

**Mary on the Eve of the Second Vatican Council**

John C. Cavadini

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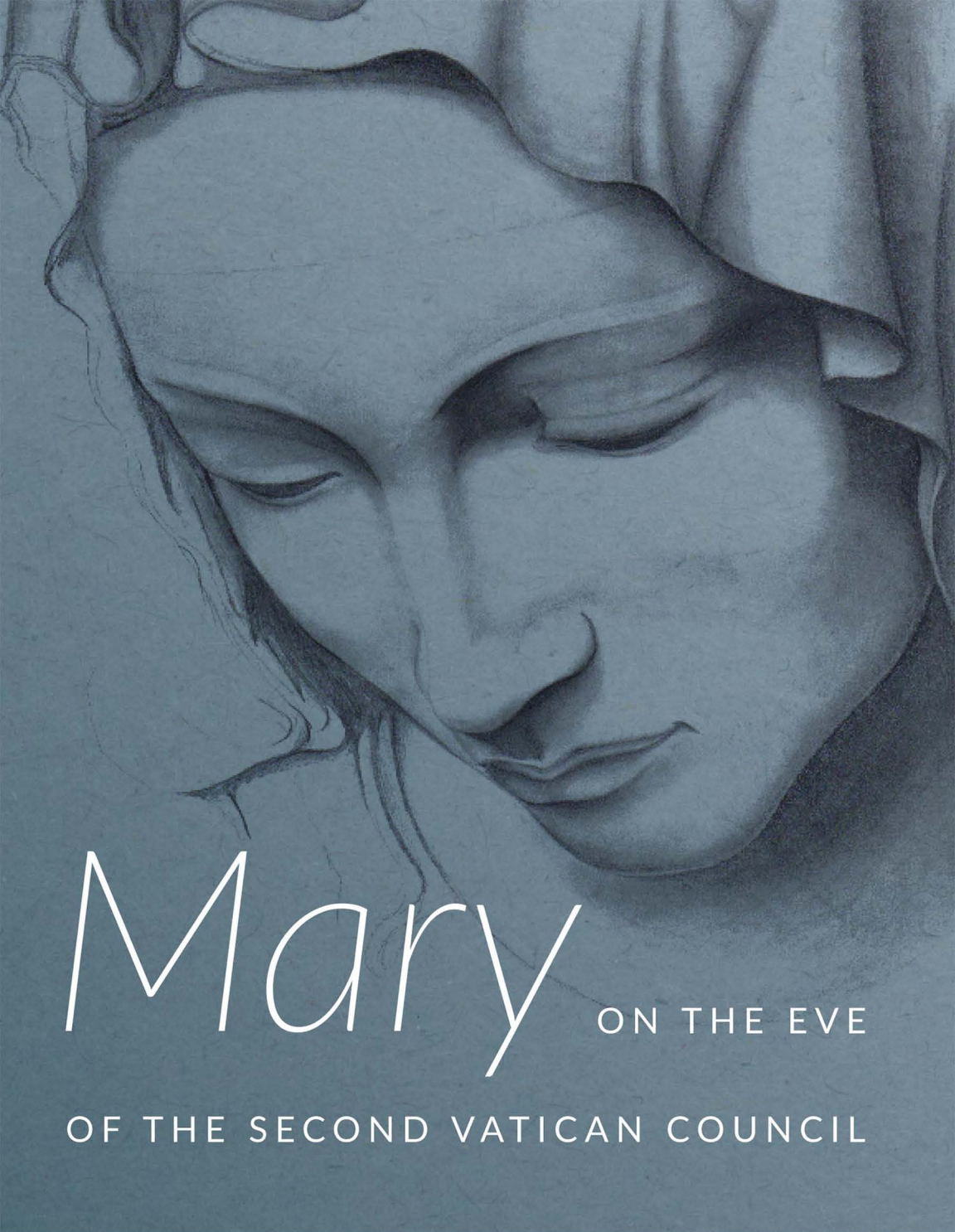
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# Mary

ON THE EVE

OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

*Edited by John C. Cavadini and Danielle M. Peters*

*Mary on the Eve of the Second Vatican Council*



EDITED BY

*John C. Cavadini*

AND

*Danielle M. Peters*

*Mary* ON THE EVE OF  
THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

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Dedicated to Father Edward D. O'Connor, C.S.C.





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*September 24, 2014,  
Commemoration of Our Lady of Mercy*

*John C. Cavadini  
Danielle M. Peters*



## Introduction

JOHN C. CAVADINI

This book has the aim of an invitation. I wonder if there is any person more uniquely associated with Catholicism than Mary, the Mother of Jesus. I do not mean to imply that Mary is the most important person in Catholic teaching, belief, or practice. The person of Jesus Christ would take that place. But Jesus is not uniquely associated with Catholicism: all Christians believe in Jesus in some central way, and even some non-Christian religions find a place for him. But if one wants to use the image of a person to call to mind on a poster, on the cover of a book, in a film, something Catholic without using the word “Catholic,” Mary is the most likely candidate. In polemics against the Church, in the Church’s own imagination as expressed in art and theology, the Catholic Church is uniquely associated with Mary. Mary remains the person whose name or image will bring to mind Catholicism most readily.

It is ironic that this should be the case since, after the Second Vatican Council, the level of devotion to Mary, at least in the Catholicism of much of Europe and North America, plummeted and remains very low, so low that the eminent theologian Karl Rahner bemoaned the state of Marian devotion in a famous essay that one of our contributors, Peter Joseph Fritz, brings to our attention. Of course she holds her place in the

liturgy, and yet, to judge by the comments of another contributor, Fr. James Phelan, homilies on Mary are rarely heard, sometimes not even on Marian feast days. And “Mariology,” if by that is meant the theological study of Mary, has all but vanished from the theological mainstream and from theological curricula. It is an irony, then, that Mary persists in the cultural imagination as the person most uniquely associated with Catholicism. It is an even further irony that Mariology was one of the most flourishing of theological disciplines in the decades on the “eve” of the Second Vatican Council, and indeed had been flourishing for about one hundred years before. Both theology and devotion had so prospered in the “long” century between the declaration of the Immaculate Conception as dogma by Pius IX (1854) and the declaration of the Assumption as dogma by Pius XII (1950) and the subsequent opening of the Council (1962).

The invitation extended by this book is to study the Marian theology of this long century and to begin to find ways to take up some of its strands and cultivate them anew. There are so many, as it were, beautifully colored threads of reflection on Mary that have been simply left behind. Some of them were woven into the tapestry of chapter 8 of *Lumen Gentium* (LG), the Council’s Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. Some of them were not. All of them were dropped, seemingly, after the Council. Perhaps it is time to pick some of them up and weave them anew. Perhaps after a distance of nearly sixty years we can look at the various theologies without feeling quite so keenly the controversies out of which they arose and to which they contributed, and that may allow us to see golden threads of continuity that we had not seen before. It may allow us to refuse some of the dichotomies that seemed so urgent in some of those decades, for example, between the so-called Marian maximalism and the so-called minimalism; refuse them, at least, as defining features of the story of Marian theology in the long Marian century preceding the Council. From the perspective of the present dearth, even the “minimalism” of the 1950s can look fairly maximalist!

The volume begins with a section on historical highlights of the period we consider. The first chapter is a retrospect of the development of Marian theology by Fr. Brian E. Daley, who looks back from the perspective of *Lumen Gentium* to the earliest beginnings. Fifty years after



the Council, we are, he says, “still trying to discern what features of preconciliar Catholic life were of permanent importance, in need now of refreshment or even reconstruction, and what were just part of a world that has properly evolved away.” This applies to the theology of the “Marian Age,” as the whole modern era of Catholicism could be called because of its increasing focus on Mary, culminating in the two Marian dogmatic definitions of 1854 and 1950. Perhaps the most crucial development in the ancient Church was the affirmation of Mary as “Mother of God” at Ephesus in 431, with the efflorescence of Marian devotion everywhere in the Church. Ironically this devotion flourished regardless of whether the Chalcedonian definition of the person of Christ, with its re-affirmation of the title “Mother of God,” was accepted or not. Liturgical devotion to Mary was a constant throughout a church that was divided on other (related) issues, and even the non-Chalcedonian churches accepted the Dormition, or, as it became known in the West, the Assumption, of Mary. In the West, two developments in Marian theology were to have a long history of development themselves, all the way into the twentieth century. These were Bernard of Clairvaux’s idea that Mary is “the ‘aqueduct,’ the channel through whom all God’s grace flows to a parched humanity”—a precursor of the idea that Mary is “Mediatrice” of all graces—and the development of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which achieved its most precise and persuasive early form under John Duns Scotus. The theology of the Marian Age focused on the development of these and other “privileges” of Mary, sometimes veering into enthusiasms that seem “to have shifted the emphasis of Christian belief and piety from Jesus to Mary,” as with de Montfort, who, Daley writes, “draws on the tradition of her channeling God’s grace to the world . . . and alters it into an image of her complete control of that grace,” to the extent that “Christianity seems to have been transformed into ‘Marianity.’”

In reaction to such enthusiasm, to be sure, but also to Catholic theology even in less enthusiastic versions, we find, for example, Karl Barth’s 1938 rejection of Catholic Mariology as “the critical, central dogma of the Roman Catholic Church, . . . the one heresy . . . which explains all the rest . . . the principle, type, and essence of the human creature cooperating . . . in its own redemption,” and thus “the principle, type and essence of the Church.” Meanwhile, Catholic theology in the 1930s had begun to

experience the new movement that came to be called *ressourcement*: a “return to the sources of theology,” which “attempted to move away from the deductive, apologetic rationalism” and “looked for historical development, continuities, and influences within a changing but organically growing tradition, inspired by a new encounter with the Church Fathers” and, through them, the Bible. Taking Barth at his word, in a way, these theologians began to focus on what de Lubac (1937) called “a single Mystery: the Mystery of Christ and the Church.” Otto Semmelroth in 1950 explicitly and systematically inserts Mary into this “single mystery” as “both the personal center and the symbol of what God has brought to fulfillment in the Church: as Bride.” In a sense, he accepts Barth’s critique and attempts to draw out the biblical and patristic dimensions of Mary’s place in this “single mystery,” precisely so that the mystery is not divided, as Barth feared. Yves Congar follows suit in 1952 with *Christ, Our Lady and the Church*, both attempting to reconnect, as de Lubac had done, the theology of Mary with the theology of Christ and the Church—agreeing with Barth, in a sense, that something had gone awry—and yet defending Catholic teaching on Mary and the Church by insisting on the crucial role of the humanity of Christ in redemption, and thus on the roles of Mary and the Church, who are both intimately associated with it. Barth’s critique, from Congar’s point of view, represents a rejection, implicitly, of the “mediating role of Christ’s humanity,” an irony, since Barth’s objection was precisely to the way in which he believed Catholic theology to have displaced this mediating role in favor of Mary and the Church. Hugo Rahner’s book *Our Lady and the Church*, published the year before, follows the same idea of Mary as a “type” of the Church. In 1956 his brother Karl Rahner argued along distinct, although related, lines for the integration of Mary into the economy of biblical faith. For Karl Rahner, the “fundamental principle of Mariology” is realized in the Assumption of Mary, that is, the acknowledgment of Mary as the most perfectly redeemed of all human beings.

Thus, on the eve of the Second Vatican Council we had, in the theology developed by the *ressourcement* theologians, a Mariology that was tied integrally to the history of salvation, made possible by “a renewed, historically grounded, liturgically centered, scripturally expressed, understanding of the *Church*” (emphasis in original). When the Council was an-

nounced in 1959, the older themes of the Marian Age, concentrating especially on the relationship of Mary and Jesus and the privileges flowing from this relationship—for example, her status as Mediatrix—which glorify her “as singular, as different from the rest of us,” were understood by a number of more traditional theologians as a way of glorifying, not of detracting from, Christ the Lord. From this perspective, it was argued that the Council should have a separate document on Mary. The perspective developed by the *ressourcement* theologians, however, was behind an alternative proposal presented to the Council, namely, that Mary be included as part of the Council’s statement on ecclesiology. By a narrow vote, the Council fathers approved the latter proposal. “The resulting final section of *Lumen Gentium*,” as Daley writes, “is in many ways one of the most complete summations we have of modern Catholic Marian doctrine,” one that folds Marian theology formally into the theology of the Church and yet manages to integrate into this theology, and thereby contextualize within it, the privileges strand of the Marian Age, including her role as Mediatrix, which appears as “an expression of her continuing motherhood.” Daley’s essay concludes with a brief look at the development of Marian theology in the writings of Popes Paul VI, John Paul II, and Francis as commentary on and development of the synthesis of *Lumen Gentium*.

The second chapter in the volume, by Fr. Thomas A. Thompson, offers the reader a second retrospect of Catholic Marian theology from the perspective of *Lumen Gentium*, this time paying special attention to the theme of Mary’s *faith* as the golden thread that helps us to narrate the history of this theology. In figures as early as Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, Mary’s faith is contrasted to the unbelief and disobedience of Eve. In Ambrose the theme of Mary’s faith becomes a link to the faith of all believers, all of whom, like Mary, can conceive and give birth to the Word of God. For Ambrose, Mary serves as a *type* of the Church, both of whom give birth to believers. As such, Mary is also the mother of believers. Augustine develops the idea more fully: “For Augustine, Mary’s maternity was an encompassing mystery transcending temporal succession; it was an illustration of the *Totus Christus*, that is, the inseparability of the physical body of the Christ from the body of the members.” Mary’s faith preceded her conception of Christ physically, as the conception of Christ in her heart and, presumably, all of his members.

This Augustinian tradition continues in Bede and other monastic teachers in the West, but in the “Marian revival” featuring Bernard of Clairvaux and the development of the “Hail Mary” in the twelfth century and moving on to Albert the Great and Thomas, there are no references to the faith of Mary. Apart from Albert the Great, the Mary–Church relation is hardly present, and after him it “appears to have fallen into oblivion.” Marian theology picks up after the Council of Trent, and the word “Mariology” appears for the first time in a treatise from 1602, but it is in the nineteenth century that we find an acceleration of Marian teaching and, though itself critiqued for an overly rationalistic methodology, “the Scholastic revival in Italy was a response to rationalism and modern philosophy.” But the renewal of liturgical, biblical, and patristic theology beginning in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth eventually reached Mariology through the *ressourcement* theologians, and the deductive method of the Neo-Scholastic handbooks was left behind, even though the search for a “fundamental principle” for Mariology persisted in this new style of theology. “Yet to be written,” Thompson notes, “is the history of the Marian *ressourcement*, which at Vatican II was responsible for an image of the Virgin Mary different from the one that was found in the early twentieth-century manuals.” He writes, “First recovered” from the early centuries was “the Mary–Church relationship” and “then the Virgin Mary’s integration into Scripture and salvation history.” Thompson summarizes the contributions of Hugo Rahner, Alois Müller, Heinrich Köster, René Laurentin, and Otto Sesselroth as well as the contributions of the Mariological societies that evolved in the first half of the twentieth century.

*Lumen Gentium* chapter 8 presents Mary within the *one* mystery of Christ and the Church, reconciling and integrating a Christocentric or Christotypical view of Mary and an ecclesiotypical view. Thompson writes that that document proclaims that “within the Church, Mary’s relation to Christ is fully intact” in all its various dimensions, and within this one mystery, Mary’s place in salvation history is elaborated under four Old Testament types: the promised Woman (cf. Gen. 3.15, where the Latin text has a feminine subject); the virgin who shall conceive (Isa. 7:14; Mic. 5:2–3; Matt. 1:22–23); the humble and poor of the Lord; and Daughter of Sion. Mary’s faith, mentioned in the second of the blessings

that Elizabeth directs to her: “Blessed are you among women, and blest is the fruit of your womb; Blest is she who believed that there would be a fulfillment of what was spoken to her by the Lord” (Luke 1:38, 1:45), bridges the two testaments. Perhaps, Thompson suggests, this second blessing, highlighted by John Paul II in his encyclical *Redemptoris Mater*, could also be added to the Hail Mary, along with the first.

The next chapter in the collection also offers an overview of the period, in this case a kind of parallel overview tracing developments in Marian representation against developments in theology. Without trying to claim too close a correspondence that would seem forced on the art, the chapter of Fr. Johann G. Roten demonstrates certain resonances between Marian theology and Marian art, even as it keeps our eyes on some of the larger cultural developments that affected both art and theology at the same time. Devotional art associated with the village of Epinal in northeast France had a popular character and was most closely associated with the “Christotypical” or “Marian privilege” theology that emphasized Mary’s role as Mediatrix or Co-redemptrix. Devotional art was also closely influenced by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century apparition tradition. Insofar as the “Marian century” was a century of upheaval, with two horrific world wars in its latter half, to which corresponded both the art and the privilege theology, “There was a terrible need for redemption from the tragedies and consequences of two world wars, and thus an urgent call for trustworthy mediation between heaven and earth.” Accordingly, the Epinal representations often depict Mary with a unique combination of compassion and strength: “The overall message is one of mercy and power.” The popular images did undergo development, partly in response to the so-called realism of Hollywood and partly in reaction against what came to be perceived as their own previous sentimentality. Yet these somewhat iconoclastic trends did not succeed in displacing the popular images but were rather taken up into a still recognizably iconic style. The more “artistic” or high-culture representation of Mary evinced trends that in some ways broke sharply with the sentiments of religion in general, not just popular religion, as can be seen in the developments leading up to Max Ernst’s *The Virgin Spanks the Son of Man before Three Witnesses* of 1926. A transition had taken place from religion triumphing in the arts to art triumphing over religion,

which art observed without celebrating. In terms of more religious, high-culture art, we find a transition from Romanticism to expressionism associated with Plateau d'Assy. Despite all of the changes in the representation of Mary in the Marian Age, up to the eve of the Second Vatican Council the fundamental image remained that of Mother and Child: "Whether sacred or secular, kitsch and popular or of genuine artistic quality but seemingly non-Christian, whether of pious inspiration or for aesthetic enjoyment only—there remains the abiding and irreversible reality of Mother and Child," the "foundational expression" of Marian art that serves as a kind of summary of the Gospel and of all of revelation, which renders it irreplaceable. It should be noted that Fr. Roten's end-notes provide the reader with a wonderful annotated bibliography, in effect, for anyone wishing to pursue this topic further.

The chapters in the second section of the book take up individual theologians, beginning with Yves Congar. Christopher Ruddy's chapter analyzes the contribution of Congar by tracking his opposition to two opposed tendencies, namely, the "maximalist Mariology" of certain Catholic theologians and the extreme minimalism of neoorthodox Protestantism. For Congar, the maximalist strain of Mariology was, as we have already seen from our overview essays, dialectical or deductive in character, separated from the rest of theology and so an "isolated maximalism" that tended to "work by deduction from atemporal principles." Congar's approach was that of the *ressourcement*, recovering the way in which the Fathers placed the mystery of Mary within the mystery of the Church and the latter within the mystery of the divine economy of salvation. Ruddy writes: "This tethering or integration of Mary to ecclesiology and soteriology is the foundation of Congar's Mariology." At the same time, for Congar, Protestant minimalism with regard to Mary was simply a function of Protestant minimalism with regard to the salvific role of Christ's humanity and thus to the role of human cooperation in God's gracious saving work. Ruddy explains Congar's view: "Jesus's conception and birth, in this view, are not something that Mary does but something that she receives; she has no active role, save that of her *fiat*, which 'receives and recognizes that God is at work in her.'" Congar, on the other hand, would want to recognize an active role of cooperation in both Mary and the Church. As he writes: "In setting up this union of

heaven and earth accomplished in person by Jesus Christ, a share is also to be attributed to our Lady through her cooperation in the mystery of the Incarnation, and to the Church because it communicates to us the effects that flow from the Incarnation.” As Ruddy writes, for Congar “Mary and the Church are . . . ‘one and the same mystery in two moments,’” with Mary’s virginal motherhood being a type of the Church’s virginal motherhood. Ruddy’s assessment of Congar’s contribution to Mariology recognizes his positive contributions, including his role in reconnecting Mary to the Church and to salvation history, but also notes the drawbacks that Congar’s Mariology had, as its aim was “less to open up or to explore a theology of Mary than to correct theological and devotional excesses” and as such was “more reactive than constructive, more concerned with corralling than cultivating,” and less willing to emphasize Mary’s unique dignity among all creatures. There is “a decided coolness in Congar’s Marian thought” as a result, and Ruddy wonders whether one of Congar’s “unintended” legacies was “postconciliar Catholic ecclesiology’s relative neglect of Mary”—whether, in other words, once the mystery of Mary was subsumed by the mystery of the Church, it became an optional afterthought in ecclesiology, following the minimizing “trajectory” and energy of Congar’s Mariology rather than the positive claims it makes. Ruddy concludes with an observation that could almost be the motto of this whole collection: “It is no slight . . . to suggest that a new work of integration, *ressourcement*, and discernment is needed today if Mary is to reclaim her rightful place in the mysteries of Christ and the Church.”

Ruddy’s chapter raises this question: as Mariology moved away from the trope of “Mary’s privileges” to contextualizing Mary in another theological framework such as that of the Church, how do we avoid rendering Mary just another example of that framework, even if the preeminent example, such that there is no longer a point to Mariology, except as the preeminent illustration of a category? This seems to be what happened with Congar’s trajectory, if Ruddy is correct.

Next is Matthew Levering’s chapter, which examines three theologians’ writing in the 1950s, exactly on the “eve” of the Second Vatican Council. By studying writings of René Laurentin, Otto Semmelroth, and Karl Rahner, all written in close proximity to each other (1953, 1954,

and 1956, respectively), Levering examines whether and to what extent each theologian attended to the relationship between Mary and the Holy Spirit as it is stated explicitly or implicitly in Scripture. He takes as a cue for his analysis comments by Congar that, on the one hand, “it is very important to remain conscious of the deep bond that exists between the Virgin Mary and the Spirit” and, on the other hand, to guard against a tendency to “functionally replace the Holy Spirit with Mary.” Levering shows that of the three theologians he studies, only Laurentin attended to the relationship between Mary and the Spirit, and, further, he did so by following the “biblical portraiture,” which shows, among other things, that “the Holy Spirit did not simply make the infant Christ present in [Mary’s] womb; rather the Holy Spirit also consecrated her and assimilated her to her Son so that she could fulfill her unique vocation as mother of her Son.” Again, Levering writes, “Laurentin’s approach takes us through Mary’s life and shows how deeply her unique relationship with the Holy Spirit marks her vocation.” This approach, Levering suggests, preserves a sense of Mary’s uniqueness, her “privileges,” without detaching her from the biblical story of redemption. The approaches of Semmelroth and Rahner, by contrast, begin to bleach out Mary’s distinctiveness in favor of Mary as a type of the Church (Semmelroth) or as an exemplar of God’s grace (Rahner). Semmelroth preserved more of a connection between Mary and the Holy Spirit than did Rahner; nevertheless, “he [Semmelroth] generally studied the mysteries of Mary in order to show something about the Church.” In the sermons of Rahner that Levering studies, “the particular details of Mary’s life and the specific person of the Holy Spirit do not have much of a role.” More important is that “she exemplifies what grace is and what humans are,” and Mary seems almost collapsed into theological anthropology as the most important exemplar of God’s grace, extended to all human beings. It was Laurentin, “even more than Semmelroth or Rahner,” who “anticipated the achievements of *Lumen Gentium*, which clearly states that Mary is “the beloved daughter of the Father and the temple of the Holy Spirit,” as befits her reception of “the high office and dignity of Mother of the Son of God” (citing LG 53).

The following chapter, by Peter Joseph Fritz, focuses on Karl Rahner alone. Rahner appears in Fritz’s lucid essay as the self-described



“minimalist” that he is, and yet we find that his minimalism has a “maximalist” twist. In fact, the very words “maximalist” and “minimalist” seem somewhat problematic since they do not exhaust the debates in Mariology that arose in the Marian Age and to some extent may continue in the present. Fritz shows that Rahner attacks the maximalism of certain mid-century Mariologies precisely because they seem to be “centrifugal,” that is, they seem to be ways of refusing to deal with attacks on the central claims of the Christian message, such as those of atheism, and so are “escape hatches” that actually end up evacuating Mary of the very significance they so hoped to attach to her. Rahner’s minimalism was for him a way to reintegrate Mary into the very story of salvation that makes her meaningful to us. What Fritz calls his “fundamental principle” for Marian theology was not her motherhood, therefore, which for Rahner “connotes privatization,” Fritz says, but rather “the fact that Mary is one human person among many, . . . blessed *among* women” (emphasis in original), because—and this is Rahner’s fundamental principle—she is the person who is, in his words, “redeemed in the most perfect way.” As Rahner saw it, this minimalist position actually maximizes Mary’s significance to us. Fritz explains: “Rahner’s stress on Mary’s belonging to the human race ends up underscoring her constitutive place in the salvific economy. Minimizing her personal privilege maximizes her salvation-historical significance.” Combining his fundamental principle with his brother Hugo’s ecclesiotypical view of Mary, Rahner argues that it is precisely as the most perfectly redeemed person that Mary *is* the “type of the Church”: as Fritz writes, Mary’s “giving of the Spirit through the enfleshed Word” shows that the true apostolic life is not what Rahner calls a “spirit of anarchy” but one that results in a “bounded ecclesiology,” to use Fritz’s term, that has, in Rahner’s words, “the courage to submit to flesh, to concrete precisions.” Near the end of Rahner’s life, this courage appears in a new form in the title of an essay from 1983, “Courage for Devotion to Mary.” This essay laments the loss of Marian devotion in many countries of the Western world in favor of New Age spiritualities or meditative practices associated with Eastern religions. Rahner’s attack on a certain kind of Marian maximalism was not intended to distance the Church from traditional Marian devotions such as the rosary; it was intended to draw out their full significance rather than

to risk the centrifugal theological moves that would ultimately seem to cut them off as peripheral spiritual phenomena. Fritz regards this essay as ranking “among the most significant Rahner ever wrote.” It exhibits Rahner’s minimalism as giving very little court to the minimalistic “progressives” who have given up Marian devotions “in the name of progress.” In closing, Fritz notes that “Rahner teaches us that if we ever feel inclined to minimize our words about Mary, the resulting minimalism should manifest itself as the simplicity of traditional Marian prayer.”

The study by Troy A. Stefano takes up the task of describing the Mariology of someone who never wrote a particular work on Mary but whose work is nevertheless suffused with mariological reflection, namely, Henri de Lubac, perhaps the *ressourcement* theologian par excellence. De Lubac’s success in Mariology, in fact, may be due to the dispersed character of his reflections. He was out not to combat the maximalism or the minimalism of other Mariologists or indeed to engage in a separate subject called Mariology but to present a compelling account of the Catholic faith steeped in the biblical tradition as it had been inherited from the Fathers of the Church. This requires (as for Congar) a profound appreciation of the Incarnation. De Lubac seems to be able to hold together the Christotypical emphasis in Mariology—associated with the uniqueness of Mary and her “privileges”—with the ecclesiotypical emphasis in Mariology, which was increasingly associated with Marian minimalism as the Council approached. De Lubac’s use of the Marian titles “Immaculate Spouse,” “Virgin Mother,” and “Mother of the Church” is key to his unique approach. All three, taken together, preserve the integrity of an “incarnational logic” that honors Mary’s uniqueness (perhaps more than the approaches of Congar and Rahner?) even as it integrates Mary fully into the economy of salvation history. The key here is to realize that the economy is constituted by God’s self-emptying love, fully accomplished in the Incarnation, and that this self-emptying moment is never taken back; “God, thus bodily mediated, is never consequently received unmediated apart from Christ’s body,” as Stefano writes. God’s self-emptying love is the ultimate mystery. Mary’s role in mediating that love to us through her motherhood of Christ is unique and irreplaceable. To try to minimize it is, in effect, to turn the Incarnation into an abstraction instead of remembering that Jesus is a person and, we could add,

following Origen (in *On First Principles* 2.6.2), that he came into the world as a baby who cried just like any other baby. To minimize Mary's role is to defeat the purpose of confessing the Incarnation and to vitiate the fullness of one's confession of the economy of salvation. Under each of the three titles, Mary at once advances and recapitulates, in Christ, the economy of salvation. As Immaculate Spouse, Mary's unique relationship to the Word fully discloses the spousal love of God for Israel and brings it to fulfillment in her role as Virgin Mother. Here the spousal dimension, "following Scheeben," is prioritized because it emphasizes the perfection of Mary in grace as a perfection for a true cooperation *as* beloved spouse "to ensure that Mary as Virgin Mother cannot be turned into an abstraction by seeing her as solely an instrument for the Incarnation," in Stefano's words. This seems to be an important difference from the views of all of the theologians studied so far except, perhaps, for Laurentin. As Virgin Mother, according to de Lubac, Mary thus becomes the "sacrament" of Christ. As Stefano writes: "The structure of Christ's own historicity is the 'form' of his mediation; if Christ's condescension to adapt to our weakness came through Mary, Christ's 'form' remains as the Incarnate One through Mary. Christ is *forever* from Mary's womb" (emphasis in original). Mary is a "type of the Church" not simply as a representative, or even as *the* representative member, but because she is the Mother of the Church. Her "hour" comes when Christ's hour comes and she is given as mother to the Beloved Disciple. The moment when her spousal and maternal identity passes over into the Church, who is Spouse and Virgin Mother, is the moment when the fullness of the significance of her status as Mother of the Incarnate Word is revealed. Only by calling Mary "Mother" do we fully realize our identity as members of the Church, members of Christ's body, and fully confess the mystery of the Incarnation, universalizing it without abstracting it. Therefore, as Stefano writes: "To invoke Mary as our mother . . . is to say that the spousal and maternal mediations of the Church are themselves derivative of the concrete relation between Christ and Mary." If calling Mary the "type" of the Church deemphasizes the priority of Mary, the result will be an abstraction of the body of Christ, the Church, into an impersonal structure, no longer "wholly personal," no longer "she," no longer the "continuation" of the Incarnation but a displacement of it into the past.

The next chapter, by Msgr. Michael Heintz, presents another *ressourcement* theologian writing on Mary in the decade before Vatican II, Louis Bouyer, whose theology, as Heintz analyzes it, presents the same concern as that of de Lubac for exhibiting Mary's integration into the economy of salvation precisely by preserving her irreducible uniqueness. In other words, the "ecclesiotypical" theology depends on the "Christotypical," and the Christotypical is prevented from becoming isolated (as Rahner feared) from the rest of theology because it is oriented precisely toward the ecclesiotypical. In agreement with Rahner's approach, Bouyer writes: "Our Lady shows forth what is, *par excellence*, the Gospel teaching, namely, how our human nature is raised by grace to a degree corresponding to the closeness of the bond that unites us to Christ. . . . In her we are able to discern, realized in time, all that the divine Wisdom held in store for us." In a striking phrase that reminds us even more of Rahner, Heintz notes that, in a way, "Mariology is theological anthropology." And yet Bouyer has many safeguards in place that keep Mariology from collapsing into theological anthropology, such that Mary is distinguished from us only by degree, not by an irreducibly unique role. Mary is not only a member, the most redeemed member, of the Church but also the "link" between Christ and the Church. More particularly, it is Mary's faith that is the link, as the perfect coming together of predestination and human freedom. As Bouyer states: "From the standpoint of God's initiative, of predestination, we may say that it was because the moment had come when the Word had decided to take flesh that faith flowered in Mary. But from the standpoint of saving human freedom, it is equally true to say that the Word became incarnate at that moment rather than at any other because he had at last found a soul of entire faith, wholly disposed to receive him." Christ is "above faith" because, though his human nature is fully human, it is taken up by a divine person and established in the beatific vision, yet "Christ's humanity, though possessed by a divine person, yet remains ours, because it first belonged to the person of Mary," and thus our humanity is united to Christ's humanity "through" the humanity of Mary. She thus serves as the link between Christ and the Church. Her utter uniqueness does not isolate her but in fact makes her "the masterpiece of grace," and her fiat is "arguably the freest choice ever made by a human person." Though she is a member of

the Church, she can never be collapsed fully into it because that would destroy the link that connects the Church to Christ. Mary's "privileges"—her maternity and her holiness, for example—in one sense will be fully extended to the Church eschatologically, and yet, in another sense, the conditions for the extension of these privileges would be destroyed if they did not persist in Mary uniquely. Thus, if Mary is a "type" of the Church, it is not because she foreshadows the Church by containing already the perfection that the Church eventually will have; rather, it is the other way around. Heintz writes that "ecclesial maternity," for example, "is first and foremost Marian, and the Church, Bouyer asserts, can be called 'Mother' only by being a 'continuation' of Mary's own maternity." Mary's virginal motherhood is, in Bouyer's words, "the condition of possibility for the Church's motherhood." If Mary is the Seat of Wisdom, it is the Wisdom of the "mystery" of God's self-emptying love made manifest in Christ. She is, Heintz says, the "Seat of *this* Wisdom" (my emphasis) and cannot be dissolved fully into the Church without undoing the Wisdom that made the Church.

The third section of the book gives us a glimpse of Mary on the eve of the Second Vatican Council as she entered into preaching and into the spirituality of monastic and secular institutes and movements. The first chapter in this section, by Fr. Kevin Grove, takes up the earliest example in the book, one close to the heart of the University of Notre Dame, namely, the Marian preaching of Basil Moreau, founder of the Congregation of Holy Cross, which founded the university. As he introduces us to the pastoral concerns of Moreau's preaching, Grove demonstrates conclusively that the characterization of the Mary of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception on offer in such scholarly works as the essay "Immaculate and Powerful," by Barbara Corrado Pope, is a caricature. According to this and similar views, the doctrine portrays a Mary who is not scriptural, in Pope's words a "pure and passive vessel" who is anything but a disciple. The Mary of Scripture disappears into this doctrine, which seems to be little more than a papal ideology in support of what Grove calls "conservative government ideals against postrevolution secular, or modern, values." The Mary of the doctrine becomes isolated even from other doctrinal contexts—Trinitarian, Christological, and ecclesiological—becoming, "both in popular preaching and in theological

discussion . . . a more and more autonomous figure.” Grove comments that such scholarly claims “are often leveraged without any support” and that “at least in the singular example of Moreau”—who, as an Ultramontanist, could be expected to exhibit the worst of the ideological tendencies alleged here—“we see the paradigmatic opposite.” Preaching on the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Moreau draws a picture fully determined by the portraiture of Scripture (to use the expression of Levering in a different context), of someone who is anything but passive in her “daily and mutual” sharing in the life of Jesus. The Incarnation is central, revealing the influence of the earlier “French School” of theology, but precisely as self-emptied into the realities of daily life. “What appears here is a Mary who—at the level of experience and perhaps without full comprehension—must have been working through the human aspect of raising a Son who was the Word having assumed her flesh.” She is as such not only a disciple but “the model of discipleship, more so than the twelve,” more than Thomas and Peter, and more even than the Beloved Disciple. She is not a passive instrument, disconnected from the Trinity, but the “minister” of the Father’s designs and as such a “cooperator” in the sufferings of her Son and in the plan of salvation. One difference: the Father, who gave up His Only Begotten Son, is impassible by nature, but Mary, as a human mother, is able to suffer and, insofar as she gives up her innocent Son, she suffers with him and in a sense is martyred herself on Calvary. In the suffering of Mary, Grove states, Moreau is “exploring the depths of sorrow as complete configuration to the redemption wrought in Jesus Christ” and therefore to the depths of human compassion. The Immaculate Heart of Mary, far from the distant “powerful” Mary of the caricature, “bears forth the mystery of the Incarnation” in her willingness to accept sorrow on our behalf and in “pondering in her heart” her own sorrows, which are the sorrows of her Son, which in turn are the sorrows of all human hearts. Here is again a characteristic of the French School spirituality initiated by Pierre de Bérulle in the early seventeenth century and eclipsed by the French Revolution, which attempted to replace Mary with the Goddess of Reason. If Moreau is attempting to recover a tradition, it is this one in which the “privileges” of Mary are hers only in service of her larger mission of compassion in the economy of redemption. Grove sums up his chapter with a brief reflection on the

famous “Golden Dome” of the University of Notre Dame, on top of which is an image of Mary of the Immaculate Conception: “Such a gilded icon of doctrine might seem the ultimate evacuation of the historical Mary in favor of what has become ‘immaculate and powerful.’ But there might be a more charitable and indeed more probable reading possible. For a thinker like Moreau it would have been impossible to enshrine a doctrine *qua* doctrine in gold, but so decorating a mother who teaches how to relate to Christ—and opens up the imagination to all points of Jesus’s life—would be a worthwhile pondering.”

The following chapter is also on the Immaculate Conception, but this time as the focus of a collection of scholarly essays for a conference held at the University of Notre Dame in 1954, edited by Fr. Ed O’Connor and published in 1958, just four years before the opening of the Council. Some of the participants were present at the Council or otherwise actively involved. Ann W. Astell’s chapter pays tribute to the volume, published by the University of Notre Dame Press nearly fifty years ago and still “the most cited, most comprehensive collection on the development of the doctrine in the English language.” Peter Fritz’s essay reminded us that Karl Rahner had called for a pluralist Catholic conversation regarding Mariology in which so-called maximalists and minimalists could receive each other’s perspectives and perhaps realize that the conversation was more cohesive than it first might seem. The volume edited by O’Connor bears out that insight, as noticed by no less an ecclesialogist than Cardinal Avery Dulles, who called the volume “a skillful and prudent compromise between two tendencies in modern Catholic theology, one of which would emphasize Mary’s unique connection with Christ the Redeemer; the other, her close connection with the Church and all the redeemed.” That is, “if,” as Astell adds parenthetically, compromise “is indeed the appropriate word,” suggesting that it is not. Astell’s chapter suggests instead that the volume is a particular spiritual penetration into the mystery from which the essays arise, one that is performed in the essays themselves, as well as in their editorial integration, which allows and in fact even insists that these perspectives be integrated. “Indeed,” she writes, “O’Connor’s ‘Preface’ to [the] volume consistently conjoins them, admitting no contradiction between them,” and more, integrating the mystery of the Immaculate Conception with the other mysteries of the

faith, ameliorating the isolation with which Mariology, especially of the maximalist sort, had so often been charged. What is interesting is that the integration it achieves is achieved not from the minimalist perspective of Rahner, which could sponsor a pluralist conversation but not envision the integration of the perspectives (as he himself admitted) but from a more Christotypical perspective. As Astell writes: "It begins with Mary and extends into ecclesiology a historical narrative of a mysterious, personal, Marian redemption effected in, with, and through Christ." From the point of view of proximate history, Astell observes, this "'particular outlook' that holds together the Christotypical and ecclesiotypical features in a single, specifically soteriological 'point of balance'" is on the losing trajectory. O'Connor clearly thought, and hoped, that the Church was on the way "towards a definition of Mary's co-redemption and mediation of graces." This is the opposite trajectory from the one that the Church has actually taken, but it is also the opposite trajectory from the one that Chris Ruddy invited us to consider as Congar's. Perhaps there is a reason, beyond the solidity of the scholarship in this collection, that it has endured as a live resource for so many years, even given some of the shortcomings that Astell also notes.

It is as though the collection has a spiritual heart at its center, as though the collection transcends its character as a collection and communicates this spiritual heart, proceeding from a spiritual transformation proceeding directly from the mystery of the Immaculate Conception herself. "We are enveloped in mystery," the patrologist Jouassard writes at the end of his chapter, "a mystery that God allows our dull minds to penetrate slowly." The *ressourcement* style of historical study, fully allowing for and documenting in a rigorous scholarly way the development of doctrine in the Church, arises from a spiritual conviction. Astell writes: "What gives coherence to the book as a whole—apart from the contributors' shared devotion to Mary Immaculate—is the constantly reiterated witness to, and expectation of, doctrinal development, as a proof of the Holy Spirit's presence in, and guidance of, the Church in its understanding of Mary and thus of itself as Christ's bride." O'Connor's own chapter on the "spirituality of the Blessed Virgin" is in a way the soul of the collection, taking up this spirituality with reference both to Mary's "personal life and to the lives of others insofar as they are influenced by her," including the witness of such saints as John Eudes, C.J.M., and



Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort, from the French School of spirituality introduced by Kevin Grove's chapter. The collection presents us with a historical approach that is not historicizing because of this "soul" living in the book, balancing "the *nouvelle théologie* of the historians with the Neo-Thomism of dogmatic theologians, joining history with significance" instead of playing them off against each other.

Astell's chapter also gives us a clue as to the origin of this "soul" animating the book, itself a life that was influenced by and penetrated with the mystery of Mary, in the many-layered way that such influence often comes about. It turns out that there is a connection between O'Connor's chapter and L'Arche, founded in 1964 by Jean Vanier, who had given his project to aid the mentally handicapped this Marian title ("Ark"). Père Thomas Philippe, O.P., who was the chaplain of L'Arche from its foundation, was master of studies at the Dominican House of Studies outside of Paris, the Saulchoir, when O'Connor studied there. Philippe had succeeded Marie-Dominique Chenu, O.P., whom Philippe had been charged by the Holy Office to remove in 1942. Philippe was himself removed in 1952, criticized for his unorthodoxy and exaggerated Marian mysticism, which was based on an experience he had in prayer in 1937. He spent ten years under ecclesiastical censure but emerged from that to take his place in the L'Arche movement. Astell notes: "Neo-Thomist in his Mariology, Marian in his mysticism, Père Thomas had a heart that was drawn into the crucible of all the vital intellectual movements of his day, into the deep mysteries of human beauty and affliction, and the charitable practices demanded by them." O'Connor repeatedly cites Philippe, even though at the time he was still under censure. Astell writes that we have in this collection an enactment of what Philippe called true Marian spirituality, namely, "a close union of doctrine and practice, . . . objective, because based directly on the dogmas of the Church . . . at the same time a spirituality of littleness . . . of personal intimacy with Jesus and Mary [and of service to the poor]." For anyone "who has the patience to discover it," there is perhaps a pedagogy in this collection for the trajectory of Marian theology that may show a path forward.

The next two chapters, each in its own way, continue the demonstration that at the heart of major ecclesial movements in the twentieth-century Church there is a Marian spirituality whose trajectory has yet to be fully realized. Both chapters suggest that a key to the success of the

movements described is the creative interpretation of Marian doctrine achieved in an enterprise in which there is a close union between doctrine and practice. Danielle M. Peters explores the contribution of the founder of the international Schoenstatt Movement, Fr. Joseph Kentenich. Fr. Kentenich, who was apprehended by the Gestapo in 1941 and imprisoned at Dachau until 1945, knew firsthand what he called the “anthropological heresy” of his day, a heresy that he said “refers directly to human nature.” He thought the symptoms of this heresy include “a rapidly increasing secularization accompanied by an equally accelerated dehumanization”; at once a “flight from God” and “an alarming inability to build community and to love”; and “individualism and nihilism.” Fr. Kentenich commented, “Personhood is combated. Human freedom, the whole structure of human nature as it is created by God, is increasingly ruined” in favor of mass manipulation of the human psyche and even, he predicted in 1948, human cloning. As a response to the anthropological heresy, Fr. Kentenich worked toward a vision of “the new person in the new community,” as Peters writes, and he placed it under the protection of Mary, who, as Mother of God, Fr. Kentenich wrote, “is, as it were the point of intersection between nature and supernature.” He very self-consciously focused on the Church’s teaching on Mary in order to discover what Peters refers to as its “anthropological and pedagogical corollary for the Christian life.” Working theologically off of insights found in the writings of M. Scheeben, Fr. Kentenich’s Mariology was always “Christ-centered . . . even when Vatican II and post-Vatican II theology stressed an ecclesiotypical and anthropocentric” Mariology that seemed to be following another trajectory. Thus Fr. Kentenich would be placed on the “higher” end of Mariology, if one were comparing overall, and yet he was critical of the dominant, “privilege”-centered Mariology of the theology and piety on the eve of the Council, not because it had centered on Mary’s privileges but because it seemed, in retrospect, to have had so little effect. It seemed isolated from the rest of Catholic faith and life: “See how little depth it had!” Fr. Kentenich exclaimed. “What is left of it today? . . . How little it had taken root in the subconscious life of the soul!”

The solution lay not in deemphasizing Mary’s “Christotypical” profile but in using it, exploiting its potential to connect to the rest of Christian teaching and to Christian life. Thus, for example, Peters writes that

for Fr. Kentenich, “Psychologically and pedagogically the dogma of the Immaculate Conception is the most significant of all Marian dogmas for our time because it draws attention to the dignity and value of the human person.” The solemn proclamation of the dogma of the Assumption was a “pedagogical event,” Fr. Kentenich thought, and, in a way that recalls both Rahner and Bouyer, a “synthesis of anthropology.” In particular, like the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it responds to the anthropological heresies of the day by reminding us of the heavenly glory to which each human body is called, the very body that, today, he wrote, is both “maltreated and on the other hand . . . adored.” No doubt the “maltreated” reflected his time in the concentration camp. Again, Peters writes, Mary’s fiat is not simply a private act but is a “representative act and the expression of humanity’s self-surrender to the Son of God.” It is crucial to keep the proper balance, though: Mary’s fiat as a private act does not dissolve into an abstract representation. As Peters writes: “The ‘Yes’ of the individual to Christ simultaneously is therefore, though not always consciously, the individual’s alignment with Mary’s ‘Yes,’” which remains unique not just as a model but as a unique participation in the mystery of Christ into which we are invited. Just as Christ entrusted himself to Mary in a unique way, as his Mother, and as Mother was his first and primary Educator, so Mary is, Peters writes, “Mother and Educator of the whole Body of Christ,” and Christian devotion to Mary is an incorporation into her pedagogy, into the “school of Mary,” as John Paul II later characterized it. Mary’s unique cooperation in redemption through her wholly graced and wholly free “Yes” is the pedagogy that can respond to the anthropological heresies of the age because the dignity of the creature is recovered, not in competition with divine initiative but at that initiative itself. Mary is the most perfectly redeemed creature, as Rahner suggested, but in order to preserve her significance as such, her unique relation to Christ must be maintained as a starting and ending point; otherwise, the implication seems to be, one has no answer to the dehumanizing and depersonalizing “heresies” against human nature in our time. Peters closes by suggesting that a trajectory from Vatican II that picks up on the trajectory laid out by Schoenstatt, as Fr. Kentenich inspired it, has been laid out by Popes Paul VI, John Paul II, and, incipiently, Francis.

The theme of the integration of doctrine and practice is continued in Peter Casarella's examination of the "Marian profiles" of two prominent twentieth-century Catholic women, both of whom initiated lay movements in the Church, Adrienne von Speyr and her younger contemporary Chiara Lubich. Yves Congar's notion of analogy provides the key here to an understanding of how Mary, with her irreducibly unique relationship to Christ, has become ecclesiotypical without being collapsed into the doctrine of the Church or of theological anthropology. The notion of a Marian "profile" for the Church and for movements within the Church is intended to carry this insight of the primacy of analogy. For Adrienne von Speyr, the image of Mary, Virgin Mother of Mercy, predominates, along with the image used to express it, that is, the image of the poor and all the needy (all of us!) gathered under Mary's protective mantle. Casarella points out that Mary's own contemplation of the mysteries in which she was so uniquely involved changed from a more "abstract" mode to one that, "after pregnancy and giving birth, after standing at the foot of the Cross . . . becomes a model of contemplative prayer that is in touch with the anguish of the human heart." Christ alone suffers "actively," but Mary, in communion with John, "goes into labor" as a passive recipient of that suffering. It forms her, and she becomes the Mother of the Church, the Virgin Mother of Mercy, and the Church, by analogy and by participation in her unique "labor," acquires a Marian profile of active lay works of mercy. As von Balthasar put it, based on the insights of von Speyr, Mary "is seen as spreading her protective cloak over the whole of Christendom, and making some part of her stainlessness flow out over the bride, the Church." As Casarella writes, she becomes in this way (and echoing what we have learned from Fr. Kentenich), "the teacher of the fecundity of contemplative prayer that is in solidarity with the suffering of the world."

Chiara Lubich, the founder of Focolare, "exemplifies a woman entrusted with the gift of the Holy Spirit to go forth like Mary from the foot of the Cross without forgetting the total significance of the event she has witnessed," Casarella notes and credits her with unique and profound Marian insights that created the spirituality associated with Focolare. "One idea closely tied to [Chiara's] Marian origins is that Jesus Forsaken is a key to a Christian understanding of unity," and associated with the

concrete specificity of Jesus forsaken on the cross is “*Maria desolata*,” Mary, desolate from having witnessed the death of her Son. Her desolation in solidarity with her Son, however, is not simply desolation at his death but a unique solidarity with his forsakenness. Lubich understands Jesus’s delivery of Mary to be the Mother of the Church in the person of the Beloved Disciple as a desolation because accepting this act, consummated with Jesus’s death, means renouncing her unique Motherhood of Jesus, in her words, “faced with the passage from one Maternity to another which Jesus indicated to her. . . . In that moment Jesus had neither Mother nor Father. He was nothingness born of nothingness. And Mary was also suspended in nothingness. Her greatness had been her divine Maternity. Now it had been taken away from her.” Commenting on this passage from Lubich, Casarella notes: “In sum, through Mary’s renunciation of maternity she became mother of us all.” Paradoxically, one can think of this renunciation as one of Mary’s unique privileges. No one else can make it. The Marian profile that it creates is one of a “radical openness to the Spirit,” a participation in the forsakenness of Jesus that is uniquely hers but is itself available to participate in. Do we hear an echo of the way in which Fr. Kentenich believed a Marian spirituality to be the answer to the anthropological heresies of our day? If Mary in the Spirit is, one could almost say, co-forsaken, exhibiting a kind of cooperation in the desolation of Jesus, this free and loving renunciation is also a free and loving cooperation in love, a radical stance of welcome. Casarella writes: “The same Spirit has given life to the movement to proclaim the notion of ‘mutual interdependence’ to a multicultural, multiethnic world threatened by the atomizing, deracinating effects of unrestrained globalization.” The analogy between Jesus and Mary’s interdependence, God and the creatures’ interdependence—in both cases wholly dependent on the first term in the pair—is obvious. Lubich even extended the spirituality to an ideal practice of the means of communication in the media.

Finally in this section of the book we have the chapter of Lawrence S. Cunningham, whose contribution ensures that our collection at least touches on the issue of Mary in monasticism on the eve of the Council. Thomas Merton, “himself predisposed to a deep devotion to Our Lady,” applied the image of the Visitation to the contemplative.

Like John, who waited in darkness and could not physically see anything, the true contemplative is, in Cunningham's words, an "eschatological watcher standing in hope for the coming of the Word." He comes to the contemplative, equally in darkness, equally hidden, and, as was Christ to John, equally "mediated to him by Mary." There is also a corresponding hiddenness of Mary herself: "All that has been written about the Virgin Mother of God proves to me that hers is the most hidden of sanctities," Merton writes. It is hidden in her humility and her poverty, and the one who can "see" this humility and poverty is the one who can see the God bearer, and thus the Christ she bears. Merton adds: "No one has ever more perfectly contained the light of God than Mary who by the perfection of her purity and humility is, as it were, completely identified with truth like the clean window pane which vanishes entirely into the light which it transmits." We receive the contemplative illumination of Christ through Mary.

In the epilogue we have a brief pastoral reflection by Fr. James H. Phalan, who invites us to think about the place of Mary in the new evangelization. In a way, this returns us to the opening theme of our introduction. We find our expectations for a standard narrative of Marian theology and devotion unsettled even if we turn to countries and regions where Marian devotion is still vigorous. Fr. Phalan's observations are that even in such places, preaching about Mary is rare: "I learned that very rarely priests and religious preach about her" and that "they do not do so because they have never studied her." Here we find a different kind of gap between theology and devotion, perhaps not the gap between a theology of Mary and its application but a devotion that seems to leave no trace in theology. "It would seem fairly obvious," Phalan comments, that such intense popular devotion as he had witnessed in Mexico and Brazil "would be a powerful source of energy for the New Evangelization; yet I have come to understand," he goes on to observe, "that this energy is relatively untapped." Phalan also observes that there are "no formal and extensive studies . . . of Marian devotion" in contemporary America and that such an undertaking might reveal that the decline in Marian devotion in this country is "correlative with a general decline in daily devotion and prayer on the part of Catholics over the past fifty years." It would be interesting to know if Marian devotion would be a

key element in the New Evangelization in Western countries, too, where, even at Marian pilgrimage places, homilies on the Blessed Mother seem noticeable by their absence. “What are we to make of this great Marian silence?” Phalan asks.

Again the question of trajectory surfaces. The decision of the Council to include Mary in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church rather than to treat her in her own separate document, just because it was a change, seemed to many to be a change that was consistent with the trajectory that Chris Ruddy associated with Congar. Phalan observes that “the apparent change in emphasis given to the Blessed Virgin contributed to some extent to what became the full-scale collapse of Mariology.” Ironically, this includes *Lumen Gentium* chapter 8 itself! Phalan writes: “This text has, by and large, been insufficiently studied and deserves much more attention in order to orient Marian devotion today,” as well as, he adds, Marian theological reflection.

So we return to the invitation we hope to issue with the publication of this collection, an invitation to begin to study more deeply the Mariology that was so vibrant in the Marian Age before the Council and then collapsed to the point where, seemingly, Catholic preachers feel ill at ease in speaking of Mary. Perhaps the place to begin is indeed *Lumen Gentium* itself. Perhaps it is time to see what it looks like when it is released from seeming to be the *terminus ad quem* of a trajectory of minimization. Phalan notes: “Although Mary does not have ‘her own text’ [in the Council documents], she does occupy the final chapter of the fundamental dogmatic text on the Church. As in the case of other topics in other magisterial documents, this final turn to Our Lady was meant to stress her fundamental importance.” Perhaps this chapter of *Lumen Gentium* was actually part of a larger trajectory that we have not as yet discerned very well. If there can be a minimalism that is actually a maximalism, as Peter Fritz suggests of Rahner’s theology, perhaps there is also a maximalism that can be a minimalism, that is, a theology that, precisely by retaining the unique and irreducible role of Mary, is able to preserve and enrich our understanding of the whole economy of salvation in which she plays a part— a crucial part. Perhaps that was the trajectory of which *Lumen Gentium* was itself a part. But we will never know unless we begin ourselves to enter that trajectory and to play our parts in forming it. The

editors are aware that a chapter on Hugo Rahner (1900–1968) under the rubric “Ressourcement Theologians and Response,” and a contribution on some major representatives of a Christotypical Mariology—like Carlo Balić, O.F.M. (1899–1977), and Gabriele M. Roschini, O.S.M. (1900–1977)—could have further enhanced this volume. Hence the invitation to study and to explore tendered by this collection.

Results and paradoxes arising from the chapters of this book include the following:

1. One could imagine that ecumenical interests, certainly a feature of some preconiliar Mariology, might have prompted a more biblically based Mariology as well as one that was more minimalist. But the renewed emphasis on the study of Scripture in the twentieth century did not necessarily result in a richer Mariology, even where there seems to have been warrant for it and even where it might have dovetailed with a more minimalist theology. Fr. Thompson’s chapter shows how the biblical theme of the faith of Mary was never taken up into devotion or into theology. Matthew Levering’s chapter shows how the theme of the Holy Spirit’s relationship to Mary, a prominent scriptural theme, was only unevenly developed on the eve of Vatican II, even by the self-avowed minimalist Karl Rahner, at least in the sermons that Levering has presented for study here. Was the Marian movement ever entirely “in sync” with the biblical and liturgical movements, as Phalan wonders? Or did the biblical and liturgical movements eventually become so “historicizing” that they left theology behind, even as Marian theology could not assimilate these pervasively historicizing tendencies?
2. The “direction,” “spirit,” or “vector” of a particular Mariology may be just as important as what it actually says. As rich as Congar’s Mariology could be, it seemed, in the words of Chris Ruddy, to be somewhat “cold,” not really minimalist but with a governing interest of minimizing. Could it be that one future tack for Mariology might be to take up Congar’s Mariology and infuse it with a different trajectory: one of development rather than of keeping in check?



3. Perhaps instead of the categories “maximalist” and “minimalist,” which Peter Fritz’s chapter shows have serious and perhaps fatal limitations, new categories are needed: mystery versus rationalism or reductionism, as Troy Stefano’s chapter might suggest, or even mystery versus positivist historicism. The search for a Marian “principle” may have been misguided in the first place, as it turned a person, in herself irreducibly a mystery *as a person*, inadvertently into a principle.
4. Areas for further study might include contemporary Marian homiletics, to the extent that this can be determined. Also, devotion to Mary did not decrease (seemingly) in the global South, or so it seems. This should be studied. Phalan’s chapter brings up the issue for contemporary preaching, and Kevin Grove’s chapter shows conclusively, in a historical mode, that a study of Marian sermons can bear rich fruit theologically and can serve to undercut caricatures of Marian cult and culture. If it can work for the nineteenth century, perhaps it can work for today.
5. Fr. Roten’s chapter shows us the need to engage in a theologically sophisticated study of Marian art and to begin to notice what questions—perhaps questions coming on the one hand from devotion and prayer or, on the other, from the surrounding culture—it raises.
6. Finally, all of the chapters show that the most creative Mariology of this period, whatever its supposed “maximalist” or “minimalist” stripe, tried to emphasize connections: in particular, the three-way connections between theology, devotion, and Christian life and discipleship. It seems that the surest result of these chapters is that the kind of “maximalism” that is to be avoided is the one that results in the isolation of Mariology to its own independent “science” in effect; and the kind of “minimalism” to be avoided is the one that so collapses Mary into a theological category that Mariology makes no sense anymore and devotion either collapses, or, if it continues, has no theological reception.



# HISTORICAL HIGHLIGHTS



## CHAPTER 1

# Sign and Source of the Church

*Mary in the Ressourcement and at Vatican II*

BRIAN E. DALEY, S.J.

A lot of things in the Catholic Church changed at the Second Vatican Council. Whether they involved Church doctrine or pastoral practice, whether they were substantial or rhetorical, whether we should receive the Council's documents today with what have been typified as the "hermeneutics of change" or the "hermeneutics of continuity," the documents the Council left us—to say nothing of their interpretation and application during the fifty years that have followed since the Council's close—have certainly turned out to be very different from what Catholics in the immediate preconciliar years hoped or feared. When I was a high-school sophomore, for example, in 1955, Fr. William Leonard, S.J., a liturgical scholar at Boston College who was generally known then as a "progressive" (as people who called themselves "liturgists" in those days tended to be), suggested in a lecture that it would be *possible*, surely, for the Western Church to begin celebrating the Mass in vernacular languages again, as it had in antiquity; this would take a long time to develop, he cautioned—perhaps a century, surely not in any of *our* lifetimes—but it could happen, nonetheless! Friday abstinence, tight restrictions on marriage with non-Catholics, religious habits for sisters, official discouragement of theological and spiritual contact with other Christians, and a

host of other familiar features of daily life for Catholics seemed, in the 1950s, to be engraved in the stone face of Peter's rock. It was just the way Catholics were. Yet ten years later, as the Council came to a close in 1965, these and a host of other defining details, large and small, were suddenly open to reconsideration; within a few years, many had started to change in what seemed to be radical ways. The earthquake, inside and outside the Church, had begun, and all of us, fifty years later, are still trying to discern what features of the structure of preconciliar Catholic life were of permanent importance, in need now of refreshment or even reconstruction, and what were just part of a world that has properly evolved away.

Mary was certainly a central part of preconciliar Catholic life. Historians of modern theology sometimes speak of a "Marian movement" that dominated the rhythms of Catholic theology and devotional life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and that led some historians to call the modern era of Catholicism a "Marian Age." The spiritual, intellectual, and aesthetic energies of the Catholic world seemed to be increasingly focused on Mary. The first two solemn and self-conscious acts of papal dogmatic definition, which formally claimed to teach with the Spirit-governed infallibility of the Church's faith itself, were Pius IX's proclamation of the dogma of Mary's lifelong sinlessness, her Immaculate Conception, in 1854, and Pius XII's proclamation in 1950 of her final glorification as a whole human person, her Assumption—body and soul—into heaven to stand alongside her glorified incarnate Son. Since the reports of Mary's apparition to two French peasant children at La Salette in 1846 and to Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes in 1858, Marian apparitions have increasingly become a feature of Catholic life and have left an increasingly strong mark on the devotional life and even the faith of ordinary Catholics. Partly as a result of interest in these apparitions, Marian devotions played an increasingly large part in the life of the ordinary Catholic and the Catholic parish in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; books and articles on Mary suddenly took a large role in Catholic theological literature, new Marian associations were formed, Marian theological congresses were held, and Marian journals were founded in several Western languages. Along with all these things, new theological theories on Mary's involvement in the salvation of Christians were developed: theories about her unique but genuine priesthood, her co-

presence with the glorified Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, her “congruous merit” with that of Jesus in the work of redemption, the role of her Immaculate Heart in longing for the return of sinful humanity to God. Popes began issuing encyclicals promoting the rosary and other Marian devotions, notably Leo XIII in the 1890s and Pius XII in the 1940s and 1950s. Mary had clearly moved to the center of the Catholic devotional and theological consciousness.

## ORIGINS OF MARIOLOGY

Lively interest in Mary, engaging the hearts of Christian disciples as much as their minds, was of course nothing new in the life of the Church. As early as the mid-second century, the celebrated narrative of Mary’s birth and childhood, known as the *Book of James* or (from the Renaissance on) the *Protoevangelium of James*, with an extended narration of the events of Jesus’s conception and birth as they are presented in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, seems to have been put together in a context of deep Judeo-Christian piety, probably in multicultural Syria, with the aim of showing, by midrash-style storytelling, how holy and observant the human family of Jesus was in terms of Jewish law. Irenaeus of Lyon, writing at the end of the second century, sounds a theme echoed by several of his contemporaries in portraying Mary, the obedient virgin, as the counterpart of Eve in the story of the fall; just as Eve heard the voice of the tempter and turned away from God’s will, Mary heard another angelic voice, calling her to obedience and trust, and said yes to it; so a new age in human history began. Syriac poets of the fourth and fifth century, beginning with the great lyric theologian Ephrem, celebrated Mary for holding in her own body, and in her own trusting faith, the whole unfathomable mystery of human salvation. Latin theologians in the late fourth century, as part of a growing controversy over the value of asceticism and celibacy in the Christian community, argued over whether or not Mary and Joseph, the parents in “the holy family,” to use our modern phrase, actually went on, after the miraculous birth of Jesus, to have normal sexual relations, and other children, afterward; St. Jerome’s position that they did not, defended with characteristic learning

and acerbity, became the accepted tradition of the Catholic Church. The so-called *Protoevangelium* (about AD 150) is the first Christian document we know to affirm Mary's virginity *in partu* (chapter 20). Clement of Alexandria, in *Stromateis* 7.16.93 (about AD 190), refers to this idea as credible, though contested, and uses it as a figure for the "virginal" generation of faith by the Scriptures in the minds of believers.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifth century, different ways of conceiving and expressing the union of God the Son with the man Jesus, defended notably by Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, led to the famous controversy over the appropriateness of using the title *Theotokos*, "Mother of God," for Mary, the mother of Jesus, a title that had deep roots in Alexandrian piety and liturgical prayer. The immediate controversy was resolved by common agreement between Cyril and his Antiochene critics early in AD 433. The title, paradoxical as it sounds, does indeed capture the Church's faith in who the Son of Mary really is. As a result the focus on Mary as worthy of veneration and joyful attention in her own right suddenly skyrocketed: within twenty years, major churches specifically in her honor were built, or rededicated, in Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. A new style of rhetoric celebrating Mary as the inner meaning of a long list of familiar Old Testament objects—for example, Moses's burning bush, Aaron's flowering rod, Gideon's miraculously dampened fleece—took a central role in the sermons of such accomplished preachers as Proclus of Constantinople, Cyril of Alexandria, and Hesychius of Jerusalem; as a kind of devotional by-product, the litany came into being. Mary came to be celebrated, in fifth- and sixth-century hymnody, preaching, and iconography, as a royal figure enthroned as Queen along with her glorified Son. And by the early sixth century, in a process that is still not clear in all its details, the conviction grew in virtually all the churches of the East, both those that accepted the Chalcedonian formulation of the mystery of Christ and those that did not, that rumors of her resurrection, her bodily entry even during the present age into the glory of her risen Son (which the West calls her "Assumption") after a peaceful and happy death (which the East calls her "Dormition" or "falling asleep"), are in fact *true*, the first promise of a salvation in fullness that will eventually include all the faithful.

In the Middle Ages in the West, this focus on the unique privileges and powerful presence in sacred history of Mary, the human mother of



the Lord, continued to grow. St. Bernard, the powerful preacher and monastic reformer of the early twelfth century, emphasized the world-changing humility and obedience of Mary, who accepted her role as Mother of God at the angel's invitation. Bernard emphasizes with new force that Mary is thus not simply the human channel through whom the Savior has come among us but is herself a *mediator* between God and humanity, endowed with the approachable human qualities of a mother: "A truly faithful and powerful 'Mediator of God and men is the Man Jesus Christ' (1 Tim. 2:5), but the Majesty of his Godhead inspires mortals with fear. His manhood seems to be swallowed up in his divinity. . . . So great a Mediator is Christ that we have need of another to mediate between him and us, and for this we can find none so qualified as Mary. . . . Why should human fragility fear to have recourse to Mary? In her is found nothing austere, nothing to terrify: everything about her is full of sweetness."<sup>2</sup>

So Bernard was the first in the West to develop for Mary's role in history the image of the "aqueduct," the channel through whom all God's grace flows to a parched humanity; by God's own choice, he suggests, all the transforming and deifying power of Christ within us is communicated through Mary's body and her collaborative will.<sup>3</sup>

A second crucial development in the medieval Western understanding of Mary was the suggestion, made first in the mid-twelfth century by the monk Eadmer of Canterbury (d. 1126), that she was not only a supremely holy person, by God's grace—*panagia*, i.e., all-holy, as some later Greek patristic authors had named her—but that her holiness began at the first moment of her existence, when she was conceived in the womb. By the redemptive grace of Christ, the heritage of sin that burdens all of Adam's descendants not only was removed but in fact never touched her. Eadmer was probably giving voice to popular religious traditions in England at the time. Almost two hundred years later, the Scottish Franciscan John Duns Scotus developed an elaborate theological argument for this belief, what we now know as Mary's Immaculate Conception, based on the assumption that while Mary, like all human beings, needed to be redeemed from the power of sin by the work of her Son, it was appropriate that she should be redeemed in the most perfect imaginable way, through a preventive rather than simply a curative liberation from the curse of Adam. After arguing at some length that God can heal a person from the power of sin by preventing its occurrence, as

well as by healing its effects—either more or less instantaneously or after a longer period of time—Scotus offered elaborate philosophical refutations of the usual criticisms raised against such an idea. He sums up his own position in strikingly modest terms: “Which of these three positions is factually the case, God knows—but if the authority of the Church or the authority of Scripture does not contradict such, it seems probable that what is more excellent should be attributed to Mary.”<sup>74</sup>

This cautious if carefully argued suggestion of Scotus, as we know, gathered force through the succeeding centuries, although it was also resisted, mainly by the Dominicans and others who followed Thomas Aquinas, for the reason that it seemed to suggest that Mary did not really need to be saved by Christ from the heritage of Adam. In 1477 Pope Sixtus IV, himself originally a Franciscan, approved the hitherto local celebration of Mary’s Immaculate Conception on December 8 as a liturgical feast for the whole Latin Church. With the feast, the idea behind it gradually became a central feature of popular devotion to Mary, and it seems to have spurred on the iconographic practice, especially in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, of representing her as *la Immaculada*, a beautiful young woman aloft in the clouds, surrounded by angels, an idealized form of perfect humanity. Mary’s Immaculate Conception became common teaching and an accepted part of Catholic piety. Finally, as we know, in 1854, after elaborate consultation with bishops and theologians, Pope Pius IX solemnly declared Mary’s Immaculate Conception, her freedom from sin throughout her whole existence, as generally affirmed in popular Catholic devotion, to be part of the revealed faith of the Church.

A revealing presentation of the growing focus of many post-Reformation Catholics on the centrality of Mary in God’s plan of salvation is the treatise of the French rural missionary priest Louis Grignion de Montfort, *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, from the early eighteenth century; Grignion de Montfort died in 1716, but the manuscript of this work, really an extended invitation to Catholics to consecrate themselves, with all the merit and value of their lives, trustingly to Mary, was discovered, incomplete and unedited, and published only in 1842. A later representative of the “French School” of spirituality, which stressed the supreme importance of devotion to the ordinary humanity of Jesus, in whom we find salvation, de Montfort here extends this emphasis to in-

clude Mary, his fully human mother. To the modern reader, much in the treatise can sound exaggerated, even bizarre, as an example of Christian spiritual instruction: the center of the committed Christian's life seems to be an unconditional commitment to Mary, to whom God providentially committed his own Son, rather than simply a commitment to Jesus. "It was through the most holy Virgin Mary that Jesus came into the world," he begins, "and it is also through her that He has to reign in the world."<sup>5</sup>

She is the sanctuary and resting-place of the blessed Trinity, where God dwells in greater and more divine splendor than anywhere else in the universe, not excluding his "dwelling above the cherubim" and seraphim [par. 5]. . . . Every day, from one end of the earth to the other, in the highest heaven and in the lowest abyss, all things preach, all things proclaim the wondrous Virgin Mary [par. 8]. . . . The whole world is filled with her glory [par. 9]. . . . Finally, we must say in the words of the apostle Paul, "Eye has not seen, nor has ear heard, nor has the heart of man understood" the beauty, the grandeur, the excellence of Mary, who is indeed a miracle of miracles of grace, of nature, of glory. "If you wish to understand the Mother," says a saint [unidentified], "then understand the Son" [par. 12].

There is a level of enthusiasm here that seems to have shifted the emphasis of Christian belief and piety from Jesus to Mary; the presence of her Son in the world and the providence of God are instruments to justify devotion to her. So de Montfort draws on the tradition of her channeling God's grace to the world, expressed centuries before by Bernard, and alters it into an image of her complete control of that grace: "God the Holy Spirit entrusted his wondrous gifts to Mary, his faithful spouse, and chose her as the dispenser of all he possesses, so that she distributes all his gifts and graces to whom she wills, as much as she wills, how she wills and when she wills. No heavenly gift is given to men which does not pass through her virginal hands."<sup>6</sup>

Mary's providential, pivotal role in the economy of salvation has here been shifted into her being herself the final, controlling agent of providence. *She* dwells in the souls of the elect (par. 35); *she* is queen of all things, by grace, just as Jesus is king "by conquest" (par. 37). *Her Kingdom*

is about to be revealed in the end times (pars. 49–50). Christianity seems to have been transformed into “Marianity!” It is true that de Montfort recognizes a possible tension between his earlier emphasis on the centrality of Mary for authentic faith and the long Christian tradition, so he adds later in the work: “If devotion to our Lady distracted us from our Lord, we would have to reject it as an illusion of the devil” (par. 62). In his mind, authentic devotion to Mary “is only in order to establish devotion to our Lord more perfectly, by providing a smooth and certain way of reaching Jesus Christ” (ibid.). In the minds of many twentieth-century theologians, however, the tension remained.<sup>7</sup>

It is precisely this emphasis on Mary’s role in the life of faith by Catholic theologians and devotional writers, present in some ways since early Christian centuries but increasingly proclaimed in modernity, that prompted Karl Barth, in the *Church Dogmatics* I/2 (1938), to protest against the Catholic doctrinal and devotional tradition on Mary in the strongest terms. In the context of his own theology of revelation, as the unique entry of God into human history and discourse in Jesus, Barth rejects Catholic Mariology as “an attack upon the miracle of revelation” and “a false doctrine . . . a diseased construct of theological thought.”<sup>8</sup> He explains:

Marian dogma is neither more nor less than the critical, central dogma of the Roman Catholic Church, the dogma from which all their important positions are to be regarded, and by which they stand or fall. . . . In the doctrine and worship of Mary there is disclosed the one heresy of the Roman Catholic Church which explains all the rest. The “mother of God” of Roman Catholic Marian dogma is quite simply the principle, type, and essence of the human creature cooperating servant-like (*ministerialiter*) in its own redemption on the basis of prevenient grace, and to that extent the principle, type and essence of the Church.<sup>9</sup>

For Barth and those who share his view of Christianity, this approach to interpreting the Gospel of grace is radically distorted:

Jesus Christ, the Word of God, exists, reigns, and rules in as sovereign a way within the created world as he does from eternity with his

Father, no doubt over and in man, no doubt in his Church and by it, but in such a way that at every point he is always himself the Lord, and man, like the Church, can give honor only to him and never, however indirectly to himself as well. There can be no thought of any reciprocity or mutual efficacy, even with the most careful precautions. Faith in particular is not an act of reciprocity, but the act of renouncing all reciprocity, the act of acknowledging the one Mediator, besides whom there is no other.<sup>10</sup>

### MARY AND THE RESSOURCEMENT

Barth's critique of Catholic Marian theology and devotion, along with that of many other serious Protestant thinkers, certainly played a role in leading twentieth-century Catholic theologians to reexamine the role Mary had played in forming the Catholic synthesis through the centuries: not to reject her role but to seek new ways of integrating it with the larger field of Christian revelation and teaching. Through this critique and other criticisms of Marian piety and doctrine, Catholic theologians came more and more to realize that their understanding of human involvement in the working of God's grace is indeed different from that of the Reformers and their heirs.<sup>11</sup> But the context for this realization was changing, from polemical opposition to a spirit of dialogue based on common Christian origins. Alongside the Marian Movement we referred to before, the Catholic Church, in Europe especially, had experienced in its thought the stirrings of several other movements in the decades after the First World War, which came to full expression during the pontificate of Pius XII: the *liturgical* movement, aimed at reaffirming the central role of liturgical prayer in the spiritual life of the Church and seeking to make possible a more focused participation of all its members in liturgical celebration;<sup>12</sup> the *biblical* movement, which aimed at affirming more clearly the scriptural foundation of Catholic theology, grounding Catholic biblical studies in the best contemporary critical scholarship and making the Scriptures more easily available to laypeople;<sup>13</sup> and the *ecumenical* movement, in which Catholic experts were gradually, at first somewhat tentatively, encouraged to seek common ground with

representatives of other churches in the hope of finding ways of moving toward mutual recognition and full communion.<sup>14</sup>

Along with these new perspectives and interests, the Catholic Church in the 1930s experienced a less formally articulated but perhaps still more influential intellectual movement that came to be known as *ressourcement*. This “return to the sources” of theology signaled a style of studying and teaching the Church’s doctrine and speculation that attempted to move away from the deductive, apologetic rationalism of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers. Instead it looked for historical development, continuities, and influences within a changing but organically growing tradition inspired by a new encounter with the Church Fathers. The life and thought of the first several centuries of Christian history seemed to offer a promising key to the full understanding of later theological tradition and to conceiving the parameters of what might now be an acceptable change. This style of theology, practiced first in France and Germany by a number of younger theologians, including leading figures like the Dominicans Marie-Dominique Chenu and Yves Congar and the Jesuits Henri de Lubac, Hans Urs von Balthasar, Jean Daniélou, and Henri Bouillard, was at first met with suspicion among Church authorities as relativistic and lacking in rigor.<sup>15</sup> Yet by the mid-1950s it had become the predominant style of theological thought among Catholic theologians in Europe and North America. Under Pope Pius XII, in fact, the stage was set for what was to transpire at the Second Vatican Council.

These new movements in Catholic thought converged, by at least the late 1930s, in a new emphasis on the central importance of both Christ and the Church for doctrine and devotion. The unifying link was the emerging sense that God saves and transforms the human race in and through its common history and its institutions, not simply by working inwardly and invisibly in individual believers. In his great programmatic work *Catholicisme*, first published in 1937 as an attempt to reconceive the Church itself in social, humanly engaged terms, the forty-one-year-old Henri de Lubac insisted that “God acts in history and reveals himself through history. Or rather, God inserts himself in history and so bestows on it a ‘religious consecration’ which compels us to treat it with due respect. . . . The Bible, which contains the revelation of salvation, contains, too, in its own way the history of the world. . . . It was in this way that the Bible was read by the Fathers of the Church.”<sup>16</sup>

For classic Christian exegesis, de Lubac goes on to argue, this meant that in Scripture God is always revealing to us the continuous story of his two covenants with the human race, accomplishing through time “a single Mystery: the Mystery of Christ and the Church. . . . For the whole of the Old Testament is habitually seen by the Fathers as one comprehensive and extensive prophecy, and the subject of the prophecy is no less than the mystery of Christ, which would not be complete were it not also the Mystery of the Church.”<sup>17</sup>

De Lubac then goes on to list all the objects and persons in the Old Testament that the Fathers, from time to time, took as figures of the Church. Included were almost all the women who are prominently mentioned there, all of whom suggest that Jewish-Gentile people would one day be, in their collectivity, the Bride of Christ: “In the privileged history of the patriarchs and the faithful people they saw the long betrothal of Christ with his Church which preceded the mystic marriage of Nazareth and Calvary.”<sup>18</sup> From the perspective of renewed interest in patristic exegesis of the Bible, it was just a short step for theologians to see in the daughter of Israel, Mary of Nazareth, the figure of the bridal Church par excellence.

That step was taken explicitly in 1950 by Otto Semmelroth, a thirty-eight-year-old German Jesuit, who argued in his first book, *Urbild der Kirche*, that Mary’s real role and identity in the early and medieval Church was not so much an object of personal devotion as “the representative of a theological idea. The mystery of the divine economy of salvation is both enclosed and expressed within her.”<sup>19</sup>

In this context of a new appreciation of the Church itself as the true Body of Christ, present in history as the beginning of the final stage in God’s plan of salvation, Mary can be seen as both the personal center and the symbol of what God has brought to fulfillment in the Church: as the Bride; as the Mother of God, who begets him in his human form; as mediator between God, who is the source of all grace, and the realization of his grace in our own freedom from sin; as the new Eve, the beginning of renewed humanity.<sup>20</sup> All of these figures are seen, from the Church Fathers on, as images properly applied to Mary. “Fittingly is she espoused [to Joseph],” Ambrose remarks, “but a Virgin because she prefigures the Church, which is undefiled yet wed. A Virgin conceived us by the Spirit; a Virgin brings us forth without travail.”<sup>21</sup> Thus these figures are realized

fully, Semmelroth argues, in the Church, which Clement of Alexandria calls our “Virgin Mother.”<sup>22</sup> Even the more modern and radical thesis that Mary is co-redeemer of humanity along with her Son, usually explained in terms of her compassion and patient suffering on Calvary, contains an element of truth, Semmelroth says, if this is seen as part of her typological relationship to the Church, which must itself be seen, despite Barth’s objections, as a collaborator in the work of redemption. Semmelroth writes:

In the theology of Christ’s Redemption, there is a tacit—or admitted—assumption that sinful man cannot save himself by his own strength alone. . . . Yet such emphasis must not leave the door open to the one-sided view that Redemption is only the deed of a God who gives. God’s giving consists precisely in the fact that it presents man with the opportunity to be active himself. Man co-redeems because he is redeemed. The inverse of the proposition is just as true: man is redeemed because he co-redeems. [And, quoting Maurice de la Taille, Semmelroth adds:] “The more the Church herself is redeemed, the more she is co-redeemer.”<sup>23</sup>

Semmelroth sums up his own position by saying:

The basic mystery of Mariology is that which brings Mary closer to the center of the economy of salvation, which is the Church. This coming-together, however, does not take place through the mystery of the mere fact that she is mother of God; rather, it takes place through the divine motherhood specified as a bridal relationship, because this is here revealed as a specifically bridal assent to the advent and work of the Savior. . . . Mary as Archetype is in closest union with the Church, because she is the germ of the Church, because she bears within herself the *pleroma* of grace that will be poured from her into the Church that unfolds in time and space.<sup>24</sup>

In 1952 the Paris Dominican Yves Congar, among other things a pioneer in Catholic efforts toward greater ecumenical understanding and dialogue, published a short, densely argued work titled, in the English translation, *Christ, Our Lady, and the Church*.<sup>25</sup> Written to commemorate



the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, where the two complete natures in which the one hypostasis or individual Jesus Christ subsists were formally defined, Congar's argument is that the Catholic tradition of Marian doctrine and the Catholic understanding of the Church are closely linked, as Semmelroth had insisted a few years earlier, and that both are rooted in the Chalcedonian understanding of the role of the humanity of Christ in working our salvation. To insist, as Luther and Karl Barth did, that the salvation of humanity is wholly and immediately worked in us by God and that human cooperation plays no role whatever in the process is to misunderstand what redeemed and deified humanity is. Christ, Mary, and the Church, Congar suggests, as theological themes, are "intimately connected, and their connection depends upon a single principle which must be applied, with due qualification, in each of the three cases: the principle, that is, that human nature plays its part in the work of salvation, yet equally clearly the total power of effecting that salvation comes from God." He continues:

Protestants are critical of our idea of the Church, and still more of our Mariology and the devotion it inspires. But they fail to understand them because they fail to trace them to the truths in which they are rooted; to the dogmas of Christology and to the role of Christ's humanity in the economy of salvation. The sacred humanity united to the divinity without confusion or division is the instrument of our salvation, and the means by which all grace is communicated to us. This is why our Lady, by her intimate association with the sacred humanity, and the Church in consequence of it, play the part our teaching assigns to them.<sup>26</sup>

Congar argues that Barth's objection to human cooperation in the revelation and work of God in the world, and thus his insistence that both Catholic Mariology and Catholic sacramental ecclesiology are fundamentally misguided, is simply a misunderstanding of what the Bible and the tradition of faith assert about how God works in our midst and an implicit abandonment of the mediating role of Christ's humanity.

The previous year (1951), Hugo Rahner, S.J., published his own little book on Mary and the Church, specifically to meet the demand for a simple way to understand the wider significance of the dogma of Mary's

Assumption, which had been proclaimed by Pope Pius XII in 1950.<sup>27</sup> Hugo Rahner's book is a set of straightforward reflections on Mary as a type of the Church, mainly drawn from the Church Fathers and laid out systematically to elucidate the main events and mysteries of her life, from her conception to her assumption into glory. In the foreword he explains his reason for undertaking the task: to connect Marian piety and doctrines with the new twentieth-century Catholic emphases on liturgy and sacraments:

The most important formative element in Catholic piety today is probably the newly found understanding of the life-giving power of our holy mother the Church in her sacraments and her liturgy. But at the same time there have been during the last hundred years such remarkable dogmatic developments, bringing out ever more clearly the place of our Lady in the system of Catholic thought. Now there are some Christians—including profound thinkers [is he thinking of Barth?] and earnestly striving souls—who feel that these two trends are in contradiction; perhaps their eyes are still “held” (Luke 24:16), so that they cannot yet recognize the heavenly mystery when they look at the earthly features of the Church, and it is not yet granted to them to see in the simple earthly life of Mary the Mother of God the highest mystery of all the Bible and theology, in the birth of God from a human virgin the very nature of the Church, and in the Mystery of the Church itself the profoundest element in our spiritual formation. It is the purpose of this book to collect and unite these ideas. We must learn to see the Church in our Lady, and our Lady in the Church.<sup>28</sup>

In 1956 Hugo Rahner's younger brother, Karl, also published a book of reflections on Mary based on a series of homilies he had given three years earlier, during May devotions in the University Church in Innsbruck and titled *Mary, Mother of the Lord*.<sup>29</sup> Karl Rahner, too, is concerned with bringing the Catholic Church's long history of Marian theology and devotion together in a way that shows its coherence with the whole of biblical faith. For him, however, the organizing principle, the “fundamental principle of Mariology” that binds the whole together,<sup>30</sup> is

not so much Mary's role through the centuries as "archetype of the Church" but the belief of Catholic Christians that she is the most perfectly redeemed of all human beings: she is "full of grace" in order that Jesus, the cause and form of God's grace in human history, might be born of her. Mary is most perfectly redeemed so that we also might be redeemed.<sup>31</sup> She is important for us because the transcendent, redeeming God touches us most closely through her in the person of her Son, the incarnate agent of our redemption. Karl Rahner writes, in the introduction to his book, implicitly countering Protestant critiques of Mariology as his earlier *ressourcement* colleagues had done:

If, then, God is the one who forms with us a history of salvation, and if we must speak of this God, in faith and theology, as Lord of this single history of salvation and destruction within this one human race, then we must say again: because God has so arranged this history with human beings that in it one human is to be meaningful for another, then in our proclamation of faith and in our articulation of theology—which tell the story of God's saving acts toward us—we must speak once again of the human person. This is for the simple reason that God has willed that the salvation he works in us be accomplished by him through human beings. Therefore, too, in this explication of faith, and of the theology of the importance of human persons in God's history, we must also speak of Mary, the Blessed Virgin. She, after all, is the mother of the one on whom our whole salvation is founded, because he is God and a human being in a single person. . . . This is the reason that theology must speak of her.<sup>32</sup>

If salvation, as the Scriptures narrate, is a historical process, it must work not just through the independent encounters of individuals with the God who is wholly other but through the people and things and events that surround us all in time and space, which form a community of grace: through the prophets and laws and sacrifices of ancient Israel; through the witness of the Apostles and the life and sacraments of the Church founded on them; through the saints of every age who lived in fidelity to this saving God; and above all through Christ, God's Word made flesh, who lives

in the midst of his people. Mary's paramount importance for the Church is that she stands nearest, in this sacred history, to Christ our Redeemer.

## THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL AND MARY

Through the gradual shifts in perspective that Catholic theology had been undergoing since the 1920s, Mary was thus coming to be understood by many in a new way. The new emphasis on God's saving work among us as shaping a *history of salvation*, which stretched from the election of Abraham to the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Twelve to form the Church of disciples; the new Catholic openness to biblical criticism and concern for making the text of the Bible more easily accessible to the faithful; a new emphasis on the sacraments, particularly on the Eucharistic *liturgy*, as forming the proper core of Catholic spirituality; and the consequent implications for a renewed, historically grounded, liturgically centered, scripturally expressed understanding of the *Church*—all of these themes were worked out in detail by the *ressourcement* school of theologians. They were given cautious but significant approval in the writings and actions of Pope Pius XII and formed the intellectual and religious backdrop for the debates and documents of the Second Vatican Council, for which Pope John XXIII announced his plans to an astonished world in January 1959, a little over four months after his election to the See of Peter.

These new perspectives were to leave an indelible mark on how the Council would speak of Mary. In the time between Pope John's surprise announcement in January 1959 and the Council's formal opening in October 1962, commissions were formed to prepare schemata or drafts of possible documents. Chief among them was the Theological Commission, chaired by Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, whose members and consultants included some of the most eminent theologians and Scripture scholars of the day. Mary obviously had an important place on their list of themes for the Council to consider. Some six hundred bishops from around the world had signed a petition to the pope in the year before the Council's opening, calling for a special document on Mary that would sum up her central role in Catholic life. Some hoped for a new dogmatic definition, possibly focused on naming her Mediatrix of all Grace or Co-

redemptrix in the divine plan of salvation. Others, aware of the concerns for ecumenical understanding that had grown under Pius XII and was now central to the thought of John XXIII, urged moderation. They campaigned for a document that would integrate Mary within a broader theological perspective.

The schema on Mary that was prepared by the Theological Commission before the Council and offered to the Central Preparatory Commission in June 1962 was fairly brief and was mainly focused on Mary's unique relationship to Christ the Savior (par. 1).<sup>33</sup> Because of her involvement in the mystery of salvation, she is the "singular exemplar of the Church." But beyond this, the Church believes that God chose to redeem her from sin "in a more sublime way" than the rest of humanity. Citing nineteenth- and twentieth-century popes, as well as St. John of Damascus, the document continues: "By her consent, Mary, the daughter of Adam, became not only the mother of Jesus, the unique divine Mediator, but also associated (*consociavit*) her work with him and under him in effecting the redemption of the human race."<sup>34</sup> This partnership, the document continues, is the reason for Mary's Immaculate Conception and comes to its perfection in her letting herself be joined with her Son's sacrifice on the cross by grief, a *generosa socia* in the plan of salvation to the last (par. 2). Because she is so centrally involved in the work of redemption in Christ, Mary is also "not without justification" called "mediatrix." By her prayer and her maternal love for the faithful, and without in any way obscuring the unique mediation of Christ, "she is present (*adsit*) in the conferring of all graces on human beings" (par. 3). The document then goes on to explain how the Catholic Church understands the two modern dogmas concerning Mary, her Immaculate Conception and her bodily Assumption, as well as her virginal motherhood. In glorifying her as singular, as different from the rest of us, the Church glorifies Christ the Lord (par. 4). Finally, the document encourages traditional Catholic devotion to Mary (par. 5) and expresses the hope that this love and esteem for her will work as a force for the conversion of nonbelievers and for Christian unity (par. 6).

The draft was not discussed during the first session of the Council in the fall of 1962. However, during preliminary discussions of the schema on the Church in the closing days of that session, seven bishops

suggested that a revised version of the draft on Mary might better be included as a final section of what the Council would say on ecclesiology. Revisions were made to the existing draft during the intersession. But the Theological Commission, meeting on October 9, 1963, just before the second session began, suggested, by a small margin, that what the Council was going to say about Mary be located in an enlarged document on the Church. This suggestion was controversial enough, and deemed significant enough, that part of a day's meeting during the second plenary session, on October 24, 1963, was set aside to allow the Council fathers to hear both sides of the question.<sup>35</sup>

Cardinal Rufino Santos of Manila, speaking on behalf of those who still hoped for a separate document on Mary, argued (a) that many might see it as detracting from Mary's dignity to include treatment of her role in the document on the Church; (b) that it would be difficult, in the context of a larger decree, to do full justice to all that the Church believes about her; and (c) that such an inclusion might also make the Council's presentation of the Church appear less acceptable to our non-Catholic brothers and sisters. Representing the other side, Cardinal Franz König of Vienna argued (a) that all that the Catholic Church says about Mary really flows from our vision of the Church itself, both as it is now *in via* and in its eschatological fulfillment; (b) that because of the divine economy, both Mary and the Church are "instruments of redemption, working together actively, in the hand of Christ, for our salvation";<sup>36</sup> (c) that the biblical foundation for our understanding of Mary's privileges is, above all, the vision of the "woman crowned with twelve stars" in Revelation 12, which can be applied equally to Mary and to the early Jerusalem community; (d) that, pastorally, it is important to communicate to the faithful *why* we honor Mary as we do as a type of the Church in its perfection; and (e) that, ecumenically, it is also important to indicate the fundamental reasons for Catholic Marian doctrine to our Orthodox and Protestant brethren. And all of this would be determined, first of all, by the context in which the Council would choose to speak of her. As they say about real estate, "location is everything!"

Cardinal Santos had urged that the Council fathers be given some time to pray and reflect about where to put the draft on Mary, and that was done. Five days later, on October 29, a vote on the placement of the

document on Mary was taken, which turned out to be one of the closest of the entire Council: of 2,193 bishops present, 1,114 voted in favor of including a revised Marian draft in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, and 1,074 voted against it, with a majority of about 53.5 percent. The decision held, nonetheless, and two respected members of the Theological Commission were appointed to revise the schema: Msgr. Gerard Philips, a well-known ecclesiologist from the University of Leuven, and Fr. Carlo Balić, a Croatian Franciscan who was one of the editors of the works of John Duns Scotus. Their work during the intersession of 1963/64 led the way, after further debate on the Council floor the following September 16–18, 1964, to the somewhat more ample document we know as chapter 8 of *Lumen Gentium*, Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church.

This resulting final section of *Lumen Gentium* is in many ways one of the most complete summations we have of modern Catholic Marian doctrine: terse, amply documented from Scripture and the long theological tradition, yet carefully conscious of the implications of a theology of Mary for how the Catholic Church wants to live in today's world. Beginning from the mystery of the Incarnation, which is "revealed and continued in the Church" (52), it points to the singular place of Mary in the history of salvation, as "Mother of the Son of God." Because she is graced above all other creatures, "she is hailed as pre-eminent and as a wholly unique member of the Church, and as its type and outstanding model in faith and charity" (53). Carefully insisting that the Council does not intend to define further any doctrines on Mary, or to solve any open questions (54), the chapter goes on to offer a summary of what one can say about Mary in scriptural terms (55–59), then turns to discuss her role as Mediatrix, really the crux of twentieth-century theological debates about her, largely as an expression of her continuing motherhood: "Mary's function as mother of men in no way obscures or diminishes the unique mediation of Christ, but rather shows its power. But the Blessed Virgin's saving influence on humanity originates not in any inner necessity but in the disposition of God. It flows forth from the superabundance of the merits of Christ, rests on his mediation, depends entirely on it, and draws all its power from it. It does not hinder in any way the immediate union of the faithful with Christ, but on the contrary fosters it" (60).

After summarizing briefly the Church's beliefs on Mary's Immaculate Conception, her virginal motherhood of Christ, her share in his saving work, and her entry into glory (61–62), the document admits that it “does not hesitate to profess the subordinate role of Mary” (62); it then embraces St. Ambrose's phrase, designating her as “a type of the church” (63). “For in the Mystery of the church, which is itself rightly called mother and virgin, the Blessed Virgin stands out in eminent and singular fashion, presenting us with the exemplar of both virgin and mother” (63). This directly affects the way Christians feel themselves related to Mary: “While in the most Blessed Virgin the Church has already reached that perfection whereby she exists without spot or wrinkle, the faithful still strive to conquer sin and increase in holiness. And so they turn to Mary, who shines forth for the whole community as the model of virtues” (65). For the Church as a community, she embodies what we are called to *be*; in her role as Virgin Mother of Christ, she reminds us of what we are called to *do* apostolically in the world: bring the “whole Christ” to new reality (65).

Finally, the document offers both encouragement and guiding norms for Catholic Marian devotion, which is essentially different from our adoration of God. It is to be centered on Christ; it is to be shaped by the guidelines approved by the Church, especially those laid down for the liturgy; it is to avoid both exaggeration and minimalism; it is to be rooted in Scripture, the language of the Fathers, and the Church's Magisterium; it should be carefully expressed in order to avoid scandalizing our “separated brethren.” It should, in other words, be relocated within the broader priorities of twentieth-century Catholic theology and of the Council's teaching (67). With a prayer for Mary's patronage of the Council's broader enterprise (67–68), this wide-ranging Constitution, embodying a traditional, yet revolutionary and breathtakingly comprehensive, vision of the Church, comes to a close.

It is no exaggeration, I think, to suggest that the Catholic Church's official approach to thinking about Mary, to praying to and with her, still remains within the framework of *Lumen Gentium* chapter 8 today, fifty years later, and so within the language and thought patterns of the theologians and movements that influenced its shaping. The two main papal documents that have addressed the role of Mary in Catholic life and



thought since then are really efforts to show how the seeds of a renewed yet traditional understanding of Mary's relation to all of us, sown in *Lumen Gentium*, might grow and bear fruit in a healthy way. Paul VI's great apostolic exhortation *Marialis Cultus* of 1974 outlines the principles for celebrating Mary's role in the Church's life in liturgy and personal prayer. John Paul II's monumental meditation on Mary, *Redemptoris Mater* of 1987, is both a detailed commentary on *Lumen Gentium* chapter 8 and a further reflection on its discussion of Mary's maternal mediation between Christ and the Church.

In his interview of August 2013 with Fr. Antonio Spadaro, S.J., published in a variety of Jesuit journals, Pope Francis reflected much more informally on this central, still growing, insight of Vatican II into who Mary really is meant to be for us: she is one of us, and she brings us to God with her.<sup>37</sup> Reflecting on what it means to him to "think with the Church," in Ignatius of Loyola's phrase, and to live at the Church's heart, Pope Francis remarks:

The image of the Church I like is that of the holy, faithful people of God. This is the definition I often use, and then this is the image in the Second Vatican Council's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (12). Belonging to a people has a strong theological value. In the history of salvation, God has saved a people. There is no full identity without belonging to a people. No one is saved alone (20). . . . And the Church is the people of God on a journey through history, with joys and sorrows. Thinking with the Church, therefore, is my way of being a part of this people. . . . This is how it is with Mary. If you want to know who she is, you ask theologians; if you want to know how to love her, you have to ask the people (22).

Both of those activities, the pope seems to be saying—*acting* in faith and loving, walking with our brothers and sisters on pilgrimage, and *contemplating* God alone with rapt attention—are central parts of the life of this Church, which we are together. It is these things that bring us, together, closer to salvation. And Mary, that "great sign" given to the Church since its earliest days, still walks in the midst of us, showing both our minds and our hearts what it means to be the people of God.

## NOTES

1. “Perpetual virginity” is usually understood to mean virginity *ante partum* (before the actual birth of Jesus, or virginal *conception*), virginity *in partu* (continuing physical virginity in the actual event of Jesus’s birth), and virginity *post partum* (virginity after the birth of Jesus). Only the first of these is affirmed directly by the New Testament. The second begins to be affirmed early—in the *Protevangelium*—and is alluded to here, in a somewhat noncommittal way, by Clement. The third is not clearly affirmed until the controversies over asceticism in the late fourth century. All three are part of the generally affirmed view of Mary and are in that sense Catholic teaching. While it is true that the perpetual virginity of Mary has not been solemnly defined, it is, however, widely considered to be *de fide* mainly because Mary is called *beata Maria semper virgo* in officially approved liturgical prayers (e.g., the Confiteor, Eucharistic Prayer No. 1, etc.), and by the ordinary and universal Magisterium (cf. Lateran IV [*Enchiridion Symbolorum* 801]; *Lumen Gentium*, pars. 52, 57, 69; *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 499–500).

2. St. Bernard, *Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Chulmleigh, England: Augustine, 1984), 207–8.

3. *Ibid.*, 86, 103.

4. Joannes Duns Scotus, “Ordatio III, Dist. 3, q. 1,” in John Duns Scotus, *Four Questions on Mary*, trans. Allan Wolter, O.F.M. (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2000), 45.

5. Grignion de Montfort, *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Bay Shore, NY: Montfort Fathers, 1941), par. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, par. 25; cf. par. 44. Several popes have spoken of Mary as the Dispensatrix or Mediatrix of all graces. For example, St. Pius X, Encyclical Letter *Ad Diem Illum* (1904), 12; Pius XII, Encyclical Letter *Ad Caeli Reginam* (1954), 39; St. John Paul II, Address to the General Chapter of the Mercedarian Sisters of Charity (June 28, 1996), *Inseg* 19, no. 1 (1996): 1638; Benedict XVI, Letter to Archbishop Zimowski (January 10, 2013). Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium*, 62, refers to Mary as “Mediatrix,” as a description of her continuing, uninterrupted “motherhood in the economy of grace,” as St. John Paul II emphasizes in his encyclical *Redemptoris Mater* (March 25, 1987), 23–24.

7. It should be noted that the Marian doctrine of de Montfort has received some endorsement from central Catholic authorities—even after Vatican II. For example, on January 6, 1980, the Congregation for Catholic Education issued a *Circular Letter Concerning Some of the More Urgent Aspects of Spiritual Formation in Seminaries*. This letter underscores the importance of Marian doctrine and devotion in seminary formation, and—in addition to *Lumen Gentium* and Paul VI’s *Marialis Cultus* (1974)—it recommends the writings of St. Louis Grignion de Montfort (II, 4). St. John Paul II, who took his papal motto “*Totus*

*tuus*" from a prayer composed by de Montfort, also expressed his pleasure (*gaudemus*) in knowing that "even in our times new manifestations of this spirituality [of de Montfort] and devotion are not lacking" (*Redemptoris Mater*, 48).

8. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* I/2 (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1960), 140, 139.

9. *Ibid.*, 143. See also 145: "For it is to the creature creatively cooperating in the work of God that there really applies the irresistible ascription to Mary of that dignity, of those privileges, of those assertions about her *co-operatio* in our salvation, which involve a relative rivalry with Christ. The exact equivalent of this creature is the Roman Catholic concept of the Church."

10. *Ibid.*, 146.

11. See Henri de Lubac's comment on similar critical passages in Barth's work: "Setting on one side the value judgments that go with it, we can accept the Barthian analysis." *The Splendor of the Church*, trans. Michael Mason (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 239.

12. The Catholic liturgical movement was given official encouragement and a theological rationale in Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei* of November 1947.

13. After forty years of opposition or grudging toleration, modern biblical scholarship was encouraged, and even held out as central to the Church's approach to theology, by Pius XII in his encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of September 30, 1943.

14. Although Catholics were forbidden in Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Mortalium Animos* (1928) to engage in any kind of discussion with non-Catholics that might seem to promote mutual recognition, an instruction of the Holy Office under Pius XII in 1947, titled *Ecclesia Catholica*, recognized the modern ecumenical movement as a divine blessing.

15. Some at the time interpreted Pius XII's encyclical *Humani Generis* of 1950 as implicitly directed against this movement because of the encyclical's general opposition to any emphasis on growth or evolution in our understanding of truth.

16. Henri de Lubac, *Catholicism: Christ and the Common Destiny of Man*, trans. Lancelot Sheppard and Elizabeth Englund, O.C.D. (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1988), 165.

17. *Ibid.*, 176, 183–84.

18. *Ibid.*, 190.

19. Otto Semmelroth, *Urbild der Kirche: Organischer Aufbau des Mariengeheimnisses* (Würzburg: Echter, 1950), trans. as *Mary, Archetype of the Church* by Maria von Eroes and John Devlin (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963).

20. *Ibid.*, 10–24.

21. Otto Semmelroth, *Exposition of the Gospel According to St. Luke 2.7*, trans. Theodosia Tomkinson (Erna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1998), 36.

22. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos* 1.6.
23. Semmelroth, *Mary, Archetype of the Church*, 63, citing Maurice de la Taille, *Mysterium fidei* (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1924), 648.
24. *Ibid.*, 54–55 (translation corrected from original).
25. Yves Congar, *Le Christ, Marie, et l'Eglise* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1952); *Christ, Our Lady, and the Church: A Study in Eirenic Theology*, trans. Henry St. John (London: Longmans, Green, 1957).
26. *Ibid.*, 31.
27. Hugo Rahner, *Maria und die Kirche* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1951), trans. as *Our Lady and the Church* by Sebastian Bullough, O.P. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1961).
28. *Ibid.*, vii–viii.
29. Karl Rahner, “Maria, Mutter des Herrn,” in *Karl Rahner: Sämtliche Werke* 9 (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 515–66, trans. as *Mary, Mother of the Lord: Theological Meditations* by W. J. O’Hara (New York: Herder, 1963).
30. On the need for such a “fundamental principle,” see also Semmelroth, *Mary, Archetype of the Church*, 13–15.
31. Karl Rahner, *Maria, Mutter des Herrn*, 532.
32. *Ibid.*, 526. Translation by the author.
33. *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II Volumen I Periodus Prima Pars IV* (Vatican City, 1971), 92–98. Translation by the author.
34. “Schema of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God and Mother of Men (1962, in Latin and English),” English translation of the *Acta Synodalia* by Rev. James T. O’Connor in *Marian Studies* 37 (1986): 201. Translation slightly modified from the original.
35. For the original texts of the reports made in this discussion, see *Acta Synodalia* II/2/3, 299–345.
36. *Ibid.*, 344.
37. Antonio Spadaro, S.J., “A Big Heart Open to God: The Exclusive Interview with Pope Francis,” *America*, September 30, 2013, 12, 20–22.