of her young son." As Mary would come to know and understand her Son better, so would the catechumens come to know and better understand her Son.

Quodvultdeus paraphrased John 2:3, 5, "Son, their wine has run out; do something so that the water may be changed back into wine." Quodvultdeus surmised that Jesus wanted to show the difference between God and man; therefore, Jesus said, "What is that to me and you, Mother? My hour has not yet come." Quodvultdeus repeated this question twice again, seemingly to call attention to the difference between Jesus and his mother. As God, Jesus was

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607 There is another way to translate "Fili" ait, "deficit illis uinum, fac rursus ut aquae convertantur 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 aqueae convertantur 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.

608 The Latin reads mulier, that is woman, while the English translation reads "mother," the translator's error.
superior to his mother; as man, he was subordinate and subject to her. It was not Mary's place to give an order to her Son, as God; rather, it was her place to be subject to him, as God.

Quodvultdeus 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.609

**Biblical Exegesis:** As indicated above, Quodvultdeus paraphrased John 2:3 and added a non-canonical translation to the *Vetus Latina,* writing "Son," Mary says, "their wine has run out; do something so that the water may be changed back into wine."610 He took a literal translation of the words and changed them to allow him to discuss the Christological doctrine about the humanity and divinity of Christ. 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."611

Quodvultdeus quoted the canonical translation of the *Vetus Latina* for John 2:4, "What is that to me and you, woman? My hour has not yet come." He explained the literal meaning of these words, by revealing the deeper, spiritual meaning of his "hour." Just as he explained the literal words in Luke 1:28, "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you," as having a deeper,

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609 For references to hour and ransom, see Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," *Quodvultdeus,* 36 and 39; and Augustine, "Faith and Creed," *Augustine,* 358; "True Religion," *Augustine,* 239 and 240; "Tractate 8," *Church Fathers,* 121 and 122; "Tractate 119," *Church Fathers,* 512; and "Sermon 218," *Augustine,* 168 and 169.

610 This comment assumes the correction discussed for the wording of John 2:3 in the above analysis. 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.

611 See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," *Quodvultdeus* for references to wine run out and Mary demanded, 36.
spiritual meaning. The Holy Spirit filled Mary with grace; he made her fruitful and she received the Lord.\textsuperscript{512}

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."\textsuperscript{613}

Quodvultdeus' rhetorical style allowed him to disclose the creed and the essential teachings of the Catholic Church to the catechumens. He carefully and methodically presented his points. His purpose was to educate, as well as to exhort his neophytes. Within his discourse, he defended orthodoxy against heterodoxy; he stated the truth and contrasted it with the errors of others, for example, the Jews. Quodvultdeus employed Sacred Scripture to explain Sacred Scripture and then applied it to the creed. For example, at the Annunciation, the angel's greeting made the Virgin Mary fruitful, the mother of God as man. The same God as man, worked the miracle at the Wedding Feast at Cana, indicating his divinity; and recognized his mother from the Cross, indicating his humanity.\textsuperscript{614}

\textsuperscript{512} See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to the hour and Mary being full of grace, 34 and 36.

\textsuperscript{613} See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to chose to be born and gave birth to her creator, 34. Quodvultdeus' use of the word, "create," is to be understood in the sense that she was his natural mother.

\textsuperscript{614} See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to the creed, Annunciation, and the humanity and divinity of Christ, 34, and 36.
Mary in relation to Systematic Theology: Christology: Quodvultdeus explained that we believe in God's Son, Jesus Christ, born of the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary. The Word assumed flesh from his mother, and his flesh was not altered; and the Word remained God as he assumed the nature of man. The Virgin Mary was chosen by God to be the one from whom he would be born. Mary requested a miracle at the Wedding Feast, which provided the opportunity to explain the difference between the origin of Jesus' divinity and humanity. Mary was the origin of Jesus' humanity, with which he would die on the Cross and redeem us with his blood.615

Quodvultdeus promulgated the teachings of the General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus; also consistent with the teachings that would come from the General Council of Chalcedon.

Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church: Quodvultdeus wrote about Mary in his homily on the creed, a doctrinal discourse. He wanted to explain the creed in such a way that the catechumens would come to believe as "we believe" and to provide a lesson to the unbeliever. He appropriately acknowledged that Mary had an essential role in one of the central precepts of the Church's teachings.

Marian Anthropology: Quodvultdeus recognized an historical aspect of Mary. He identified her by her name. She was a real woman, a Mother of Sion by whom David's prophecy would be fulfilled. Mary received the message of the angel Gabriel, conceived, and gave birth to Jesus. She was with him in the Temple in Jerusalem, at the Wedding Feast at Cana and at the

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615 See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to the creed, assumed our flesh, Christ's humanity and divinity, and redeem us, 34, 36, and 39.
foot of the Cross. Quodvultdeus carried on a fictional dialogue with Mary, giving the reader a sense that Mary was a real person.\textsuperscript{616}

Mary was a spiritual person with intellect, will, and in relationship with God. The Holy Spirit filled her with grace. After the Holy Spirit filled Mary with grace, she received (\textit{suscepit}) the Lord. \textit{Suscepit}, an active verb, indicated that she actively accepted the Lord. Quodvultdeus presented Mary as attempting to exert her will over her Son. Mary was identified as "the devout mother who did not take amiss his [Jesus'] admonition."\textsuperscript{617}

Mary can be understood as a theological person from the perspective that she was chosen for her role as virgin mother by God: he was born of her whom he chose; the Most High who founded her, was made man in her; the same Most High, because he created such a mother, formed himself in her. In this, Quodvultdeus followed Augustine's belief that Mary was predestined for her role, as was discussed in Augustine's Marian Anthropology, Mary as a theological person.\textsuperscript{618}

Quodvultdeus offered another glimpse of Mary as a theological person, when he developed the idea that Mary's knowledge about her son increased through her life's experience with him. She recognized him whom she carried and she knew; her knowledge advanced as she heard Jesus' reference to his Father as the one who made heaven and earth; and she would

\textsuperscript{616} See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," \textit{Quodvultdeus} for references to Mother of Sion, David, Angel, Temple, Wedding Feast, and Cross, 34, 35, and 36.

\textsuperscript{617} See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," \textit{Quodvultdeus} for references to filled with grace, \textit{suscepit}, and amiss, 34 and 36.

\textsuperscript{618} See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," \textit{Quodvultdeus} for references to Mary chosen and Most High created her, 34; and Augustine's "Marian Anthropology," Section 3.8.6, 141 and 142.
recognize his divinity in the miracles that he would work. Mary's response would be to recognize and stand in awe of her young son. Quodvultdeus held that Mary would learn that Jesus, as God, was superior to her, when he responded to her orders at the Wedding Feast at Cana and spoke as he did. Mary remained the devout mother throughout her son's life.

Quodvultdeus taught that Mary was an archetype of virginity and motherhood for the Church.

4.3.3 Marian Doctrine

Quodvultdeus recognized Mary as the Mother of God and as a perpetual virgin. He wrote, "...the Word assumed our flesh; nor was he altered in the flesh, because remaining God he assumed man. [...] The mother, virginity intact, was carrying the Son...." And again, "The Most High, who founded her, was made man in her, the same Most High, because he formed himself in her: He, in emerging from her womb, at the same time gave her a Son without taking away her virginity." In referring to the Bride, the Church, he stated, "Let her be sought after who is to be united to him. The kind of woman he was born of, let such a woman be found for him, to whom he gives fecundity as a mother yet whose virginity he preserves intact. Let the Son of her who remains a virgin take to himself one who will remain a virgin." 619 Quodvultdeus' comments are in conformity with the true divine motherhood that results from the Christological dogma asserted at the Council of Ephesus. His belief in the perpetual virginity anticipated the Second Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.

619 Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus for references to Word assumed flesh, Most High founded her and Bride's, 37, 34, and 37.
Mary's holiness was associated with her virginity and divine maternity. Quodvultdeus believed that when the angel greeted this virgin as "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you [Luke 1:28], "then the Holy Spirit made her fruitful: this woman then conceived a man without a man, then filled with grace, and then received the Lord ...."

In Quodvultdeus' other homilies on the Creed he wrote of Mary's virginity. In Homily Two, Mary was the virgin referred to in Isaiah 7:14, Matt. 1:23, and Luke 1:31. He believed that Mary was the virgin who arose from the root of Jesse, and Christ was the flower, the son of the virgin in Isaiah 11:1. Later in the same homily, Quodvultdeus wrote, "The New Man, begotten of a virgin without defilement, was placed in a new tomb ... so that the sanctity of the virginal womb might be honored in every way by the fittingness of the hallowed womb." In Homily Three, Quodvultdeus was commenting on the Apocalypse,"Let none of you ignore that the dragon is the devil; know that the virgin signifies Mary, the chaste one, who gave birth to our chaste head. She also embodied in herself a figure of the holy church: namely, how, while bearing a son, she remained a virgin, so that the church throughout time bears her members, yet she does not lose her virginity." In this last statement, Finn holds that Quodvultdeus followed Augustine’s teaching in Sermon 215.3, in referring to Mary's virginal conception and birth, and integrity after birth.

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620 See Quodvultdeus, "First Homily," Quodvultdeus, 34.

In Homily Two, Quodvultdeus wrote about the Eve / Mary parallelism, "The proud Adam, the humble Christ; through a woman death, through a woman life; through Eve destruction, through Mary salvation. The corrupt one followed the seducer; the pure one bore the Savior." 622

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622 Quodvultdeus, "Homily Two." Quodvultdeus, 57.
Pope St. Leo, the Great (c. 400-461)

4.4 Life and Work of Pope Leo

Leo was probably born in Tuscany around 400 and was the son of Quintinanus. "During his studies, he acquired an excellent formation in theology, united with exceptional expertise in the use of Latin language and in rhetoric." Leo also had a good understanding of the law.

Leo was an archdeacon under Popes Celestine I and Sixtus III. In 440, at the request of the Emperor Valentinian III, Leo was sent to Gaul to mediate between two rival officers: Patrician Aetius and the Praetorian Prefect Arbinus. In his absence, Pope Sixtus died and the people elected Leo to succeed him. He was consecrated pope on September 29, 440. When Leo assumed the pontificate, the Western part of the Roman Empire was being assaulted by the barbarian invaders.

Leo took his responsibility very seriously as bishop of Rome, because he knew that he succeeded Peter as the one to whom Christ gave the power to rule the whole Church. He acknowledged that the bishops were equal in the episcopacy, but he was the one to guide them. It was his role to guarantee the continuity of the Redeemer's work on earth and the unity of Christians. With this as his goal, he provided daily instruction for the sanctification of

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623 Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 302.
624 See details in "The Challenges Faced by the Fathers of the Church," section 4.2.1, 180 to 183.
626 See Gambero, Mary and the Fathers, 303.
his people, by preaching to the clergy and faithful of Rome on the mysteries of Christ. He encouraged them to stay faithful to their baptismal promises.

Leo worked for unity among Christians and struggled throughout his life for the orthodoxy and the peace of the Church. Leo, "while showing himself intransigent towards errors in faith or a lack of discipline, he sought at the same time to lead back those who had gone astray and to regain the guilty. [...] On the doctrinal level he sought out the via media, setting errors over against one another and confronting in a dialectical manner the diverse aspects of the one truth." 627 Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum*, served as the basis for the proceedings at the General Council of Chalcedon, which condemned both Nestorianism and Monophysitism. 628

Leo worked to preserve unity of faith with the Eastern Churches, especially around the controversies preceding and following the General Council of Chalcedon. 629

The writings of Leo are contained in 173 letters and 97 sermons. The majority (143) of the letters were written during his pontificate and provided guidance in juridical matters, for example, some confirmed decisions reached at Synods and others responded to questions


628 See "Ecumenical Councils," section 4.2.4, 185 to 188, 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," *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 889. There are still adherents to Monophysitism today.

submitted to the Apostolic See for opinion. The Tomus ad Flavianum was his most famous letter. The sermons are divided according to the Roman liturgical year of Leo's time.\textsuperscript{630}

There are many complimentary comments about Pope Leo, the Great, however two stand out. Basil Studer wrote, "Leo's pastoral activity on both the local and universal level was marked always by a vivid awareness of his dignity and authority. Yet while requiring the recognition of his mission at the service of all the churches, Leo never forgot \textit{humilitas}, i.e., his total dependence on Christ, the true Lord of the church."\textsuperscript{631} Francis Xavier Murphy wrote, Leo's "true significance resides in his doctrinal insistence on the mystery involved in Christ and the Church and in the supernatural charisms of the spiritual life accorded to man in Christ and in His body the Church. In keeping with this concept, Leo firmly believed that everything he did and said as pope for the governance of the Church was participated in by Christ, the head of the mystical body, and concurred in by St. Peter, in whose place Leo acted."\textsuperscript{632}

Pope Leo, the Great died on November 10, 461. He was declared a Saint and Doctor of the Church in 1754 by Pope Benedict XIV.

**Christ at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Sermons 12, 40, and 46.**

All three references to Jesus at the Wedding Feast relate to Jesus' manifestation of the omnipotence that originates from his divinity. Each sermon was delivered sometime during Lent. \textit{4.4.1 Sermon 12} was an exhortation to prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. In this way, the faithful,

\textsuperscript{630} See Studer, "Leo," \textit{Patrology}, 595 to 597.

\textsuperscript{631} Studer, "Leo," \textit{Patrology}, 593.

\textsuperscript{632} Murphy, "Leo," \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia}, 478.
who are made in the image and likeness of God, could reflect the goodness and love that God has for them, by giving praise to God and service to all people.

Oriatur de cordis agro, quod terra non edidit. Semper illi quod largiatur occurrat, cui bene uelle non deficit. Ad omnia igitur, dilectissimi, opera pietatis omnium nobis qualitas prostat annorum, nec benevolentiam christianam difficilis temporis impediat. Nout Dominus "uasa hospitalis uiduae" in opus "pietatis sue" "vacuata" completere; nouit aquas in uina conuertere; nouit de paucissimis panibus milia esurientium saturare populorum.\(^\text{633}\)

Let what the earth has not issued forth rise up from the soil of the heart. Those who have any good will left always find something to give. In all works of compassion, dearly beloved, let every year profit us, regardless of its quality. Lack of resources in this world should not fetter Christian benevolence. Our Lord knows how to fill those 'vessels of the hospitable widow' that had been 'emptied' for her work of 'compassion.' He knows how to change water into wine. He knows how to satisfy thousands of hungry people with just very few loaves.\(^\text{634}\) (Translated by Jane Patricia Freeland and Agnes Josephine Conway.)

4.4.1.1 Analysis of Sermon 12: Leo promised the faithful who followed the three-fold observance of the Lenten preparation, that they would be brought closer to the image and likeness of God and made inseparable from the Holy Spirit.\(^\text{635}\) Jesus' divine power allowed him to fulfill the needs of the faithful, as demonstrated by Jesus' ability to change water into a large volume of wine at the Wedding Feast at Cana.

4.4.2 Sermon 40: Leo admonished the faithful saying, "You, O Christian soul, always have to be alert against the adversary of your salvation, lest any place lie open to the wiles of the tempter, but you must practice a greater caution and more careful prudence when this same enemy rages against you with keener 'ill will.'"\(^\text{636}\) Even Jesus was tempted by the devil. After his fast in the

\(^\text{633}\) Leonis Magni, "Tractatvs XII," Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Tvnholti, Belg.: Brepols, CXXXVIII), 52.


\(^\text{635}\) See Leo, "Sermon 12," Sermons, 53.

\(^\text{636}\) Leo, "Sermon 40," Sermons, 173.
desert, Jesus felt the hunger from human weakness and the devil tempted him by challenging him
to tell the stones to become bread (Matthew 4:3).

Poterat utique istud Omnipotens, et facile erat ut ad Creatoris imperium in quam iuberetur speciem
cuiuslibet generis creatura transiret, sicut, cum voluit, in conuixio nuptiali aquam mutauit in uinum.637

The Omnipotent could certainly do it, and it would be easy for a creature of any kind, at the command of
the Creator, to pass into what form it might be ordered, as when he changed water into wine at the marriage
feast when he so wished." 638 (Translated by Jane Patricia Freeland and Agnes Josephine Conway.)

4.4.2.1 Analysis of Sermon 40: Leo explained the existence of both the divine nature and human
nature in Jesus during the temptation scene in the Gospel. Jesus experienced the needs from his
human nature and as Creator he could have changed the stones into bread, but chose to do
otherwise.

4.4.3 Sermon 46: Leo exhorted the faithful to "Believe the Son of God, 'through whom all things
were made,' to be co-eternal with the Father, and also born 'according to the flesh' at the end of
time. Believe that he was crucified bodily, died, and rose again, and was 'set above' the heights of
the heavenly realms,' at the right hand of the Father, and is to come in the same flesh in which he
ascended, 'to judge the living and the dead.'" 639 Leo went on to clarify, "So there is one Person
of the twofold 'nature' in Christ, and the Son of God, also the son of a human being, is one Lord,
in wisdom of his mercy taking on the form of a servant." 640 As God, Jesus is unchangeable and
subject to no suffering. As a human being he suffered for the redemption of the world and so
humbled himself for the salvation of humanity.

637 Leoni Magni, "Tractatvs XL," Corpus Christianorvm, Series Latina (Tvrnholti, Belg.: Brepols,
C:XXXVIII), 174.


Mary was brought into Leo's further differentiation between Jesus' two natures, "Give to man what as a child he took from a woman; give to God the fact that his Mother's virginity was in no way harmed by his Conception nor by his Birth." So significant was Mary's virginity that Leo held, "In no other way could the ancient wounds of original sin be healed in human nature but by the Word of God assuming flesh from the womb of the Virgin and, in one and the same Person together, both being born of flesh and being the Word."

"Formam serui, obuolutam pannis," iacentem "in praesepe" cognosce, sed adnuntiatam ab "angelis," declaratam ab elementis, adoratam a "magis," "formam Domini" confiter. Humanum intellege, quod non declinavit "nuptiale" convitium, divinum adproba, quod "aquam" uertit in "vinum." Recognize the "form of a servant," "wrapped in swaddling clothes" and lying "in a manger;" but in the one announced "by angels," declared by the heavens, worshipped by "wise men," confess the "form of the Lord." See him as human when he did not decline the "wedding" feast, admit him to be divine when he turned "water" into "wine."

(Translated by Jane Patricia Freeland and Agnes Josephine Conway.)

4.4.3.1 Analysis of Sermon 46: Leo was preparing his faithful followers to believe in the Paschal mysteries. He wanted to provide a catechesis on these mysteries in such a way that they could begin to understand Jesus' death on the Cross given the two-fold nature in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He explained how different events in the life of Christ could be understood according to which nature was manifested. Mary's virginal conception and birth substantiated the
miraculous nature of Jesus' birth, by which he assumed the same nature as man, but not the guilt of the original sin.

4.4.4 Synthesis

Biblical Exegesis: One can understand Leo's method of biblical exegesis from his own words, "... use the Gospel story with faith, and note carefully, here with a spiritual mind and there with bodily sight, what things were there together with the apostles." The believer was encouraged to put themselves in the company of Jesus, just as did the apostles. Enter into the Scriptures with faith and observe what was happening. Discern the literal meaning of the words and events expressed then note carefully the deeper meaning of the spiritual truths that lie beneath.

There is a common theme in these three sermons; Jesus is one Person with a two-fold nature, divine and human. In Sermon 12, Leo wanted his congregation to understand that Jesus had divine power and was capable of exceeding the needs of the faithful who observed the Lenten observances. In Sermon 40, Jesus felt hunger because of his humanity and could have changed the stones into bread with his divinity. Similarly, in Sermon 46, Jesus' divinity originated from the Father, with whom he is co-eternal. Jesus, the Word of God, assumed flesh from the womb of the Virgin Mary, to suffer, die, and heal the ancient wounds of original sin. Evidence of Leo's adherence to the First General Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, as well as the General Council of Chalcedon can be found in these sermons.

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645 Leo, "Sermon 46," *Sermons*, 199.
Christ."\textsuperscript{651} Graef also stated that Leo continued "the traditional teaching of the Latin Church: Mary is ever virgin, Mother of God, and perfectly pure, even though herself not exempt from the universal guilt of mankind - that was a privilege reserved for her Son alone."\textsuperscript{652}

Leo's comments in the \textit{Tomus ad Flavianum} and the Sermons referenced above affirm Mary's divine maternity in concert with the Christological dogmas established at the Council of Ephesus. Leo taught that Mary was a perpetual virgin in Sermon 22 and in his \textit{Communicantes} to the Canon of the Mass,\textsuperscript{653} in agreement with the Second General Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.

Graef holds that after Leo's \textit{Tomus ad Flavianum} and the Council of Chalcedon, practically nothing was added to Mariology by the Latin Fathers. The Latin Church was constantly troubled by the barbarian invasions and focused their efforts on preserving the Catholic inheritance.\textsuperscript{654}

\textsuperscript{651} Graef, \textit{History}, 92.

\textsuperscript{652} See Graef, \textit{History}, 92.

\textsuperscript{653} See Leo, "Sermon 22," \textit{Sermons}, 81 and 82, for reference to perpetual virginity; and O'Carroll, "Leo the Great," \textit{Theotokos}, 218, for reference to the Canon of the Mass.

\textsuperscript{654} See Graef, \textit{History}, 92.
St. Bede, the Venerable (673-735)

4.5 Life and Work 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 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.

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656 G.H. Brown, Bede, 18.


658 See Dawson, Making of Europe, 188.
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.\footnote{See Benedicta Ward, \textit{The Venerable Bede} (Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Publications, 1998), 144. Hereafter: Ward, \textit{Bede}.}

Bede's writings fall into eight categories: biblical commentaries, educational works, homilies, hagiography, martyrrology, poems, letters, and histories.\footnote{See George Hardin Brown, \textit{A Companion to Bede} (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2009), 17 to 116 for a full discussion of Bede's writings. Hereafter: G.H. Brown, \textit{Companion to Bede}.} He is most well known for a historical book entitled, \textit{The Ecclesiastical History of the English People}.\footnote{See Ward, \textit{Bede}, 144 and 145.} 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.\footnote{Bede's homilies can be found in \textit{Beda, Opera homiletica, Corpus Christianorum, Series Lantinorum}, 1 to 378; and in a two volume series, \textit{Homilies on the Gospels} (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1991).} 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."\footnote{G. H. Brown, \textit{Companion to Bede}, 73.}

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 \textit{doctor}
ecclesiae, Bede was now counted among the Fathers he had so reverenced and followed.”

George H. 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.”

4.5.1 Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Homily 14, John 2:1-11

Bede's homilies on the Gospels were probably written late in his career and were most likely assembled between 730 and 735. His 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

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664 Ward, Bede, 134.
665 G. H. Brown, Companion to Bede, 1.
666 G. H. Brown, Companion to Bede, 74.
668 Tatian (2nd century), from East Syria, founded a school in Mesopotamia. He adopted a strict, Encratite asceticism which was opposed to marriage, possibly with some Gnostic tendencies. He wrote the Diatessaron, which is a harmony of the Gospels. See Richard P. McBrien, "Tatian," The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995), 1242.
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." 669

Moving from the literal to the "more profound gladness in the heavenly figural meanings," 670 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 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. 671 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." 672 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." 673

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


670 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.

671 See Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.

672 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.

673 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 135.
appeared, born in the flesh for the redemption of the human race. 674 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 meaning of] his having made wine from water." 675 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." 676

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. 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

674 See Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 136.


676 Bede, "Homily 14," Bede, 139.

677 Bedae, "Homelia, XIV, Post Epiphaniam" (Tvrnholti, Belg.: Brepols, MCMLV), 97.
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 his mother when, as he was about to die on the Cross, he took care to commend her, a virgin, to the virgin disciple. 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.  

(Translated by Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst.)

4.5.2 Analysis

Before going on to discuss more about the meaning of the water and wine, Bede indicated, "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,' he answered, 'What is that to me and you, woman? My hour has not yet come.'" Bede effectively explained that Jesus intended to clarify that "when he was about to do divine things, he pretended not to acknowledge her." However, when "he was enduring the weakness of the flesh, he dutifully acknowledged his mother." But first, at the Wedding Feast at Cana, he would disclose the power of his eternal deity by exercising his divine power and increase the faith of those who believe in him.

**Biblical Exegesis:** 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, 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

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678 Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede*, 137.
meaning of "hour." It was the time when, by dying, he would demonstrate the weakness of the humanity that he had taken from his mother; his hour on the Cross.\textsuperscript{679}

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.\textsuperscript{680}

Another example of the Patristic tradition followed by Bede was the utilization of Sacred Scripture to explain and validate the meaning of other passages from Scripture. Paul's Letter to the Romans was referenced as evidence of Jesus' being born of David's seed according to the flesh.\textsuperscript{681}

\textbf{Mary in Relation to Systematic Theology: Christology and Ecclesiology:} According to Bede, Mary was a descendant of David; it was through her that the messianic prophecy was fulfilled. Mary was the mother of Jesus and the source of Jesus' human nature. Mary was dutifully acknowledged by her son from the Cross, thus confirming that she was his mother and the source of his humanity. Bede was clear that Mary was not the source of Jesus' divinity or the power that he manifested by his miracle at the Wedding Feast. He included a strong statement to make sure that his readers understood that there are two distinct natures in Christ, writing "There is nothing in common between the divinity which I have always possessed from the Father, and

\textsuperscript{679} See Bede, "Homily 14," Bede for references to the Mother of Jesus, adopted flesh, the hour of the Cross, 137.

\textsuperscript{680} See Bede, "Homily 14," Bede for references to the Psalmist and Patriarchs, 135.

\textsuperscript{681} See Bède, "Homily 14," Bede for reference to Paul's Letter, 137.
your flesh, from which I adopted flesh." This statement was consistent with the Christological proclamations from the First Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

Bede wrote of Mary in relation to Ecclesiology, when he stated that her womb was the nuptial chamber where God was conjoined with human nature and from there he came forth like a bridegroom to join the Church to himself in spiritual love. This took place in the inviolate womb of Mary. Bede continued the Patristic tradition which held that Mary played an essential role in the origin of the Church. 682

**Mary in Practical Theology in the Life of the Church:** Bede's homilies were preached at Mass or read to his monastic community or formed the material for private devotional reading. All for the purpose of proclaiming and revealing the truths revealed in Sacred Scripture, for the building up of faith among the believers, and to refute heretical teachings.

**Marian Anthropology:** Bede recognized Mary as an historical person. He called her by name. She was a real woman, a descendant of David. She was a real mother to Jesus, attended the Wedding Feast at Cana with him and was at the foot of the Cross.

As a spiritual person, Mary was a virgin at conception and at birth: she had an inviolate womb and was the incorrupt mother of Jesus. 683 As a theological person, Mary was Jesus' mother in time and cooperated with him at the Wedding Feast at Cana and was by his side at the time of his death. Bede presented Mary in a passive rather than active manner. His comments were factual about Mary and her role, but little was revealed about Mary as a person in this work.

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682 See Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede* for references to Mary and the Church, 135.

683 More discussion will follow regarding Bede's teaching about Mary's perpetual virginity.
Mary has universal significance in Bede's homily 14. She was the archetype for virginity, because she possessed the perfection of virginity from which God deigned to be born. It was also her virginal womb that was the nuptial chamber where Christ joined the Church to himself.

4.5.3 Marian Doctrine

In Bede's commentary on the Wedding Feast at Cana, he 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." Bede identified Mary as a virgin at conception and at birth in the same homily.

In the other homilies by Bede, there is more information about Mary's divine maternity, perpetual virginity, humility, and the Eve/Mary parallel. Bede stated that "blessed Mary" had taken a vow of virginity as indicated by Mary's response to the angel, when she asked, "How can this occur, that I conceive and give birth to a son, since I have determined to live out my life in the chaste state of virginity?" He also held that Mary was transformed by the Holy Spirit; "...he purified her mind of all stain of vices, to the extent that [her] human weakness had suffered [them], so that she might be worthy of a heavenly child-bearing, and, by his operation alone he created in her womb the holy and venerable body of our Redeemer." Bede explained another gift of the Holy Spirit, "Truly was she full of grace, since it was given to her to bear him by

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684 See Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede* for references to Mary as Mother of the Lord, Mother of Jesus, and Mother of Jesus' flesh, 134, 135, and 137.

685 See Bede, "Homily 14," *Bede*, 134 and 137.


whom she was made grace and truth."\textsuperscript{688} Mary was to be the mother of the "Lord Jesus, our Savior, who was both the true Son of God the Father and the true Son of a mother who was a human being."\textsuperscript{689} Bede recognized Mary as the mother of God, consistent with the Christological dogma decreed at the General Council of Ephesus.

Mary was filled with faith; she "believed the angel's words," and "was not doubtful" about the message regarding Elizabeth and Zechariah.\textsuperscript{690} With a charitable heart, Mary went to Elizabeth, so that "... as attentive young virgin she might commit herself to ministry to a woman of advanced age."\textsuperscript{691}

Bede described blessed Mary as humble, for example, in reference to her Magnificat he wrote, "She therefore attributes nothing to her own merits, but she refers her whole greatness to him ...."\textsuperscript{692} Bede compared Mary's humility with Eve's pride, "An angel was sent by God to a Virgin who had to be consecrated by a divine birth, because the first woman [Eve] had been the cause of human ruin, when the serpent was sent by the devil to ensnare the woman with the spirit of pride. [...] And so, just as death entered through a woman, fittingly, life reentered the world through a woman. The former [Eve], seduced by the devil through the serpent, offered the man the taste of death; the latter [Mary], taught by God through the angel, brought into the world the

\textsuperscript{688} See Bede, "Homily 3," \textit{Bede}, 21.

\textsuperscript{689} See Bede, "Homily 3," \textit{Bede}, 22.


\textsuperscript{691} Bede, "Homily 4," \textit{Homilies}, 32.

\textsuperscript{692} Bede, "Homily 4," \textit{Homilies}, 37.
Author of salvation." Bede also thought that Mary prefigured the Church and the Church imitated Mary.

Gambero commented on Bede's teaching about Mary, "Even though there is nothing particularly new in its content, it bears the marks of a deep and intentional fidelity to Christian tradition. It is apparent that Bede wanted to gather together the essential elements of this tradition."

Given Bede's fidelity to the teaching of the Church, his teaching in Homily 14 regarding Mary's virginal conception and birth, along with Homily 24, where he preached that Mary had taken a vow of virginity; one would assume that Bede upheld Mary's perpetual virginity in consonance with the Second General Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.

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693 See Bede, "Homily 3," Bede, 19 and 20; and Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 39.

694 See Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages, 39 and 40.

695 Luigi Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages (San Francisco, Calif.: Ignatius Press, 2005), 36. Hereafter: Gambero, Mary in the Middle Ages.
During this period, the Latin Church was challenged by the invasion of the Barbarians and their impact on the Roman Empire. The bishops and pastors continued to perform their ecclesiastical responsibilities, but expanded their duties to meet the political and social needs of the towns and regions. In all of the chaos that was produced from the barbarian invasions, the one primary concern for the Church was to preserve the Catholic inheritance intact. This was not a time for theological treatises and peaceful reflections on Sacred Scripture. Graef commented that theology and every other aspect of culture was in the doldrums. It was a time for physical and spiritual survival.

The Greek Church, in cooperation with the Latin Church, resolved Christological questions at the Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, Second and Third Constantinople. The Latin Church held the Lateran Council to condemn monothelitism. At Ephesus, it was proclaimed 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. Mary is the holy Virgin, the Mother of God, the Theotókos. This doctrine was upheld at the Councils of Chalcedon, Second Constantinople and First Lateran. At the First Lateran Council, Mary's perpetual virginity was also affirmed.

Two fathers were found who included Mary in their writings on the Wedding Feast at Cana: Quodvultdeus in "The First Homily on the Creed" and Bede in "Homily 14 on John 2:1-11." Quodvultdeus’s work was a doctrinal exposition and catechesis on the creed in a homily to catechumens. Bede’s homily was an exegesis of John 2:1-11 with a hermeneutic application.

There was pastoral emphasis in both: to increase the faith of the catechumens and to confirm the faith of the right believers.

Pope Leo was included because of his significance in the life of the Church and the people of Rome, and, especially, his *Tomus ad Flavianum*, which served as the basis for the declarations at the Council of Chalcedon. Leo did write about Christ at the Wedding Feast at Cana in Sermons 12, 40, and 46. 697

**Biblical Exegesis:** In accordance with Patristic exegesis, both Quodvultdeus and Bede made references to the connection between the Old and New Testaments. Quodvultdeus wrote of David's prophecy and fulfillment in Mary and the Son of the Most High. Bede formed a firm foundation for Jesus as the Savior, by calling attention to the Psalmist's prediction of the messiah and the promise made to the Patriarchs. Jesus was the interpretive key that unlocked the interconnected meaning of God's word: Jesus had come to fulfill the law and prophets and to do and teach what the law and prophets had indicated he would do and teach. 698

Quodvultdeus and Bede followed Origen's Alexandrian threefold method of exegesis. Quodvultdeus began his catechesis with the literal sense and then proceeded to expose the deeper spiritual meaning through different methods of reflection, for example, "he was born of her

697 Caesarius of Arles wrote three sermons on Christ at the Wedding Feast at Cana: 167, 168 and 169. There was no reference to Mary in sermon 167 or 169. In "Sermon 168," he only referred to Mary as "the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine;"' then followed with a commentary on the failure of the wine, with no other reference to Mary. See Caesarius of Arles, "Sermons 81 to 186," *The Fathers of the Church* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 410. The writings of Leander of Seville, Isidore of Seville, Idelfonse of Toledo, Gregory of Tours, and Peter Chrysologos were searched for commentary on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana; none were found.

698 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion of the topics presented in this paragraph. See Quodvultdeus, 194 and 200, regarding David's prophecy; Bede, 218 and 221, regarding Psalmist and Patriarchs.
whom he chose, since he chose to be born,” and “a mother gave birth to her creator, because a creature created her maker.” He was passing on the reflections of Augustine in Tractate 8.

Quodvultdeus was freer in his interpretation and paraphrased what Mary may have said to Jesus, telling him to do something about the shortage of wine. Bede also employed the literal and allegorical meanings of the pericope, as well. However, he was more precise with less variation from what is actually in Scripture. Bede followed Augustine’s interpretation of Jesus’ words to his mother in John 2:4: he would not recognize her when he was about to work a miracle and reveal his divine nature, but the hour would come when he would recognize her when he hung upon the Cross. This was in all of Augustine’s works cited earlier.699

Quodvultdeus and Bede employed Scripture to interpret and validate his understanding of Scripture. Quodvultdeus explained Jesus’ statement to Mary in John 2:4 as a lack of understanding about her Son. He validated this belief by referring to Luke 2:42 to 49, when Mary did not understand the meaning of Jesus’ action and words at the finding in the Temple. Bede referred to Paul’s Letter to the Romans, for confirmation about what he was stating about David’s seed.700

Both writers sought to explain Mary’s presence and interaction with Jesus. Quodvultdeus explained that Jesus’ response to Mary, “What is that to me and you, woman?” was “in order to show the difference between God and man.” As man, he was subordinate to his mother, but as God, he was superior to her. Mary was the source of his flesh, that which would die on the Cross.

699 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Quodvultdeus, 194 and 199, regarding mother of the Creator; Quodvultdeus, 196 and 198, for shortage of wine; and Bede, 220 and 221, regarding John 2:4.

700 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Quodvultdeus, 196 and 198, regarding John 2:4 and Luke 2:42 to 49; Bede, 219 and 221, regarding Paul’s letter.
at the appointed hour. Mary was not the source of his divinity or the power with which he would perform the miracle. Quodvultdeus was emphatic that Jesus had two natures: divine from the Father and human from his mother, Mary. He mollified his paraphrasing by writing, "The devout mother, who did not take amiss his admonition ...." Quodvultdeus followed Augustine's teachings on the meaning of the Wedding Feast and the hour of his crucifixion. 701

Bede analyzed Jesus' response to Mary and decided that Jesus would not dishonor his mother nor would he deny that she was his mother, so there must be another explanation for his words. His explanation was similar to Augustine's and Quodvultdeus.' The divinity which he possessed from his Father would be manifested at the Wedding Feast; the humanity, which he acquired from his mother, would be demonstrated at the hour of weakness on the Cross. Bede was emphatic that Jesus had two natures and there was nothing in common between the two. 702

Mary in Relation to Christology and Ecclesiology: The primary focus of Quodvultdeus and Bede was Christological, which is Jesus' divinity and humanity. Quodvultdeus and Bede connected the messianic prophecies in the Old Testament to Mary, and from her to Jesus. 703 Both writers clearly and authoritatively explained the two different natures that Jesus possessed. Jesus' miracle at the Wedding Feast manifested his divinity. Jesus' reference to his hour drew attention to the humanity that he adopted from his mother, Mary. Quodvultdeus provided a fuller picture

701 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Quodvultdeus, 197 and 200, regarding difference between God and man, and Quodvultdeus, 196 and 200, for Christ superior to his mother and mother did not take amiss.

702 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Bede, 219 and 221, regarding Jesus did not deny, and Jesus' divinity and humanity.

703 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion of the topics presented in this paragraph. See Quodvultdeus, 194 and 200, and Bede, 219 and 221, regarding messianic prophecies.
of Jesus' humanity and Mary's maternity. Mary experienced him as a baby, a child and a young man.  

Indirectly, Quodvultdeus and Bede affirmed Jesus' relationship with his Father from eternity. Quodvultdeus wrote that Jesus was God and as God he was superior to all; he was the creator of Mary. Bede included a reference to the origin of the Church. Like Augustine wrote in Tractate 8, Bede taught that Mary's inviolate womb was the nuptial chamber where God was conjoined with human nature and joined the Church to himself in spiritual love.  

**Mary in the Life of the Church:** Quodvultdeus and Bede included Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in their homilies. Homilies were the primary teaching methods for these pastors. They were passing on the central teachings about Mary. Quodvultdeus was speaking on the creed to the catechumens. He found that pericope useful to explain how the Son of God, the Father omnipotent, was born of the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary. Bede was passing on central teachings of the Church in his homily. Both writers wanted their audience to understand that it was because of the flesh that Jesus adopted from Mary that Jesus suffered and died. Mary was not divine, but she was the virgin mother of the Son of the Most High. The writings of Quodvultdeus and Bede served to confirm orthodoxy and refute heresies. The former addressed the errors of the Arian Vandals. Bede directed his doctrinal teaching to Tatian, Marcion, and all who disparaged marriage.

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704 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Quodvultdeus, 197 and 200, and Bede, 219 and 221, regarding Jesus' two different natures; Quodvultdeus, 195 and 202, regarding fuller picture.

705 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Quodvultdeus, 196 and 198, regarding Jesus is God from God; Bede, 218, 221 and 222, regarding God conjoined human nature.

706 See Quodvultdeus, 193, regarding Arian Vandals and Bede, 217, regarding Tatian and Marcion.
**Marian Anthropology:** Quodvultdeus and Bede recognized an historical aspect of Mary. Each one identified her by name. She was a real woman and a descendent of David. Mary was the virgin mother of Jesus, with him at the Wedding Feast at Cana and at the foot of the Cross.

From a spiritual perspective, Quodvultdeus identified Mary as a virgin. He described Mary as filled with grace by the Holy Spirit; and according to tradition this meant that Mary was sinless. He also believed that Mary actively received the Lord at the time of the annunciation by the angel Gabriel. Also, Quodvultdeus described Mary with more of a personality. She was engaged with her Son and expressed her will by requesting a miracle from him. Quodvultdeus identified Mary as the devout mother who did not take amiss Jesus' admonition. Bede identified Mary as a virgin; she had an inviolate womb and was the incorrupt mother of Jesus. His comments were brief in Homily 14; other works provided more references to the spiritual aspects of Mary.\(^{707}\)

Theologically speaking, Quodvultdeus followed Augustine's teaching that Mary was predestined for her role as the virgin mother of God; he was born of her whom he chose, the Most High who founded her. He also presented Mary as learning about her divine Son through the different phases of his life. Mary was the devout mother who carried out her role as the virgin mother of Jesus from conception to the foot of the Cross. As a theological person, Bede presented Mary as the mother of Jesus and cooperating with him at the Wedding Feast at Cana. She was faithfully standing at the foot of the Cross, when Jesus died.

Bede wrote of Mary's universal significance. She was the archetype for virginity, which was the preferred state in life.

\(^{707}\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for text and discussion. See Bede, 223-225, regarding Mary's being full of grace, filled with faith, charitable, and humble.
4.7 Marian Doctrine

In Quodvultdeus and Bede's commentary on John 2:1-11, Mary was recognized as the Mother of God: Quodvultdeus identified Mary as "Mother of God," "Mother who gave birth to the Creator," and "Mother of the Son of the Most High." Bede identified Mary as the "Mother of the Lord," "Mother of Jesus, the Son of God," and "Mother of Jesus' flesh."\(^{708}\)

Leo did not write about Mary at the Wedding Feast, however he did write about her divine maternity in his other works. Leo identified her as, "Mother of the Son of God," Mother of our Lord and Savior," and "Virgin Mother of the Word of God the Father."\(^{709}\)

Quodvultdeus wrote of Mary's perpetual virginity in the First Homily on the Creed. Mary was a virgin at conception, at birth, and like the Church, remained a virgin. Quodvultdeus made similar comments in Homilies Two and Three. In Homily 14, Bede identified Mary as a virgin at conception and birth. It is in Homily 3 that Bede revealed that he believed that Mary took a vow of virginity. Leo wrote that the power of the Most High was necessary, "For a virgin to conceive, for a virgin to give birth, and for a virgin to remain a virgin."\(^{710}\)

The Council of Chalcedon had affirmed that Mary was the Virgin Mother, who gave birth without losing her virginity. The Lateran Council, meeting under Pope Martin I, pronounced the definitive affirmation of Mary's perpetual virginity.

\(^{708}\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for discussion of Mary's divine maternity. See Quodvultdeus regarding, "Mother of God," 196, "Mother of the Creator," 194, and "Mother of the Son of the Most High," 194; and Bede, 223, for "Mother of the Lord," Mother of Jesus," and Mother of Jesus' flesh."

\(^{709}\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for discussion of Mary's divine maternity. See Leo, 212.

\(^{710}\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for discussion on Mary's perpetual virginity. See Quodvultdeus, 202 and 203, Bede, 223, and Leo, 212 and 213.
Mary's holiness was associated with her virginity and the divine maternity in Quodvultdeus' First Homily. Bede writes of Mary's holiness through her transformation by the Holy Spirit, so that she might be a worthy mother for the holy Redeemer.\footnote{Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for discussion on Mary's holiness. See Quodvultdeus, 203, and Bede, 223.}

The sinlessness of Mary remained a question for the Fathers. The general belief was that only Christ had been absolutely sinless. Pope Leo ruled out Mary's preservation from original sin in the \textit{Tomus ad Flavianum} and in his sermons. In Sermon 64, he wrote, "Only the Son of the blessed Virgin is born without transgression ..."\footnote{Leo, Pope, "Sermon 64," \textit{Fathers of the Church: St. Leo the Great Sermons} (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1996), 279. See Graef, \textit{History}, 92.} Hilda Graef commented, "So Leo confirms the traditional teaching of the Latin Church: Mary is ever-virgin, the Mother of God, perfectly pure, even though herself not exempt from the universal guilt of mankind - that was a privilege reserved for her Son alone."\footnote{Graef, \textit{History}, 92. In the quotation, Graef states that Leo confirms the teaching that Mary is ever-virgin. This possibly relates to his \textit{Communicantes} to the Canon of the Mass, "Communicating with and honouring in the first place the glorious ever Virgin Mary, Mother of God and of Our Lord Jesus Christ...." See O'Carroll, "Leo the Great," \textit{Theotokos}, 218.} However, Caesarius of Arles, a Latin author from Gallic Rome, held that Mary "remained without the contagion or stain of sin."\footnote{Caesarius of Arles, "Sermon Ten," \textit{The Fathers of the Church: St Caesarius of Arles Sermons} (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1964), 59.}

The Eve / Mary parallelism was included by Quodvultdeus in his First Homily, Bede in \textit{Homily 3} (\textit{not on the Wedding Feast}) and Leo in Sermon 22. Quodvultdeus compared Eve, who brought destruction, to Mary, who brought salvation. Bede remembered that through Eve, death
entered and through Mary, life reentered the world. Leo referred to Mary as the virgin through whom the seed would be born, the Christ who would crush the devil’s head.\textsuperscript{715}

\textsuperscript{715} Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the discussion on the Eve / Mary parallelism. See Quodvultdeus, 204, Bede, 224 and 225, and Leo, 213.
Chapter Five

Final Summary

Researching the writings of the Latin Fathers through the time of the Venerable Bede turned up only a handful who issued commentaries on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, but those few commentaries are important. The Fathers highlighted Mary's role at the Wedding Feast at Cana primarily as Christological. They used Mary and the dialogue with her Son to illustrate both her position as the human mother of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity and her part in God's salvation plan. The interplay between mother and Son demonstrated a knowing and loving relationship between the two and an implicit understanding of the roles each would play as Jesus lived out his mission. There is also the beginning of recognition of Mary's role in the Church. A careful study of these authors gives one a deeper understanding of the Blessed Mother and her Son, and helps us to appreciate the subtleties in their relationship.

This chapter will provide a summary in five parts: Biblical Exegesis, Mary in Systematic Theology, Mary in Practical Theology, Marian Anthropology, and Marian Doctrine.

5.1 Biblical Exegesis

The writings by the Fathers in this study provide evidence that they accepted the Old Testament and the New Testament as the inspired word of God. Maximus, Augustine, Gaudentius, Quodvultdeus, and Bede all made references to both Testaments. Jesus was the promised messiah; Mary was part of these prophecies. Mary was associated with the patriarchs and prophets. This practice followed that of the Pre-Nicene writers, Tertullian and Cyprian.\(^716\)

\(^716\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the discussion of the Old and New Testament. See Maximus, 102 and 105, Augustine, 132 and 133, Gaudentius, 157 and 159, Quodvultdeus, 194 and 203, Bede, 219 and 221, Tertullian, 45, and 47, and Cyprian, 53.
The practice of confirming the proper interpretation of Sacred Scripture by referring to other Scriptural texts was demonstrated by Ambrose, Paulinus, Augustine, Gaudentius, Quodvultdeus, and Bede.  

All of the writers read John 2:1-11 from a literal, a spiritual or allegorical, and a moral sense following Origen's Alexandrian method of exegesis. Hilary had studied Origen. Ambrose was trained by Simplicianus in the art of biblical exegesis according to Origen. He was able to read the Old Testament in a literal way and then delve into the spiritual meaning through allegory. Augustine learned this technique from the homilies of Ambrose. Augustine wrote *On Christian Doctrine*, which was influential until the Middle Ages. The monasteries refined the process by instituting the prayerful reading of Scripture according to the steps of *Lectio Divina*: lectio, meditatio, oratio, and contemplatio. Bede was part of this refinement.

The literal sense allowed them to take the real meaning of Jesus and Mary's presence at the Wedding Feast at Cana primarily to substantiate Jesus' humanity. Jesus' reference to "his hour" allowed them to seek the allegorical meaning of his words and point to the crucifixion. Jesus' miracle pointed to his divinity. The pastors then translated the meaning of the sacred text into building up of the faith or combating heresy. "Sermon 23" by Maximus serves as a good example of this type of exhortation, "And so let us too believe wholeheartedly that he whom we..."
confess to be the Son of Man is also Son of God. Let us believe not only that he shared our nature, but also that he was consubstantial with the Father ...."\textsuperscript{719}

The biblical exegesis described above was practiced throughout the periods studied. There was no significant change noted during this period.

5.2 Mary in Systematic Theology: Theology, Christology, Soteriology, and Ecclesiology

5.2.1 Mary in Theology

The majority of the Fathers' comments about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana are Christological in content. However, all of these comments derive their significance from the fact that Jesus is the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity; the only Son of God the Father, who became man through the Virgin Mary, by the power of the Holy Spirit. Because of this, it is appropriate to begin with what the Fathers wrote about Mary and Trinitarian Theology.

Hilary held that the Father lost nothing when he generated the Son. Maximus and Augustine stated that Jesus is co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father.\textsuperscript{720}

5.2.2 Mary in Christology

The Christological doctrines from the Councils are clearly recognized in all of these Fathers, from Hilary to Bede. The exchange of words between Jesus and his mother was confirmation by Jesus’ himself, he had two natures, divine and human. Augustine stated it well,

\textsuperscript{719} Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the discussion of "his hour." See Maximus, 103 and 105, Augustine, 123, 126, 132, 134, 136 and 137, Gaudentius, 154, 156 and 159, Quodvultdeus, 196 and 198, and Bede, 219 and 221. See Maximus, "Sermon 23," 103.

\textsuperscript{720} Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion about Mary and Theology. See Hilary, 70 and 169, Maximus, 103, 104 and 169, Augustine, 122, 123, 130, 131, 132, and 169.
"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." 721

Augustine believed that Mary was predestined for her role. Augustine wrote that God knew his mother before she was born, in predestination. God's plan was that Mary be the mother of him who created her. Quodvultdeus continued the teaching that Mary was the mother who gave birth to her Creator, a creature that gave birth to her Maker. 722

Ambrose and Gaudentius explained that Mary was a virgin, even though Jesus addressed her as "Woman." Mary and Eve were both virgins: just as Eve was a virgin when she was identified as "woman" in Genesis, so Mary was a virgin when Jesus called her "Woman." This use of the word referred to their gender not their entrance into marital relations. 723 In other writings by the Fathers are found a continuation of the recapitulation teaching that originated during the Pre-Nicene period with Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, and Tertullian. Maximus identified Mary as the Second Eve and an instrument of our salvation. Paulinus associated Mary, the second virgin, with the Cross, the second tree. Quodvultdeus remembered Mary as the woman through whom came life, versus the woman through whom came death. 724

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721 Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #9, 132.

722 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Augustine, 132 and 169, and Quodvultdeus, 194.

723 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 84 and 166, and Gaudensius, 154 and 166.

724 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for references to Eve / Mary. See Pre-Nicene reference, 57 and 58, Maximus, 107, Paulinus, 116, and Quodvultdeus, 204.
Mary was the Mother of the promised Messiah. She was a Jewish maiden, one of the Chosen People. Augustine and Gaudentius stated that Mary was the woman under the law from whom Jesus was born, referenced in Galatians 4:4. Maximus, Augustine, Gaudentius, and Bede stated that Mary was of David's seed. Quodvultdeus called Mary the Mother of Sion, recalling the works that David spoke in Psalm 86:5.\textsuperscript{725}

Mary was understood according to her role as the mother of Jesus' humanity. Hilary, Ambrose, and Quodvultdeus drew attention to the fact that Mary watched Jesus grow up. Ambrose, Augustine, and Bede stated that Mary was the mother of the nature that made Jesus subject to the conditions that bind humanity, including weariness, and labor. Augustine, Quodvultdeus, and Bede said that Jesus would recognize Mary, his mother, during that hour when that which was born of her was suffering and dying on the Cross.\textsuperscript{726}

Augustine and Bede were clear that Mary was not the source of his divinity. Jesus' words to Mary in John 2:4 were to assure that all understood that there was a difference between the divinity that Jesus was about to manifest at the wedding feast and his humanity. Strong statements were made to affirm this distinction, there was nothing in common between the

\textsuperscript{725} Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Augustine, 132 and 166, Gaudentius, 152 and 166 regarding Gal. 4:4. See Maximus, 107, Augustine, 132 and 166, Gaudentius, 152 and 166, and Bede, 219 and 221 regarding David's seed; Quodvultdeus, 194 and 200 regarding Mother of Sion.

\textsuperscript{726} Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 71 and 74, Ambrose, 80 and 81, and, Quodvultdeus 196 and 202, regarding Jesus growing up; Ambrose, 79 and 85, Augustine, 131 and 139, and Bede, 220 and 221 regarding Jesus' weakness; Augustine, 123, 126, 132 and 139, Quodvultdeus, 196 and 198, and Bede, 220 and 221 regarding Jesus recognizing Mary from the Cross.
divinity of Jesus and his humanity; or Jesus told his mother to depart from him, because he was about to reveal his divinity with the miracle and Mary had nothing to do with it.727

Augustine, Quodvultdeus, and Bede followed John 19:27 in a factual manner; Jesus commended Mary to his beloved disciple. Augustine added some qualifications to the way Jesus commended Mary: most considerately or appropriately showing his human affection at the moment when he was dying. And again, Jesus commended her to the disciple whom he loved more than others.728

The description of Mary's role in Christology did not change significantly from the second through the eighth centuries.

5.2.3 Mary in Soteriology

The Trinitarian plan for the salvation of humanity was that the eternal Son of God should become man in the womb of the Virgin Mary. Pope Leo held that Jesus assumed the nature of man, not the guilt, because Mary was a virgin. It was necessary that the Son of God assume human nature for it to be redeemed. This redemption plan began with the Incarnation of the Son of God in Mary’s virginal womb and was completed by Jesus’ death on the Cross. His death accomplished the definitive redemption of men and restored man to communion with God by reconciling him to God.729

727 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Augustine, 123, 133, and, 167, and Bede, 220 and 221 regarding "nothing in common," and "depart from me."

728 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Augustine, 134, 136, and 139, Quodvultdeus, 196 and 198, and Bede, 220.

729 See CCC, #613.
Some of the Father's comments about Mary's role in our salvation are as follows. Hilary wrote, "The Son of God is born as man, but the power of God was manifested in his birth from the Virgin. The Son of God is seen as man, but appears as God in the works as 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." Augustine explained how and why Jesus became flesh from the Virgin Mary. He became human through a temporal dispensation. This was the time when the unchangeable Wisdom of God assumed our mutable nature, for the purpose of our salvation and restoration.\footnote{730 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Hilary, 71 and 72 regarding flesh vivified, and Augustine, 122 and 124 regarding temporal dispensation.}

Others reasons were provided for God's salvific action. Maximus held that Christ came to offer the chalice of eternal life to all the peoples of the world. Gaudentius believed that Christ came to relieve this perishing world of the burden placed upon it by Adam, refashion man, and ransom those under the law. Quodvultdeus wrote that Jesus came to redeem us with his blood. Bede considered the "third age" to have begun, when the Lord and Savior was born for the redemption of the human race.\footnote{731 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for text and discussion of the topics regarding the reasons for Jesus' humanity. See Maximus, 103 and 105, Gaudentius, 151, 154, and 161, Quodvultdeus, 198 and 200, and Bede, 218 and 219.}
5.2.4 Mary in Ecclesiology

The wedding feast symbolized the messianic nuptials and the New Covenant. Jesus is the Divine Bridegroom and the Church is the Bride according to Paul’s Second Letter to the Corinthians and the Letter to the Ephesians.\(^{732}\)

Augustine and Bede continued Paul’s teaching and added that the marriage of the Bridegroom and his Bride occurred in the virginal womb of Mary. In Mary’s nuptial chamber, the Bridegroom took human flesh to be his Bride, thus assuming human nature and making our salvation possible. And secondly, the Bridegroom took the Church to be his Bride. These Fathers associated Mary’s divine maternity with her role in the Church. Mary is the Mother of Christ, the Head of the Church; she is also the Mother of the Body of Christ, the Church.\(^{733}\) Augustine also wrote that the blood and water that flowed from Jesus’ side represented the sacraments by which the Church was formed.\(^{734}\)

Gaudentius taught that Jesus went to the wedding to take to himself a new bride, the Church for the Gentiles. Mary and the holy people of the patriarchs and prophets intercede for the Gentiles; telling the apostles and apostolic priests, the ministers, to do whatever Jesus tells them to do.\(^{735}\)

\(^{732}\) See Augustine, "Tractate 8," Church Fathers, #4, 129 and 130 in this thesis.

\(^{733}\) Refer to the pages in this thesis for the text and discussion of Mary’s womb as nuptial chamber. See Augustine, 129, 130, and 247, and Bede, 218 and 222.

\(^{734}\) Refer to the pages in this text and discussion regarding the blood and water and the Church, Augustine, 137 and 140.

\(^{735}\) Refer to the pages in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Gaudentius, 158 and 161 regarding the Church to the Gentiles.
5.3 Mary in the life of the Church

The Fathers were pastors and they handed on to their followers what had been handed on to them from the apostles and the post apostolic Fathers. They fulfilled their pastoral duty for passing on the Faith to their congregations through preaching at Mass and in their writings. In fact, all of their biblical commentaries, doctrinal treatises or exhortations, were vehicles for teaching the rule of faith. Augustine’s standard setting treatise, *On Christian Doctrine*, clearly outlined the duty of the preacher; he was to be the expositor and teacher of Divine Scripture, as well as, the defender of right faith and the enemy of error. The pastors should both teach the good and extirpate the evil.

With one exception, all references to Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana were Christological in nature, that is, her relationship to her divine Son, his person, and his role in God’s plan of salvation. The one exception was Ambrose; in “On the Education of Virgins,” he focused on the virginity of Holy Mary.

Five of the Fathers taught about Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana in homilies. There were biblical commentaries on John 2:1-11 in Maximus’ “Sermon 23;” Augustine’s “Tractate 8,” “Sermon 119,” and “Sermon 218;” Gaudentius’ ”Tractate 8 and 9;” and” Bede’s “Homily 14.” Ambrose, in “Commentary on Luke” related Mary’s finding of Jesus in the Temple to John 2:1-11. Quodvultdeus wrote a “Homily on the Creed.”

Two of the Fathers wrote doctrinal treatises that included Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana. Hilary did so in “On the Trinity” and Augustine did as well in “On True Religion” and “Faith and Creed.”
Two of the Fathers wrote pastoral exhortations that included Mary as the archetype for virginity. Ambrose wrote “On the Education of Virgins” at the veiling of the daughter of a friend. Ambrose employed Jesus’ reference to Mary as “Woman” to explain that this referred to her gender not her entrance into marital relations. Paulinus was the second Father. He wrote “Poem 25,” a wedding song, which included Mary’s virginity. Paulinus made reference to Mary’s perpetual virginity in relationship to her divine maternity.

Consistent with Augustine’s counsel, the majority of the Fathers included statements directed at those who were in error, either within Church or outside of the Church. In Hilary’s “On the Trinity” were polemical comments directed to the Arians. Others who wrote or preached against the Arians were Ambrose in “Commentary on Luke” and Quodvultdeus in “The First Homily on the Creed.” Augustine’s “On True Religion” and “Tractate 8,” and Gaudentius’ “Sermon 8” included statements about the error of the Manichees. Ambrose refuted the Sabellians in his “Commentary on Luke” and addressed the heresy of Bonosus in “On the Education of Virgins.” Augustine made polemical statement against Apollinarius in “Faith and Creed.” Bede confronted the heretical teachings of Tatian, Marcion and others who disparaged marriage in “Homily 14.”

Mary and her role at the Wedding Feast at Cana were integrated into every aspect of the Fathers’ teaching, preaching, and defense of the one true Faith.

5.4 Marian Anthropology

The Fathers always understood that all of Sacred Scripture was the inspired word of God. Scripture was the revealed word of God and Jesus was the Word, the interpretive key for both the Old and New Testaments. The New Testament contained the Good News of Jesus Christ, the
eternal Son of the Father, begotten of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit. The New Testament relates how Jesus reveals the Father to humanity; and how Jesus came to redeem and reconcile humanity to the Father, through the Holy Spirit. The New Testament also reveals how God relates to individual human beings and, in turn, how they respond to God and participate in God’s salvation plan for themselves and for others. Mary of Nazareth, the virgin chosen by God to be the mother of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, is the most perfect human being. As such, she serves as a perfect model for how all women and men can relate to God, how to carry out God’s will in their own lives, and how to assist others in building up the community of God.

The Patristic Fathers always placed Mary in relationship with her divine Son and within the framework of the Trinitarian plan of salvation. Mary participated in this redemptive incarnation in a unique and essential way as the mother of the Savior. She had a close relationship with her Son from conception, throughout his infancy, childhood, adulthood, and until his death. Mary provided the human nature that the Divine Person assumed and died with for the salvation of all humanity. In addition to Mary’s role as Mother of God, she was also his associate and disciple. Mary followed her Son and brought others to him.

The Fathers wrote about Mary in a theologically descending way, that is, God’s plan of salvation coming to Mary and Mary’s acceptance of God’s plan. The Fathers also described Mary as ascending to God through her willful and active participation in God’s plan for her. Mary was also recognized for her charity toward others and as the example to be followed in doing the will of God. This summary of the Fathers’ theological anthropology of Mary relates to what they said could be learned about God and our relationship with him, from the person and life of Mary. The following summaries will reveal what the Fathers said about Mary from an
historical perspective, as a spiritual subject, a theological person, and her universal significance.\textsuperscript{736}

5.4.1 Historic Life of Mary

All of the Fathers considered that Mary was a real woman who lived in time. Most of the Fathers called her by name, suggesting that they intended to affirm that she was as a real person with an identifying name. Mary was a woman and the mother of Jesus. This affirmed Jesus’ true humanity against the Gnostics, who denied that Jesus was truly human.

Mary was of Jewish descent, from David’s seed and followed the Law. Mary was the Mother of Sion by whom David’s prophecy would be fulfilled. She was identified as Mother of the Lord in the same way that the people of the holy patriarchs and prophets were; the Lord took his origin from them. These references from the Old Testament were associated with the messianic prophecies that would be fulfilled in Mary’s divine Son. God was preparing the way for Mary to be part of his salvation plan through her existence, culture, and religion.

5.4.2 Mary as a Spiritual Subject

The Fathers recognized Mary as a moral being, with reason and will; one who is in relation with God and others. Mary was an independent person and took the initiative to advise Jesus of the status of the wine supply. The Fathers indicated that this showed Mary was concerned about others.

\textsuperscript{736} Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for more details regarding Marian Anthropology, 172 to 176 and 231 and 232.
The most profound references to Mary relate to her relationship with God. According to Paulinus, Mary was the consecrated virgin in whom God chose to build a pleasing temple with a hidden roof-aperture. Mary was described allegorically as the fleece that received the rain of God that fell as noiseless dew from a high cloud. This suggested that Mary was as docile to the will of God, as the fleece was to the rain.

Mary was filled with God’s grace and remained a virgin throughout her life by divine omnipotence and her cooperation with God’s grace in the way she led her life. This was Mary’s response to a relationship with God; she gave herself entirely to God when she was very young; she continued in a holy and sinless relationship with God throughout her life.\(^{737}\)

Augustine held that Mary was predestined for her role as Mother of God. Augustine gave Mary credit for her faith, stating that she was more blessed, because she believed in her heart before she conceived in her womb.

The Fathers’ esteem for Mary can be demonstrated by the titles they used for her: Holy Virgin, Most Blessed Virgin Mary, Blessed Mother, Most Blessed Mother, Holy Mother, Blessed Mary, and Most Blessed Woman. Mary was also identified as a devout mother. Maximus, in “Sermon 23,” was the most effusive of the Fathers.

### 5.4.3 Mary as a Theological Person

Mary’s fiat at the Annunciation marked the point of transition from her vocation story to her role as the Mother of God. Mary identified with the mission that she had accepted from God.

\(^{737}\) Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion on the Fathers’ writings about Mary’s perpetual virginity, 176, 177, 233, and 239.
Her mission becomes her life project, transforming her through her divine maternity and intensifying her relationship with God. Mary participated as an associate with her Divine Son.

**Mary identified with her mission in the divine maternity:** Five Fathers recognized a relationship between Mary's holiness, virginity, and the divine maternity. Ambrose stated Mary was full of grace, had received an incentive to virginity and gave us God. Maximus recalled that Mary brought forth as a virgin and was holy, believing and immaculate. Quodvultdeus believed that after the Angel Gabriel greeted Mary, the Holy Spirit filled her with grace and then she received the Lord. Bede had a similar statement, the Holy Spirit transformed Mary, purified her mind of all stain of vices, so that she might be worthy of a heavenly child-bearing. Augustine credited Mary's holiness to her great faith, her obedience to the will of God, her charity, humility, and holy modesty.738

After Mary's *fiat*, she assumed a life of service to her Son. She was actively involved with him from cradle and infancy, through his formative years, to perfect manhood. She provided this service with motherly love. Mary was a real mother to her Son.

**Mary was transformed by her divine maternity:** Mary was transformed by the presence and action of her Divine Son. Some of the Fathers held that this gave her exceptional knowledge and Mary knew about her Son's divine power. That was why she advised the servants to “Do whatever he tells you.” Various reasons were given to substantiate why Mary had this knowledge. Ambrose thought that Mary could recall the miracles that she saw when Jesus was a child. Maximus held that Mary, in her spirit, knew in advance what would happen and foresaw the Lord's will, because she was the Mother of the Lord. Gaudentius stated that Mary had special

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738 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the discussion. See Ambrose, 84, 82, and 177, Maximus, 107 and 177, Quodvultdeus, 195 and 200, Bede, 223 and Augustine, 144 and 178.
knowledge about her divine Son and his plan for salvation, because she was filled with the Holy Spirit and had given birth to the Son of God. Gaudentius posed a most insightful question, "For what could be hidden to this mother of wisdom, who had capacity for God, who was the most worthy home of such power?"  

Mary is united to God, through her life, her role as the Mother of God, and as his associate: The Father willed that his Son be born of the Virgin Mary, and in him, all things that began with this birth are accomplished in the passion and death of the Son. Mary became an associate of God's when she united herself to the will of God through her fiat at the Annunciation.

Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Quodvultdeus, and Bede wrote that Mary was the mother of Jesus' humanity, with references to his infirmity, weariness, weakness and capacity for death. Jesus died in the weakness of the flesh that he received from Mary, not in his divinity. Mary's participation and role were essential to God's plan of salvation.  

Mary was an associate of her Son in bringing about the revelation of his divinity. The Fathers held that Mary knew that the hour of her Son's death would bring about the new wine of salvation, because she was filled with the Holy Spirit and was, in very truth, the Mater Domini, the Mother of God. Mary knew that her Son was about offer the peoples of the whole world the new chalice of eternal salvation, therefore she advised the servants to do whatever he told them.

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739 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 80 and 81, regarding Jesus' miracles as a child; Maximus, 103 and 104, regarding foresaw the Lord's will; and Gaudentius, 156 and 162, regarding Mary's special knowledge and capacity for God.

740 Refer to "Mary in Christology," 242, for further information.
Mary’s statement to Jesus resulted in the miracle of changing water into wine, thus manifesting his glory.

Some of the Fathers provided a glimpse of what they thought the relationship was between Mother and Son. Mary knew that Jesus’ words to her were not an insult born of anger; and she did not take amiss her Son’s admonition. She understood that they contained a mysterious compassion. The Fathers held that Jesus would not dishonor his mother nor deny her as his mother. Augustine described the tender scene right before Jesus died, by stating that Jesus commended most considerately or commended with human affection his mother to the beloved disciple. Again, Jesus appropriately shows his human affection at the moment when he was dying as a man.

Mary was correctly recognized as the human mother of the Son of God. She was in a loving relationship with her Son from the time of his birth until his death. Mary was concerned about others. She also knew the meaning of Jesus’ hour and was instrumental in bringing about the first miracle that pointed to the hour of salvation on the Cross, for all the peoples of the world.

5.4.4 Universal Significance of Mary

Mary’s life and role in salvation history serve as ideals, standards, and guidelines for the Church and for all people. During this period there was emphasis on Mary as an archetype for virginity and faith.

The Fathers highlight Holy Mary as the archetype of virginity, the ultimate standard for virginity. Mary was the archetype of virginity, because she was chosen by God for the ultimate role for human participation in his salvation plan for all humanity. Mary provided an example
for virgins, because she responded to God's call and consecrated herself to God and lived her life, with the help of God, as a perpetual virgin. Mary was also a model for virgins; she was the one who summoned all people to the cult of virginity, calling them to a life response like hers.

Augustine recognized Mary as an exemplar of faith. He said that she was more blessed, because she believed in her heart before she conceived Jesus. She received the Word of God in faith and this became the path to her divine maternity.

Mary is a model for faith and charity in action. Mary believed that her Son was the Son of God and that he had come for the salvation of all people. In faith and charity, she sought to bring the wine of the new chalice of salvation to others. The Church and all people are to follow Mary's model of faith in Jesus Christ and charity toward others.

Mary is a model of discipleship. Her words to the servants, “Do whatever he tells you,” were carried out by Mary herself. She lived her life as a virgin consecrated to God. She accepted God's will for her, with her fiat and faithfully stayed with her Son until the Cross and the beginning of the Church.

5.5 Marian Doctrine

5.5.1 Mary's Divine Maternity

Several Fathers used terminology that indicated that they recognized Mary as the Mother of God. Hilary identified Mary as the Virgin Mother of the Son of God, who is one with the Father. Ambrose said that Mary gave us God. Maximus, Paulinus, and Gaudentius called Mary, Mother of the Lord. Augustine explained that Mary was the woman in whom the Son, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, assumed his human nature. Quodvultdeus held that Mary
knew that her Son was the Son of the Most High. Therefore there were varying references to Mary as the Mother of God prior to the Council of Ephesus, indicating the sensus fidelium. Only Quodvultdeus would have lived during the time of this Council.

The Christological debates, resolved at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, resulted in the recognition of Mary as the Mother of God. This affirmed the full significance of her role and her relationship to her Divine Son. Mariology became firmly integrated with Christology. J.N.D. Kelly holds that this marked the climax of the Mariological development in the classic patristic period.

**5.5.2 Mary's Perpetual Virginity**

From Hilary to Bede, there were frequent references to Mary's virginity. Ambrose and Jerome aggressively defended this belief. When the Fathers' writing about Mary at the Wedding Feast and their other Marian teachings were analyzed, all of the Fathers taught that Mary was a perpetual virgin, except Maximus. Maximus was silent on Mary's virginity after Jesus' birth, but stated that she was a virgin at conception and at birth.

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741 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the discussion of Mary's titles as Mother of God. See Hilary, 69, 176 and 177, Ambrose, 82, 176 and 177, Maximus, 103, 176 and 177, Paulinus, 113, 176 and 177, Gaudentius, 152, 176 and 177, Augustine, 123, 125, 176 and 177, Quodvultdeus, 195 and 201.

742 See Kelly, Doctrines, 498.

743 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion. See Ambrose, 83 and 86, and Jerome, 92 to 95.

744 Note that the references to Mary's perpetual virginity are from two general sources: commentary on Mary at the Wedding Feast, and "other Marian teaching." Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion about Mary's perpetual virginity, 176, 177 and 232. The footnotes provide other textual references and discussion.
The setting of a wedding prompted reflection on the importance of virginity and called attention to Mary's perpetual virginity in relation to the Divine Maternity. According to Paulinus, Mary was the consecrated virgin in whom God built himself a pleasing temple with a hidden roof-aperature. Augustine and Bede held that Mary took a vow of virginity. Gaudentius recognized Mary's virginity as providing the height of reverence that would forever attend to his beginning. Jerome and Gaudentius explained that the manner of his birth was similar to the appearances of the Risen Lord through a closed door. Augustine wrote that Jesus left the body of his mother pure and entire; and in Sermon 51, Augustine held that Mary was a perpetual virgin. Bede held that the perfection of virginity was best because the Lord chose to be born from the inviolate womb of the Virgin Mary. Leo taught that Mary was ever virgin, Mother of God.745

Hilary explained Mary's perpetual virginity from two perspectives, Theological and Christological. Through the power of God, Mary lost nothing of her virginity in giving birth to her Son, just as the Father lost nothing when he generated the Son. Mary's virgin birth of Christ was evidence of the power of God, just as eternal life resulted from the death of Christ on the Cross, through the power of God.746

Mary's perpetual virginity was promulgated as a doctrine at the Third Council of Constantinople and the Lateran Council.

745 Note that references are made to Jerome, Augustine (Sermon 51) and Leo; they are not from commentary on Mary at the Wedding Feast at Cana, but are included to provide a fuller picture of what the Father's were teaching. Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for the text and discussion about Mary's perpetual virginity and Divine Maternity. See Paulinus, 113, 114, 116, 176 and 177, Augustine, 143, 144 and 177, Bede, 223 and 224, Gaudentius, 151, 212, 213, 214, Jerome, 94, 95 and 96 Gaudentius, 155 and 163, Augustine, 126, and 143, Bede, 218 and 232, and Leo, 214 and 234.

746 Refer to the pages indicated in this thesis for text and discussion. See Hilary, 69, 70 and 71.
Conclusion:

The Patristic period ended with two Marian Dogmas defined. All of the Fathers mentioned in this study contributed one way or another to the clarification of Jesus Christ's relationship with the Father and his divinity, as well as the reality and completeness of his humanity. These Theological and Christological truths led to the formulations and foundations for these Marian dogmas. The unique privilege of Mary's divine motherhood opened the way for the Marian Dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and Mary's Assumption into Heaven. The Second Vatican Council formalized the composite teaching of the Fathers, when they placed Mary in chapter eight of the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church." Chapter eight was entitled "The Blessed Virgin Mary, God-Bearer, in the Mystery of Christ and of the Church." This placed her in a close relationship to her Son and in close relationship with his redeeming Body, the Church. As the Fathers wrote, the Virgin Mary's womb was the nuptial chamber where Christ, the Bridegroom, joined himself spiritually to the Church, his Bride.
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