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## Queenship of Mary -- Queen-Mother

George F. Kirwin

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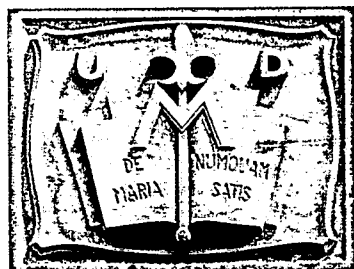
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George F. Kirwin, O.M.I.

**QUEENSHIP OF MARY — QUEEN-MOTHER**



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## FOREWORD

This book is the result of the collaboration of many individuals and groups who provided me with the support and encouragement I needed to bring the project to a successful conclusion. My doctoral thesis, written under the direction of Father Eamon R. Carroll, O.Carm., at the Catholic University of America, was completed in 1973. At the time, Father Carroll encouraged me to publish articles which would expand some of the themes touched upon in the thesis. This proved to be impossible because of time constraints and other duties.

In 2003, Father Johann Roten, then S.M., Director of The Marian Library/International Marian Research Institute at the University of Dayton, invited me to begin a revision of the thesis for publication as a book in the series *Marian Library Studies*. With the assistance of the library staff at Christ the King Seminary in East Aurora, New York, I was able to continue my research on Mary's Queenship. Many excellent studies published by members of the faculty of the Marianum in Rome have aided me in developing my original work. I have come to believe that it is within the context of salvation history and more specifically within the category of the theology of the kingdom that a comprehensive grasp of Mary's significant role can be better understood. One of the main advantages of this approach is the fact that it is biblical and as such it avoids a deductive approach which we have frequently used in reflecting upon Mary in the past.

In addition to the help I have received from scholars, I owe a debt of gratitude to Father Roten, S.M., and the Marian Library staff, especially Sr. Jean Frisk and Cecilia Mushenheim. Thanks, too, to my Oblate community whose members have encouraged me to give the time to this effort and to Margie Alsop of Annunciation Parish who assisted in the final editing. Without their help this would not have seen the light of day.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Father Leo Deschatelets, O.M.I., Superior General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who assigned me to work in the field of Marian studies.

Father George F. Kirwin, O.M.I.



## L.J.C. ET M.I.

One of the greatest challenges we face in our theology is that of understanding and expressing our faith in terms which will be meaningful to those whom we address. That might seem like a banal statement but all too often it seems that we presume that the terms we use are understood by others in the same way we ourselves grasp them when, in fact, they are not. A good example might be the use of the term *substance* to express our Eucharistic theology, a word which has different meanings for theologians and for scientists or even the common unsophisticated person. We face this challenge in mariology when we speak of Mary as coredemptrix or mediatrix. The terms might be clear to us but often they are problematic for others. This does not mean that we should not use them but it challenges us to be alert in using them.

The same issue is raised when it comes to the use of the title *Queen* when it is used to describe Mary. In his article on Mary as Queen in the *New Dictionary of Mary*,<sup>1</sup> Aristide Serra points out that today, after the so-called crisis in Marian devotion, there are some who question the use of the term *queen* because it is a reflection of a period in history which has disappeared. It reflects political and cultural realities which are unfamiliar to most modern-day people. In fact, in today's world the term will probably provoke a negative reaction. The term, they say, is rooted in what is called a "privilege-based mariology," something which seems to be contrary to the biblical portrayal of Mary. This very objection was posed at a talk I gave on the queenship of Mary by some non-Catholic theologians who, by the way, are very devoted to Mary and to Marian theology. They believe the term has little or no meaning today and that using it would fail to draw us closer to Mary. It is a term which has become irrelevant in today's world.

At the very least these questions force us to reconsider our use of that title. One of the basic conclusions of my original study, although not expressed as clearly as I would express it today, is that the biblical presentation of Mary as queen avoids these pitfalls, especially when it is understood in the context of salvation history. Thirty years ago I was not as aware of the problem as I am today. And even though, in my opinion, the key chapter in my thesis is

<sup>1</sup> *Nuovo dizionario di mariologia*, ed. Stefano De Fiore and Salvatore Meo (Milano: Edizioni Paoline, 1985): col. 1187-1190.



Chapter III, entitled "Vatican II: A Change in Perspective," I believe I was still somewhat caught up in the deductive method which tends to rely upon human reasoning to work out the implications of our beliefs. At times this method fails to pay sufficient attention to all the data of revelation, especially those which flow from the context of salvation history. The emphasis is upon concepts which have been clearly defined. Fr. Bernard Lonergan once said in class that we lacked a good theological treatise on the Church because we had left behind (abstracted from) the biblical elements which were essential to a coherent synthesis. Our approach to that treatise from the biblical perspective was apologetical; we constructed some theses on the Church either from documents issued by the magisterium or by relying upon our powers of reason to clarify the nature of the Church. That situation has been remedied to a great extent by the work done at Vatican II and thereafter.

Mariology has also benefited tremendously from the studies done in recent years both in regard to the biblical picture of Mary and patristic, liturgical studies which have helped us to acquire a better understanding of the historical basis for our Marian theology and devotion.

It is my intention now to present my thesis on the nature of Mary's queenship as I developed it in the years 1963-1971, together with further reflections upon the context in which we must seek to understand anew the meaning of Mary within salvation history. It is my view that developments which have occurred since 1973 (when I completed my thesis) are very helpful for a more comprehensive understanding of her queenly role in salvation history. At the same time they can be seen as explications of themes which I developed in the thesis itself. My conclusion is that, understood in the biblical-salvation history context, Mary's queenship is a reality which can bring us to a deeper appreciation of her as the All-Holy One, Mother of God and our Mother.

It is essential to consider the mystery of Mary within the context of the mystery of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> The word "mystery" understood in its Pauline sense is not a mystery alongside that of Christ; rather it is an integral part of his mystery.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In his encyclical on the Eucharist, "Ecclesia de Eucharistia," Pope John Paul writes: "To contemplate the face of Christ and to contemplate it with Mary is the 'program' which I have set before the Church at the dawn of the third millennium, summoning her to put out into the deep on the sea of history with the enthusiasm of the new evangelization." *Origins* 32, no. 46 (May 1, 2003): 256. This is another way to emphasize the essential link between Mary and Jesus whenever we seek a precise understanding of Mary's role in salvation history. See also *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 95 (2003): 463 (Hereafter: A.A.S.).

<sup>3</sup> W. Van Roo, *The Mystery* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1971), esp. Part III. The Mystery: Life in Christ, 187ff.

As a member of God's redeemed humanity Mary is one of God's people who has responded to God's graciousness in faith, with hope and in profound love. In this way we perceive her as the model of the Christian who is called to respond to God in Christ. The very capacity to respond is the ever-present mystery of human freedom under God's grace. In a very real sense our actual response to God enables us to constitute our human existence. We make ourselves to be who we are by our decisions.

Yet besides being "one of us," Mary has been called to respond to God in our behalf, that is, in a real way she "represents" humanity, the Church, by receiving within herself Salvation and actively responding in behalf of all: "Let what you will be done to me." We shall look at one particular aspect of this mystery, namely Mary's queenship, and we shall do this within the context of salvation history wherein we discover that the "Mater Domini" is identified with the Mother of the Messiah-King.

In the past, the study of Mary's queenship was founded upon the fact and nature of Jesus' kingship. While it is true that Mary herself can only be understood in light of her Son, Jesus, nonetheless a proper understanding of her relationship to him must be sought within the total context of God's revealing word rather than as an abstract schema drawn up to parallel his person and mission. The analogies used to explicate the nature of her queenship have fallen short of the goal because they were the result of a reasoning process which was simply deductive.

I believe that Mary is best understood as the "Gebirah," the Queen-Mother who as mother and queen is intimately associated with Jesus in the establishment and maintenance of God's kingdom among the men and women of this world. It is the formality of motherhood which best describes her relationship with her Son, the King, and with his subjects, members of God's redeemed people who form the Church of New Testament times. Salvation comes into the world through Mary who responds to it as an individual and as the archetype of a collectivity. Thus we come away with some understanding, limited as it is, of God's way of involving both Mary and us in the drama of salvation.

The journey is long in the sense that we must begin with reflections upon Tradition which includes the scriptural, patristic, liturgical, and magisterial witnesses to Mary's queenly role. This is followed by a consideration of the theological method which led, I believe, to an *impasse* in the theological exposé of the nature of her queenly status. We shall then consider the methodology introduced and advocated by the Council when it spoke of returning to the sources for an understanding of the faith. Finally, we shall look at the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel which is, I believe, the scriptural background out of which Mary's queenship flowed. What is particularly significant about this

[10]

reality is that it is deeply rooted in salvation history and enables us to have a more comprehensive understanding of God's intentions for His people both under the Old and New Covenants. God's *mysterion* has been carried out in the fullness of time involving a Father's love, a Son's obedience, and a Mother's active response.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

On October 11, 1954, Pope Pius XII issued an encyclical letter proclaiming the Mother of God as Queen of the Universe and instituting the liturgical feast of the Queenship of Mary to be celebrated each year in the Church Universal on May 31.<sup>1</sup> This encyclical was the sign of papal approval of the devotion of the Christian people toward Mary as their Queen. This devotion had been encouraged and stimulated by theological discussion concerning the foundation and the nature of Mary's regal status.<sup>2</sup>

Since the issuance of this papal document and until Vatican II, much was written concerning this prerogative of Our Lady. The Canadian Mariological Society, for example, considered the theology of the queenship of Mary at its annual meeting in 1955.<sup>3</sup> It was the subject of one of the sections (the French Mariological Society) at the International Mariological Congress held at Lourdes

<sup>1</sup> "Ad Caeli Reginam," AAS 46 (1954): 625-640. We shall refer frequently to the English translation of this encyclical throughout this study. It is the translation of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (Hereafter: NCWC), *On the Queenship of Mary* (Washington, DC, 1954). In the definitive calendar this feast has been transferred to August 22.

<sup>2</sup> In the encyclical the pope says: "On this point we have not wished to propose a new truth for the Christian people to believe since actually the title and the arguments on which Mary's royal dignity is based have at all times been clearly expressed, and are already contained as handed down long ago in the documents of the Church and in the books of the sacred liturgy." *On the Queenship of Mary*, no. 6. Cf. H. du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie: État de la question après l'encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" in *Maria et Ecclesia: Acta Congressus Mariologici Mariani in Civitate Lourdes anno 1958 celebrati* (Hereafter: *Maria et Ecclesia*), 16 vols. (Rome: Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1959-1968), 5:10: "Mais le moins qu'on puisse dire, c'est que la royauté ne peut être matière de libre discussion théologique; elle est une doctrine certaine, une vérité relevant de l'enseignement de l'Église et acceptée depuis toujours par le magistère ordinaire, sanctionnant en cela la croyance des fidèles." Cf. also James M. Egan, "The Unique Character of Mary's Queenship," *The Thomist* 25 (1962): 293-306: "This letter (*Ad Caeli Reginam*) marked a climax in the deep and chivalric devotion of the people of God to the Lady Mary. While not a solemn definition, the encyclical may well be taken as Pope Pius XII's witness to the age-old and ordinary teaching of the Church: Certainly, the fact that Mary is Queen of the Universe is solemnly definable" (293). Cf. also René Laurentin, *Mary's Place in the Church* (London: Burns and Oates, Compass Books, 1965); *La Question Mariale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963); *The Question of Mary* (Techny, IL: Divine Word Publications, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> *La Royauté de l'Immaculée*, Journées d'Études. Université Laval, 1955 (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1957).

in 1958.<sup>4</sup> Most of the mariological reviews had devoted studies to the scriptural and patristic sources of this doctrine as well as to its theological formulation.<sup>5</sup>

Since the Council, however, little has been written on this subject.<sup>6</sup> We should note that even prior to the Council questions were raised concerning the difficulties one faces in attempting to formulate this doctrine with precision.<sup>7</sup> Some were of the opinion even before 1954 that the very concept of queenship would become meaningless and therefore it would not serve as a proper vehicle for conveying revealed truths concerning Mary.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless we shall attempt to show that Mary's queenly character is an integral element in the role in salvation history assigned to her by God, and that an understanding of this queenly role is necessary in order to fully appreciate the sense of God's revelation of messianic salvation. We understand revelation here as the Self-gift of God to us in Jesus. Mary's motherhood, both her maternity of Christ and her spiritual maternity toward us, is, in my opinion, the fundamental vocation given to her by God. Of all her prerogatives it was her spiritual maternity which received new impetus in the Council.<sup>9</sup> Yet there have been some notable developments in biblical theology in relation to Mary's queenship which convince me of the importance of this aspect of Marian doctrine. I speak specifically of the understanding of the Queen-Mother tradition as it developed in Israel and found an echo in the New Testament.

One task of the theologian is, according to Pius XII, "to show how a doctrine which has been defined by the Church is contained in the founts of

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Maria et Ecclesia* 5: *Mariae Potestas Regalis in Ecclesiam*.

<sup>5</sup> Since we shall be referring to many of these articles, we will not now list them. Cf., however, E. Lamirande, *La Royauté de l'Immaculée*, 223-232, for a pertinent bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> G. Besutti, "Regalità," *Bibliografia Mariana, 1958-1966* (Rome: Edizioni "Marianum," 1966), \*217-218. In consulting the "Elenchus Bibliographicus" of the *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* one finds the same paucity of material regarding this subject. It is to be expected that most of the mariological material at the present time and since Vatican Council II would be devoted to those questions which are directly related to the substance of conciliar considerations on Mary.

<sup>7</sup> Lamirande takes this question up in his study on the state of the question of Mary's queenship after the encyclical: "Où en est le problème théologique de la Royauté de Marie?" in *La Royauté de l'Immaculée*, 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> R.M. Sbrocchi, "Animadversiones circa momentum et movimentum 'De regalitate B.V.' et pro immortalitate B.V.," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 1 (1951): 529.

<sup>9</sup> R. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1965), Ch. 9: "Les deux leitmotives: Mère de Dieu et notre Mère," 143-168, esp. 151: "L'autre leitmotiv (dépendant et complémentaire du premier), c'est la maternité de Marie vis-à-vis des autres rachetés. Ce thème revient presque à chaque paragraphe du chapitre *De Beata*."

revelation...in the very sense in which it is defined."<sup>10</sup> Although the queenship is not defined, the same task of tracing the roots of this doctrine is incumbent upon anyone who desires to study the nature of that queenship. The theologian must be at the service of the Word in order to respond to questions posed in a context which is often totally other than that of the original revelation. Theology is at the service of the Magisterium and the people of God who need to be nourished by God's word.

I base my reflections upon the biblical notion of the so-called "Gebirah" which has its origin in the revelation of the Old Testament. I shall also consider questions which are intimately connected with the subject: for example, the notion of corporate personality, the nature of intercession and the cooperation of a creature in his/her own redemption.

Those who have written on this subject have generally agreed that Mary's queenly role must not be viewed in the light of modern forms of government; it is a question of a religious concept which can only be appreciated by having recourse to revelation.<sup>11</sup> We shall see that the religious concept of royal power as it is expressed in the Bible evolved considerably from the Old to the New Testament.

In the first chapter we present the positive theological data on the queenship. We draw from those articles written prior to the encyclical *Ad Caeli Reginam* as well as from those written between 1954 and the time of the Second Vatican Council which clarify or confirm the scriptural, patristic, liturgical, and magisterial bases of this doctrine. The encyclical shall be our guide in the study of these texts, although there are additional norms to be employed, since the encyclical is limited in its scope. The encyclical makes no attempt to settle the speculative questions raised by the doctrine of the queenship of Mary. In fact,

<sup>10</sup> Encyclical Letter, "Humani Generis," AAS 42 (1950): 561-577, citation from 569; NCWC translation, 21, 10ff. For a further appreciation of the manifold tasks of theology and of the theologian in this post-conciliar age, cf. R. Latourelle, *Theology: Science of Salvation* (New York: Alba House, 1969), 250: "It [theology] is at the service of the word, which it tries to read in its original context (in both the literal and plenary sense): and to reread in the context of the questions addressed to it by the man of today; it is at the service of the magisterium (the pope, the congregations, the bishops) whose work it supports, through commissions of experts or technical advisors; it is at the service of the whole people of God through teaching, writing and research." Cf. also, Y. Congar, *Situation et tâches présentes de la théologie* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967); E. Schillebeeckx, *Revelation and Theology* (London: Burns and Oates, 1967); G. Philips, "La Vierge au IIe Concile du Vatican et l'avenir de la Mariologie" [Hereafter: "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie"] in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, ed. Hubert du Manoir, 8 vols. (1949-1971), 8:54ff. A. Nichols, *The Shape of Catholic Theology* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1991), esp. 343ff.: "Theology since the Second Vatican Council."

<sup>11</sup> G. Philips, "L'Orientation de la Mariologie contemporaine," *Marianum* 22 (1960): 231.

the approach we take to the solution of speculative questions relating to Mary's queenship is based upon a mariology which follows the perspectives of Vatican II.<sup>12</sup>

### Scripture

With regard to the scriptural basis for the queenship of Mary, few articles treat solely of this aspect of our study. At the Marian congress held in 1938 in Boulogne-sur-Mer the principal subject treated was that of the queenship. Yet there is no separate paper given on the scriptural foundations of her queenly status, nor in fact is there any text adduced from Scripture to indicate these foundations. There is an exclusive insistence upon Tradition in which is included the witness of the Fathers, ecclesiastical writers, and the liturgy.<sup>13</sup> This would seem to indicate the prevalence of the so-called "two-source theory" regarding the relationship between Scripture and Tradition.

L.J.L.M. De Gruyter, the first "modern" theologian to write at length on the subject, does have a chapter consisting of four pages on the "Argumentum ex Sacra Scriptura."<sup>14</sup> His conclusion in this chapter is:

Sacred Scripture alone at most offers but one argument for the assertion that the Blessed Virgin is properly speaking and formally a Queen. This scriptural argument of itself as such does not have a probative force in the mind of all. Therefore by it alone we could probably not establish what we are trying to prove by that argument alone—but neither do we seek to do this. We insist upon Holy Scripture and Tradition together. For these two founts of the one revelation, when taken as one, produce an argument sufficient to prove our thesis.<sup>15</sup>

According to him, the one text which does offer some scriptural basis for the queenship of Mary is that of the Proto-Gospel, Genesis 3:15.<sup>16</sup> He cites other texts from the Old Testament but indicates at the same time that these texts

<sup>12</sup> We shall attempt to follow the advice given by René Laurentin in his analysis of the "Marian Question" at the time of the Council. See Ch. 4 of his *La Question Mariale*.

<sup>13</sup> *Souveraineté de Marie*, Congrès Marial National, Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1938 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1938). We mention this to indicate the progress that has since been made in this area of the question of the queenship.

<sup>14</sup> L.J.L.M. De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina, disquisitio positivo-speculativa* (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum Domus editorialis Marietti, 1934).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>16</sup> De Gruyter does not insist upon the probative sense of Gen. 3:15 in regard to Mary's queenship: "Scripture alone at most offers one argument in behalf of the assertion that the Holy Virgin is properly and formally a queen. Besides, this one scriptural argument *as such* does not enjoy probative force among all (authors). We insist upon Sacred Scripture and Tradition together..." (*ibid.*, 57-58).

would have a spiritual sense at most (i.e., a non-literal sense). These are: I Kings 2:19 (Bathsheba); Esther 2:17; 5:3; Psalm 44:10.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the case may be, it is certain that by Scripture alone no argument is offered for the thesis that Mary is a queen, whatever be the way in which the word, "Queen" is taken.<sup>18</sup>

In 1937, the *Journées Mariales* sponsored annually by *la Société française d'Études Mariales* were held at the Benedictine monastery of Sainte Marie-qui-Vire<sup>19</sup> and the first paper was given by Henri Barré on Mary's queenship.<sup>20</sup> Barré treats this question in a speculative manner, though he does base his reflection directly upon the doctrine of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers. He does not speak specifically of the scriptural foundation of the queenship. It is, however, interesting to note that those present at the meeting did liken Mary's queenly role and influence to that of the Mother of a king actually reigning.<sup>21</sup>

Another theologian who has devoted much study to Mary's queenship is Angel Luis.<sup>22</sup> In 1942 he wrote a book upon the subject.<sup>23</sup> He devotes more than ten pages to the scriptural foundation for Mary's queenship because, as he says, no one had treated the question sufficiently up to that time.<sup>24</sup>

After considering texts from the book of Esther, Luis concludes that we cannot grant a typical sense to them as referring to Mary since this is neither stated in Scripture nor in the writings of the Fathers. Regarding Psalm 44:10 joined to Wisdom 8:22-36 and Ecclesiastes 24:11, 12, 13, 19, 25, 30, he believes that there is an implicit extension of the literal sense or of the typical sense. He is not satisfied with a mere accommodated sense. Even then, however, he

<sup>17</sup> By the spiritual sense De Gruyter means a typical sense; the actual words of Scripture would express a certain doctrine by means of persons and events which are described rather than by force of the words themselves. For example, Esther as a person typifies Mary-queen but nothing in the texts (of the book of Esther) says that Mary is a queen. In order to have subjective certitude regarding the meaning of these words, we would need either another scriptural text or a statement by the Fathers or a declaration of the magisterium. This seems to be the same as the "typical" sense. Cf. "Hermeneutics," in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Hereafter *JBC*), ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 605-23, esp. 618-19: "The typical sense is the deeper meaning that the things (persons, places, and events) of Scripture possess because, according to the intention of the divine author, they foreshadow future things....Like the Sensus Plenior it can be discerned only through further revelation or through development in the understanding of revelation."

<sup>18</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 57.

<sup>19</sup> *Études Mariales*. Bulletin de la Société française d'Études Mariales 3 (1938).

<sup>20</sup> "Marie, reine du monde," *Études Mariales* 3 (1937): 21-75.

<sup>21</sup> "Note complémentaire," *Études Mariales* 3 (1937): 89-90.

<sup>22</sup> A. Luis, *La Realeza de Maria* (Madrid: Editorial El Perpetuo Socorro, 1942).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-31.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-24.



thinks these texts could not be used as direct theological arguments. Once we have ascertained the truth of Mary's queenship, these texts will help us to clarify the meaning and sense of Mary's queenship.<sup>25</sup> He does not find much strength in the argument from the Proto-gospel. He thinks that it probably speaks of Mary in the typical sense. But he says that we could not even be sure that this was the case, except for the interpretation given by the Fathers and the Magisterium.<sup>26</sup> He concludes that from the Old Testament we cannot speak of an exclusively scriptural proof for Mary's queenship.

Luis sees in the Annunciation scene a proof of Mary's queenship as simple as it is convincing. On the one hand, she is the Mother of the Messiah-King; on the other, she is the Spouse of the Holy Spirit. The first dignity constitutes her as queen in the proper sense; the second is the basis of her analogical queenship.<sup>27</sup>

Concerning the true literal sense of Chapter 12 of the Apocalypse, Luis admits that there is room for discussion as to the relative position of Mary and the Church in this text, but he holds that Mary is not absent from St. John's thought or at least from the intention of the Holy Spirit. There can be

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 24-27.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 27-29. Luis distinguishes between kingship and queenship in the (a) proper-formal sense and (b) analogical-metaphorical sense. (a) In the proper-formal sense (1) a king is one who governs a perfect society and exercises authority for the common good, leading that society to its natural end; (2) a queen in the proper-formal sense is (a) one who governs a perfect society in the same way as a king; (b) by extension, either the wife of the king or his mother, each of whom exercises a real influence upon the government of the kingdom because of her relation to the king. Thus the proper-formal notion of queen is broader than that of king since it is applied both to the wife and to the mother of the reigning king. (b) In the analogical-metaphorical sense (1) kingship expresses the supremacy, excellence, superiority of a physical, moral, or intellectual nature which is related to the power and exercise of authority; (2) queenship implies the same qualities or attributes in a woman. Luis employs these distinctions in considering the case of Mary's maternal queenship and concludes that Mary is queen in a double sense: (1) She is queen in the proper-formal sense insofar as she exercises a real influence on Christ's kingdom on the basis that she is Mother to the Messiah who is King; (2) she is queen metaphorically because of the dignity by which she is raised above all other creatures and which derives from her relation as mother to Christ and as Spouse to the Holy Spirit. These distinctions, however, seem to be inadequate. By identifying analogical with metaphorical sense Luis does not leave room for further distinctions which should be made. We can speak of a *true*, (analogical) though improper maternity and distinguish this from both the purely metaphorical and the true, proper maternity. Cf. A. Kippes, "The Nature of the Spiritual Maternity," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 30 (1960): 120-171. These same distinctions are applicable to the notion of queenship. Mary would be queen in the formal-proper sense of the term if she exercised royal authority in the same way as Christ. She is not the spouse of Christ, though she is his mother and, as such, the Queen-Mother who is truly (analogically) though improperly queen. Her royal prerogatives are a participation in those of Christ.

<sup>27</sup> Luis, *La realeza de Maria*, 29-31, esp. n. 108.

no doubt that the "woman" of the Apocalypse is the queen and the mother of a prince who will rule the nations with a rod of iron.<sup>28</sup>

He concludes:

In the Apocalypse she shines brilliantly with majesty and greatness, crowned with a royal diadem, and as the Mother of a "noble son who must govern all nations with an iron hand," a son who is "caught up to God and to His throne." Once more the Mother of the King offers herself to our eyes showing forth the attributes of her exalted queenship.<sup>29</sup>

Luis maintains more or less the same opinion concerning the scriptural foundations for Mary's queenship in an article written for *Estudios Marianos*. I say "more or less" because on the one hand, he cites two texts from St. Luke, that of the Annunciation and that of the Visitation, as being the scriptural starting points for the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers who speak of Mary's queenship. Conspicuously absent in this article is any mention of the Apocalypse

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 31. Current biblical exegesis favors primarily an ecclesial interpretation of Chapter 12 of the Apocalypse, although many authors will freely admit a subordinate but truly Marian sense. Cf. "The Apocalypse," in *JBC*: 482, no. 58ss. Cf. also A. Feuillet, *Johannine Studies*, trans. Thomas Crane (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965), 257-292: "The marian interpretation fits well into this total context. If it is true that in the fourth gospel Mary who is called 'Woman' by her Son is credited with the metaphorical and miraculous childbirth of the Woman-Sion, described in Apocalypse 12, then it is clearly obvious that this latter passage refers to Mary....In God's plan of salvation, this woman plays an essential role, which the Apocalypse merely mentions without explaining it in detail, although later Christian tradition has abundantly clarified her part." Ibid., 291. A. Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959): 85-86. A. Feuillet, "La Vierge Marie dans le Nouveau Testament," *Maria* 6 (1959): 61-65; A. Feuillet, *L'heure de la Mère de Jésus*, (Fanjeaux: Atelier Marie-Dominique, 1970). Max Thurian, *Mary, Mother of All Christians* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964), 176-183, sees Mary in Apocalypse 12 as the symbol of the Church: "Mary, Daughter of Zion and Mother of the Messiah is the sign of the transition of Israel, Daughter of Zion, the people of God, to the Church, Mother of the Faithful, the Body of Christ. And it is this same apocalyptic symbol of the Woman which designates Israel, Mary, and the Church" (180). Catholic scholars who would agree with these words of Thurian, would, however, give greater weight to the meaning and content of Mary as symbol of the Church: She does as an individual and in an eminent way what the Church does as a collectivity. Cf. also F. Braun, *Mother of God's People* (New York: Alba House, 1967): esp. 126-168; F. Braun, *La mère des fidèles* (Paris-Tournai: Casterman, 1953), 131-76; A. Feuillet, *The Apocalypse*, trans. Thomas Crane (New York: Alba House, 1965): esp. 112ff.; R. Laurentin, *Court Traité sur la Vierge Marie* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1968), 36-39. Cf. also B. Buby, *A Journey through Revelation* (New York: Alba House, 2000), 80: "Influenced by some dogmatic statements many Catholic exegetes refrained from applying these pains of childbirth to the Virgin Mary. Other Catholic biblical scholars, however, struggled with the text while applying it to Mary. With more recent developments since Vatican II new avenues are opened to further study of seeing the woman as both Church and Mary. I prefer to see Mary in a secondary not primary role through the symbol of the woman."

<sup>29</sup> Luis, *La realeza de Maria*, 31.

12 or of the Old Testament as possible foundations for this Marian privilege. His manner of approach to this question indicates that he sees no possibility of a "proof" from Scripture alone of Mary's queenly prerogatives.<sup>30</sup>

At the International Mariological Congress held in Rome in 1950, Joseph Fenton delivered a paper entitled "Our Lady's Queenship and the New Testament Teachings."<sup>31</sup> It is not strictly exegetical but rather a general consideration of the scriptural basis for the queenship doctrine that is found in the Church's liturgy. Fenton elaborates to some extent upon the meaning of the Annunciation scene and he clearly posits the divine maternity as the foundation of Mary's queenly role. He speaks of her as having given to her Son the blood of David by virtue of which he became the ultimate King of the true Israel.<sup>32</sup> Other texts are cited by Fenton but none of them is given the prominence of this Annunciation text.<sup>33</sup>

In the fourth convention of the Mariological Society of America Monsignor Ferdinand Vandry, Rector Magnificus of Laval University, delivered a paper on the nature of Mary's universal queenship.<sup>34</sup> The same paper was considerably improved and reproduced in the following year in *Laval Théologique et Philosophique*.<sup>35</sup> His first sentence indicates the author's views on the scriptural foundation for Mary's queenship:

<sup>30</sup> A. Luis, "La realeza de Maria en los ultimos veinte años," *Estudios Marianos* 11 (1951): 221-251. "Now, then, the light which s. Scripture casts upon our particular subject is tenuous and excessively indecisive to illuminate by itself such a difficult problem" (224). This is a step back from his earlier position.

<sup>31</sup> J.C. Fenton, "Our Lady's Queenship and the New Testament Teachings," *Alma Socia Christi: Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani: Romae anno 1950 celebrati* (Hereafter: *Alma Socia Christi*), 13 vols. (Rome: Academia Mariana, 1951-58), 3:68-86.

<sup>32</sup> This is not a solid approach, since there is some question among exegetes as to whether Mary herself was of the Davidic line. At least, the evangelists do not say she was. They present the genealogy of Christ through Joseph who was Jesus' legal Father (Mt. 1:1-18; Lk. 3:23-28). Cf. *The Jerusalem Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1966): n. (a) Mt. 1. To guarantee the Davidic descent of Christ it was not necessary that Mary be of that line. It sufficed that Joseph, his legal father, be of that family. Cf. Mt. 1:1-25; Lk. 2:4; 3:23ff. Cf. R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 138ff. and Appen. 2, esp. 511: "I rejected the thesis that Jesus was of direct royal lineage or that his family was of the ancestral nobility, but there is no insuperable difficulty in positing that Joseph belonged to one of the non-aristocratic lateral branches of the House of David."

<sup>33</sup> J.C. Fenton, "Our Lady's Queenship and the New Testament Teachings," 80-81.

<sup>34</sup> F. Vandry, "The Nature of Mary's Universal Queenship," *Marian Studies* 4 (1953): 13-28.

<sup>35</sup> F. Vandry, "The Nature of Mary's Universal Queenship," *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 10 (1954): 54-66. Cf. F. Vandry, "The Queenship of Mary," *Marian Library Studies* (Old Series) 107 (April 1964): 1-11. These are not the same articles. The latter is a translation of a talk given at Lourdes in July 1949 (Second International Pilgrimage of Pax Christi).

Although the Scriptures afford our faith no clear testimony of Mary's queenship, nor of its universal nature, that dignity of the Mother of God is nevertheless acknowledged unanimously by Christian tradition.<sup>36</sup>

He, too, considers the Annunciation scene to be the scriptural source of the Church's doctrine on Mary's queenship, even though of itself it would not suffice to prove that she was queen.

*"Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum."* It is in this consent, freely made, to God's designs towards her that the Virgin first appears as Queen of the Kingdom of Christ. In consenting to become the mother of the Saviour-King, she has thereby accepted to share in the work of man's salvation as God has willed it, and in the eternal reign of Him who was to save the world.<sup>37</sup>

Further on he says:

It is in the setting of Nazareth's humble abode that we must expect to see the revelation of the mystery of Our Lady's royal prerogative.<sup>38</sup>

He concludes:

From the teaching contained in the scene of the Annunciation it follows that Mary is queen by right of divine election.<sup>39</sup>

Even though he looks to the Annunciation scene for his doctrine on the queenship, it is not because he considers Christ to have inherited his kingship from His Mother. He does not conclude from this text: Mary is Christ's Mother and Christ is a King inheriting his kingship from her. He says that even though Mary was actually responsible for the fact that Christ was born of the royal lineage of David, that had really nothing to do with his kingship. Nor does it of itself make Mary a queen sharing in the governing power of Christ.<sup>40</sup> Mary's

<sup>36</sup> Vandry, "The Nature of Mary's Universal Queenship" (MS), 13.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 17-18. In his article in *Laval*, 57, he says: "It is in the setting of Nazareth's humble abode that the New Testament first conveys the mystery of Our Lady's royal prerogative." This seems to be stronger.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 19. In *Laval*, 58, he makes a clearer and stronger statement: "The Annunciation intimates to Mary that by divine election and in virtue of her own choice she is to be Queen of the eternal kingdom."

<sup>40</sup> *Laval*, 55. In his article in *Marian Library Studies* he lays more stress than in his other articles upon the fact that Mary made her Son to be of royal lineage. We have considered this approach above (See n. 32). M. Gordillo, "La Realeza de Maria en los Padres Orientales," *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956): 49ff. indicates that there were two distinct fonts for the doctrine of Mary's queenship (in the writings of the Oriental Fathers). One, Alexandrian, presents us with an idea of Mary's queenship as stemming from the royal status of her Son; the other, the primitive Syrian, insists more upon Mary's royal descent from the line of David. "Segun los otros, Maria, antes de ser Madre, es ya Reina y trasmite a su Hijo la realeza que habia heredado de la casa de David." He then continues: "Ademas de este fundamento de la Realeza de Maria, claramente

motherhood is the ultimate reason why she is a queen, just as it is the ultimate foundation for all her prerogatives, but it is to her mediation that we must look for the proximate foundation of her queenship. It is in understanding her mediation that we shall understand her queenly powers.<sup>41</sup> Vandry insists that by her consent to be the Mother of the King and Savior as such Mary is a direct and universal cause, a *per se* cause, in the accomplishment of God's designs. She rendered possible Christ's kingdom; she became Mother of the King as such. It is only on Calvary, however, as Coredemptrix, that Mary appears as fully clothed with royal prerogatives and takes her place at the side of Christ the King in the government of the world.<sup>42</sup> Vandry has more to say about the theological implications of the Annunciation text but it suffices to have noted here the main lines of his thought.

To conclude, Vandry finds the queenship of Mary in the Annunciation dialogue in which Mary consented to become the Mother of the King of Kings and thus to cooperate with Him in the establishment of His earthly kingdom. While his statements concerning the scriptural foundations for the queenship are more fully elaborated in successive articles, it is necessary, according to him, to invoke the Fathers, writers, and teaching authority of the Church in order to have a strong argument.

Eustace Smith considered directly the subject of the scriptural basis for Mary's queenship at the same national convention of the Mariological Society of America.<sup>43</sup> He sees in the biblical literature of that time three different tendencies regarding the queenship. Some deny any scriptural basis for it; others claim explicit scriptural references to it; still others will admit only an implicit reference.

Although he does not go into much detail in his consideration of the Proto-gospel, he admits its mariological interpretation and indicates that "two pertinent characteristics of queenship are latent in these mysterious words."<sup>44</sup> He finds, namely, an intimation of royal lineage on the part of the woman in

indicado en las obras de San Efrén, admite el Doctor Siro la Maternidad divina, como fuente de la dignidad real de nuestra Señora? Me inclino a creer que no" (49-50). Cf. Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, "Dignitas Regia Mariae juxta primaevos Syros," in *Virgo Immaculata: Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani, Romae celebrati* (Hereafter: *Virgo Immaculata*), 18 vols. (Rome: Academia Mariana, 1955-58), 12:1-11.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Lamirande, "Où en est le problème théologique de la Royauté de Marie?" [Hereafter: "Où en est le problème"] *La Royauté de l'Immaculée, Journées d'Études Université Laval* (1957): 21. I agree with this and shall develop a concept of mediation before explaining the nature of the queenship. See Ch. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Vandry, "The Nature of Mary's Universal Queenship" (*MS*), 19-20.

<sup>43</sup> E. Smith, "The Scriptural Basis for Mary's Queenship," *Marian Studies* 4 (1953): 109-115.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 111-112.

relation to her seed, and an implication of a dominative power over the devil and his seed as well as over those who are liberated from the devil by the triumph of the woman. Mary is introduced here as Christ's intimate associate in the work of redemption and as such she shares in His kingship by right of conquest. As regards chapter 12 of the Apocalypse, he is favorable to an interpretation which would parallel this text with that of Genesis 3: 15. Again, in the Annunciation scene, Smith sees:

More than a theological reference here, inasmuch as the context provides a graphic picture of the intimate espousal of Our Lady with the Holy Spirit, expressed in terminology too closely identified in Mother and Son not to have royal prerogatives correspondingly, as well as actually present and communicated.<sup>45</sup>

In the discussion period after the paper Smith said that the queenship was formally contained in the Annunciation text.<sup>46</sup> This seems to me to be too strong a statement. I would find Mary's queenship implied in the Annunciation text but to find a queenship in the formal, explicit sense would demand further scriptural evidence (e.g. the Visitation scene). He concludes that the doctrine of Mary's queenship is literally found in Genesis and the Apocalypse and that her dominative power came into existence when she consented to the Incarnation. Other texts are what he calls corroborative, for example, Psalm 44:10. While Judith and Esther may well be types of Mary, their typology has been introduced by extra-scriptural writers and hence it lacks any theological value relating to the queenship.

In his encyclical letter, "Ad Caeli Reginam" Pope Pius XII restricted his scriptural allusions regarding the foundation of Mary's queenship to the scenes of the Annunciation and the Visitation, and to their patristic interpretation:

Hence it is not astonishing that the ancient writers of the Church, basing their stand on the words of Saint Gabriel the Archangel who foretold that Mary's Son was going to reign forever, and on the words of Elizabeth who, reverently greeting her, praised "The Mother of my Lord," called Mary "the Mother of the King" and "the Mother of the Lord," thereby clearly signifying that, from the royal dignity of her Son, she has obtained eminence and outstanding position.<sup>47</sup>

The Holy Father does not exclude the possibility of there being other scriptural texts which would contain the doctrine of Mary's queenship, though he does lend some authority to the value of these two texts of Luke. How much authority? The most we can say with certainty regarding the encyclical's approach to the scriptural foundation for the queenship is that there is a basis in

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>47</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," NCWC, 9; AAS 46 (1954): 633.

Scripture for this doctrine, particularly in the texts from Luke of the Annunciation and Visitation (at least insofar as they have been understood in tradition). These scenes announce Mary's maternity of the One who is King: From this (the divine maternity) he says: "it is easily deduced that she too is a queen."<sup>48</sup>

The Pope is not speaking of an explicit, formal revelation of queenship; he is speaking rather of a *deduction*. Her divine maternity, he says, is the basic principle upon which Mary's royal dignity rests. In no. 10, as above, he points out that the ancient writers of the Church called Mary "Mother of the King" and "Mother of the Lord," two titles indicating her "eminence and outstanding position," because of the Lukan texts of the Annunciation and Visitation. The Pope himself says later (no. 33) that "it is easily deduced that she too is Queen." He adds: "And it can likewise be said that the first one who with heavenly voice announced Mary's royal office was Gabriel the Archangel himself." This paragraph is placed at the beginning of a theological exposition of the queenship. The Pope is consciously establishing the scriptural basis for her queenship; he indicates that the Fathers of the Church spoke of her as a queen because of these two Lucan texts. Therefore he sees Mary's queenly character as being founded upon these two texts, at least as they were understood by Christian writers. He agrees with their interpretation.<sup>49</sup>

After the encyclical was published several articles appeared which treated the question of the content of the encyclical. Some of these were directly concerned with the scriptural foundations of this prerogative of Mary. One theologian who contributed much to the study and clarification of this question is Maximo Peinador. In what he called a preparatory article, Peinador examines and compares the Apostolic Constitution "Munificentissimus Deus," the encyclical

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 34; AAS 46 (1954): 633.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 24-26. He indicates that in this part of the encyclical touching upon the sources for belief in the queenship the pope does not allude to the nature of this prerogative: "Il se contente de citer des textes où sous quelque aspect apparaît la grandeur royale de Marie." He concludes: "Marie est Reine, au sens que l'Église accorde à ce titre, sens multiple ou au moins sens qui recouvre des richesses variées, sens qui ne s'identifie pas avec l'acception commune du terme bien qu'il garde avec elle une certaine analogie" (26). A. Michel, "Questions mariales," *L'Ami du Clergé* 67 (1957): 258ff., holds that, according to the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam," we might find some connection between Mary's queenship and those Scripture texts which speak of Mary's divine maternity, her cooperation in the redemption, and her sublime dignity. In reading the encyclical, he says, one might be tempted to think that the connection was one of deduction, i.e., that the queenship (according to the encyclical) is deduced from these other Marian prerogatives (the Pope says: "from this it is easily deduced..."). Michel himself thinks that it is not a question of a syllogistic deduction here but that her queenship is contained formally but implicitly in those Scripture texts which describe her as mother of the Redeemer-King and as cooperating with Him in the redemption.

"Fulgens Corona," and the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam."<sup>50</sup> He shows the similarities between these three documents regarding their mode of procedure and their structure. While in "Munificentissimus Deus" and "Fulgens Corona" the pope indicates clearly that the Immaculate Conception has a foundation in Scripture, he does not say this explicitly about the queenship in "Ad Caeli Reginam." The Pope, however, does consider the texts (the Annunciation and Visitation) included in tradition as the foundation for the queenship doctrine.<sup>51</sup> He points out that this is similar to the procedure in "Ineffabilis Deus." Peinador concludes that in these papal documents there is not much difference in regard to the probative force to be attributed to Scripture relative to the truths being proposed. These truths have a "solid foundation" in the sacred text. In the encyclical, "Ad Caeli Reginam" nothing is said about the Proto-gospel; this does not mean, however, that we could not establish a foundation for the queenship in this text.<sup>52</sup>

There is no mention in the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam" about the types or figures in the Old Testament, as in earlier papal documents concerning Marian doctrine (such as, "Ineffabilis Deus" and "Munificentissimus Deus"). Perhaps this is explained by the fact that at the present time there is so much disagreement among Scripture scholars about the use of these types as sources of Marian truths.<sup>53</sup>

In 1956, in *Estudios Marianos* Peinador examined minutely the scriptural foundations for the queenship of Mary.<sup>54</sup> He clarified earlier statements by insisting that one function of Tradition in the Church is to pass along truths revealed in Scripture so that if, as in our case, Tradition were to propose certain texts as professing Mary's queenship, it would be true to speak of an objective scriptural basis for this privilege. The function of Tradition is to guarantee our subjective certitude as to what is contained objectively in a particular text.<sup>55</sup> He disagrees with those who would say that Scripture *por si solo* does not contain the truth of Mary's queenship. Granted that we might not be able to determine easily in all cases the objective content of Scripture, nevertheless

<sup>50</sup> M. Peinador, "Propedeutica a la 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 5 (1955): 291-316.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 299. "Por esto lado nuestra Enciclica se acerca mas a la *Ineffabilis Deus*, que englobó el argumento escriturístico dentro del tradicional."

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., "Consiguientemente, no creemos que los documentos pontificios que nos ocupan señalen diferencia mayor en el valor probatorio que concedan a la Escritura respecto a esas verdades. Las tres tienen apoyo sólido en el texto sagrado."

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 299-300.

<sup>54</sup> Peinador, "Fundamentos escriturísticos de la Realeza de Maria," *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956): 27-48.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 27-28.



the interpretation of Scripture by Tradition in no way robs it of its objective content by imposing upon it a sense which is not there. He admits that those who study the scriptural foundation for the queenship do encounter a difficulty arising from the fact that the encyclical itself does not possess a very strong presentation of scriptural arguments, at least in comparison with the scriptural arguments of other encyclicals. However, he believes that after a serious detailed examination of those texts it will be possible to dispel doubts and to see that Scripture provides clear indications, in the literal sense, of Mary's true queenship.<sup>56</sup>

According to him, the encyclical indicates that there is an *implicit* scriptural basis for Mary's queenship in the Lucan Annunciation text, since it says in commenting upon these texts that the Christian people easily understood (*facile cognovit*) Mary's queenship in connection with Christ's kingship. It is likewise worthy of note that, according to the encyclical, the first one to announce Mary's queenly office was Gabriel.<sup>57</sup>

The expression of the angel, Hail, full of grace, certainly points out Mary's special union with God, a union which surpasses that of all other creatures. The angel's words, "Behold you shall conceive..." and "He shall be great and shall be called the Son of the Most High," allude to Messianic prophecies and their fulfillment in Christ and Mary.<sup>58</sup> The Isaian prophecies 7:7, 9:6 and Micah 5:2 clearly allude to the regal dignity of the Messiah. They do not directly indicate the same dignity in the woman who will give birth to him. But, does not the messianic concept in the Old Testament, the Davidic kingship of the Messiah, and the special importance given to the woman of these prophecies seem to indicate that her regal dignity is supposed?

The words "and the Lord will give him the throne of David, his father" announce the fulfillment of the prophecy of Nathan to David and they likewise indicate the regal status of the Messiah. The Davidic descent of the Messiah is given great prominence in the gospels and even in the preaching of the Apostles (cf. Acts 2:30; Heb. 7:14). In Romans 1:3 and Galatians 4:4 Paul indicates

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 29-30. Cf. "Ad Caeli Reginam," AAS 46 (1954): 633.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 30. Cf. J. Galot, *Mary in the Gospel*, trans. Sister Maria Constance (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965). Galot makes this observation concerning the meaning of the angel's salutation, an invitation to rejoice: "The 'rejoice' of the prophets gives us a presentiment that the presence of God in the midst of Israel will be realized in a special way in Mary, and the rest of the angel's message will point out that it will be under the stupefying form of the presence of the Son of God in the Virgin's womb. — So this 'rejoice' foretells the coming of the Messiah according to the words of Zacharias: 'Behold thy King will come to thee.' This coming of a king is what the angel will explain when he says that the child will occupy the throne of David" (14). Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1968), 27ff.

the Davidic descent of Christ. The woman is said to give Him not only His human nature but also His royal status. Peinador says that it is fitting that she participate in that regality.<sup>59</sup>

Peinador considers the Visitation scene in which Mary is hailed by her cousin as the "Mother of my Lord" but he does not insist much upon its significance, nor does he speak of the role of the Queen-Mother in Israel.

From an examination of the Lucan texts and a comparison made with other scriptural texts we can conclude, says Peinador, that the Son announced to Mary is to be Head and Lord of the new kingdom promised by God. In virtue of the divine promise, His lordship and kingdom belong to Him insofar as He is man, son of David. In accepting the angel's message Mary enters into this promise and participates in the regality and sovereignty of the new kingdom and is so greeted by her holy relative. Exegetically, he says, we cannot go further; these texts undoubtedly give us at least a firm foundation to establish Mary's queenship. If Scripture has anything to say on this question, it will be found principally in these texts. He points out that the New Testament texts indicate not only the human kingship of Christ but also the ultimate foundation for that human kingship, the divine nature (kingship). He says that we might also consider this aspect of New Testament revelation in order to arrive at an even deeper experience of Mary's queenly status: She is mother of Him who has a human kingship which is ultimately rooted in a divine kingship.<sup>60</sup>

Peinador believes that if there is any hint of Mary's queenly prerogatives in the text of the Apocalypse, this will depend upon the relationship one can establish between it and the Proto-gospel. In order to show how the Proto-gospel supports the doctrine of Mary's queenship it is necessary to insist upon the victory over sin and death and as a result the establishment of a kingdom on the part of Christ and Mary. He has no doubts about the Marian sense of Genesis 3:15. There Mary is depicted as the partner of the divine Redeemer in the battle and victory over their common enemy and consequently we find in this text the foundation for her queenship. But, he is not so forceful in speaking of the Apocalypse. He admits that the Apocalypse in some way speaks of Mary in chapter 12 but he likewise sees the Church bound up intimately with the

<sup>59</sup> Peinador, "Fundamentos escriturísticos de la Realeza de Maria," 31-33. Cf., however, *JBC* 2:122: "Joseph, Mary's betrothed, seems to have been of Judean stock, possibly an inhabitant of Bethlehem...through Joseph; therefore, as Jesus' legal father, and not through Mary, did Jesus inherit a claim to the Davidic throne."

<sup>60</sup> Peinador, *ibid.*, 34 ff.

Messiah in this chapter. The symbolical nature of the presentation makes it very difficult to find a solid basis for the doctrine of Mary's queenship.<sup>61</sup>

After a study of the Old Testament texts which are often cited as mariological, either in the typical or the accommodated sense, he concludes:

They offer little guarantee of success; and, if the arguments taken from Tradition have not up to now considered these texts to be sufficient, we cannot hope that in the future other efficacious arguments can be had.<sup>62</sup>

Peinador thinks that Scripture does not tell us much about the nature of the queenship, although it does indicate to us that Mary's queenship is exercised toward us in a motherly way. He thinks that the Lucan texts do not suffice to give us a complete vision of the intimate nature of her queenship, nor do they even directly express the fact of her queenship. They refer us back to Genesis where we find something concerning Mary's dominion over fallen man. While it would be incorrect to say that the truth of Mary's queenship is formally expressed in Genesis, nevertheless in the light of other Marian truths and these texts taken together we can arrive at the truth of Mary's queenship which is included in her coredemptive maternal mission.<sup>63</sup>

At the end of his article Peinador draws the following conclusions:

- (1) Not only does Scripture provide a solid foundation for the fact of the queenship of Mary, but some texts more or less implicitly teach this truth.
- (2) These texts are the words of the angel and of Elizabeth to Mary; in these texts Mary's Son is announced as the messianic King and Lord. It is easy to conclude that His mother will share in His kingship.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 36-41. I believe that Feuillet's understanding of Apoc. 12 allows for a clearer appreciation of the foundation for Mary's queenship in this text; it cannot be taken by itself but must be linked with Gen. 3:15 and Is. 7. Cf. Feuillet, *Johannine Studies*, 284-285: "The twofold allusion to Is. 7 and to Gen. 3:15 inclines us to think that the author had in mind a mother of flesh and blood, a real mother, such as Mary, and not exclusively the personification of the people of God. However, this is hardly a decisive argument....Nevertheless the Apocalypse is a Christian work. It is inconceivable that a Christian writer, much less the Apostle John, the author of the fourth gospel, could have spoken of the Mother of the Messiah, without having thought of Mary, the mother of Jesus. As a matter of fact, in our opinion, the strongest justification for the Marian context of Apocalypse XII seems to be in its relationship to John's account of Mary at the foot of the cross, as Braun has shown well." The foundation for Mary's queenship in this case would be the fact that she is the Mother of the Messiah who is a King. Cf. Also, Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," 58-86; Feuillet, *L'Heure de la Mère de Jésus: Étude de théologie Johannique* (Fanjeaux: Atelier Marie-Dominique Prouilhe, 1970).

<sup>62</sup> Peinador, "Fundamentos escriturísticos de la Realeza de Maria," 45. We cannot, however, simply exclude the possibility of some future discovery in scriptural studies concerning the value of "types" and the specific significance of these types of Mary in relation to her queenship.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 46-47.

(3) The Proto-gospel offers a solid foundation for Mary's queenship when it is considered in the light of the rest of Scripture, especially Pauline texts which speak of the victory won by Christ (and Mary) over the kingdom of the devil. The Apocalypse draws its value from the Proto-gospel.

(4) Other Old Testament texts are for the most part accommodations and do not serve as a scriptural basis for Mary's queenship.

(5) Any efficacious scriptural proof for Marian truths takes its value ultimately from the connection which it establishes between Christ and Mary. In our case the efficacious, probative texts are those which are messianic in character.

(6) The texts cited by the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam" are in no way exclusive. They are offered because they present no particular difficulty and they do contain this truth clearly but there is no reason to exclude Genesis 3:15 as not providing a solid foundation for Mary's queenship.

(7) The scriptural texts *de facto* mentioned give us some orientation towards an understanding of the nature of Mary's queenly power. It will be explained according to her role in the redemptive work of Christ.<sup>64</sup>

Thus far we have witnessed attempts on the part of Scripture scholars and especially theologians to find a clear basis in Scripture for Mary's queenship. For the most part they have utilized Genesis 3:15 and the Lucan Annunciation scene as the most solid scriptural foundation for this prerogative. Even then, however, they are hesitant to affirm that either of these texts taken alone contains this doctrine in an explicitly, formal manner. Some exegetes whom we have considered and others yet to be mentioned see the value and even the need of linking both the Annunciation and Visitation scenes with that of Genesis 3:15.

A development which has been taking place in recent years is the investigation of the inspired words of Elizabeth: "The Mother of my Lord."<sup>65</sup> Francesco Spadafora,<sup>66</sup> David Stanley,<sup>67</sup> Barnabas Ahern,<sup>68</sup> and A. Garcia del

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 48. I would agree with these conclusions as far as they go, but I shall lay more emphasis upon the Lucan text of the Visitation and its significance both with regard to the fact and the nature of Mary's queenship.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., Peinador and Smith; also B. Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," *Marian Studies* 12 (1961): 28; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie* 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (1968): 166-67: "En toute hypothèse, il y avait, à divers degrés, en Gen. 3:15, Is. 7:14, Mich. 5:1-2, une mise en relief saisissante de la 'jeune fille', de la 'reine' qui devait enfanter dans les temps eschatologiques ce 'fils de David' qui serait aussi mystérieusement Fils de Dieu (II Sam. 7:14, Ps. 2 and 110)"; H. Cazelles, "Genèse 3:15: Exégèse contemporaine," *Études Mariales* 14 (1956): 98-99; Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa Mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," 55-86.

<sup>66</sup> F. Spadafora, "La regalità della Madonna nella sacra scrittura," *Palestra del Clero* 35 (1956): 921-932.

<sup>67</sup> D. Stanley, "The Mother of My Lord," *Worship* 34 (1959-1960): 330.

<sup>68</sup> B. Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," *Marian Studies* 12 (1961): 28.

Moral<sup>69</sup> all agree that it is in this context that we shall come to a recognition of Mary's queenly status and an understanding of its nature.

Spadafora sees a strict connection between the words of Elizabeth to Mary whom she addressed as "Mother of my Lord" and Psalm 110 where we find the inspired David calling the Messiah "my Lord." This psalm speaks of his universal kingdom and his eternal priesthood. When Elizabeth greets Mary with this title she is recognizing in Mary a singular excellence and dignity. She is the Mother of the Savior whom the Jews were awaiting. Mother of my Lord, Mother of my Sovereign is equivalent to "my Lady," "my Queen." Elizabeth's words are the formal recognition of the royal dignity of Mary objectively revealed in the words of the Archangel Gabriel. Other texts, says Spadafora, such as the Apocalypse, might possibly contain the truth of the queenship but there is not enough exegetical agreement at present to guarantee even probability.

David Stanley not only considers the words of Elizabeth as the foundation of Mary's queenly prerogatives but he extols these words as "the clearest and probably the most ancient evidence we possess of the form which devotion to the Mother of God assumed in Apostolic Christianity."<sup>70</sup> He concludes:

These words attributed by Luke to Elizabeth, which he clearly regards as spoken under divine inspiration (Luke 1:41), indicate that it was the queenship of Mary which was honored in the primitive Christian Church.<sup>71</sup>

We can easily see the way opening up for a more profound study of a concept familiar in the Old Testament but long neglected and little understood. It is the concept of the "Gebirah," or Queen-Mother. Stanley explains that the dowager queen enjoyed the prestige which today belongs to the wife of the King. Although this might seem strange to us, it is easily understood once we recall that the monarchs practiced polygamy at that time. Thus the mother of the royal son held a preeminent position in the kingdom because of the practical difficulties created by the existence of a harem. Outstanding examples of power wielded by a Queen-Mother are Bathsheba, mother of King Solomon (I Kings 2:19) and the Queen-Mother of Balthasar (Dan. 5:10-12).

If we study these two instances of the Queen-Mother reality in Israel, we can come to some understanding of the deeply theological meaning of this title as applied by Luke to Mary. Whether Elizabeth herself uttered these words we do not know, but we may be fairly certain that Luke found this title in use in

<sup>69</sup> A. Garcia del Moral, "La realeza de Maria segun la Sacrada Escritura," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 12 (1962): 161ff. In more recent times X. Pikaza has confirmed this understanding of the title, "Mother of my Lord." Cf. his "La Madre de mi Señor," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 46 (1996): 395-432, esp. 420ff.

<sup>70</sup> Stanley, "The Mother of My Lord," 330.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

the sources he consulted when writing his gospel account.<sup>72</sup> Even if Luke wrote this gospel as late as 80 A.D., we have good reason to believe that Mary to whom this title was applied by the Apostolic Church was held in veneration next to her Son.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, if we consider the incident which took place in Solomon's court, it would seem that this title would indicate Mary's intercessory, mediatorial power with her Son. Bathsheba certainly shared in the royal authority of her

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 331-32. The phrase "mother of my Lord" seems to be a technical phrase referring to the fact that Mary was the mother of the Messiah-King and therefore Queen-Mother; Luke has adopted this phrase for his own theological purposes, namely with the intention of portraying the arrival of Messianic salvation with the coming of Jesus. Cf. R. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I et II* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957), 79-81.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Stanley, "The Mother of My Lord," 332; Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 47: "In the light of Israel's Queen-Mother tradition she was looked upon as the Sovereign Lady who shares in some way the glory of her Son's kingship." J. Keulers, *De boeken van het Nieuwe Testament* vol. 2: *De Evangelien volgens Marcus en Lucas* (Roermond en Masseik: Romen & Zonen—Uitgevers, 1951), 123, says regarding Luke 1:43: "The attitude of Gabriel and Elizabeth toward the Mother of Jesus is a strong proof for the devotion to Mary of the Catholic Church." Catholic commentaries generally emphasize the fact that Elizabeth's words about the "Mother of my Lord" were an indication that she understood Mary's great dignity as Mother of the Messiah and responded to it by humbling herself before Mary. Cf. *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (London: Nelson, 1969), 994, nos. 969c and 997, no. 771a. Also L. Pirot and A. Clamer, *La Sainte Bible*, 12 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané Editeurs, 1953), 10:31: "...elle proclame la grandeur de Marie et celle du fruit de son sein"; *La Sacra Bibbia* 8:197; J. Schmid, *Il Vangelo secondo Luca* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1965), 72-74.

On the contrary, non-Catholic commentaries generally do not consider Mary to have been the object of veneration in primitive Christianity. Cf. G. Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* 4 (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1964), n. 11: "In primitive Christianity the mother of Jesus was far less important than the mother of the founder in other religions." Cf., however, D. Jones, "The Background and Character of Lukan Psalms," *Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968): 19-50, esp. 47-48. Jones believes that the "Benedictus," "Magnificat," and "Nunc Dimitis" must be placed in the context of Christian worship. They belong to the earliest period of Jewish Christianity and they emphasize the place and role of the most important so-called "secondary personalities," Mary and John the Baptist, in regard to the messianic event. There is, then, according to Jones, an early Christian awareness of Mary's presence and activity in salvation history. It seems to me that the context of these words and the theological intent of Luke are sufficiently clear evidence that it is Mary, as well as (and, in fact, because of) her Son who is the object of praise and veneration here.

Galot in his "Le Mystère de la Visitation," *Revue du Clergé Africain* 19 (1964): 237-254, says that Elizabeth's praise of Mary in this scene forms the point of departure for the cult rendered to Mary in Christianity: "Le culte marial se révèle déjà dans certains traits essentiels. Elizabeth loue en même temps la merveille divine accomplie en Marie, et la perfection de l'attitude personnelle par laquelle elle a répondu au don divin; la béatitude de sa foi. Ainsi, les chrétiens vénéreront, en la Vierge, la grâce la plus haute accordée à une personne humaine, ainsi que le modèle de la sainteté chrétienne."

son, Solomon.<sup>74</sup> When the Apostolic Church bestowed this title upon Our Lady, Stanley says, the Church professed her faith in Mary as Queen of the Universe.<sup>75</sup>

Barnabas Ahern looks also to the words of Elizabeth for the foundation of Mary's queenship:

The title, "Mother of my Lord," bears a wealth of meaning for those familiar with the Old Testament. In the court language of the ancient Near East it designated the mother of the reigning monarch who was addressed as "My Lord" (II Sam. 24:21). The dignity accorded to the royal widow when her son ascended to the throne was no mere token honor. It reflected the high privilege and influential office of a dowager queen who exerted real power both in her son's rise to kingship and in his rule of the kingdom. This Old Testament concept gives rich significance to Mary's role as Mother of the Messiah. When this title is studied in the light of the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel, it provides a key, not only to several important Old Testament passages, but also to Mary's share in the life and dominion of her royal Son.<sup>76</sup>

He points out that Genesis 3:15 gives a strong indication of a hope in the hearts of the people concerning the future Messiah who will be a king.<sup>77</sup> After studying the role of the Queen-Mother in non-Israelite nations, Ahern directs his attention to Israel. In the monarchical state of Israel the Queen-Mother took on a very important role, not in the very beginning of the monarchy, but from the time of Bathsheba on. She wielded great influence and exercised royal power by virtue of her office known as the "gebirah." Probably it was bestowed upon her at the time when her Son was enthroned as king. She was more powerful as mother than as queen-spouse of the king.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Even though Bathsheba's request was refused by Solomon, the fact that Adonijah approaches her with the request is a sign that she exercised influence with the king. We shall see this in greater detail in the last chapter when we treat the question of the "Gebirah" in Israel.

<sup>75</sup> Stanley, "The Mother of My Lord," 331-332. Stanley uses this term "Queen of the Universe" but, in fact, it is exaggerated to state that at that early date the Church looked upon Mary as queen of the universe. There is an awareness of her queenly status, to be sure, but neither its nature nor extension is clearly perceived.

<sup>76</sup> Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 28. Cf. H. Cazelles, "La Mère du Roi-Messie," *Maria et Ecclesia* (1959), 5:39ff.

<sup>77</sup> Ahern, *ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42. Feuillet, "La Vierge Marie dans le Nouveau Testament," 36-39, says that Elizabeth understood at least that Mary was the mother of the Messiah-king. He concurs with the conclusion that there is an allusion to the Gebirah theme. He also considers the interpretation of Laurentin and others as possible, though not at all certain, namely, that Elizabeth perceives Jesus as the Lord in the transcendent (divine) sense and Mary as the Ark of the Covenant in which the Lord dwells. For other important aspects of this Annunciation-Visitation scene and their mutual relationship, cf. A. Spinotoli, "Il Segno dell'Annunciazione e il Motivo della Visitazione," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura: Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani in Republica Dominicana anno 1965 celebrati*. 6 vols. (Rome: Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1967), 4:315-345.

In light of this, Ahern believes that the fundamental root in Scripture for the queenship of Mary should be assigned to this basic scriptural concept of the "gebirah" which is reflected by the title used by Elizabeth, "Mother of my Lord."

In his article on the subject del Moral<sup>79</sup> agrees with the authors we have been quoting concerning the foundation of Mary's queenship in the gebirah tradition in Israel. He wonders whether the Magi scene found in St. Matthew could not be of significance here. Mary is explicitly mentioned and it seems that Jesus is depicted as already enthroned as a king and as receiving homage from worldly kings. Could it not be that St. Matthew wished to indicate in his infancy accounts the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies in Christ by depicting Mary as the Queen-Mother? He cites also the two Lucan texts and believes that they evidence a much greater appreciation of Mary's dignity and role than do those of Matthew and Mark. There seems to be a much more delicate handling of her position in regard to Jesus—perhaps because by that time (these texts are later than those of Mark and Matthew) the Evangelist had reflected theologically upon the place of Mary in God's plan of salvation.

Garcia del Moral calls St. John the first theologian of Mary's queenship.<sup>80</sup> He sees an intimate connection between Chapter 12 of the Apocalypse and the Isaian prophecy concerning the "virgin who shall conceive and bring forth a son" (Is. 7:11-14). Chapter 12 refers not to a virgin but to a woman. In John's gospel Our Lord refers to His mother simply as "woman" (Jn. 2:4; 19:36).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Garcia del Moral, "La realeza de María según la Sagrada Escritura," 167: "La institución de la *quebirah* es, sobre todo, el mas providencial marco para entender la relación de María con su Hijo rey: si es valido, en este caso, el principio que san Pablo (1Cor. 10:11) utiliza para deducir del ejemplo de los israelitas prevaricadores una amonestación a los cristianos: *Haec autem omnia in figura contingebant illis*." Cf. also, *Nuovo dizionario di mariologia* (1985), cols. 1192-93 wherein we find agreement with Garcia del Moral's understanding of the Magi scene.

<sup>80</sup> "La Realeza de Maria segun la Sagrada Escritura," 177. Cf. also along the same lines, J. Salgado, "Le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse à la lumière des procédés de composition littéraires de Saint Jean," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura* (1967), 5:293-360, esp. 357-358 (conclusion). Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 33-34: "Un tel rapprochement n'a rien de banal; car, selon l'usage sémitique, cette appellation est insolite. L'appellation usuelle qui convenait à un fils était: 'Mère.' Cette piste que jalonnent d'autres parallélismes, sur lesquels il nous faut passer, conduit à Gen. 3:15; la promesse faite à Eve après la chute....Par un ensemble de touches convergentes, Jean nous conduit à voir en Marie l'homologue d'Eve dans la nouvelle création qu'inaugure la venue du Verbe. Elle est *la femme* par excellence, associée au nouvel Adam, et la 'mère des vivants' (Gen. 3:20 et Jn. 19:27)." Cf. Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa Mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," H. Cazelles, "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura*, 6:165-178.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. A. Feuillet, "L'heure de Jésus et le signe de Cana: Contribution à l'étude de la structure du quatrième évangile," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 36 (1960): 5-22; A. Feuillet, "Les adieux de Jésus à sa Mère et la maternité spirituelle de Marie," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 86



The woman of Chapter 12 is adorned with the symbols of royalty; at the very moment she gives birth to the Messiah she is depicted as a queen crowned with the twelve tribes of the ancient and the new Israel.<sup>82</sup> The activity of the devil recalls the scene in Gen. 3:15. The woman will receive special protection from God typified by God's concern for His chosen people in Exodus 19:4 there is no doubt, he says, that the Son of the woman is Jesus Christ. He thinks that two different opinions concerning the woman of the Apocalypse (one considering her as the personification of God's people, the other as the individual woman, namely, Mary) can be harmonized. Luke's infancy narrative and the fourth gospel seem to present Mary as adorned with a dignity representative of the whole people of God. At the same time, this people finds in Mary its most perfect expression.

It is very significant, according to him, that Mary is present at Christ's first "sign," something intimately associated with His messianic mission. Mary is not only the earthly Mother of Jesus but also the Mother of His messianic work; this is especially true if the word, "woman" is an implicit allusion to Gen. 3:15. John 19:25 must be interpreted in the light of Apoc. 12 which speaks of the woman's painful childbirth. There are in both passages three common elements: the woman, maternity, the hour. The new people which is born from the pains of this birth is delivered over to Mary as her own children. John who represents all Christians is given to Mary as her son.

In summing up the present section of our study we conclude:

(a) Theologians and Scripture scholars who are interested in Mary's queenship lay great stress upon the Lucan texts of the Annunciation and Visitation. The Annunciation scene seems to contain objectively (implicitly) the doctrine of Mary's queenship since it announces that she will be the mother of Him who is the Messiah-King.

(b) The Visitation scene can be viewed as an explicit recognition of Mary's royal dignity by Elizabeth (as well as by the Evangelist and the Church), who refers to Mary as the "Mother of my Lord."<sup>83</sup>

(1964): 469-489; A Feuillet, "La signification fondamentale du premier miracle de Cana," *Revue Thomiste* 65 (1965): 517-535.

<sup>82</sup> See n. 80.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Galot, *Mary in the Gospel*; Feuillet, "La Vierge Marie dans le Nouveau Testament," in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, ed. Hubert du Manoir (*Hereafter: Maria [du Manoir]*) 8 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1949-71), 6:37: "Dans la lumière de l'Esprit qui l'a envahie, Elisabeth a donc pour le moins compris que Marie est déjà la mère du Roi-Messie. Nombre d'auteurs entendent en effet en un sens purement messianique l'expression 'mon Seigneur' et y voient une allusion au Ps. CX où on le retrouve. S'il en est ainsi, la dignité qu' Elisabeth reconnaît à Marie pourrait être attribuée à la mère-Reine ou gebirah; c'est ainsi que le roi Salomon reçoit sa mère Bethsabée avec le plus grand respect, se prosterne devant elle et la fait asseoir à sa droite (I Kings 2:19)."

(c) Some theologians and Scripture scholars (Peinador, Smith, Ahern, Feuillet, Cazelles) see a strict connection between the two Lucan texts and the Proto-gospel in which there is some evidence of the promise of a future king and his mother in intimate association with one another.

(d) Other Old Testament texts are not of much value in establishing Mary's queenship. There is too much controversy concerning their real sense. I do not agree with Peinador, however, when he says that there is no hope of finding in these texts any real support for the doctrine of the queenship. Further study may contribute more information.

(e) In regard to the Apocalypse, there is far from unanimous agreement among scholars as to its Marian content and the sense of that content. Nonetheless, the interpretation worked out by Feuillet and others is solidly probable in my opinion. This interpretation would link Apocalypse 12 with Genesis 3:15 and Isaiah 7 and would identify Mary, as the Daughter of Sion, with the Woman, the Mother of the Messiah.

(f) The work being done by Scripture scholars in relation to the Daughter of Sion theme has opened the way for a clearer comprehension of a Mary-Church typology. This in turn will allow, I believe, for the insertion of the notion of the "Gebirah" for the purpose of explaining the nature of Mary's queenly (motherly) role in salvation.<sup>84</sup> We shall treat of these points in greater detail in the third and fourth chapters.

## Tradition And Theology

The patristic testimony regarding the fact and the nature of Mary's queenship is abundant and varied. A basic study from which almost all subsequent articles on the subject have begun was written by Henri Barré.<sup>85</sup> We shall also use his article as a basis for a brief summary of patristic doctrine on the queenship.

Barré sees a threefold division in the development of the doctrine of the queenship of Mary. The first period extends from the first century until the

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie": "Les commentaires avertis qui ont traité récemment du ch. XII de l'Apocalypse ont montré nettement que certains traits convenaient à Marie, mère du Christ ressuscité, d'autres à l'Église, voire au peuple de Dieu (165)." See also G. Philips, "Le mystère de Marie dans les sources de la Révélation" (Essai Bibliographique, 1959-1961), *Marianum* 24 (1962): 14: "Sur l'interprétation des détails des péripécies johanniques, il n'y aura peut-être jamais d'accord parfait, mais il semble impossible de méconnaître la typologie ecclésiale de Marie, soit dans le récit du Calvaire, soit dans le célèbre chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse. Dans ces deux derniers passages, c'est encore le drame de la rédemption qui occupe le premier plan. Ainsi, entre saint Luc et le disciple que Jésus aimait, nous voyons s'établir des contacts et nous entrevoyons, chez le second, l'intention de compléter le premier."

<sup>85</sup> H. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 29 (1939): 129-162; 303-334. H. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Occident," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:93-119. Cf. A. Rivera, "La Tradición en la Encyclica 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 5 (1955): 335-352.

eighth or ninth century, the end of the Patristic age. From this time until the middle of the sixteenth century there was little development in this doctrine. From the time of the Reformation under the attacks of Protestant thought and Jansenism the doctrine of the queenship was developed speculatively together with the doctrine of Mary's mediation.<sup>86</sup>

There is a definite idea of Mary's regal status which developed from the words uttered by Elizabeth at the Visitation. The commentary of Origen (+254) upon this text explicitly refers to Elizabeth's words as being those which were uttered to her queen: "Why do you salute me first? Is it I who give birth to the Savior? I should have first come to you because you are blessed among women, you, the mother of my Lord, you my Sovereign...."<sup>87</sup> Barré says that this title, "the mother of my Lord" is frequent in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, Ambrose, and Jerome, even though other titles were more commonly employed. Others considered the name Maria and its significance, and among these it is St. Jerome (+420) who points out that in the Syrian language it means *Domina*.<sup>88</sup> From the signification of her name to the actual predication of her regal status

<sup>86</sup> Cf., however, De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 109, n. 2.

<sup>87</sup> *Origenes Werke*, T. IX Hom. In Lucam, ed. Max Rauer, vol. 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1930): 48 (Hom. VII). Some authors consider this text to be authentic as does Barré in "La Royauté de Marie," 134; C. Vagaggini, "Maria nelle opere de Origene," in *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 131 (Rome, 1942): 109-110 and 198; Gordillo, "La Realeza de Maria en los Padres Orientales," 50, nn. 5-8.

For the opposite opinion, cf. G. Jouassard, "Marie à travers la patristique," *Maria* (du Manoir), 1:157: "Travail également sérieux sur Origène de C. Vagaggini....Mais la matière étudiée est délicate; toutes sortes de problèmes se posent au sujet du texte d'Origène, qu'il s'agisse du grec ou de traductions. On ne saurait en conséquence tenir pour définitif l'essai de Vagaggini, en dépit des efforts visibles et méritoires qui sont accomplis jusque dans l'ordre de la critique textuelle." Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie* (170), says that the 7<sup>th</sup> homily of Origen is suspect. This text comes to us in the works of Macarius Chrysocephalus, "Fragmenta Origenia, ex Macarii Chrysocephali Orationibus in Lucam," PG 13, 1901c. Cf. *Sources Chrétiennes*, 87, "Homilies sur S. Luc," 158. Our text is not found in this edition which depends upon the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1959) of Max Rauer's work on Origen. Cf. Max Rauer, [*Origenes*] *Werke*, 9 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1959), 41-46. Rauer omits this text.

<sup>88</sup> PL 23, 842, "Liber de nominibus hebraicis": "Mariam plerique aestimant interpretari, illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix, vel smyrna maris sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est ut dicamus eam sonare stellam maris, sive marum mare; sciendumque quod Maria, sermone syro Domina nuncupatur." Fr. Vogt refers to this etymology as non-scientific and chooses the meaning: Exalted, sublime. Cf. "De Nominis Mariae etymologia," *Verbum Domini* 26 (1948): 163-168; *Ugariti Forschungen* 2 (1971): 269-72. The Ugaritic texts of the second millenary favor the root "rum" which means "exalted." Barré remarks that Jerome gave an interpretation which was generally accepted. "La Royauté de Marie," 135, n. 5.

was an easy step.<sup>89</sup> This step was taken by later writers.<sup>90</sup> The name *Domina* indicates a great dignity and the fact that it is applied to Mary who is mother of the *Dominus* leads us easily to the conclusion that she too is a sovereign. "Even though she is the servant of the Lord, she is the *Domina*."<sup>91</sup>

According to Luis, Saint Ephrem (+373) is the first Father to have discovered the fullness of meaning to be found in the Visitation text of St. Luke.<sup>92</sup> Besides the title, "Mother of the Lord" or "*Domina*" we find another title among the early Fathers: "Mother of the King." This title likewise leads to the affirmation of a queenly status for Mary. In a homily of Chrysippus of Jerusalem (+479) on Psalm 44 Mary is referred to as "Mother of the King" and it is said that she shall be changed into a heavenly queen.<sup>93</sup> It was in this way that the implicit

<sup>89</sup> Barré, "La Royauté de Marie," 139: "L'évolution est parallèle à celle qui du *Mater Domini* d'Élisabeth nous a conduit au texte de Saint Pierre Chrysologue en passant par l'interprétation du nom de Marie. Issu de la même idée, le titre de *Domina*, *κυρία*, rejoint celui de *Regina*,  *βασίλισσα*, et lui est déjà pratiquement équivalent."

<sup>90</sup> St. Peter Chrysologus (beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century): "Ante causam dignitas virginis annuntiatur ex nomine: nam Maria Hebraeo sermone, Latine *Domina* nuncupatur: vocat ergo (eam) angelus dominam, ut dominatoris genetricem trepidatio deserat servitutis quam nasci et vocari dominam ipsa sui germinis fecit et impetravit auctoritas." Sermo 142, "De Annuntiatione B.M.V.," PL 52, 579c.

<sup>91</sup> PL 52, 582b. Cf. L. Certaux, "Gratia Plena," *Congrès Marial Bruxelles I* (1921), 34-40; (Brussels: L'Action Catholique, 1922): 39: "La mère du Souverain, c'est elle-même la Souveraine, la Reine Mère, comme nous dirions, titre qui lui donne dignité et pouvoir dans le royaume messianique à côté de son Fils....Il y a là, dans ce titre 'la Mère du Roi,' l'expression d'une dignité, presque d'une charge officielle. L'Église primitive a placé Marie à ce rang d'honneur. Quand Marie fut remontée au ciel, à la droite de son Fils, le peuple Chrétien n'eut rien à changer pour lui conserver sa dignité et sa puissance d'intercession." Cf. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie," 133: "En simple logique il faut voir dans le '*Mater Domini*' d'Élisabeth non seulement une préparation du '*Mater Dei*' ou du '*Deipara*' futur, mais le premier pas vers le qualificatif de '*Domina*' appliqué à Marie."

<sup>92</sup> A. Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 37, n. 24: "Beata es Maria, quia Mater effecta es gloriosissima Domini regum." "Beata es quia digna fuisti ut Mater fieres Domini omnium creaturarum." It is difficult to be sure of the authenticity of Ephrem's writings. In those which are preserved in Greek there is express mention of the title, "queen." Their authenticity is doubtful, however. The encyclical, "Ad Caeli Reginam" cites a text from the Greek works. Cf. Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, "Dignitas Regia Mariae juxta primaevos Syros," 12:11: "Ex allatis patet Patres Syros saeculorum IV, V, et ineuntis VI clare et profunde regiam dignitatem Mariae docuisse, etsi eam simpliciter vocabulo, 'Regina' non appellaverint."

<sup>93</sup> PO 19, 339. Cf. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie," 139: "Mère du Christ qui est Roi, Mère du Roi et Reine, trois moments d'un mouvement de pensée dont le point de départ est dans les paroles de l'ange, et dont Chrysippe nous présente un des premiers aboutissements, et comme un résumé."

became explicit. Mary was honored as "Mother of Christ Who is King," then as "Mother of the Kings," and finally as "Queen."

We find in the Greek chapel in the catacombs of St. Priscilla in Rome a painting depicting Mary seated upon a chair holding the infant on her knees and wearing her hair in the exact style of the Empress of that time. In the opinion of some, this was an intentional indication of her royal character.<sup>94</sup> The Adoration of the Magi is a recognition in art of the regal status of her Son; it will not be too long before the theme of Mary-Queen occupies a definite place in Christian art.<sup>95</sup> Gradually the people began to address Mary as "Our Lady," "The Sovereign," "Mother of the King." There are documents attesting to this which date from the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>96</sup>

The idea of a servitude toward Mary began to be more prominent.<sup>97</sup> This is especially evident in the writings of St. Ildephonse of Toledo (+669):

<sup>94</sup> H. Leclercq, "Mages," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne* [Hereafter: *DACL*], Vol. 10:1, col. 995. This painting is considered to be the oldest representation of Mary's regal status. It is attributed to the second century. Cf. L. Hertling and E. Kirschbaum, *Le Calacombe Romane e i loro martiri* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1949), 250: "La più antica rappresentazione dei Magi, che risale almeno alla metà del secolo IIo si trova nella Cappella Greca delle Catacombe di Priscilla. Insieme essa ci dà la più antica immagine di Maria fino ad ora conosciuta..." Other authors, call the other painting of Mary in the catacombs of Priscilla, the so-called "Virgin with the Prophet," the oldest painting of Mary. E.g., M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la Vierge dans l'art occidental," *Maria* (du Manoir) 2:483-540, esp. 486—this supposedly dates from the first quarter of the second century. Vloberg mentions the scene of the adoration of the Magi in the Greek Chapel but he does not date it, other than to mention further Magi scenes dating from the third century (487); he does believe, however, that these adoration scenes, so frequently found in early art, are an intentional attempt on the part of the artists to direct the homage of the Magi toward the Virgin as well as toward her Son. *Ibid.*, 488.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Leclercq, "Mages," *DACL*, cols. 1004-1006.

<sup>96</sup> Evagrius Scholasticus (+600) speaks of a decree which expresses the faith of the Emperor Justin in the Incarnation, "ex Spiritu sancto et ex Domina nostra, sancta et gloriosa Deipara ac semper virgine Maria." *Hist. Eccles.*, Bk. 5, Ch. 4, *PG* 86, PT. 2, 2796. In the seventh century we have the text of Pseudo-Athanasius, "Sermo in Annuntiationem sanctissimae Deiparae Dominae nostrae," *PG* 28, 917-940. This author, whoever he is, pertains to the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth. He says that she who engendered the King and Lord God merits the title of Queen, Sovereign and Mother of God. She should sit at her Son's right hand and be vested in clothing of incorruption and immortality. Cf. R. Laurentin, *Maria, ecclesia, sacerdotium* (1952): 79, n. 21: He considers Pseudo-Athanasius to be George of Nicomedia. Cf. also a poem of Venantius (+600) which begins in the name of Our Lord and of His Mother Mary, Our Lady, *PL* 72, 669. Cf. also *PL* 88, 283: "In Laudem Sanctae Mariae Virginis et Matris Domini." Barré, "La Royauté de Marie," 141-146.

<sup>97</sup> St. Sophronius (+683): *PG* 87, PT. 3, 3716: "Tu, 'Despoina,' clementissima, humanitatem tuam, erga me commonstrasti." *Ibid.*, 3557. St. Maximus Confessor (+662) frequently ended his letters with these words: "Tais Euchais, kai Presbeiais...tes despoines." Cf. "De Duabus Christi Voluntatibus," *PG* 91, 212. Cf. M. Donnelly, *Marian Studies* 4 (1953): 92, n. 43. At the Mariolog-

Concedas etiam mihi adhaerere Deo et tibi, servire Filio tuo et tibi famulari...  
Ideo ego servus tuus quia tuus Filius Dominus meus...  
...Ideo tu domina mea, quia tu ancilla Domini mei. Ideo ego servus ancillae Domini mei, quia tu domina mea facta es mater Domini tui.<sup>98</sup>

He accumulates a series of epithets in praise of Mary: "O domina mea, dominatrix mea, dominans mihi, mater Domini mei...de te vera et digna sapiam, de te vera et digna loquar."<sup>99</sup>

It is somewhat difficult to be absolutely sure of the import of the title, "Sovereign" at that time but it seems to have indicated more than a title of excellence because it is found in connection with the direction of human beings towards their final end. Mary's exact place is not clearly determined but there are indications which will be clarified gradually. As we shall indicate later in this chapter, the art of the time is significant in this regard since it portrays well the depth of the "faith-perception" on the part of the people.

In the eighth century we have the flowering of the doctrine of Mary's queenship in the writings of three outstanding preachers: St. Andrew of Crete (+740), St. Germanus of Constantinople (+733), and St. John Damascene (+749). Andrew uses the title "Basilissa," "Queen," rather than "Despoina," "Sovereign," in order to remain within the thought-pattern of the prophet (Ps. 44:20) upon whom he commented. He calls her the Queen of all men, the thrice-blessed queen-Mother of God.<sup>100</sup> St. Germanus speaks of Mary as being a Queen and Sovereign Lady who has descended from a king of the world and who is adorned with regal majesty.<sup>101</sup> In a homily written for the Presentation of Mary, he depicts Zachary as speaking to her with profound respect:

Sit here, Sovereign Lady, for it is fitting that you sit in such an exalted place since you are a glorious queen at the head of all the kings of the earth...Behold, I offer you the first place as the Queen of the universe.<sup>102</sup>

ical Congress at Zagreb (August, 1971), Fr. J. DeAldama delivered a paper on the subject: "El culto mariano de esclavitud desde sus inicios hasta los tiempos de San Anselmo de Cantuaria." A reference to this paper is found in *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 22 (1977): 137. Cf. Also, G. Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:68, where the author indicates the strong emphasis on this theme in the writings of Joseph the Hymnograph (9th century).

<sup>98</sup> PL 96, 105ff.: "De Virginitate perpetua": "quam prompte servus hujus jugo delector, quam plene famulari hujus imperio opto, quam ardentem ab illius dominio disociari non quaero, quam avidè ab ipsius famulatu nusquam abstrahi cupio..." (col. 107).

<sup>99</sup> PL 96, 58a: "De Virginitate perpetua"; cf. ibid. 106: "Ideo tu domina mea quia tu ancilla Domini mei."

<sup>100</sup> Hom. In dormit. BMV., I, II, III, PG 97, 1045ff. Ibid., Hom. IV, col. 1108: "Sed, O Regina universorum hominum": "O ter, Regina Dei Genetrix."

<sup>101</sup> "In Annuntiationem Sanctissimae Deiparae," PG 98, 324-325.

<sup>102</sup> "Oratio prima in praesentatione Deiparae," PG 98, 303.

He speaks also of Mary's army in praying to her that she conquer all the "malafides nationes barbaras."<sup>103</sup> Her power with God is enormous since she is God's mother; she obtains for the worst of sinners the great grace of forgiveness.<sup>104</sup> St. John Damascene not only repeats the doctrine of his predecessors concerning the queenship but he also penetrates to its foundation: the fact that Mary is the mother of the Creator. He says that Anne gave birth to the "Domina" who is such because she is the mother of the world's Creator.<sup>105</sup> The Son has given over to her custody all created things; this is unusual since it is natural for the child to receive his inheritance from his parents, and not vice-versa.<sup>106</sup> Mary reigns with her Son in heaven.<sup>107</sup> Damascene prays to Mary that she guide us to the peaceful port of the divine will and that she grant to us future happiness.<sup>108</sup> It is evident that she enjoys great power proper to a true queen. The Psuedo-Athanasius, a writer of the seventh century, is responsible, as was John Damascene, for the advance made by this doctrine.<sup>109</sup> In the West the doctrine of Mary's queenship took longer to develop. In the seventh century she was called "Our Lady," "Our Sovereign," by the Roman Pontiffs of that time, Martin I (+655) and Agatho (+681).<sup>110</sup> We have already mentioned Ildephonse of Toledo as placing himself under her rule. St. Isidore of Seville (+636) writes that Mary is "Domina" because she brings forth the

<sup>103</sup> "Hom. In Praesentationem Deiparae," PG 98, 307-310.

<sup>104</sup> "Oratio secunda in Praesentationem Deiparae," PG.98, 351: "Non enim potes non exaudiri...cum Deus... per omnia et in omnibus Matri suae morem gerat."

<sup>105</sup> *De Fide Orthodoxa*, IV, PG 94, 1157. He repeats the same thought in col. 1162: "Profecto vere et proprie Dei Genetrix est et Domina, omnibusque creatis imperat, quae ancilla materque simul exstitit Creatoris." Cf. Hom. II in Dor. B.V.M., PG 96, 721. *Sources Chrétiennes* 80, St. John Damascene, "Homélie sur la Nativité et la Dormition," by Voulet (Éditions du Cerf, 1961): 36-39: "La Royauté de Marie."

<sup>106</sup> Hom. II in Dormit., PG 96, 741: "...Res quippe omnes conditas Filius Matri mancipavit."

<sup>107</sup> Hom. III in Dormit. B.V.M., PG 96, 760: "nunc meorum particeps esto. Accede, Mater, ad Filium: Jam cum eo...regnum teneo." Cf. Ibid., 756: "...ubi cum Filio et cum Deo aperte regnatura est."

<sup>108</sup> Hom. II in Dor. B.V.M., PG 96, 721: "...nos ad tranquillum divinae voluntatis portum dirigas ac futuram beatitudinem dones."

<sup>109</sup> "Sermo in Annuntiationem Deiparae," PG 28, 917-40: "Ejusque gratia quae ipsum genuit, Regina, Domina, et Deipara proprie et vere praedicatur..." "Ut enim femina, Regina est atque Domina et Mater Dei: jamque ut Regina astans a dexteris omnium regis Filii Sui..." "Intercede pro nobis, Domina et hera, Regina et Mater Dei." Cf. esp. cols. 938 and 940. We have mentioned this author before in n. 96.

<sup>110</sup> F. Aubron, "De la souveraineté de Marie," in *Souveraineté de Marie*, Congrès Marial National Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1938, 121-122. Agatho speaks of Christ as being born of the glorious Virgin Mary, our Sovereign, truly Mother of God. St. Martin: PL 87, 199a- 200a. St. Agatho: ibid., 1221a.

"Dominus."<sup>111</sup> The Western authors frequently used the etymology of her name to stress her queenship. It is rather striking to see how constant is this tradition which sees in Mary a Queen because she is Mother of Him who is the Lord. From the time of St. Jerome in whose writings this movement received its beginnings up until the present we find authors returning to this same theme. Ambrose Autpert (+781) expresses his clear belief concerning Mary's royalty in a sermon on the Assumption. Even though he has doubts concerning her corporeal resurrection, he says that we cannot doubt that she reigns with Christ.<sup>112</sup> Paschasius Radbert (+865) is the author of the letter of Pseudo-Jerome to Paula and Eustochius<sup>113</sup> and in it he urges them to celebrate the enthroning of Mary of which there can be no doubt. He proclaimed her Queen of the Universe because she is the Mother of the King of the Universe.<sup>114</sup> What we have seen in the first nine centuries, the patristic age, was carried on with increasing frequency and clarity in subsequent ages.<sup>115</sup> In his sermons St.

<sup>111</sup> PL 82, 289, "etymologia VIII, 10": "Maria illuminatrix sive stella maris: genuit enim lumen mundi. Sermone autem Syro Domina nuncupatur, et pulchra quia Dominum genuit."

<sup>112</sup> PL 39, 2130: "Sermo 208 in festo Assumptionis." This is considered authentic by Barré. Cf. *Études Mariales* 7 (1949): 67-70. "Tibi thronus regius ab angelis collocatur in aula aeterni Regis, teque ipse Rex regum, ut matrem veram et decoram sponsam prae omnibus diligens, amoris amplexu sibi associat." 2134. Cf. Barré, "L'intercession de la Vierge aux débuts du moyen âge occidental," *Études Mariales* 23 (1966): 77-104, esp. 89: "Dans la Royauté de Marie, Ambrose Autpert voyait surtout sa glorification suprême et un titre particulier à nos louanges. Les carolingiens ne dépassent guère ce point de vue, mais Alcuin (+804) rejoignant, sans le savoir, les grands orateurs grecs, montrait déjà que la Mère du Sauveur, *nostrae Regina salutis*, nous 'régit' précisément, par son intercession: 'Tu precibus nostris semper clementer adesto, atque dies nostros precibus rege semper ubique, ut nos conservet Jesu pia gratia Christi.'"

<sup>113</sup> PL 30, 122-142. "Quia...ineffabiliter sublimata cum Christo regnat in aeternum. Regina mundi hodie de terris et de presenti saeculo nequam eripitur..." (col. 126b). Cf. D. Lambot, "L'homélie du Pseudo-Jérôme sur l'Assomption et l'Évangile de la Nativité de Marie d'après une lettre inédite d'Hincmar," *Revue Bénédictine* 46 (1934): 282: "Grâce à la lettre d'Hincmar à Odon, une des plus curieuses du Régistre de l'Archevêque, l'origine de la célèbre épître du Pseudo-Jérôme sur l'Assomption se trouve définitivement éclaircie; sans aucun doute possible, Paschase Radbert en est l'auteur." Laurentin says in his "Tables Rectificatives," in *Court traité de théologie mariale*, 5th ed., 125: "L'auteur est Paschase Radbert...Il écrivit cette lettre avant 846." H. Barré, "La croyance à l'Assomption corporelle en Occident de 750-1150 environ," *Études Mariales* 7 (1949): 70-73 writes: "On peut donc considérer comme acquise à Paschase la rédaction de la lettre 'Cogitis me.'"

<sup>114</sup> PL 96, 240b: "Quae profecto hodie decorata ideo descendit ut reginam mundi, beatam scilicet Mariam, secum eveheret ad sublimia, et collocaret in throno regni." Cf. PL 30, 126b. The first sermon on the Assumption is generally attributed to Radbert. Cf. Barré, *ibid.*, 73-75; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 67, n. 50 (5th ed.); 140-141 (1st ed.).

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant le XIIe siècle en Occident," 94: "La continuité avec la période précédente saute aux yeux, en même temps que l'on constate une généralisation et un approfondissement de la croyance. Hymnes et prières, traités et commentaires, sermons



Peter Damian (+1072) mentions the queenly dignity of the virgin.<sup>116</sup> There is a continuation of the earlier tradition in the twelfth century in the writings of St. Anselm (+1109),<sup>117</sup> Eadmerus (+1124),<sup>118</sup> St. Bernard (+1153),<sup>119</sup> and Arnold

surtout et parfois lettres officielles ou privées en témoignent: Marie est universellement considérée comme la souveraine et la reine du monde entier." Ibid., 95: "'Domina' et 'Regina' sont des termes pratiquement équivalents, et 'regina caeli' souligne moins l'étendue du royaume, que le séjour de la Reine...."

<sup>116</sup> PL 144, 761b: Sermon 46: "Rogamus te, Clementissima, ipsius pietatis et misericordiae mater, ut qui tuae laudis insignis frequentare gaudemus in terris, tuae intercessionis auxilium habere mereamur in coelis; quatenus sicut per te Dei filius dignatus est ad nostra descendere, ita et nos per te ad ejus valeamus consortium pervenire." This is a homily on the feast of Mary's nativity. In the beginning of this homily, he writes: "Filia siquidem regum, sed mater Regis regum." The eleventh sermon on the Annunciation of Mary (PL 144, 557ff.): "Dulcis Dominus dulcis Domina, quia ille Deus meus, misericordia mea, haec domina meae misericordiae porta," is to be attributed rather to Nicolas of Clairvaux, according to Laurentin, *Court trailé sur la Vierge Marie*, 1st ed. (Paris: Lethielleux, 1954): 145 and according to Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant le XIIe siècle en Occident," 93, n. 2.

<sup>117</sup> St. Anselm: PL 158, 942ff. "Hymni et Psalterium de S. Maria." It is in the prayers ascribed to Anselm that we find frequent allusions to Mary's queenship. But, we must be aware of the controversy which exists concerning Anselm's writings on Mary. Many prayers which are attributed to him are of doubtful authenticity. Cf. Laurentin, *ibid.*, 146-147. R.T. Jones, *Sancti Anselmi Mariologia* (Mundelein, IL: Apud aedes Seminarii Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum, 1937); J.S. Bruder, *The Mariology of St. Anselm of Canterbury* (Dayton, OH: Mt. St. John Press, 1939); M. Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (Città del Vaticano, 1944), 366, n. 5. Cf. Oratio 7 in F. Schmitt, ed., *Sancti Anselmi Opera Omnia*, 3 vols. (Edinburg: Nelson and Sons, 1946), 3:18-25.

<sup>118</sup> Eadmerus: He bases Mary's dignity and power upon her divine maternity and her cooperation in the redemption. "De Excellentia Virginis Mariae" (attributed at one time to Anselm). PL 159, 578b: "Sicut ergo Deus sua potentia parando cuncta, Pater est et Dominus omnium, ita beata Maria suis meritis cuncta reparando mater est et domina rerum; Deus enim est Dominus omnium, singula in sua natura propria jussione constituendo; et Maria est domina rerum, singula congenitae dignitati per illam, quam meruit gratiam restituendo." There is a critical edition of this work translated into Italian from the Latin Codex, ms. 371 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is published in Italian and Latin by the Libreria Mariana in Rome, 1959. *De Conceptione Sanctae Mariae, De excellentia gloriosissimae Virginis Matris Dei*. (Eadmero +1141.)

<sup>119</sup> Bernard stresses her divine maternity and her cooperation in the redemption. PL 183, 328: "In Festo Pentec. Sermo II: "Eo beatam te dicent omnes generationes Genetrix Dei, domina mundi regina caeli...In te enim angeli laetitiam, justi gratiam, peccatores veniam inveniunt in aeternum. Merito in te respiciunt oculi totius creaturae, quia in te et per te et de te benigna manus Omnipotentis quidquid creaverat recreavit." Ibid., 437-38: "Ipsius nimirum anima jam ibi non erat; sed tua plane inde nequibat avelli. Tuam ergo pertansivit animam vis doloris, ut plus quam martyrem non immerito praedicemus in qua nimirum corporeae sensum passionis excesserit compassionis effectus." (Sermo in Dominica infra Oct. Assumpt.) Cf. Barré, "St. Bernard, docteur marial," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 9 (1953): 92-113. Barré explains St. Bernard's originality in Mariology by quoting from Bernard's "De Laudibus" in which he explains his method: "I have exposed as best I could the gospel text. I know that this will not please

of Chartres (+1156):<sup>120</sup> Much is said about Mary's queenly dignity, although frequently this is limited to hymns and prayers and is not found in strictly theological works. The queenship is taken for granted for the most part and there is little elaboration upon its scope or nature. Barré, however, does find some progress in regard to this belief. A more profound grasp of the relationship between Mary's maternity and her queenship is had; the principle of association and her compassion on Calvary begin to come into focus. Her role in heaven is better defined in terms of intercession with Christ and a certain dominion over souls. Her glory pertains to her sublime dignity and her efficacious power as Mother of the King of kings. There is certainly no synthesis of these elements and little speculative development but there is an awareness of their presence and significance.<sup>121</sup> In the writings of Bernard and Eadmerus and Arnold of Chartres we find some reference to Mary's present role (as spiritual mother) in the economy of salvation as being the foundation for her queenly status.<sup>122</sup>

everyone, and that this will bring the anger of many upon me. They shall judge that I have dared to have touched upon a passage which they have commented upon. However, if I have said after the Fathers what is not contrary to their thought, I do not see that this should displease them or anyone else." *PL* 183, 86CD. Bernard then limits himself to repeating what the Fathers have said. He is a traditionalist and he passes on to future generations Marian doctrine. He manifests at the same time the same type of dependence upon his predecessors concerning the Immaculate Conception which he did not accept. Cf. J. Leclercq, "Dévotion et théologie Mariales dans le monachisme bénédictin," *Maria* (du Manoir), 2: esp. 573. Bernard does not mention the queenship in his sermons on the Annunciation or Assumption.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. "De Laudibus BMV," *PL* 189, 1729BC: "De septem verbis Domini in cruce," *ibid.*, 1694-1695: "Nimirum in tabernaculo illo duo videres altaria, aliud in corpore Christi, aliud in anima Mariae. Christus carnem, Maria immolabat animam. Optabat quidem ipsa ad sanguinem animae et carnis suae addere sanguinem et elevatis in cruce manibus celebrare cum Filio sacrificium vespertinum, et cum Domino Jesu corporali morte redemptionis nostrae consummare mysterium. ...Cooperabatur tamen plurimum secundum modum suum ad propitiandum Deum ille matris affectus....cum quod Mater peteret, Filius approbaret, Pater donaret...." Cf. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant le XIIe siècle en Occident," 97 and esp. H. Barré, "Marie et l'Église du Vénérable Bède à Saint Albert le Grand," *Études Mariales* 9 (1951): 59ff., esp. 104: "Arnaud reste donc bien dans la perspective commune à son époque qui prête surtout attention au rôle présent de la Vierge dans l'économie du salut."

<sup>121</sup> Barré, "La Royauté de Marie au XIIe siècle en Occident," 93-119.

<sup>122</sup> This aspect of the queenship (the spiritual maternity) is just beginning to develop in the twelfth century; it remains inseparably united to the divine maternity as the foundation for the queenship of Mary. Cf. Barré, "L'intercession de la Vierge aux débuts du moyen âge occidental," 89: "Le XIIième siècle marquera davantage le lien entre l'intercession de Marie et l'exercice actuel de sa Royauté. C'est alors aussi que saint Bernard, dans le passage rappelé tout à l'heure (Dom. *Infra Oct. Assumpt.*, 1-2, *PL* 183, 429-30) rejoint le thème traditionnel de la nouvelle Eve, qui sera désormais prolongé, dans le même sens, par les idées plus fermes de maternité spirituelle ou d'association au Christ dans l'oeuvre du salut."

It has been established that the famous "Mariale" does not pertain to St. Albert the Great (+1280).<sup>123</sup> The evidence against Albertine authorship is based upon internal criteria. A real dependence upon writers posterior to Albert is perceptible to some. There are likewise many contradictions of Albert's authentic doctrine.<sup>124</sup> The Mariale does contain many exaggerations but it also reflects the beliefs of the times. The queenship is said to be based upon Mary's maternity and compassion. The work is explicit on Mary's share in our redemption.<sup>125</sup> In the genuine works of Albert we find a very different atmosphere from that of the Mariale. The exaggerations of the latter work are avoided. He speaks of Mary's compassion beneath the cross but it is a personal matter. She is, however, assumed into heaven and there reigns as Queen. She is turned towards us and guides our steps to the safe port: "Prove yourself to be the pole star, leading us to the safe port; finally you are the mistress of us all."<sup>126</sup>

While the Mariale stressed that Mary was the Queen of Mercy in opposition to her Son who is the King of Justice, Albert did not speak of such an opposition.

St Thomas Aquinas (+1274) applies the words of the Psalmist to Mary:

Et potest exponi totum hoc de beata Virgine, quae regina et mater regis est, quae astat super omnes choros in vestitu deaurata, id est deaurata divinitate: non quod sit Deus, sed quia est Mater Dei.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>123</sup> A. Fries, "Die unter dem Namen des Albertus Magnus überlieferten mariologischen Schriften," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, 37 (Münster, 1954): 4. G. Korosak, *Mariologia Sancti Alberti Magni eiusque coaequalium*, (Rome: Academia Mariana Inter., Collection: Biblioteca Mariana Medii Aevi, Vol. 8, 1954) comes to the same conclusion in an independent study. These authors, however, place different dates on the work: Fries: the end of the thirteenth century; Korosak and Pelster: before Bonaventure (middle of the thirteenth century). Cf. F. Pelster, "Zwei Untersuchungen über die literarischen Grundlagen für die Darstellung einer Mariologie des hl. Albert des Grossen," *Scholastik*, 30 (1955): 388-401. Dillenschneider has an informative note on the work of Fries in "Toute l'Église en Marie," in *Études Mariales* 11 (1953): 104, n. 1.

<sup>124</sup> Fries, "Die unter dem Namen des Albertus Magnus," 37ff.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963-1965), 1:266ff., esp. 273. L. Amoros, "La Realeza de Maria en el 'Mariale,'" *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956): 131-149, esp. 142. "...vere sola dominicae passionis facta fuit particeps ab eodem dominio et regno a quo Filius nomen accepit regis, et ipsa reginae."

<sup>126</sup> "Commentarium in Lucam," in *Opera Alberti Magni*, ed. by A. Borgnet, 38 vols. (Paris: vives, 1890-1899), 22:112. Cf. Graef, *Mary, a History*, 274-278.

<sup>127</sup> In Psalmis 44, n. 7. Thomas, however, did not treat the question of Mary's mediation. Cf. Graef, *Mary: A History*, 280.

St Bonaventure (+1274)<sup>128</sup> maintains a balanced treatment of issues related to Mary, on the one hand in his sermons on the Annunciation and Assumption<sup>129</sup> praising Mary as the Queen of heaven, and on the other hand setting the relationship between Christ and Mary in its proper perspective. While he speaks about Mary's privileges (excluding the Immaculate Conception), he always traces them to Christ as to their source. An example of this is found in his fourth sermon on the Annunciation:<sup>130</sup>

Therefore the Creator of all things reposed in the tabernacle of the virginal womb, for there he made for himself a nuptial chamber, so that he might become our brother; he prepared a royal throne, so that he might be our ruler; he assumed priestly vestments, so that he should be our High Priest. By reason of the nuptials the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God; because of the royal throne she is the Queen of heaven; because of the priestly vestments she is the Advocate of the human race.

Finally we must make mention of Conrad of Saxony (+1279) whose work *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis* was for a long time attributed to Bonaventure.<sup>131</sup> He taught that Mary had been made the "universal mistress of heaven and earth."

The fourteenth century did not contribute anything new to our doctrine. In the fifteenth century we have these words of Gerson (+1429):

Today Our Lady has received a greater and a more perfect name than could be had by man after the name of her Son. And that is that she is called the Mother of God; we cannot give her a better name since by it she has, as it were, authority and a natural dominion over the Lord of the whole world, and a-fortiori over everything which is subjected to the Lord....Therefore our Lady is called our Advocate, our Mediatrix, our Empress.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>128</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* 10 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882-1902).

<sup>129</sup> The sixth sermon on the Assumption has been proven spurious since it contains many gross exaggerations and contradicts explicit doctrine of Bonaventure. Cf. Beumer, "Eine dem heiligen Bonaventura zu Unrecht zugeschriebene Marienpredigt?" *Literarkritische Untersuchung des Sermo VI De assumptione B. Virginis Mariae* (ed. Quaracchi 9, 700b-706b) *Franziskanische Studien*, 42 (1960): 1-26; Graef, *Mary: A History*, 1:281ff., esp. 288.

<sup>130</sup> Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Quaracchi, 9:672, 673. Cf. Sermo I "De Assumptione B.M.V." 9:689: "...unde congrue appellatur...Domina quia perficit et consummat." Sermo II "De Assumptione": In verbis istis Imperatrix gloriosa, super choros supernorum civium sublimata commendatur a Spiritu Sancto quantum ad Assumptionem suam commendatione perfecta." 9:690. Cf. Also 9:700: Sermo V "De Assumptione."

<sup>131</sup> See: Fr. Conradus a Saxonia, *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis: sec. codices mss. castigatum et denuo editum a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae* (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1904.), 26, 45, 113.

<sup>132</sup> J. Gerson, "Sermo de Annunciatione B.M.V.," *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1706), 3:1366-1367: "...et quod est Mater Dei dicatur: melius eam appellare non possumus, quoniam per has habet velut auctoritatem et naturale dominium ad totius mundi Dominum, et a fortiori, ad omne

St Bernardine of Siena (+1444) considers the meaning of Mary's name in his treatise, "De Beata Virgine." He has a series of sermons concerning the dominion she exercises over all creatures. He says that she exercises dominion over all the states of souls in the world, over all the demons, over all in purgatory and in heaven.<sup>133</sup> Bernardine holds that Mary's queenly power consists in intercession with her Son.<sup>134</sup> In his eleventh sermon on the Assumption<sup>135</sup> he speaks of the triple function exercised by Mary now reigning in heaven: she directs, she protects, she intercedes.

Denis the Carthusian (+1471) followed the line of thought of that time and spoke of Mary as the "Queen of Mercy."<sup>136</sup>

Hence, the greater, the broader, the more universal is the authority and power, the kingdom and dominion of the Blessed God-bearing Mother, who by right of her divine maternity, and since she is a parent with God the Father, is faithfully believed, is and is called the Empress of angels and men, the Queen of heaven, the Lady of the Universe, all the more full and exuberant is her piety and mercy. Finally, the sweetness and clemency and the gentleness of piety are proper to the feminine sex; and the greater and more powerful is a person of this sex, so much more pious and merciful must she be.

The sixteenth century did not add much to mariology in general, remaining as it did in close conformity with the theological treatises of the preceding centuries. St. Peter Canisius (+1597) defends Mary against the attacks of the Protestants and in doing so he constantly refers to her as Queen.<sup>137</sup>

id quod huic subjectum est Domino...Ideo Domina nostra dicitur Advocata nostra, Mediatrix nostra, Imperatrix nostra."

<sup>133</sup> St. Bernardine of Siena: "De Glorioso Nomine Mariae, Sermo III," *Opera Omnia*, ed. Augustini S pinski, 6 vols. (Quaracchi-Firenze: Ad Claras Aquas, 1959), 5:91-94 and 97. Cf. *ibid.*, Ch. 1, 89: "Quomodo enim subiceretur creaturae quae Mater effecta est Creatoris? Immo, Mater Domini omnis creaturae; igitur quia genuit Creatorem, Domina facta est omnis creaturae."

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 110, "De Consensu Virginali," Sermo V.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 165, "Sermo XI de Assumptione Gloriosae Virginia Mariae."

<sup>136</sup> Denis the Carthusian, "De Dignitate et Laudibus B.V.M.," *Opera Minora*, 36 vols. (Tournai, 1908), 4:676.

<sup>137</sup> "De Maria Virgine Incomparabili," in *Summa Aurea de Laudibus B.V.M.* (Paris: Migne, 1862), 8:613-1449; 9:9-409. Peter Canisius insists upon Mary being queen in a proper and formal sense since she is the Mother of the King, the Sister and Spouse of the King of heaven: "Cur autem illam Reginae nomine, Damascenus secuti non compellemus, cujus et Pater David, rex imperans, laudem in Scripturis praestantissimam tenent? Regina est insuper, si cum illis conferatur, quibus veluti regibus, coeleste regnum cum Christo rege summo contigit, utpote illius cohaereditibus et in eodem veluti throno...cum illa collocatis. Regina est etiam nulli electorum secunda, sed simul angelis et hominibus tanto praelata dignius, quo nihil illa sublimius ac sanctius esse potest, quae sola cum Deo Filium habet communem, et quae supra se Deum et Christum tantum infra se vere reliqua videt omnia (5:150)."

Francis Suarez (+1617) contributed greatly to the elaboration of mariology. In his "De Mysteriis Vitae Christi"<sup>138</sup> he devotes twenty-three of fifty-eight disputations to questions of Marian doctrine. He takes Mary's queenship for granted but he also mentions the two foundations upon which it rests:

The first dignity of the Virgin was to be the Mother of God...and with this title there is joined another, namely to cooperate in the redemption....From these there follows a third, namely that in a singular way she is the Lady of all things and the Queen of the angels.<sup>139</sup>

He must be credited with having clarified and solidified the whole question, although he in no way discovered the foundations upon which this truth lies. These foundations are in evidence among the Fathers and writers of earlier centuries.

The work of Suarez was carried on and expanded by theologians and Scripture scholars of his century, some of whom contributed much to the question of Mary's queenship by their reflections and statements. It was at this time that theologians began to emphasize that Mary was queen in the strict, formal sense of the word. Ferdinand de Salazar (+1646) and Christopher de Vega (+1672) taught that it was the divine maternity which was the reason for her queenly prerogatives; they also considered her role in the redemption as a contributing factor. Each asked how it was that the parent of a king received from him royal dignity and their answer was the same: Whenever a king is a king either by natural right or by conquest his regal dignity devolves upon his parents. Such is the case with Mary since she is the Mother of Him who by natural right and by right of conquest (the redemption) is Lord of all men and things.<sup>140</sup> The Polish Dominican, Justin of Miechow (+1689) says in his

<sup>138</sup> F. Suarez, "De Mysteriis Vitae Christi," *Opera Omnia*, 28 vols. (Paris: Ludovicum Vives, 1856-78), vols.18-19. Suarez credits Mary with having the power of a queen in the true sense of that term. This means, according to him, that she does not exercise supreme dominion but her own special power of impetration because of the special manner in which she cooperated in our redemption. Suarez, having cited Athanasius, says: "Et infra, quasi explicans vel limitans hoc dominium, dicit esse secundum sexum femineum, ac si diceret esse tale quale esse solet in uxore vel matre propter coniunctionem ad regem." Ibid., disputatio 22, sec. 2, no. 2, 19:326.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., q. 27, dis 3, sec. 5, 19:44. Cf. C. Dillenschneider, *La Mariologie de S. Alphonse de Liguori*, 2 vols. (Fribourg: Studia Friburgensia, 1931-1934), 1:154-61.

<sup>140</sup> Fernando de Salazar Chirino, *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1619-1621), 1:586-593. Salazar says that he is seeking to know whether Mary is a queen in the strict sense, having royal power and rights, *ibid.*, 1:588 (n. 116). "Ex his Patrum testimoniis constat unicam ac praecipuam Mariani imperii, regnique radicem esse Maternitatem ob quam nec metaphorice, ac improprie, sed germane ac proprie omnium creaturarum regina est," *Ibid.*, 1:591 (n.123); cf. esp. 1:592-93 (nos. 125-128). C. de Vega, *Theologia Mariana* (Napoli, 1866), Palestra 27, cert. 1, vol. 2, 349: "Verum enimvero hic nos reginae nomen, non translatitiae et improprie, sed vere et proprie, quatenus adsignificat ius regni, dominium ac potestatem in res ac subditos, desumimus.

"Discursus Praedicabiles super Litanias Lauretanus"<sup>141</sup> that Mary's maternity and her singular cooperation in man's redemption are the two foundations for the queenship. It is in the works of Bartholomew de los Rios (+1652) that we find a treatise on the regality of Mary.<sup>142</sup> He outlines the different types of dominion proper to royal power and says that all of them pertain to Mary's queenly role.<sup>143</sup>

In the following two centuries it was especially the spiritual aspects of Mary's queenship which became the object of study and Marian devotion. St. Alphonsus Liguori (+1787) contributed his famous "The Glories of Mary," and St. Grignon de Montfort (+1716) wrote his treatise on Marian piety, "Traité de la véritable dévotion à la Sainte Vierge."<sup>144</sup>

Barré says that the explicit belief in Mary's queenship did not come forward in the Church until the fifth century.<sup>145</sup> Luis, however, believes that from the middle of the fourth century there is an uninterrupted series of

In proprietate ergo huius significationis dicimus multiplici ex capite, regnum hoc ac dominium in omnes res creatas nactam fuisse Virginem Deiparam: videlicet primo ex Maternitate Dei; secundo ex officio Corredemptricis, quia simul cum Filio omnes homines in libertatem asseruit, opusque redemptionis cum ipso peregit..."

<sup>141</sup> Justinus Miechow, *Discursus praedicabiles super Litanias Lauretanus*, 2 vols. (Lugduni: Philippe Borde, Laurentii Arnaud, & Claudii Rigaud, 1660), 2:18, no. 11, Disc. 214: "Quod quidem dominium in duobus fundatum esse docent Theologi. Primo, in conjunctione, et affinitate quadam inter Deum, et Virginem. Secundo in singulari quadam ad nostram redemptionem cooperatione. Sicut enim Christus eo quod nos redemit speciali titulo Dominus est et Rex noster: ita Beata Virgo propter singularem modum, quo ad nostram redemptionem concurrat, substantiae corporis sui Christo ministrando, et illum voluntarie pro nobis offerendo, nostramque salutem desiderando, petendo, procurando, Domina est ac Regina nostra."

<sup>142</sup> Bartholomew de los Rios, *De Hierarchia Mariana libri sex in quibus imperium, virtus et nomen B.V.M. declaratur, et Mancipiorum eius dignitas ostenditur* (Antwerp: B. Moreti, 1641): "Mary's possession of the kingdom even while on earth," Bk. I, Ch. 34, 90-93, the Immaculate Conception and her fullness of grace; Bk. V, Ch. 19, 547-550, her plenitude of all the gifts and virtues; Bk. I, Ch. 8 and 9, p. 18ff., her divine maternity; Bk. I, Ch. 22-27, 54-73, her core-demptive work. Cf. A. Musters, *La Souveraineté de la Vierge d'après les écrits mariologiques de Barthélémy de los Rios* (Gand, 1946).

<sup>143</sup> Bartholomew de los Rios, *De Hierarchia Mariana*, 16-18.

<sup>144</sup> The title "Traité de la vraie dévotion à la Sainte Vierge" is not found in the first manuscript but this title does seem to describe the work and it has been accepted by all subsequent editors with one exception: cf. *Traité de la vraie dévotion à la Sainte Vierge par le Bienheureux Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort* (Réproduction photographique du manuscrit) (Rome, 1942), XX-XXI. *Obras de San Luis María Grignon de Montfort*, in Biblioteca de los Autores Cristianos 111, ed. Nazario Perez and Camilo María Abad (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1954), 419. Cf. *Oeuvres complètes* [Réalisé sous la direction du P. Marcel Gendrot, montfortain] (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966).

<sup>145</sup> Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles," 145: "Bref—pour résumer brièvement tout ce qui concerne la période des origines et reste dans les cadres, sans doute pro-

documents which proclaim the glory of the queen of heaven.<sup>146</sup> We should be aware of the fact that the definition of Ephesus was not something abrupt but was the result of a long process of maturation and that the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity (and even her virginity "in partu") had developed, even before Ephesus, to the point where this was defended by various Fathers (e.g. Augustine, Ambrose) against the denials on the part of individuals and groups. Irenaeus had laid down what was later to become the foundation for one of the important principles of Marian (Christian) theology; yet we should not expect to find an explicit notion of Mary's queenship in the writings of the Fathers until such time as the fundamental fact and significance of Mary's divine maternity had been clearly and definitively established. This took place at Ephesus.<sup>147</sup>

In an article on the Queenship of Mary, Carlo Colombo synthesizes the historical-theological development of this doctrine.<sup>148</sup> He agrees with Barré's threefold division into the patristic age, the middle ages, and modern times. He considers this important since he sees the development of the doctrine of the queenship as parallel to and dependent upon the development of the doctrine of Mary's divine maternity (proper to the early patristic age), of her Assumption (proper to the later patristic age), of her mediation of graces (proper to the middle ages), and of her part in the objective redemption (proper to modern times). According to Colombo, Mary was known in the patristic age as "Mother of the Son" but more especially as "Lady" and "Queen." These were titles of honor given to her because of her maternity of Him who was the Messiah-King. The doctrine of Mary's Assumption helped the faithful to realize that Mary reigned with her Son in heaven as queen. She possesses queenly power; it is of a maternal, intercessory nature. This led individuals to look upon her as the heavenly Mediatrix of graces and to invoke her as such. With the deeper understanding of Mary's role in the redemption of mankind has come the realization that she is a queen in the universal sense of the word, that she possesses and exercises queenly dominion over all creatures.

visioires, de la documentation actuelle, —la croyance explicite à la Royauté de Marie n'apparaît pas clairement professée avant le Vième siècle."

<sup>146</sup> Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 34-35. I would agree with Barré since we are speaking of an explicit belief in the Church. There are some testimonies, such as that of Origen and Ephrem before the fifth century, but these are exceptional and at least Origen's work is doubtfully authentic.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 41-54; G. Jouassard, "Marie à travers la patristique," *Maria* (du Manoir) 1:69-157; G. Jouassard, "Deux chefs de file en théologie mariale...Épiphane et Ambroise," *Gregorianum* 42 (1961): 5-36; W. Burghardt, "Mary in Western Patristic Thought," in *Mariology*, ed. by J.B. Carol, 3 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1961), 1:109-155; W. Burghardt, "Mary in Eastern Patristic Thought," in *Mariology*, 2:88-153.

<sup>148</sup> Carlo Colombo, "La regalità della Madonna," *La Scuola Cattolica* 82 (1954): 487ff.



These "notional" divisions made by Colombo are very helpful for understanding the various emphases which have appeared through patristic, medieval, and modern times in regard to the doctrine of the queenship. Following them, we can better appreciate the way in which this doctrine developed.

At the conclusion of his article Barré makes a doctrinal synthesis from the writings of the Fathers upon the queenship of Mary.<sup>149</sup> First of all, it is universal, co-extensive with that of Christ, with no limitations indicated. It is depicted as one of excellence and as one of dominion.<sup>150</sup> Mary is seen to be powerful because of her authoritative intervention with her Son, the King.<sup>151</sup> Her requests are always efficacious. The queen of heaven acts as a woman. This does not mean that her power is limited as is that of an earthly queen. She has universal power and authority. She can do what she wants without fear of being repulsed by her Son.<sup>152</sup> It is easy to see that the Fathers placed her sovereignty as a consequence of her divine maternity "for truly the Mother of Christ the King of Kings had to be called Queen, Mother of the Lord of Lords, Lady."<sup>153</sup> In the same line of thought Pseudo-Athanasius wrote:

Since He who is born of the Virgin is King and the Lord-God, she who by His grace brought Him forth truly merits to be called, Queen, Sovereign and Mother of God.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles," 324: "C'est un fait, déjà constaté depuis longtemps et qu'il faut retenir, que la Vierge Mère de Dieu a surtout été regardée par nos pères dans la foi comme notre Reine, et non comme notre Mère. Il y a prédominance très nette du premier titre sur le second, et c'est seulement plus tard que les proportions seront renversées."

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 324-25: "Il faut se garder toutefois d'y voir une restriction quelconque. La Royauté de Marie ne connaît pas de limites en son extension: elle est véritablement universelle. Les termes courants, *Domina nostra*, ἡ δέσποινα ἡμῶν, peuvent déjà le laisser entendre, car ils n'englobent pas que les seuls humains, mais de multiples affirmations très explicites ne permettent sur ce point aucun doute.... —Mais ne s'agirait-il pas d'un simple primat d'excellence, et non point d'une Royauté proprement dite? A pareille question, la réponse est aisée. Certes, l'on ne manque pas de célébrer l'incomparable dignité de la Mère de Dieu...mais ce n'est pas en ce sens, impropre et dérivé, que l'on entend son universelle Royauté. A tel point que l'on est assez embarrassé pour trouver un seul texte qui doive nécessairement recevoir cette interprétation. Au contraire, les expressions fourmillent, qui manifestent l'exercice d'une royauté véritable, impliquant autorité sur les sujets et influence sur leur orientation vers la fin dernière. Toutes choses sont soumises à Marie, et elle a domination sur elles."

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 328: "Ses interventions auprès du Roi sont même à un certain point autoritatives, car elle est dûment accréditée pour plaider en notre faveur et nous obtenir toute grâce..."

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 328: "Prière, c'est vrai, mais prière qui n'est pas supplication indigente comme la nôtre. Prière de la Mère de Dieu et prière de la Reine, 'associée d'amour,' à toute l'oeuvre du divin Roi!"

<sup>153</sup> Wallafried Strabo, "Initium Evangelii S. Matthei," *PL* 114, 859.

<sup>154</sup> *PG* 28, 937a.

Barré believes that these texts indicate the dogmatic note to be given to Mary's queenly status. It is implicit and formally revealed in those texts which speak explicitly of her divine maternity.<sup>155</sup> Since the fuller development of Mary's cooperative role in the redemption has come about only since the time of the Fathers, Barré says that we could hardly expect to find them stressing this role as a foundation for her queenship. In other words, the queenly power which they attribute to Mary is proportionate to her role as the Mother of the Lord of all things. From the time of St. Bernard, Eadmerus, and Bonaventure we can notice a gradual increase in the stress laid upon Mary's cooperation in the redemption as spiritual mother (including especially her role on Calvary and her subsequent intercessory role in heaven) and consequently upon this aspect of her queenship.

The role of the Fathers and theologians in theology is a crucial one. They are often responsible for presenting us with the "facts" of revelation; these come as a result of an initial reflection upon Scripture, oftentimes found in their homilies. As the awareness of the Christian community grows over the centuries there is a natural development towards a more synthetic grasp of a particular truth. This happens when difficulties are raised or questions arise concerning the fullness of meaning to be attached to the various symbols or titles which have been used to indicate the place of Mary in salvation history. In effect, it was the definition of her divine maternity at Ephesus coupled with a clearer understanding of her presence at Calvary linked to a faith perception of her final destiny which challenged the theologian to think through the implications of a title which had long been attributed to Mary, that of Queen. Thus what began as a more or less honorific title slowly became a focus of Marian reflection. Rather than assign it to the realm of a bygone era, it can be understood more profoundly as one of the key elements in salvation history. It is precisely this which I hope to illustrate as we proceed.<sup>156</sup>

## Liturgy

As we begin our study of the liturgy, it is well to heed the admonition given by Aiden Nichols: "The liturgy is a necessary environment for the theologian."<sup>157</sup> If he (or she) is cut off from these life-giving texts, his (or her) mind will soon cease to be the mind of the Church."

<sup>155</sup> Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles," 329ff. I would agree and would add that it is formally, explicitly revealed in the Lucan account of the Visitation.

<sup>156</sup> Aidan Nichols, *The Shape of Catholic Theology* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 202ff.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 186. Cf. also 187, last paragraph.

In his encyclical on the queenship Pope Pius refers to the liturgy as the "faithful mirror" of tradition" in the sense that it reflects perfectly the belief of the Church, according to the famous dictum: "Lex orandi legem statuit credendi."<sup>158</sup> There have been some articles written on Mary's queenship as mirrored in the liturgy, even though, because of the complexities of language and culture, there remains much research to be done.<sup>159</sup> We shall summarize the findings of these individual studies.<sup>160</sup>

In the non-Byzantine liturgies the queenship of Mary is mentioned very frequently, not in explicit terms, but in the use of titles such as "Lady" and "Our Lady." The different "synaxes" mention the universal character and the foundations for her queenship;<sup>161</sup> intercession is said to be the manner in which she exercises this queenship.<sup>162</sup> In the Ethiopan rite we find the queenship and

<sup>158</sup> AAS 46 (1954): 631. For the sense of the dictum "Lex orandi legem statuit credendi," cf. Denzinger, 246; C. Vagaggini, *Il senso Teologico della liturgia* (Rome: Paoline, 1958), 405-515; K. Federer, *Liturgie und Glaube: "Legem credendi, legem statuit supplicandi"* (Tiro Prosper von Aquitanien), *eine theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung in Paradosis. Beiträge zur Geschichte der allchristlichen Literatur und Theologie* (Freiburg, Switzerland: Paulusverlag, 1950); B. Capelle, "Autorité de la liturgie chez les Pères," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 31 (1954): 5-22. "Munificentissimus Deus," AAS 42 (1950): 760; "Mediator Dei," AAS 39 (1947): 540. Capelle, "Autorité," 7, says that Prosper of Aquitaine is the author of this famous phrase; he made this statement in a semi-Pelagian context, namely, the obligation to pray to God for everything (according to I Tim. 2:1-2) indicates to us the need to believe in the grace necessary for everything. Nichols, *The Shape of Catholic Theology*, 202ff.

<sup>159</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 68-76; Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 88-98; K. Moore, "The Queenship of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Liturgy of the Church," *Marian Studies* 3 (1952): 218ff.; B. Girbau, "La Realeza de Maria en las Liturgias Bizantina y Siro-Antioquena," *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956) 74-94; G. Frénaud, "Le culte de Notre Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine," *Maria (du Manoir)* (1961), 6:157-211; Id., "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," *Maria et Ecclesia* (1959), 5:57-92; M Garrido, "La Realeza de Maria en las liturgias occidentales," *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956): 95-124.

<sup>160</sup> It would be far beyond my capacity here to cite all the liturgical fonts for the doctrine of Mary's queenship. We shall be content to refer to those articles in which one will find the references to the original sources. Despite all that we do possess at present from these sources, liturgical authors lament the fact that there is an abundance of material as yet untapped critically.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. "Synaxaire Éthiopien," *PO* 7 (Paris, 1911): 235: "Pierre eut aussi une vision montrant la grande gloire de notre maîtresse à tous, la sainte et pure Marie; au-dessus, était un tabernacle de lumière, au centre duquel la Sainte Vierge Marie, Mère de Dieu par la chair, était assise, entourée d'anges....qui disaient: '...Tu es heureuse, o tabernacle, toi dont le sein porta l'agneau de Dieu, le Seigneur des Seigneurs...réjouis-toi o maîtresse de tous les humains.'"

<sup>162</sup> *PO* 3, 310: "Que le Seigneur Dieu nous délivre des filets de Satan, notre ennemi perfide, par l'intercession de la Vierge Immaculée, Notre Dame Marie! Amen."

its maternal character honored in the anaphora. Mary is called "the Lady of us all, Thy holy and pure Mother."<sup>163</sup>

In the Byzantine liturgy, where Marian devotion is superabundant, one thing which stands out clearly is the fact that the Blessed Virgin is called queen as frequently as she is called mother and virgin. The Greek name which is used most often to designate her queenly status is "Despoina," which means, "Domina."<sup>164</sup> More than any other aspect of this liturgy, it is the Divine Office which presents us with the concept of Mary as Queen.<sup>165</sup> In the feast of the Nativity of Mary the Byzantine liturgy contemplates her as: (a) the Daughter of David, a virgin of royal descent; (b) the Queen-Mother of the great King; (c) the King's palace; (d) the one who protects us, frees us from our enemies, gives us life.<sup>166</sup> The same themes are carried throughout the Byzantine Marian liturgical celebrations, especially during the feast of the Dormition (fifteenth of August).<sup>167</sup> On this feast we find Mary honored as the palace of the King and as she who has been placed upon the throne by God to reign with her Son.<sup>168</sup> It is with Joseph the Hymnograph (ninth century) that we come to the highest doctrinal development of the Byzantine Church as regards Mary's queenship. The notion of compassion and its relationship to Mary's queenly role remain, however, implicit in the Byzantine liturgy.<sup>169</sup>

The Mozarabic liturgy hails Mary as the "Gloriosa saeculi dominatrix."<sup>170</sup> Many other prayers depict us as slaves of Mary. Her spiritual maternity and corresponding solicitude for her children are strongly accentuated.<sup>171</sup>

In the Roman liturgy there are many allusions to Mary's queenship, allusions which do not include the title of queen until the eighth century. These come principally in the form of prayers, antiphons, etc., said on the feast of her Assumption. Besides, the idea of intercession is often found expressed in relation to her queenship. In the eleventh century the famous Marian hymns were written, especially the "Salve Regina"<sup>172</sup> and the "Ave Regina Coelorum,

<sup>163</sup> Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," 61. Cf. J.M. Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 43. Frénaud is quoting Harden; however, Harden translates phrase *the*, not *Thy*.

<sup>164</sup> In Greek liturgical language the title "Despoina" always implies sovereignty. Frénaud, 64.

<sup>165</sup> Girbau, "La Realeza de María en las Liturgias Bizantina y Siro-Antioquena," 78.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-82.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 83-87.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>169</sup> Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," 70.

<sup>170</sup> "Sabbato Sanctae Mariae: Ad Vesperas et Laudes, Breviarium Gothicum," PL 86, 1300.

<sup>171</sup> Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," 70-73.

<sup>172</sup> R. Snow, "Salve Regina," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* [Hereafter: NCE] 12:1002.

Ave Domina Angelorum."<sup>173</sup> Her royal status, stemming from her superabundant qualities and graces, is represented as well as the particular characteristic of merciful intercession.<sup>174</sup> Frénaud points out that though the Latin church does not celebrate Mary's royalty directly, on several occasions she does make many delicate references to it when speaking of her Son's royal status. He does not consider this fact to "limit" Mary's queenly role and power to that of a "Queen-Mother."<sup>175</sup> Mary, he says, is queen because she is Mother of a King who has become incarnate in order to redeem us. The liturgy seems to indicate this when it honors Mary by recalling the royal dignity of her Son.<sup>176</sup>

The Roman liturgy never exalts Mary at the expense of her divine Son but it always retains the proper theological perspective according to which the many prerogatives of the queen are shown to be dependent upon the extraordinary greatness of her Son, the King of Kings.<sup>177</sup>

Hymns express the faith of the Church whenever they are accepted by the Church and sung throughout the Church. In the hymns actually present in the breviary there are not many allusions to Mary's queenship. But in the hymns found in the *Analecta Hymnica* there are references to her titles, "Regina," "Domina," and even "Imperatrix,"<sup>178</sup> although there is no further development of these titles. Most often it is her queenship of excellence which is celebrated. Sometimes there is mention of her royal descent and the fact that she is the Spouse of the King and even of God. The idea of her as "Socia" of the King is also discreetly mentioned: "O caelica Regina, Angelorum Domina, sublimata in poli regna, Cristo tuo nam es sociata."<sup>179</sup> Mary's mode of exercising this queenly power is almost always said to be through her intercession.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>173</sup> R. Steiner, "Ave Regina Coelorum," *NCE* 1:1124.

<sup>174</sup> Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie, 73-79.

<sup>175</sup> I put the word, "limit" in quotations because I consider that Mary's power would not be limited if it were that of a Queen-Mother according to the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel.

<sup>176</sup> Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," 80: "Ce qui rend Marie reine, c'est d'être mère, non pas simplement d'un roi, mais de ce Roi qui est le Fils de Dieu incarné en son sein pour nous racheter. C'est précisément cela que semble souligner la liturgie lorsque, pour célébrer dignement Marie, elle ne trouve rien de mieux que de rappeler la dignité royale de son Fils."

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-82.

<sup>178</sup> G. Dreves, *Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi*, 55 vols (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1961), 20:154, no. 197: "Imperatrix reginarum, et salvatrix animarum"; 23:72, no. 113: "Rex pius, ut decuit, matrem supra astra locavit. Et dominam statuit, Rex pius, ut decuit"; 37:82, no. 86: "Tu es regina coelorum, tu domina angelorum, supra cuncta principaris."

<sup>179</sup> *Analecta Hymnica*, 42:82, no. 72, str. 3: "Gaude Christo sociaris, Et in throno coronaris, Terra mari dominaris, Et in coeli gloria"; 54: 435, no. 288: "Rosa, rosis coronata, Sponso nato sociata, Lumen spectas luminum."

<sup>180</sup> Frénaud, "La Royauté de Marie dans la liturgie," 88.

With the definition of the Assumption in 1950 and the proclamation of her queenship in 1954, we have not only a confirmation of all that the liturgy has up to now been proclaiming but we are also given an impetus for further liturgical development of this theme. It is especially in the Office and Mass of the Queenship that we find an emphasis laid upon the role of "socia" played by Mary in relation to her Son. In other words, this aspect of her queenship is given more prominence than heretofore.<sup>181</sup> In the definitive calendar<sup>182</sup> the feast of the Queenship of Mary is moved from the thirty-first of May to the twenty-second of August in order to show more clearly the relationship between the queenship of Mary and her Assumption. This is in perfect continuity with the general norms which the Vatican Council has promulgated in regard to the celebration of Marian feasts during the liturgical year: "In celebrating this annual cycle of Christ's mysteries, holy Church honors with special love the Blessed Mary, Mother of God, who is joined by an inseparable bond to the saving work of her Son. In her the Church holds up and admires the most excellent fruit of the redemption and joyfully contemplates, as in a faultless model, that which she herself wholly desires and hopes to be."<sup>183</sup>

There are some significant changes in the Mass for the queenship.<sup>184</sup> The Entrance Antiphon is now taken from Psalm 44:10, "The queen takes her place at your right hand...." In the prayer there is an explicit reference to the fact that Mary has been constituted our Mother and Queen and a petition that, aided by her intercession, we might attain the glory of God's sons in heaven. Thus through her intercession she leads us (as a mother and queen) to the kingdom of heaven. Since this is a memorial, the former readings taken from Ecclesiasticus 24 and Luke 1:26-33 have been dropped. The Communion Song is notably different in that in the new Mass Luke 1:45 is read to extol Mary's faith in God's promises. This is more in line with the conciliar approach to Mary since it relies directly upon the gospel texts in praise of Mary's faith.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 90-92. Cf. A. Bugnini, "Officium et Missa in festo B. Mariae Virginis Reginae," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 69 (1955): 356-372, esp. 367: Bugnini indicates how the theological foundation for Mary's queenly status (her divine maternity and her cooperation in the redemption) is expressed in the liturgical texts for the feast, 367-68: The character of her queenship is liturgically depicted as that of subordination, universal, one of mercy.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. "Calendarium Romanum" (editio typica, Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1969). G. Caprile, "Polemiche sul nuovo calendario liturgico," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 120, no. 2 (1969): 477-481.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. "The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy," § 103, *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. W. Abbott (New York: Guild Press, 1966), 168 [Hereafter: *Documents* (Abbott)]; AAS 56 (1964): 125. Cf. *Documents* (Abbott), 143, no. 13.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. *Missale Romanum* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970), 600.

## Art

In his reflections upon the significance of Christian art for theology Aidan Nichols says: "The continuing history of Christian art as an attempt to re-express revelation in aesthetic terms is, therefore, one of the ways in which Tradition operates. It follows that the more familiar we are with the art of the Church, the better a grasp we shall have of Tradition. The iconographic schemes worked out in dependence on Scripture and earlier Tradition, by the artists of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, deepen our understanding of the original gospel."<sup>185</sup>

Christian art plays an important role in giving testimony to truths revealed by God. We have in Christian art a representation not only of an artist's conception but also of the belief of the Church. The deeper one's grasp of a theological truth, the more important becomes the variation of detail to be found in artistic works.<sup>186</sup> For more than a thousand years in Byzantium Mary was honored as the "all-holy one"; this devotion was manifested in the midst of many crises because of the fact that she was venerated as the "Theotokos" who interceded on behalf of the people of God. We find these two themes expressed in art more than any other. We can see the value, then, of the art-types of the Theotokos in majesty and the "Praying Virgin." In a later period (the sixth century) we find these two themes molded into one to emphasize her powerful intercession.<sup>187</sup> Art is not only an expression of the faith but it helps to maintain and foster the faith.

<sup>185</sup> Nichols, *Shape of Catholic Theology*, 189-191.

<sup>186</sup> J. de Mahuet, "L'Orient et l'iconographie mariale de l'Occident," *Études Mariales* 19 (1962): 145-183. "Une image, en effet, n'est pas une abstraction, elle est portée par un milieu qui lui confère un sens" (175). "On est amené à penser que le rôle de l'iconographie est analogue à celui de la littérature apocryphe. Ce sont deux manières, successives plus que parallèles, d'objectiver l'opinion commune d'une époque et d'un milieu" (174). G. Philips mentions the temporary decline of the liturgy as a theological "locus" because of the unwarranted innovations being introduced into it by those who have neither authority nor competence. Then he refers to iconography as a compensating element in this area of theological "witness." "La perte est compensée par un regain d'attention dont jouit l'iconographie, expression spontanée de la foi du peuple, authentiquée en règle générale par l'autorité hiérarchique. L'iconographie est une copie fidèle des croyances répandues; elle est prenante pour l'homme tout entier, parce qu'elle ne néglige ni le sens, ni l'émotion, ni l'intelligence et l'esprit de vénération, à moins qu'elle ne se laisse entraîner dans une 'profanisation,' qui lui enlèverait son âme." "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," *Maria* (du Manoir), 8:81.

<sup>187</sup> Luis, *La Realza de Maria*, 96. Cf. M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la Mère de Dieu dans l'art Byzantin," *Maria* (du Manoir), 2:405-443; C. Cecchelli, *Mater Christi* (4 vols. Rome: Ferrari, 1946-1955): 1:80-86, 91-101, 102-117; R. Spiazzi, "L'Arte mariana come riflesso della vita della Chiesa nei secoli," *Maria et Ecclesia* (1958), 15:1-31; J. Duhr, "Le Visage de Marie

The theme of the Theotokos as queen was introduced in Rome under Byzantine influence as the fruit of an evolution the steps of which can be traced. The starting point for this type of artistic theme were the Magi scenes in the Catacombs in which Mary seems to have been associated with her Son in receiving the homage of the Gentile world.<sup>188</sup> The theme of the triumphal Theotokos became prominent after Ephesus; it conveys the theological message of Our Lady's divine maternity. Toward the middle of the sixth century this artistic type occupies an important place in the mosaics in which we find Mary seated on a throne and receiving homage due to a queen. She bears the child on her lap and he raises his hand in blessing.<sup>189</sup> This would seem to be a perfect representation of the Queen-Mother theme and its theological implications. Mary's queenly status seems to be appreciated even more fully towards the end of this same century in paintings to be found in the church of Santa Maria Antica; we find a continuation of this theme in Roman art from the seventh to the twelfth centuries.<sup>190</sup>

dans l'art chrétien," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 68 (1946): 282-304; M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la Vierge dans l'art occidental," *Maria* (du Manoir), 2:483-540; G. Wellen, *Theotokos: Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht-Antwerpen: Het Spectrum 1961); E. Guldán, *Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz-Köln, 1966); L. Réau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 2 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957).

<sup>188</sup> H. Leclercq, "Mages," *DACL* vol. 10, col. 1038; "Jean VII," *DACL* vol. 7, col. 2198-2211, esp. 2203. We find in early Western art, dating from the third century, paintings which depict the Adoration of the Magi. These are found in the Roman catacombs and some detect an intention on the part of the artist to depict the Magi as rendering homage to Mary as well as to her Son. Cf. P. Buondonno, *La Mariologie des Catacombes Romaines* (Nicolet [Quebec]: Centre Marial Canadien, 1954), 18: "Ce qui nous intéresse le plus ici, dans cette Épiphanie et dans les autres qui vont suivre, c'est de voir, comme le fait observer *Belvederi* 'que la Vierge se trouve toujours dans l'attitude de participer à l'hommage que présentent les Mages à l'Enfant Jésus....'"

<sup>189</sup> Vloberg, "Les types...l'art byzantin," 412-413.

<sup>190</sup> Vloberg, "Les types...l'art occidental," 494-95. In describing the Cathedral of Chartres, Fr. Mahuet says: "Et voici que sur le point de conclure...je m'aperçois que la Cathédrale a encore quelque chose à nous dire...je veux parler de ce que nos pères appelaient la Majesté de la Sainte Marie, commentaire explicite du dogme d'Ephèse, déjà figuré au VI<sup>ème</sup> siècle dans les mosaïques de Sainte Marie-Majeure à l'occasion d'une Adoration des Mages, mais que la France du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle a traduit la première en bois, en pierre ou en vitrail" ("Le miroir marial de Chartres," *Études Mariales* 5 [1947]: 114). Then describing some of the sculpture in the Cathedral he says: "Impossible de mieux traduire la foi dans la divinité de cet enfant et dans le rôle à la fois maternel et royal de cette femme qui reçoit de lui sa puissance en lui donnant la vie" (115-16). Cf. Wellen, *Theotokos*, 226: "Up to the 5th century the garb is hardly different from that of other women. She wears the classical vestment of a Roman matron, tunic and pallium. Around 500 she appears as a young woman in a different garb, now with an oriental touch. This vestment also has a classical simplicity....The only exception is Rome. Here, according to the example of the mosaics at Mary Major, she is represented in the garb of an empress. She wears a crown, several



Another type of painting is the "Orante," many of which can be identified with Mary and some of which represent her intercessory power. In the old Vatican basilica Pope John VII (705-707) dedicated a chapel to our Lady in which was placed a mosaic depicting Mary as an "Orante" dressed as a queen. The Pope himself is kneeling before his queen and an inscription refers to him as "the Servant of the Mother of God." This is an explicit allusion to her all-powerful intercession as Queen-Mother of the world's Creator.<sup>191</sup> Many authors agree that she is depicted here as a figure of the Church and perhaps also as exercising a mediating influence.<sup>192</sup>

Luis comments upon the witness of Christian art to the queenship of Mary saying that it is not something exclusive to one epoch but rather extends throughout all centuries. It reveals to us the truth of the Church's claim to have professed belief in Mary's regal status from the early beginnings of Christianity.<sup>193</sup>

Intimately associated from a theological and artistic point of view with the theme of Mary-Queen is the theme of Mary, type or personification of the

centuries earlier than Christ who receives it only on Roman crucifixes. This new hieratic figure of the Mother of God withdraws itself into an unapproachable isolation. No longer is she lost in the crowd as on the early sarcophagi. In her company there are only servants and oftentimes a heavenly guard of angels watches that the Saints do not come too close to her throne."

<sup>191</sup> Vloberg, "Les types...l'art byzantin," 420-21; Wellen, *Theotokos*, 173. He agrees with this interpretation that Mary is here depicted as interceding. Cf. A. Rum, "Papa Giovanni VII (705-707) 'Servus Sanctae Mariae,'" *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 22 (1972): 138.

<sup>192</sup> Vloberg, "Les types...l'art byzantin," 488-89. He speaks of the Orante as a type of the Virgin in some instances and particularly when this theme is found in the gold leaf at the bottom of glass vases which date from the third or fourth centuries. We find a young "praying girl" bearing the name "Maria" or "Mara" and she stands between the Apostles Peter and Paul. It is difficult to say whether she is a figure of the mediating Church. Wellen, *Theotokos*, 166, does not see mediation here, but rather communion with God. Yet, we do have in the seventh century, next to the baptistery of St. John Lateran, a mosaic depicting "the Praying Virgin" bearing a golden cross on her breast and extending her arms toward St. Peter who has the keys in his hand, and toward St. Paul who has the book of epistles in his hand. The least we can say is that the "Orante" soon evolved into the theme of Mary's mediating by intercession. J. Duhr, "Le visage de Marie dans l'art chrétien," 288, says that it would be an error to see in this image of the "Orante" an allusion to her role as Mediatrix. This idea will come only much later on. Yet, he does agree that the praying Virgin (Mary) personifies the praying Church.

<sup>193</sup> Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 97-98; cf. Vloberg, "Les types...l'art occidental," 498: "Nous avons vu que tout un cycle de mosaïques et de peintures romaines, échelonnées du Ve au Xe siècle, présente la Mère de Dieu dans la splendeur et avec les attributs de la souveraineté. Que ce type de *Maria Regina* comme le désignent les inscriptions, ait été créé au centre de la foi et consacré par la prédilection des Papes, voilà qui le consacre entre tous et en fait un thème essentiellement catholique. Les théologiens pourront tenir compte de la valeur doctrinale conférée à cette image par le culte que lui ont voué les Souverains Pontifes. Interprète de leur confiance, elle l'était aussi de leur foi et de leur magistère." Cf. Vloberg, *La Vie de Marie, Mère de Dieu* (Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay, 1949), 304ff.: "Dans la gloire."

Church.<sup>194</sup> In patristic times for the most part the theme of the Mary-Church typology is found in the setting of the adoration of the Magi; she wears a crown, is seated upon a throne, and receives from the kings homage proportionate to her queenly majesty.<sup>195</sup> The Venerable Bede in commenting upon the adoration of the Magi explains that the Infant with Mary His Mother represents Christ with the primitive Church, converted from Israel.<sup>196</sup> In another Magi scene dating back to the middle of the fifth century there is a second woman present and she is weeping; she represents the Synagogue while Mary is commonly thought to represent the Church.<sup>197</sup> It is particularly in the crucifixion scene in which we find the Mary-Church theme. There is in the catacombs of St. Gennaro in Naples a crucifixion scene in which we find the Mother of God and St. John. Mary's head appears on the left side and on the right side, according to some, the word, "Ecclesia." Wellen dates this as belonging to the sixth century; it seems that already at this time we have the personified Church under the cross.<sup>198</sup>

In the Middle Ages in the cathedral at Strasbourg the Church is represented in statuary art as a woman bearing a long cross and a chalice; correspondingly there is a statue of the Synagogue depicted as a woman who wears a blindfold. In the eleventh century in the cathedral of Parma in the scene of Christ being taken down from the cross the Church is pictured at the right of the cross having a chalice in her hand and the Synagogue is at the left wearing a crown and being rejected by a winged angel.<sup>199</sup>

At the end of the twelfth century when Mary was more frequently and explicitly identified as a figure of the Church at the foot of the cross, she is presented as the Spouse of Christ and the Mother of Christians. In representing Christ dying upon the cross with a woman standing at either side the artists of the thirteenth century wished to depict the redemption as well as the fact that

<sup>194</sup> Cf. H. Coathalem, *Le parallélisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Église dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1954); E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (1922); Spiazzi, "L'Arte mariana come riflesso"; Wellen, *Theotokos*; Guldán, *Eva und Maria*.

<sup>195</sup> Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe*, 428: "La Vierge portant l'Enfant subsiste seule aujourd'hui: assise de face sur un trône, elle a la majesté d'une reine, et c'est à elle, autant qu'à son Fils, que vont les hommages."

<sup>196</sup> *PL* 92, 14.

<sup>197</sup> Coathalem, *Le parallélisme*, 41-42.

<sup>198</sup> H. Rahner, *Our Lady and the Church* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1961), 96. Rahner mentions a sculpture pertaining to the Carolingian age (ninth century) depicting the Church as receiving in a golden chalice the blood of Christ with Mary standing behind with her hands stretched out in motherly fashion as a figure of the Church saying to us: The blood which comes from the pierced heart of my Son and is being shed for the Church is the blood which my heart has formed by which I now become the Mother of the Mystical Christ.

<sup>199</sup> Spiazzi, "L'Arte mariana come riflesso," 9, n. 3.

it was at this time that the Church was born and the influence of the Synagogue was abolished.<sup>200</sup> This change in symbolism corresponds to the development of the Mary-Church analogy in theology according to which Mary and the Church are seen more and more as mediators bringing Christ to the world. Until the thirteenth century for the most part Mary was glorified artistically as the Mother of God; from then on another theme was added; she is the mother of mankind. This fact corresponds to the faith-awareness of the Latin Church in regard to her universal motherhood. This also explains how she becomes in art the queen of the city, the protectress of daily living in the world in the midst of the world's dangers.<sup>201</sup>

Spiazzi points out that both in terms of piety and art Christians have grasped the unity and interrelationship existing between Mary and the Church primarily because of their faith-awareness of the similarity of roles played by each in salvation history.<sup>202</sup>

The scenes of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi are changed as time passes. The celestial court is represented as being present

<sup>200</sup> Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (Paris: A. Colin, 1902, 1923), 223-227.

<sup>201</sup> Spiazzi, "L'Arte mariana come riflesso," 13; cf. 14: "Tutto ciò significa che l'arte ispirata dalla Chiesa esprime la verità eterna di Maria, che è soprattutto madre di Cristo, ma ne mette in evidenza l'estensione nella maternità spirituale e nella regalità, in rapporto alla nuova condizione della Chiesa, che, pur tra lotte e dolori, è riuscita a creare e a improntare con lo spirito cristiano una nuova civiltà. Nella regalità e maternità di Maria l'arte rappresenta, più o meno consapevolmente, la regalità e maternità della Chiesa verso il mondo nuovo." The art of the Middle Ages was guided and influenced greatly by monks who inspired its subjects and preserved it in their libraries. It continues to depict the parallel, Mary-Church, sometimes together under one title: "Virgo M. et Ecclesia." Mary is represented as the Spouse of Christ, the figure of the New Eve-Church, at her birth on Calvary. In one instance, a stained glass window at Rouen, we find the crucifixion scene: The Church is beside Mary and the synagogue beside St. John. This scene depicts the compenetration of functions of Mary and the Church, a theme which the theology of the time had advanced. Cf. Coathalem, *Le parallélisme*, 117-119, and Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 226-227: "Aux yeux des théologiens, Marie n'est pas seulement la mère de Jésus, elle est encore l'Église personnifiée.... Que Marie dans certains cas symbolise l'Église, c'est ce qui ne peut faire doute pour quiconque est familier avec la littérature patristique du moyen âge.... Marie symbolise l'Église dans presque toutes les circonstances de sa vie, mais surtout au moment où elle se tient debout près de la croix. Quand Jésus expira, personne au monde, pas même Saint Pierre, n'avait plus la foi: seule Marie ne doutait point. L'Église toute entière comme dit Jacques de Voragine, s'était réfugiée dans son cœur. Marie est donc l'Église, et à ce titre, elle mérite la place qu'elle occupe à la droite de Jésus expirant—et elle la mérite d'autant mieux qu'elle est encore la nouvelle Ève, bien digne de figurer au côté droit du nouvel Adam."

<sup>202</sup> Spiazzi, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2. He considers the time of the catacombs to be a time of silence represented in the art-forms of the Virgin found in the catacombs and actualized in the life of the Church of those days. On the contrary, the succeeding centuries which witnessed the triumph of Christianity (the Church) in the world also bear witness to a "triumphal Virgin-Queen."

at the Annunciation which is made to the Virgin-Queen. In the Magi scenes Mary is present sitting beside Christ on a separate throne. Again, we find the personification theme carried out in the "glorification cycle" of art. Wellen mentions a scene in which Mary is present with the Apostles but as a completely isolated figure. They are looking after Christ who has ascended. She is in an attitude of prayer. It seems that we cannot explain this artistic representation except in terms of Mary as the personification of the Church remaining on earth after Christ's ascension until He comes again.<sup>203</sup> In the Pentecostal cycle in art Mary is often in the center of the group of Apostles and she represents the Church upon which the Spirit is descending.<sup>204</sup>

In the fifth century at Ravenna there is a mosaic in the Church of St. Apollinaris which pictures Mary as a Queen holding on her lap Christ the King. There is an evident parallelism between Christ and Mary in this scene; she reigns as His Mother and acts as His "throne" presenting Him to the world, thus personifying the Church.<sup>205</sup> A mosaic found in Santa Maria in Trastevere and dating from the twelfth century depicts Christ and Mary seated on the same throne side-by-side. Christ has his arm around her shoulder. This indicates a sharing of the same regal status. Each holds an inscription taken from the Canticle of Canticles, the sacred book interpreted by exegetes as an expression of Christ's love for His Spouse, the Church. In this sense Mary is identified with Church.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we have the beginning of the enthronement scenes in which Christ personally places the precious crown on His Mother's head. Some authors hold that typological symbolism associates the coronation of the Virgin with two women of the Old Testament who act as prefigurations of Mary: Bathsheba who was invited by her son Solomon to take

<sup>203</sup> Wellen, *Theotokos*, 70; cf. Rahner, *Our Lady and the Church*, 97: "And when the art of the early Church or of the Middle Ages comes to represent the ascension and places Mary as a praying *Orante* among the Apostles, or places her among those who received the Holy Spirit in the upper room at Pentecost, one main idea is expressed: she is the woman with her heart filled by the Spirit, the mother who is the Church, and is like to Mary. In her are all prophecies fulfilled, in her begins the life of heavenly glory, in her the Spirit already breathes, which shall change the world in the last days."

<sup>204</sup> Wellen, *Theotokos*, 73. Cf. also 75 and 180 and preceding note, Guldán, *Eva und Maria*, 136, speaks of a theme popular in the Middle Ages drawn from the writings of the Fathers (citing Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo 1 De Adam et Eva et Sancta Maria* 3-4; similarly Ps.-Ambrose, *Sermo 45*) involving the apple as a symbol, Eve, the Eucharist, and the Sorrowful Mother. This theme points to the mystery of Christ's last words when He entrusts the whole of humanity to Mary's motherly care as the new *Mater viventium*. Under the tree of life Mary becomes a symbol, "Urbild" of the Church, just as Eve's blindness causes the blindness of the Synagogue.

<sup>205</sup> Spiazzi, "L'arte mariana come riflesso," 6-7.

her place at the right of his throne and Esther who was elevated to the dignity of queen by Assuerus.<sup>206</sup> In the Coronation cycle there is likewise evidence of a personification theme. On a wooden panel found in the door of the church of St. Sabina there is a woman being crowned by Saints Peter and Paul. Is this the symbolization of the Church? It may be. In other instances, similar to this one, the personification theme is evident. In a mosaic found in the same church two churches are represented: the Church of the Gentiles and the Church of Circumcision, as the inscriptions indicate. In a mosaic in the church of St. Pudentiana (fourth century) there are two women placing crowns on the head of St. Peter.<sup>207</sup>

Finally, in scenes taken from Chapter 12 of the Apocalypse<sup>208</sup> the personification theme is once again evident. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Mary is depicted as appearing to St. John on the Isle of Patmos. In the beginning of this art-theme the Woman or better the Virgin-Church is depicted as standing in the form of an "Orante" without the child. In the twelfth century she is lying down stretched out after the birth of her Son who

<sup>206</sup> Réau, in his *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 2:622, speaks of five different types of crownings of Mary: (1) She sits on the right side of Christ who blesses her; (2) she is crowned by an angel; (3) she is crowned by Christ: She is sometimes seated, sometimes kneeling, and once standing; (4) she is crowned by God the Father; (5) she is crowned by the entire Trinity: Sometimes the Trinity is depicted as three Persons; the Spirit is sometimes depicted as a dove; Christ is sometimes alone but designated as representing the Trinity by the three crowns being held by the cherubim. Guldán, *Eva und Maria*, 15, mentions a "Maria-Regina" theme prior to the twelfth century in which Mary receives the crown from two angels who appear in a position of adoration. From the twelfth century Mary receives this crown from Christ. The angels must be, according to Guldán, the angels of the beginning and the end of salvation history: Gabriel and Michael. Cf. J. de Mahuet, "L'Orient et l'iconographie mariale de l'Occident," *Études Mariales* 19 (1962): 173-174: "On peut aussi penser à toutes les Vierges couronnées, depuis celle de Sainte-Marie Antique, du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, à celle de Sainte-Françoise Romaine de 1159. Leur aspect byzantin est frappant, surtout durant la période des papes grecs. L'idée est claire: la Théotokos est reine de l'univers et on ne pouvait mieux le signifier qu'en lui donnant la majesté d'une basilissa. De là à imaginer un couronnement par Dieu le Père et, à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, par Dieu le Fils ou la Trinité plus tard, la distance n'est pas grande et sans doute est-ce en France que s'observe le mieux la transition."

<sup>207</sup> Spiazzi, "L'Arte mariana come riflesso," 8-9 and n. 3. Cf. Vloberg, *La vie de Marie*, 281: "Un auteur la (Marie) représente, entre Pierre et Paul, bénissant le départ des missionnaires de son Fils. Ce n'est qu'une image sans doute, mais combien expressive de ce qui fut la réalité: la Mère de Jésus, d'abord l'âme de l'Église de Jérusalem, devenant le cœur et le type de l'Église universelle. C'est sans doute cela qu'a voulu évoquer l'art chrétien à ses origines, quand il représentait—comme sur les verres dorés des catacombes et sur les sarcophages—la Vierge Marie entre les 'deux colonnes' de l'Église, Pierre et Paul."

<sup>208</sup> Réau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 708-11: "Toutefois, comme la Vierge a été considérée de bonne heure comme la figure de l'Église (d'après St. Ambroise, *Maria Ecclesiae Typus*) la Paturiente de l'Apocalypse est identifiée aussi par de nombreux commentateurs avec l'Église."

has been taken to heaven. In the sixteenth century she reappears in the form of an "Orante," this time with the child.<sup>209</sup>

We can see from these examples taken from art that in the mind of the believing Church Mary was viewed as a Queen reigning with her Son and at the same time she was considered to be the personification of the Church. As the faith-understanding of the Church grew, elements were added or removed from these art-forms, a sign that art was considered to be and was, in fact, utilized as a vehicle for conveying the faith.

### Church Teaching

Besides Scripture, the writings of the Fathers, and the Liturgy, there is another direct norm which we must follow in studying the doctrine of Mary's queenship and that is the declarations of the Roman Pontiffs and of the councils. "Our Lady's Queenship in the Magisterium of the Church" has been treated (up to 1952) by Eamon Carroll in *Marian Studies*.<sup>210</sup> In this first chapter we shall consider briefly the doctrine of the Roman Pontiffs up to the present time, leaving aside, for the moment, the Marian doctrine of Vatican II. We shall treat this separately in a later chapter because of its importance.

In *Ad Caeli Reginam* Pius XII mentions rapidly some of the early Popes who wrote about Mary as queen. He goes back as far as the seventh century to St. Martin I who spoke of Mary as "Our glorious Lady and Virgin." There are other witnesses before that time, however. Luis cites a sermon of Pope Leo the Great (+461) in which he says:

Virgo Regia davidicae stirpis eligitur, quae sacro gravidanda foetu divinam humanamque prolem prius conciperet mentequam ventre.<sup>211</sup>

From that time on the different Popes have referred to Mary as the Queen of heaven, the Queen of the world, the queenly Virgin, etc. During the pontificate of Pope Agatho, the Third Council of Constantinople (680-681) defined that the Word of God became incarnate through the power of the Holy Spirit and the glorious and ever-Virgin Mary, Lady, true Mother of God. The word for Lady

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> E. Carroll, *Marian Studies* 4 (1953): 29-81. Cf. also Pablo Luis Suárez, "La Realeza de Maria en los Documentos Eclesiasticos," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 5 (1955): 317-334; A. Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 78-87. De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 58-67. Aubron, "De la souveraineté de Marie," 121-125; G. Geenen, "Les antécédents doctrinaux et historiques de la consécration du monde au Coeur Immaculé de Marie," *Maria* (du Manoir), 1:825-873.

<sup>211</sup> "Ad Caeli Reginam," 23; *PL* 54, 199-200: "Sermo I de Nativitate." Cf. Luis Suárez, "La Realeza de Maria en los Documentos," 319.

was "Despoina," a queenly title.<sup>212</sup> The note of universality is evident in the title given to Mary, "Domina Omnium," by Gregory II (+731).<sup>213</sup>

Until Vatican II,<sup>214</sup> only one ecumenical council in the history of the Church has mentioned Mary's queenly status and that was the Second Council of Nicea. This council, held in the year 787, defined the legitimacy of the cult of sacred images.<sup>215</sup> In defining this truth the council spoke of the images of "Our Lord God and Savior, Jesus Christ" and those of "our stainless Lady, the holy Mother of God."<sup>216</sup> Certainly the term, "Domina" was not defined but it is equally certain that the term was used purposely. The Fathers in the council intended not only to define the legitimacy of the cult of images but also to pay tribute to Mary's queenly status.<sup>217</sup>

Besides adorning Mary with these titles, the popes have had many inscriptions made and frescoes painted to depict Mary as the sovereign queen to whom they bow in obeisance.<sup>218</sup> We have already seen that Pope John VII (705-707) had a chapel built in honor of Mary in which there is a representation of Mary dressed as a queen with John at her side and this inscription: "Johannes indignus Episcopus fecit Beatae Dei Genitricis servus." We find the same title in the ruins of the church "Santa Maria Antica" in the Roman forum: "Johannes servus Sanctae Mariae."<sup>219</sup> In the church of Santa Maria in Dominica on the

<sup>212</sup> *Mansi*, XI, 290; *PL* 87, 1221A.

<sup>213</sup> A. Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 80. *PL* 89, 508B (letter to Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople).

<sup>214</sup> "Constitution on the Church," in *Documents* (Abbott), 90, no. 59. This repeats phrases from "Ad Caeli Reginam."

<sup>215</sup> For an explanation of the significance of icons for the Greek Church, cf. de Mahuet, "L'Orient et l'iconographie mariale de l'Occident," 174-83: "Les Grecs attribuent une valeur religieuse à l'image elle-même et lui rendent un culte véritable qui explique sans la justifier la crise iconoclaste. Les Latins du moins les capitulaires et les conciles carolingiens, ne comprirent pas le sens des décrets du VIIe concile, ni du 'triomphe de l'Orthodoxie,' comme est appelée la victoire des images. Pour eux la question ne se posait pas. En Orient, ce fut le commencement d'une 'orthodoxie' iconographique qui perpétua les types vénérés et en Occident, au contraire, ce fut la suite d'une certaine autonomie qui se révélerait d'une fécondité inépuisable d'invention. Pour les uns, changer les icônes, c'est toucher au dogme. Un iconoclaste est un hérétique. Pour les autres, inventer, c'est donner une forme nouvelle à une croyance." (174-175).

<sup>216</sup> H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum* (Barcinone: Herder, 1965), 302.

<sup>217</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 66-67; Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*, 86-87; E. Carroll, "Our Lady's Queenship in the Magisterium of the Church," 39.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la Vierge dans l'art occidental," *Maria* (du Manoir), 2: 492-98: "Désormais le culte de la Mère de Dieu rallie tous les talents, il s'affirme dans le domaine plastique en un style triomphal. Au coeur de la catholicité, les monuments prennent une importance significative. Les papes y bâtissent des sanctuaires en tel nombre et d'une telle richesse qu'ils semblent vouloir faire de la cité de Pierre la ville propre de Marie" (493).

<sup>219</sup> G. Roschini, "I Papi e Maria," *Marianum* 4 (1942): 155-56.

Coelian hill in Rome there is a mosaic in which Pope Pascual I (817-826) is depicted as the humble servant of Mary Queen. In the church of Saint Clement there is a fresco of Mary Queen dating back to the time of Pope Leo VI (847-855).<sup>220</sup> From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries we have testimony of words and gestures of the popes indicating their approval of the title of queen as applied to Mary.<sup>221</sup> In the fifteenth century Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) referred to Mary's queenship in his constitution concerning the Immaculate Conception:

When we search and discover the sublime proofs of those merits which cause the Queen of heaven, the glorious Virgin Mother of God, raised upon her heavenly throne...<sup>222</sup>

Sixtus V (1585-1590) gave his approbation to the Litany of Loreto in which there are many queenly titles.<sup>223</sup> In the papal bull "Immense Bonitatis," Paul V (1605-1621) says that since God willed to choose Mary from the kingly line of David and since she was adorned with all the virtues and graces and since she was responsible for our liberation from captivity she merits to be called "Queen of heaven and earth."<sup>224</sup> Urban VIII (1623-1644) writes in the papal bull "Imperscrutabilis":

Christifideles omnes propitiam apud Unigenitum Filium suum nacti sunt Advocatam, utpote quae Mater gratiae et pietatis pro humani generis salute sedula oratrix, apud Regem quem genuit, semper intercedat, sperantes huiusmodi institutionem ejusdem Virginis caelorem Reginae intercessione praefatae christianae reipublicae uberrimos fructus allaturam.<sup>225</sup>

In the eighteenth century Benedict XIV (1740-1758) wrote in "Gloriosae Dominae":

Mary is the gracious Esther, so beloved of the Supreme King of Kings, that He grants her, for her people's salvation, not only the half of His kingdom, but near-

<sup>220</sup> Aubron, "De la Souveraineté de Marie," 115-16: "Si l'on veut bien réfléchir que ces images étaient exécutées sous les yeux et d'après les ordres du pape, que le type choisi était le type d'impératrice byzantine, dans l'exécution duquel les peintres n'étaient pas abandonnés à leur fantaisie, mais devaient se conformer jusque dans les détails à un canon rigoureusement fixé, nous devons avouer que sur la foi de l'Église en la Royauté de Marie l'art nous apporte un témoignage insigne."

<sup>221</sup> Carroll, "Our Lady's Queenship in the Magisterium of the Church," 40-41.

<sup>222</sup> "Cum Praecelsa," trans. taken from P. Palmer, in *Mary in the Documents of the Church* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1952), 74.

<sup>223</sup> J.C. Fenton, "Our Lady's Queenly Prerogatives," *The American Ecclesiastical Review* 120 (1949): 425.

<sup>224</sup> J. J. Bourassé, *Summa aurea de laudibus Beatissimae Virginis Mariae : Dei Genetricis sine labe conceptae*, 13 vols. (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1866), 7:173-74.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.



ly all His empire and power. She is that courageous Judith, the valiant woman to whom the God of Israel granted victory over all the enemies of her land.<sup>226</sup>

During the pontificate of Pius VII (1800-1823) there were several statues of Our Lady crowned. At Ancona one was crowned in 1814, another for the shrine of Loreto; in 1815 the pope crowned a statue at Savona with a crown donated by the chapter of the Vatican. These are further indications regarding papal approval of Mary's title as queen.

In "Ineffabilis Deus" Pius IX says that she has been appointed by God to be the queen of heaven and earth. Pius describes her power as limitless.<sup>227</sup> In his opening address at the first Vatican Council he called upon Our Lady as Queen of the Church to guide and protect the Council Fathers in their deliberations.<sup>228</sup>

In numerous encyclicals and important documents Leo XIII (1876-1903) invokes Mary as queen. He speaks of her queenship in terms of its connection with her personal role in the redemption.<sup>229</sup>

It is thus that she will be seated in the heavenly city of God by the side of her Son, crowned for all eternity, because she will drink with Him the cup overflowing with sorrow, faithfully through all her life, most faithfully on Calvary.<sup>230</sup>

In his encyclical "Jucunda Semper" (1894) he says that we honor her as the Queen of the universe.<sup>231</sup> In the same encyclical he mentions her power in these words:

The recourse we have to Mary in prayer follows upon the office she continuously fills by the side of the throne of God as Mediatrix of divine grace, being by wor-

<sup>226</sup> *Our Lady: Papal Teachings* [Hereafter: *Our Lady*], trans. by the Daughters of St. Paul (Boston: St. Paul Editions, 1961), 26, no. 3.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 82, no. 65: "Under her guidance, under her patronage, under her kindness and protection, nothing is to be feared, nothing is hopeless. Because while bearing towards us a truly motherly affection and having in her care the work of our salvation, she is solicitous about the whole human race. And since she has been appointed by God to be the queen of heaven and earth and is exalted above all the choirs of angels and saints, and even stands at the right hand of her only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ Our Lord, she presents our petitions in a most efficacious manner. What she asks she obtains. Her pleas can never be unheard."

<sup>228</sup> *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Pars Prima 5 (Rome), 109-115: "Tu vero Mater pulchrae dilectionis, agnitionis et sanctae spei, Ecclesiae Regina et propugnatrix, Tu Nos, consultationes, labores Nostros in tuam maternam fidem tutelamque recipias, ac Tuis age apud Deum precibus, ut in uno semper spiritu maneamus et corde."

<sup>229</sup> Cf. list of encyclicals and documents pertinent to our question in Carroll, "Our Lady's Queenship in the Magisterium of the Church," 47-48.

<sup>230</sup> "Magnae Dei Matris," trans. from *Our Lady*, 121, no. 137.

<sup>231</sup> "And we honor her, glorified above all saints, crowned with stars by her Divine Son, and seated at His side, the Sovereign queen of the universe." *Our Lady*, 128, no. 153.

thiness and by merit more acceptable to Him, and for that reason surpassing in power all the angels and saints in heaven.<sup>232</sup>

In "Adjutricem Populi" (1895) Leo says:

Among her many titles we find her hailed as our Lady, (dominam nostram): our Mediatrix, the repairer of the whole world in ruins, the dispenser of God's gifts.<sup>233</sup>

In 1902 Leo had a statue crowned at Fribourg in honor of Mary, "Queen of the Universe." St. Pius X (1903-1914) reiterated Mary's role as Cooperator in the redemption of mankind and he too points to this fact as being one of the roots of her queenly power.<sup>234</sup>

Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922), whose pontificate was enmeshed in the throes of world war, directed many pleas for peace to Our Lady, the Queen of Peace. He looked upon her intercession as all-powerful and unfailing.<sup>235</sup>

We, echoing the sign of so many of our children far and near, permit that to the Litany of Loreto be added the invocation "Queen of Peace." Will Mary, who is queen not of wars and slaughter, but of the kingdom of peace, disappoint the trust and the prayers of her faithful children? ... [W]hen human reason is found at fault, and all civilized rights are scattered like thistledown, faith and history alike point us to the one succor, to the omnipotence of prayer, to the Mediatrix, to Mary. In all security and trust we cry, "Regina pacis, ora pro nobis."<sup>236</sup>

In a variety of ways Pius XI (1922-1939) repeats and clarifies all that his predecessors had said about Mary as Queen. Mary's queenly intercession in heaven is shown to be the prolongation of her cooperation in the redemption by her offering of her Son on Calvary. In his encyclical letter "Lux Veritatis"

<sup>232</sup> *Our Lady*, 125, no. 149.

<sup>233</sup> "With a generous heart Mary undertook and discharged the duties of her high but laborious office, the beginnings of which were consecrated in the Cenacle. With wonderful care she nurtured the first Christians by her holy example, her authoritative counsel, her sweet consolation, her fruitful prayers. She was, in very truth, the Mother of the Church, the Teacher and Queen of the Apostles, to whom, besides, she confided no small part of the divine mysteries, 'which she kept in her heart'...The power thus put in her hands is all but unlimited." *Our Lady*, 135, nos. 168 and 136, no. 120.

<sup>234</sup> "Ad diem illum," ASS 36 (1903-04); *Our Lady*, 173-174, no. 234: "...since she surpassed all in holiness and union with Christ, and has been associated with Christ in the work of Redemption, she, as the expression is, merits *de congruo* what Christ merits *de condigno*, and is the principal minister in the distribution of grace. He sits at the right hand of the Majesty on high but Mary sits as a Queen on His right hand, (Heb.1:3) the securest refuge of those who are in peril as well as the most faithful of helpers, so that we have not to fear or despair, for, as long as she is our guide and our patroness, she is our defender and our protector."

<sup>235</sup> Cf. *Principles for Peace, Selections from Papal Documents (Leo XIII to Pius XII)*, ed. H. C. Koenig (Washington, D.C., 1943).

<sup>236</sup> *Principles for Peace*, no. 425.

(1931), he attributes to her divine maternity the great dignity that is hers. To her care he confides the unity of the Church:

Under the auspices of the heavenly Queen, we desire all to beg for a special favor of the greatest importance, that she who is loved and venerated with such ardent piety by the people of the East, may not permit that they should be unhappily wandering and still kept apart from the unity of the Church and thus from her Son, Whose Vicar on earth we are.<sup>237</sup>

In a radio message in 1935 addressed to the people gathered at Lourdes Pius said:

Let us all pray to our common Mother: Immaculate Queen of peace, have mercy on us. Immaculate Queen of peace, pray for us. Immaculate Queen of peace, intercede for us. O Mother of pity and of mercy, who as co-sufferer and Co-redemptrix assisted thy most dear Son, as on the altar of the cross....<sup>238</sup>

From the seventh century to the reign of Pope Pius XI there is a steady increase both in the frequency and the clarity of expression with which Mary is proclaimed Queen by the Roman Pontiffs. The extent of her queenship is shown to be universal, its power limitless. There is a continual recognition of its maternal characteristics and, particularly with the more recent popes, we encounter an increasing tendency to insist upon her role as Cooperator in the redemption, with her Son as one of the two foundations for this dignity.

We shall now consider the teaching of Pope Pius XII on the queenship of Mary.<sup>239</sup> Besides the document which treats of the consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary,<sup>240</sup> we have the important address of the pope to the pilgrims gathered at Fatima for the crowning of the statue of Our Lady.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>237</sup> "Lux veritatis," AAS 23 (1931): 513. English trans., "The Light of Truth" in *Sixteen Encyclicals of His Holiness Pope Pius XI, 1926-1937* (Washington, D.C.: N.C.W.C., 1938), 31.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. George Shea, "The Teaching of the Magisterium on Mary's Spiritual Maternity," *Marian Studies* 3 (1952), 97ff. Shea says that "in the judgment of mariologists only a formal 'ex cathedra' pronouncement would exceed the doctrinal authority of the pope's message on that occasion." On the same occasion the pope added this prayer: "Mother most faithful and most merciful, who as coredemptrix and partaker of thy dear Son's sorrows didst assist Him as He offered the sacrifice of our Redemption on the altar of the cross, preserve in us and increase each day, we beseech thee, the precious fruits of our Redemption and thy compassion.... *Our Lady*, 228, no. 334.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. D. Bertetto, *Il Magistero Mariano di Pio XII* (2nd ed., Rome: Paoline, 1959), 116-118.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. "Mais de uma vez," AAS 34 (1942): 313-319; Italian trans. 319-325; English trans. F. Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima* (London: Browne and Nolan Ltd., 1948): 237-47. For the prayer of Pius XII with which the consecration was made, cf. AAS 34 (1942): 345-46. We are not certain that this is the prayer he used on December 8, 1942. No official document has appeared which gives the actual text of the prayer. For the discussion, cf. n. 247. The prayer is translated in Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 250ff.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. "Bendito seja o Senhor," AAS 38 (1946): 264-267. English trans., Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 248-256.

The encyclical, "Mystici Corporis," has been said to contain a "mariology in miniature."<sup>242</sup> This will contribute something to our study of the queenship. We shall then consider the definition of the Assumption.<sup>243</sup> The most important document issued by the Holy See on the queenship of Mary is the encyclical, "Ad Caeli Reginam."<sup>244</sup> This will occupy the major part of our attention here. We shall analyze those parts in particular which treat of the foundations and nature of Mary's queenly prerogatives. This analysis will assist us in our systematic explanation of the nature of the queenship.

"Mais de uma vez" was a radio broadcast made on October 31, 1942, to the people of Portugal on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Fatima apparitions. The Pope refers to Mary as the "Queen and Mother of the 'terra de Santa Maria.'"<sup>245</sup> Then, calling upon her as the Queen of the most holy Rosary, Help of Christians, Refuge of the human race, Conqueror in all the great battles of God, he consecrates the Church and the whole world to her Immaculate Heart.<sup>246</sup> He petitions her as the Mother of mercy to entreat peace from God. He enumerates all classes of peoples for whom he begs Mary

<sup>242</sup> "Mystici Corporis," AAS 35 (1943): 193-248. Cf. D. Bertetto, "La dottrina Mariana di Pio XII," *Salesianum* 11 (1949): 10-11: "Certainly in no other encyclical has the Madonna occupied such a large place, exclusive, naturally, of those which treat directly of the Virgin. There is in this encyclical a Mariology in miniature...." In his edition of Pius XII's Marian writings (cited in footnote 239 above) Bertetto does not repeat this statement, even though he gives a brief introductory summary to each document. It must be understood in context. The Marian doctrine of this encyclical, while still valid in itself, was based upon papal teachings and it emphasizes Mary's privileges. The scriptural (particularly the Old Testament) salvation history contexts are not visibly present. And even though it was an encyclical devoted to the theology of the Church in terms of the Mystical Body, little, if any, comparison was made between Mary and the Church, one of the most significant emphases of Vatican II.

<sup>243</sup> AAS 42 (1950): 754-71.

<sup>244</sup> AAS 46 (1954): 625-40.

<sup>245</sup> AAS 34 (1942): 314; cf. Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 239, 241. Further on the pope exclaims: "Happy the people whose Lord is God and whose Queen is the Mother of God. She will intercede and God will bless His people with that peace which is a compendium of all blessings." AAS 34 (1942): 317; Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 243.

<sup>246</sup> Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 244-45: "Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, Help of Christians, Refuge of the human race, Conqueror in all the great battles of God, we suppliantly bow down before Thy throne. We are confident of winning Thy pity and of finding favour and present aid in these calamitous days: not because of our deserving, for we have none, but relying solely on the goodness of Thy maternal heart. In this tragic hour of human history, as Common Father of the great Christian family and Vicar of Him to Whom is given all power in heaven and on earth, and from Whom We have received the care of all souls redeemed by His blood, We give, We entrust, We consecrate to Thee and to Thy Immaculate Heart, the Holy Church, Mystical Body of Thy Jesus, suffering and bleeding in so many places. And not only the Church, but also the whole world, torn asunder by internal discords, aflame with the fires of hatred, and victim of its own wickedness." Cf. AAS 34 (1942): 317-318.

to obtain peace. Finally, the pope mentions the consecration of the Church and the world to the Heart of Jesus and he prays that they may also be consecrated henceforth to her Immaculate Heart, to her who is our Mother and Queen of the world.<sup>247</sup>

The most important element in this radio address is the consecration of the world to Mary's Immaculate Heart.<sup>248</sup> The devotion to the Heart of Mary

<sup>247</sup> Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 246-247: "Finally, as to the Heart of Thy Jesus were consecrated the Church and the human race, placing all their hopes in Him as pledge of victory and salvation, so from this day forth let them be consecrated forever also to Thee and Thine Immaculate Heart, to Thee, our Mother and Queen of the world, that Thy love and patronage may hasten the triumph of the Kingdom of God..." In the AAS 34 (1942): 345-346, there is a prayer of consecration to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. It is almost a word-for-word repetition of the consecration contained in the pope's radio message. There has been some discussion of an historical and theological interest concerning the actual date of the consecration of the world to Mary's Immaculate Heart. Cf. G. Geenen, "La consécration du monde à Marie. Sa date, historique et officielle," *Marianum* 11 (1949): 318-338. Geenen proposes the solution which accepts the eighth of December as the actual date for the consecration of the world to Mary. Cf. Geenen, "Les antécédents doctrinaux et historiques de la consécration du monde au Coeur Immaculé de Marie," *Maria (du Manoir)*, 1:828ff., 4; J. Canal, "La consagración a la Virgen y a su Corazon Inmaculado," *Virgo Immaculata* 12 (1960): 298, speaks of a public *renovation* of the consecration on December 8th. Geenen's opinion is not without foundation. Yet we must note that in 1967 Pope Paul VI referred to the consecration of the world to Mary's Heart as having been made on October 31, 1942: "Quoniamque hoc anno quinque voluntur lustra ex quo Decessor Noster f. r. Pius XII, die XXXI mensis Octobris anno MCMXLII, per radiophonicum nuntium ad Lusitanum populum datum, Ecclesiam humanumque genus Deiparae Mariae eiusque Immaculato Cordi solemniter consecravit quod Nosmetipsi die XXI mensis Novembris anno MCMLXIV interavimus..." AAS 59 (1967): 475 (emphasis mine.) This does not necessarily destroy the force of Geenen's reasoning but it certainly adds weight to the opinion of those who hold for the consecration date as the 31st of October. I favor the latter opinion.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. K. Healy, "Theology of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Heart of Mary," *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* 4 (1949): 102-28; J. Bittremieux, "Consecratio mundi immaculato cordi B. Mariae Virginis," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 20 (1943): 99-103; Geenen, "Les antécédents doctrinaux et historiques de la consécration du monde au Coeur Immaculé de Marie," 825-73; A. Luis, "El corazon de Maria y la realza," *Marianum* 11 (1949): 461-68; [continuation of article] 12 (1950): 1-25; J.F. Murphy, *Mary's Immaculate Heart* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1951); Canal, "La Consagracion a la Virgen y a su Corazon Inmaculado," 221-348; K. Rahner, "Die Weihe an Maria in den Marianischen Kongregationen," *Quatrième Centenaire des Congrégations Mariales: Documents du Congrès européen, Rome 8-12 Septembre 1963* (Rome: Matutina, 1963): 57-80. In "La Vierge après le Concile: Chronique bibliographique," *La Vie Spirituelle* 115 (1966): 741, Laurentin indicates that in the beginning of his article Rahner mentions the consecration of the world to Mary's Immaculate Heart, although he limits his discussion to personal consecrations to Mary. Laurentin sums up Rahner's thought in this regard: "Marie joue un rôle dans ces consécérations à cause de sa position dans l'histoire du salut; comme fruit et moyen de grâces dans l'histoire du salut: comme fruit et moyen de grâces dans le Christ." Cf. L. Vandergheynst, *Le Pape et la consécration du monde à Marie* (Bruxelles: Pensée Catholique Paris, 1968). The book concerns the consecration of the world made by Paul VI on November 21, 1963;

has been linked historically and theologically to devotion towards the Heart of Jesus,<sup>249</sup> and the pope himself on various occasions mentions this parallel.<sup>250</sup>

The immediate object of this cult is the physical heart of Mary insofar as it symbolizes her love for God and for men.<sup>251</sup> The consecration of the world to Mary's heart implies Mary's dominion over the world.<sup>252</sup> Theologians

the author defends the position that on that occasion the pope reconsecrated the world to Mary's Immaculate Heart. In a book review, Laurentin agrees that Vandergheynst has proven his point: cf. "La Vierge Marie: Chronique bibliographique," *La Vie Spirituelle* 122 (1970): 631-632; cf. also Vandergheynst, "Immaculato Cordi tuo, o Deipara, universum genus...", *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 17 (1967): 154-56; 529-530.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. esp. articles by Healy and Geenen cited above.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. "Mais de uma vez," *AAS* 34 (1942): 318-19 and 345-46 (act of consecration). Cf. "Auspicia Quaedam," *AAS* 15 (1948): 171; "Haurietis Aquas," *AAS* 48 (1956): 352.

<sup>251</sup> Healy, "Theology of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Heart of Mary," 116-117: "From the three arguments presented, we draw the following conclusion: the immediate object of the cult of the Immaculate Heart of Mary is the physical heart considered as the symbol of the unexcelled sanctity of Mary and especially of her love for God, for her Divine Son, and her maternal love for men." In the discussion period following this paper someone objected that not enough stress had been laid upon Mary's coredemptive love as the formal object of this cult. Fr. Healy agreed that this would surely be done when the theology of the coredeemption developed further (127). In a very real sense our understanding and appreciation of the significance of Mary's motherly, redemptive love toward people has developed since the time of this article, as witnessed by the Council's doctrine on Mary's role in man's redemption in nos. 58 and 62 of the chapter on Mary. Yet there is a well-founded reluctance on the part of some to use the term "coredemptive" to describe this love and the activity flowing from it. To me the expression "co-redemptive" has the connotation of someone alongside of Christ, on His level. I would rather call Mary's love maternal, as Healy does, and explain its maternal characteristics in relation to the redemption. Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 143-145. For another opinion, cf. M. Miravalle, *Mary: Coredemprix, Mediatrix, Advocate* (Santa Barbara, CA: Queenship Publishing), 1993.

<sup>252</sup> Bittremieux, "Consecratio mundi immaculato cordi B. Mariae Virginis," 99-100: "Having before our eyes these things which are proposed concerning the consecration to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus, it seems that this brief definition of the consecration to Mary's heart can be given: 'An act by which we submit ourselves to the dominion of the Blessed Virgin.'" Cf. Healy, "Theology of the Doctrine," 128ff. In the question period Fr. Loneran asked Fr. Healy: "What is Our Lady's dominion over all men?" He replied that it is based on her queenship and is dominion in a strict sense—we are really dependent. Mary has a claim on us. In his concluding remarks Fr. Healy said: "Furthermore, consecration and reparation too are not unfounded acts of sentimentalism, but are reasonable and most laudatory since they are based on Mary's real dominion over all men." Cf. Canal, "La consagración a la Virgen y a su Corazon Inmaculado," 314: "The marian consecration can be, finally, an act of hyperdulia commanded by the virtue of religion, if we intend to pay homage to the excellence and dominion of Mary, for the purpose of paying reverence to God or better to live and practice our consecration to God." Healy continues (315): "La consagración mariana podríamos, pues, definirla: 'un acto de culto hiperdúlico por el cual reconocemos nuestra dependencia respecto de la Virgen Santísima, y nos sometimos al dominio o potestad que tiene sobre nosotros.' Si añadimos: 'con el objeto de vivir mejor nuestra consagración a Dios o a Jesucristo,' habremos indicado el fin último. Y si añadimos:

speak of a strict dominion exercised by Mary by reason of her queenship. An act of consecration is an explicit recognition of real dependence upon the person towards whom such an act is made. We recognize that we are really, though analogously dependent upon Mary as our Queen, just as we are totally dependent upon Christ as our King. Just as Christ is king by nature and by acquired right, so is Mary queen by nature and by acquired right.<sup>253</sup> There is an analogy between the consecration to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the consecration to Mary's Immaculate Heart: On the one hand, the foundation for this consecration to Mary's heart (her divine maternity, her coredemptive love—her queenship) is analogous to the foundation for the consecration to the Heart of Christ (the hypostatic union, the redemption—His kingship); on the other hand, we are subject to God or to Christ, God-man-Redeemer, absolutely while we are subject to Mary relatively or in a subordinate way, in the sense that all dependence toward Mary, as real and profound as it may be, ultimately is resolved into a dependence upon God. Mary's role is to bring us to the Sacred Heart.<sup>254</sup> Because Mary is Queen it is to her that we present our petitions for peace. The pope refers to her as a Mediatrix<sup>255</sup> and trusts that "these supplications and yours may be favorably received by the divine Good Pleasure."<sup>256</sup> He considers her queenly power to be universal in extent since he asks her to obtain peace, protection, and enlightenment for every class of society.<sup>257</sup> And he addresses her as one who exercises a certain dominion over

'por los muchos títulos que sobre nosotros posee, particularmente por ser madre, reina y señora nuestra,' habremos señalado los fundamentos." Cf. 338: "La redención es para Cristo título de dominio sobre los hombres, luego proporcionalmente la corredención es título de análogo dominio." I accept the idea of real dependence on the part of creatures towards both Christ and Mary in regard to their salvation; if we use the term "dominion," we must be careful not to distort the reality of this dependence by giving the impression that it is a question of a domination over creatures by the King and Queen. In fact, the royalty of Christ and Mary is one of service, as we shall see later on.

<sup>253</sup> Bittremieux, "Consecratio mundi," 102; Healy, "Theology of the Doctrine," 121-122. Healy speaks of Mary's maternal love for men (rather than her coredemptive love) as being one of the reasons for the validity of this cult; he does admit, however, that this maternal love is coredemptive (117-120).

<sup>254</sup> Bittremieux, "Consecratio mundi," 102; Healy, "Theology of the Doctrine," 121; Murphy, *Mary's Immaculate Heart*, 100ff. In his article on Marian consecrations (cf. n. 248) Rahner says that an act of personal consecration is an anticipation of the future, an effort to bring eternity into a decisive moment of time by a free act on our part. Such an act must be referred to the real situation of the Christian of today. Mary plays a role in these consecrations because of her role in the history of salvation; she is the fruit and the means of grace in Christ.

<sup>255</sup> Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 244; "Mais de uma vez," AAS 34 (1942): 317.

<sup>256</sup> Ryan, *ibid.*, 247; "Mais de uma vez," *ibid.*, 319.

<sup>257</sup> Ryan, *ibid.*, 244-247; "Mais de uma vez," *ibid.*, 317-319.

grace. He asks her to entreat God in our behalf and this indicates a dependence which is subordinated to God's absolute dominion.<sup>258</sup>

"Bendito seja o Senhor" was another radio address delivered on the occasion of the solemn crowning of the original Fatima statue.<sup>259</sup> His Holiness refers to the crowning of Our Blessed Mother in heaven as Queen of the Universe. She was truly worthy to receive this honor, glory, and rule. He mentions her incomparable fullness of grace and her special relationship to the most Blessed Trinity. Since she was associated as Mother and "Ministra" with the King of Martyrs in the work of redemption, she is forever associated with the distribution of graces and divine redemption, having an almost measureless power.<sup>260</sup>

The pope then compares Mary's queenship with Christ's kingship. Hers is a subordinated queenship and her title to it is said to be fourfold: by grace, by divine relationship, by conquest, by singular election. These four titles to queenship are not completely distinct one from the other. Because of her singular election by God she was filled with grace which established special relationships with the Trinity. Her title of conquest is likewise the result of a singular election and grace but it is formally identified with her work in the objective redemption.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>258</sup> When we speak of dominion over grace we intend, as we have said, to indicate a real dependence.

<sup>259</sup> "Bendito seja o Senhor," AAS 38 (1946): 266-67; English trans. Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 248-256; cf. also *ibid*, 268.

<sup>260</sup> "Bendito seja o Senhor," 266; Ryan, 253, 268.

<sup>261</sup> Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, Cf. J. Carol, "Mary's Coredemption in the Teaching of Pius XII," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 121 (1949): 359. There are some theologians (Lennerz, Smith, Koester, Semmelroth) who would not speak of Mary as having a title of conquest towards the kingdom. This is too active a term for their theory of Marian cooperation in the redemption. They speak rather of Mary's total receptivity in regard to the graces of the redemption. The terminology is often confusing. By "objective" redemption is meant the sacrifice accomplished on Calvary before any personal appropriation of the effects of this redemptive sacrifice is had on the part of individuals. Humanity is actually redeemed in Christ as in its Head before any individual person consents to that redemption. By "subjective" redemption in the full sense of the word we mean a personal response in faith to Christ's redemptive act by which the effects of that act become fully personal.—We shall propose a theory concerning Mary's role in the redemption. We must be careful not to overemphasize the distinction between objective and subjective because by doing so we would fail to take sufficiently into account the more dynamic, personal aspects of the redemption: The dynamic interrelationship of the mysteries of Christ's life (His passion, death, resurrection, ascension, pentecost, and parousia) is underlined, and their actual presence to us in and through the sacraments is more coherently expressed when we speak of Christ redeeming us now (objectively) by means of a personal encounter. Cf. E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ, the Sacrament of Encounter with God* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965). On the other hand, the distinction between objective and subjective redemption is a valid one and a necessary one, as we can appreciate from the statement of K. Rahner: "Redemption as Christianity understands it



The extent of her kingdom is as wide as that of her Son; nothing is excluded from it. It is characterized by its maternal beneficence.<sup>262</sup> The pope says that the crowning of the statue is a witness to their submission to her authority.<sup>263</sup>

In this second radio message to Fatima Pius XII spells out in greater detail than before the fact and the nature of Mary's queenly powers. They are said to be maternally beneficent and universal in extent. He does not indicate exactly how her queenship is to be understood, whether, for example, in the light of human queenship or in the light of Christ's kingship. He does not speak explicitly of her dominion over grace, though he does speak of her authority. His comparison between the nature of Christ's kingly powers and Mary's queenly powers would seem to be an implicit reference to the consecration of the world to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

In 1943 Pius XII wrote of Mary's mediation in his encyclical "Mystici Corporis."<sup>264</sup> He calls her the Queen of Martyrs and mentions the consecration

is 'objective.' It is an event (act of redemption) with a result (objective fact of being redeemed). These are ontologically prior to the justification and sanctification of men (subjective redemption) and are consequently to be distinguished from it. This distinction is often denied in a modern Christian anthropology of an existentialist kind, for which redemption as such takes place solely in the occurrence of faith, while the latter does not bear on an objective event of history prior to the act of faith. Objective redemption, therefore, means the constitution by God of the concrete historical situation of freedom in which the will of God to forgive and save is exercised and manifests itself as an offer made to the freedom of man, historically and in eschatological reversibility; it constitutes the situation on the basis of which and in which alone man can accept in freedom the proffered forgiveness." "Salvation," in *Sacramentum Mundi* 5 (1968): 426-27; cf. Nicolas, *Theotokos: le mystère de Marie* [Hereafter: *Theotokos*] (Tournai: Desclée, 1965), 151: "Le mystère de la Rédemption des hommes s'accomplit donc en deux phases: l'une est celle de la vie historique du Christ où il acquiert le salut, l'autre celle de sa vie glorieuse où il ne cesse d'agir dans son Église. On a exprimé ces deux phases dans un vocabulaire aujourd'hui critiqué mais non remplacé. On parle de la 'rédemption objective' pour la première, de la 'rédemption subjective' pour la seconde...." Cf. also F. X. Durrwell, "The Resurrection of Christ," *NCE*, 12: 416: "While distinguishing between objective and subjective redemption, paschal theology considers the latter as a communion with the former." As an example of the difficulty in expressing clearly the various nuances which enter into this question (objective-subjective, mediate-immediate) cf. A. Michel, "Questions mariales," *L'Ami du Clergé* 67 (1957): 261-62.

<sup>262</sup> "Bendito seja o Senhor," 266.

<sup>263</sup> Ryan, *Our Lady of Fatima*, 254; "Bendito seja o Senhor," 267.

<sup>264</sup> *Mystici Corporis*, AAS 35 (1943): 193-248, esp. 247-248; English trans. "The Mystical Body of Christ" (N.C.W.C., 1943). Cf. D. Bertetto, *Il Magistero Mariano di Pio XII*, 116-118; G. Roschini, "La Madonna nell'encyclica *Mystici Corporis Christi*," *Marianum*, 6 (1944): 108-17. In the encyclical the pope does not use the expression *mediation* nor the expression *spiritual maternity*. He describes Mary's activity in the different phases of Christ's earthly and heavenly mission, that activity which has come to be known as her *mediation*. —Laurentin considers Mary's universal mediation to be equivalent to her universal maternity towards men: "En définitive, la médiation universelle de Marie, au sens qui prévaut aujourd'hui, n'est qu'un autre nom

of all mankind to her Immaculate Heart, "who now reigns in heaven with her Son, her body and soul refulgent with heavenly glory." He prays that she will continue to intercede with her Son and that she envelop the Church with the mantle of her protection.<sup>265</sup> Mary is said to truly reign in heaven with her Son since as the second Eve she offers Him on Calvary. The emphasis is here again placed upon her maternal association with her Son in the redemption and her maternal solicitude toward those who have been redeemed.

The doctrine of the Assumption is intimately associated with the doctrine of the queenship of Mary. The relationship between these two privileges has

de sa maternité universelle à l'égard des hommes...." *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 1968, 153ff. Cf. also n. 10: "C'est à cause de ce texte de I Tim. 2: 5-6 sur l'Unus Mediator que Pie XII s'abstint progressivement du titre de Médiatrice qui ne figure pas dans ces actes les plus solennels, puis dans ses discours. Jean XXIII et Paul VI ont constamment évité l'emploi de ce terme." He believes that this is justified both because of the ambiguity of the term *mediation*, a term which the council used only once (Mediatrice no. 62) with great discretion, and because the concrete expression *mother* is more biblical, and is used more frequently by the Council. Cf. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, 115-30; J. Bur, "La médiation de Marie: Essai de synthèse spéculative," *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:471-512: "Il nous suffira de réfléchir avec l'Église sur cette fonction maternelle de Marie réelle qu'elle s'insère dans l'économie du salut, pour comprendre comment ce que nous appelons communément sa maternité" (477). Laurentin likewise considers her queenship as "une autre manière de signifier la situation de Marie dans la gloire auprès du Christ" (*Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 154). Cf. Canal, "La consagración a la Virgen y a su Corazon Inmaculado," 333ff. He says that Mary's queenship and her spiritual maternity are only notionally (inadequately) distinct.—In my opinion, the term, *mediation* has value because it puts us in immediate contact with the fundamental problem facing Catholics and non-Catholics in dialogue: the problem of the possibility of a creature participating in a real way (*mediating*) in our redemption. This subordinate role of the creature in salvation is clearly attributed to Mary by the Council: "The Church does not hesitate to profess this subordinate role of Mary. She experiences it continuously and commends it to the hearts of the faithful, so that encouraged by this maternal help, they may more closely adhere to the Mediator and Redeemer" (Lumen Gentium 62).—On the other hand, it must be used cautiously because it will tend to distort the notion of participation unless one keeps in mind the totally dependent character of this mediation. With regard to the basic concept of queenship as outlined by Laurentin and Canal, I would distinguish: It seems to me that Laurentin restricts the notion and reality of Mary's queenship to that period after the Assumption when she reigns in heaven with her Son. I prefer to view her earthly activity, beginning with the *fiat* as an action (within the context of salvation history) by which she is formally constituted queen and performs queenly activity. We must emphasize the biblical context (God's intention of establishing a community of salvation in terms of a kingdom to be founded and maintained by His Son and, in a subordinate way, by His Son's Mother [as the personification of the Church] each in his/her own way) into which the plan of salvation, the *mystery*, has been placed. Further on, we shall say more about the relationship between maternity, mediation, and queenship.

<sup>265</sup> Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Sainte Vierge*, 248.

been the object of theological discussion for some time.<sup>266</sup> Several times prior to

<sup>266</sup> Cf. R. De Roo, *Regina in Caelum Assumpta* (Nicolet: Centre Marial Canadien, 1953); Garcia Garces, "Asuncion y realeza, relacionados entre si," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 12 (1962): 211-40; A. Rush, "The Queenship of Mary in Early Assumption Literature," *Alma Socia Christi* (1950), 3:110-21; G. Greenen, "L'Assomption et les souverains pontifes," *Angelicum* 27 (1950): 327-55; G. Jouassard, "Royauté et Assomption," *Maria et Ecclesia* 5 (1959):173-89. Cf. Donal Flanagan, "Eschatology and the Assumption," *Concilium* 5 (1969): 68-73.

For Protestant reflections upon Marian doctrine in general and the definition of the Assumption in particular, cf. G. Corr, "La doctrine mariale et la pensée anglicane contemporaine," *Maria* (du Manoir), 3:711-31; J. Hamer, "Marie et le protestantisme à partir du dialogue oecuménique," *Maria* (du Manoir), 3:983-1006; J. Hamer "Protestants and Marian Doctrine," *The Thomist* 18 (1955): 480-502; H. Koester, "Protestant Reaction to Mary's Assumption," *Theology Digest* 5 (1957): 105-08; H. Koester, "De novo dogmate mariano quid protestantes Germaniae sentiant," *Marianum* 17 (1955): 37-75; E.R. Carroll, "A Waldensian View on the Virgin Mary," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 135 (1956): 380-97; G. Miegge, "La définition du dogme de l'Assomption et ses répercussions oecuméniques," *Revue Réformée* 46 (1961): 1-18; P. Palmer, "Mary in Protestant Theology and Worship," *Theological Studies* 15 (1954): 519-40; E. Lamirande, "Prises de position au sujet de Marie chez des non-catholiques canadiens," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 13 (1963): 287-94; K. Dougherty, "Contemporary American Protestant Attitudes toward the Divine Maternity," *Marian Studies* 6 (1955): 137-63; G. Weigel, "A Survey of Protestant Theology in our Day," *Proceedings, C.T.S.A.* 8 (1953): 44 ff. *The Blessed Virgin Mary: Essays by Anglican Writers*, ed. E.L. Mascall and H.S. Box (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963); G. Knight, "The Protestant World and Mariology," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 19 (1966): 55-73; K. Rahner, "Répercussions du dogme de l'Assomption hors de d'Église catholique," *Documentation Catholique*, no. 1089 (25<sup>th</sup> fév. 1951, col. 235-50); A. Bea, "La definizione dell'Assunta e i Protestanti," in *Echi e Commenti della proclamazione del dogma dell'Assunzione* 8 (Rome: Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1954), 75-92; "Mariologie et oecuménisme" [subtitle of three issues], *Études Mariales* 19-21 (1962-64); M.-J. Le Guillou, "Mariologie et oecuménisme," (Chronique bibliographique) *Istina* 9 (1963): 211-38; *De Mariologia et Oecumenismo* (Rome: Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1962): esp. art. by A. Brandenburg, "De Mariologia ac de Cultu Venerationeque Mariae apud Christianos Disiunctos Protestanticos hoc tempore Vigentibus," sec. III: Quid Protestantes de Assumptione Corporea Mariae in Caelum Sentiant," 498-507; D. Stiennon, "Théologie mariale dans l'orthodoxie gréco-russe," *Maria* (du Manoir), 5 (1958): 239-338; A. Wenger, "Foi et piétés mariales à Byzance," *Maria* (du Manoir), 5 (1958):923-982; M. Thurian, "Mariology (Reformed)," in *Ways of Worship* [Report of a Theological Commission of Faith and Order], ed. by Pehr Edwall, Eric Hayman, and William Maxwell (London: S.C.M. Press, 1951); M. Thurian, "Problèmes posés aux Protestants par la Mariologie," *Études Mariales* 20 (1963): 79-94; T. O'Meara, *Mary in Protestant and Catholic Theology* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966). There are various reasons for the Protestant reactions to this definition. Many non-Catholics admit this as a pious belief but not as a dogma of faith to be accepted by all. This definition involves an infallible teaching about man's cooperation in his own redemption; it opposes two basic principles of the Reformation: "Scripture alone" and "Christ alone." It brings in a notion of Tradition as something which is living; it deifies a mere human by setting Mary aside from other humans. Asmussen sees the relationship between the Assumption and the Queenship when he says: "It is easy to see why, according to Scripture, One alone ascended into heaven, Jesus Christ. For His ascension into heaven is not just another unimportant fact; it is the beginning of His reign over the whole world... an outstanding mark of His divinity. Since our Catholic brethren assert the same, or at

the definition, Pius XII referred to Mary's assumption into heaven and spoke

least a similar fact for Mary, the Mother of Jesus, are we to believe that Mary shares this reign with Jesus?" – Fr. J. Hamer ("Protestants and Marian Doctrine," *The Thomist* 18(1955): 481-83) believes that traces of the dogma of the Assumption may be found in Luther's thought (though they are ambiguous). Others (Bea, "La definizione dell'Assunta, 83) hold that Luther would permit one to accept this but not as a doctrine of faith; at the same time Luther vigorously rejects any talk of Mary as queen (Hamer, loc.cit. 482). Le Guillou ("Mariologie et oecuménisme," 221) says that all the Reformers hold for the immediate assumption of Mary's soul at the end of her earthly life but her bodily assumption appeared to them to be meaningless.

The practice of invoking Mary's aid is intimately associated with belief in the communion of saints. While the classical Protestant tradition admits the respect due to those who have preceded us in this life and now share Christ's life in heaven, still it does not allow of prayers of invocation addressed to them since this would derogate from Christ's unique mediatorship. There is, however, a renewal of interest in and appreciation of the place of the saints in the Christian community taking place in various confessions. Cf. M. Thurian, "Le mémorial des saints. Essai de compréhension évangélique d'un aspect de la piété catholique," *Verbum Caro* 13 (1959): 7-28.

The theological root of this key problem (belief in the Assumption and Queenship of Mary) is well identified by H. Roux, "Bilan de l'écriture au point de vue protestant," *Études Mariales* 20 (1963): 60-61: "Mais l'idée d'une participation quelconque de Marie, en tant que personne, à l'action rédemptrice et au règne actuellement présent de Jésus Christ sur l'Église et sur le monde, ne peut se soutenir que si l'on admet une relation ontologique entre Christ et la Vierge Mère qui conférerait à cette dernière une royauté céleste et une maternité divine permanentes." Roux will not allow of such talk. He speaks of her "totale incapacité à coopérer à la nouvelle création et de son renoncement à toute prétention de le faire." Thurian, "Problèmes posés aux Protestants par la Mariologie," 93-94, speaks in the same way. He rejects the Catholic concept of Assumption and Royalty both in terms of their not being revealed in Scripture and the fact that they remove Mary from the company of ordinary saints in the Church: "Pour le protestantisme, la doctrine de l'assomption corporelle et de la Royauté de Marie anticipe sur une réalité eschatologique attendue par tous les chrétiens, Marie y comprise. Cette anticipation de l'eschatologie pour la Vierge la retire des conditions actuelles de tous les saints dans l'Église, selon la conception protestante. Ici est engagée toute une conception de l'eschatologie, des rapports entre l'Église et le Royaume, entre le temps et l'éternité. Le Protestantisme peut admettre que Marie, en tête de l'Église ressuscitera la première pour entrer dans le Royaume, mais il ne peut comprendre une anticipation de l'eschatologie pour elle, qui la soustrairait à l'attente de la résurrection et du Royaume."— From this perspective it is easier to appreciate the difficulties which face us when we begin to speak of Mary as Queen, as ruling with Christ, as exercising royal power within the kingdom. There has, however, been some progress in regard to ecumenical discussion on the question of Mary's presence within the communion of saints. Consider Eamon Carroll's reflections in *Ecumenical Trends* 26:5 (May 1997): 7ff., "Mary in Ecumenical Perspective." He mentions that at three recent international Marian Congresses the topic of Mary's place within the communion of saints has been considered by participants in an ecumenical roundtable. Cf. also E.R. Carroll, "Ecumenical Roundtables at International Mariological Congresses," *Marian Library Studies*, 17-23 (1991): 566-577. In addition, it would be helpful to consider the work of the so-called "Group of Dombes" in *Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints*, ed. A. Blancy and M. Jourjon (New York: Paulist Press, 2002).

of her as queen reigning with Christ the King.<sup>267</sup> On October 30, 1950, which was two days prior to the definition, the pope addressed the sacred consistory of Cardinals and explained his intentions to them concerning the doctrine of the Assumption.<sup>268</sup> He spoke of Mary as "resplendent on her throne as with a new light."<sup>269</sup> He laments that some do not recognize her sublime dignity with which the privilege of her Assumption is strictly connected. This dignity is one of the foundations of her queenship.<sup>270</sup> He prays that Mary lead the entire human race to that divine light which descends only from on high. Again as in the past, he asks that she obtain peace for men stemming from "the tranquility of right order, the just treatment of citizens and peoples, and on the liberty and dignity due to all."<sup>271</sup> These are functions proper to a queen in the strict sense of the word.

In the Apostolic Constitution defining the Assumption,<sup>272</sup> the pope mentions her queenship. He refers to the theologians and preachers who describe Mary as "the queen, entering triumphantly into the royal halls of heaven, and sitting at the right hand of the divine Redeemer."<sup>273</sup> He speaks of her body as having been preserved from all corruption of the tomb and "crowned with great glory in the heavenly courts."<sup>274</sup> He mentions that St. Bernardine of Siena had used as an argument in favor of Mary's Assumption the "likeness between God's Mother and her divine Son in the way of nobility and dignity of body and

<sup>267</sup> Cf. "Mystici Corporis," AAS (1943): 248; "Bendito seja," AAS (1946): 265-66; "Nos sentimur animados," [Radio message.] AAS 39 (1947): 633-34.

<sup>268</sup> "On the first of November, the Feast of all Saints, the radiant brow of the Queen of heaven and of the beloved Mother of God will be wreathed with new splendour, when, under divine inspiration and assistance, we shall solemnly define and decree her bodily Assumption into heaven." "Nostis Profecto," AAS 42 (1950): 774-77.

<sup>269</sup> "Mais c'est surtout Pie XII qui a mis en relief la place de l'Assomption glorieuse. Elle convient à Marie parce que la bénie Vierge est la Reine des anges et des hommes, et c'est au Coeur Immaculé de cette Reine, Mère de Dieu et des hommes, qu'il a consacré le monde en 1942," Geenen, "L'Assomption et les souverains pontifes," 353, 354: "L'Assomption est décrétée par Pie XII (in Mystici Corporis) comme le 'consequimento del fine, termine, ultimo compimento, giubilo, beatitudine' de la Vierge Mère de Dieu; elle lui confère un triple diadème de gloire pour orner le front de Celle qui est la co-régnante avec le Christ en tout et pour toujours, la Reine de l'Univers."

<sup>270</sup> "Nostis Profecto," N.C.W.C., 21; AAS 42 (1950): 776.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>272</sup> "Munificentissimus Deus," AAS 42 (1950): 754-71.

<sup>273</sup> "Munificentissimus Deus," N.C.W.C., 11 and AAS 42 (1950): 763. He continues: "Likewise they mention the Spouse of the Canticles 'that goeth up by the desert, as a pillar of smoke of aromatical spices, of myrrh and frankincense' to be crowned (Cant. 3, 6; 4, 8; 6, 9). These are proposed as depicting that heavenly Queen and heavenly Spouse who has been lifted up to the courts of heaven with the divine Bridegroom."

<sup>274</sup> "Munificentissimus Deus," N.C.W.C., 12 and AAS, 763.

of soul—a likeness that forbids us to think of the heavenly Queen as being separated from the heavenly King.”<sup>275</sup> Further on in a general way Pius says that the writings of the Fathers and theologians based upon Scripture set Mary before our eyes as one who is most intimately joined to her Son and as always sharing His lot. This is an implicit reference to her queenship corresponding to His kingship. The pope makes this explicit a few lines later.<sup>276</sup> Once again he refers to his public act of consecration of the entire human race to Mary’s Immaculate Heart. From this encyclical, then, we have a clear statement of Mary’s queenly dignity and power as well as a repetition of the principles upon which this and all her privileges are founded: her divine maternity and her intimate association with her Son in the work of redemption.

In the prayer composed by the pope on this occasion<sup>277</sup> we find further references to her queenship. She is said to be acclaimed as queen by all the choirs of angels and all the legions of the saints. We petition her heavenly assistance in the struggle here below:

We believe, finally, that in the glory where you reign, clothed with the sun and crowned with the stars, you are, after Jesus, the joy and gladness of all the angels and of all the saints.

This prayer was said at the end of a homily delivered on the occasion of the definition. In the homily the pope speaks of Mary the Queen of the Universe seated beside the Sun of Justice.<sup>278</sup>

There are further references in the addresses of Pius XII to the queenship of Mary up until the time he issued the encyclical “*Ad Caeli Reginam*.”<sup>279</sup> Suffice

<sup>275</sup> N.C.W.C., 14 and AAS 42 (1950): 765-66.

<sup>276</sup> N.C.W.C., 17: “Hence the revered Mother of God, from all eternity joined in a hidden way with Jesus Christ in one and the same decree of predestination, immaculate in her conception, a most perfect virgin in her divine motherhood, the noble associate of the divine Redeemer who has won a complete triumph over sin and its consequences, finally obtained, as the supreme culmination of her privileges, that like her own Son, having overcome death, she might be taken up body and soul to the glory of heaven where as Queen she sits in splendor at the right hand of her Son, the immortal King of the Ages,” AAS 42 (1950): 768-69.

<sup>277</sup> AAS 42 (1950): 781-82 and N.C.W.C., 25.

<sup>278</sup> AAS 42 (1950): 780.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Carroll, “Our Lady’s Queenship in the Magisterium of the Church,” 76-81. Cf. also, “Que de todo,” AAS 45 (Aug. 15, 1953): 554-55; “Fulgens Corona,” AAS 45 (1953): 577-92, esp. 583-84. He also refers to her as “the most powerful Virgin,” 590, 757, 805; “Quando lasciate,” AAS 45 (Dec. 8, 1953): 848-55; “Non altrimenti,” AAS 46 (April 18, 1954): 214; “Quando pochi momenti fa,” AAS 46 (May 2, 1954): 219; “Appena vi accorgete di essere minacciati, gridate subito, correte dalla vostra mamma, e soprattutto rivolgetevi alla Madre celeste, a Maria, che possiede la forma di Dio ed e sempre vicina a voi”; “Mentre l’alba radiosa,” AAS 46 (May 16, 1954): 328; “Dans l’Encyclique,” AAS 46 (July 17, 1954): 494; “Depuis le 8 décembre dernier,” AAS 46 (September 5, 1954): 541-43. See also “Consecration to Mary: Its Benefits and its Obli-

it to cite the statement of one theologian relative to the doctrine of Pius on the queenship, a statement made long before the encyclical was written:

If from the documents we have we wished to determine which truth Pius XII had made shine above all in Mary, it seems to us that we're not wrong in saying: the Queenship. The title of Queen, which Pius XII gave so frequently to Mary, is understood in the strict sense of the word—always, however, subordinate to God Who is essentially the one absolute Lord of all creatures—and this is founded upon solid theological reasons.<sup>280</sup>

### "Ad Caeli Reginam"

In our analysis of the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam" we shall refer to the allocution which the pope delivered on the occasion of the proclamation of the new liturgical feast, Mary Queen of heaven and earth.<sup>281</sup> We are interested primarily in the question: "What does the encyclical teach concerning the nature of Mary's queenship?" But we shall likewise consider other elements contained in the encyclical which are intimately connected with the question of the nature of the queenship: the fact, its foundations, its mode of exercise, and its extension.

The Holy Father indicates that he is not proposing a new truth for our belief but one which the faithful have for centuries believed:

Already from the earliest centuries of the Catholic Church, the Christian people have addressed suppliant prayers and hymns of praise and veneration to the Queen of Heaven, both when they had reason to rejoice and particularly when they were beset by serious troubles....On this point we have not wished to propose a new truth for the Christian people to believe, since actually the title and the arguments on which Mary's royal dignity is based have at all times been clearly expressed, and are already contained as handed down long ago in the documents of the Church and in the books of the sacred liturgy.<sup>282</sup>

gations," *The Pope Speaks* 1 (1954): 281-84; National Marian Congress in Spain at Zaragoza, AAS 46 (1954): 682.

<sup>280</sup> D. Bertetto, "La dottrina mariana di Pio XII," *Salesianum* 11 (1949): 22-23.

<sup>281</sup> AAS 46 (Nov. 1, 1954): 662-66. Cf. Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 1-34; H. du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie, état de la question après l'encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5 (1959), 1:37; G. Roschini, "Breve Commento all'enciclica 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Marianum* 16 (1954): 409-32; G. Roschini, *La Regalità di Maria*, testo e traduzione della lettera enciclica di Pio XII "Ad Caeli Reginam"; Breve commento esplicativo a cura del G. Roschini (Rome, 1954). These authors consider the allocution to be a good commentary upon the encyclical.

<sup>282</sup> AAS 46 (1954): 625 and 627. English trans., N.C.W.C., nos. 1 and 7. The Pope speaks even more clearly in his allocution: "It was not our intention to introduce anything new but rather to have shine forth before the world's gaze a truth which, in the present circumstance, is capable of remedying its ills, of freeing it from its anguish, and of leading it toward the way of salvation which it so anxiously seeks" "Mary, Be Thou Our Queen," *The Pope Speaks* 1 (1954): 337.

We do not have a solemn definition in the encyclical but we do have the teaching of the ordinary magisterium. The pope is instructing us as the supreme Teacher in the Church concerning a point of doctrine which he proposes as something believed already for centuries by the faithful. In instituting the liturgical feast he is exercising another function of the ordinary magisterium, using another means to inculcate a truth. We are not free to dispute the certainty of this truth, although many questions remain open for discussion.<sup>283</sup>

Can we say that this truth is found in Scripture alone? The encyclical is very cautious in speaking of the scriptural foundations of this truth. The Pope includes his scriptural citations within the context of "tradition," i.e., he mentions definite scriptural texts and speaks of them as being the source from which the Christian people "easily acknowledge the supreme royal dignity of the Mother of God." And he speaks of the ancient writers of the Church as basing their stand on the words of St. Gabriel and on the words of Elizabeth.<sup>284</sup> Thus we could not use the encyclical as a basis for saying that the doctrine of the queenship is contained formally, explicitly in Scripture. It seems to favor an implicit, formal inclusion of this doctrine in Scripture.<sup>285</sup>

The pope calls upon many witnesses from Tradition, the writings of the Fathers, theologians, and Roman Pontiffs, to clarify the doctrine of the

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 22-24; du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie," 9-10; Colombo, "La regalità della Madonna," 488-91; Peinador, "Propedeutica a la 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" 315; cf. 293: "The doctrine of Mary's queenship can no longer be considered as a theological opinion more or less well founded; it is a doctrine which the Magisterium considers as true and as such proposes it to the whole Church; true, we understand, according to the sense in which the encyclical proposes it, not according to its scientific elaboration on the part of theologians."

<sup>284</sup> "Ad Caeli Reginam," N.C.W.C., nos. 8-9: "Since the Christian people, even long ago, rightly believed that she from whom was born the Son of the Most High, the One who 'will reign in the House of Jacob forever' (Luke 1:32), the 'Prince of Peace' (Is. 19:16), has received singular gifts of grace over and above all other creatures and since they took cognizance of the intimate connection between the Mother and the Son, they easily acknowledged the supreme royal dignity of the Mother of God. Hence it is not astonishing that the ancient writers of the Church, basing their stand on the words of St. Gabriel the Archangel who foretold that Mary's Son was going to reign forever (Luke 1:32-33), and on the words of Elizabeth who reverently greeting her praised 'the Mother of the Lord,' thereby clearly signifying that, from the royal dignity of her Son, she has obtained eminence and outstanding position." Cf. also no. 34. In the allocution the pope says: "The origin of Mary's glories, the solemn moment which lights up her whole personality and mission is that in which she, full of grace, replied to the Archangel Gabriel with the 'Fiat' (be it done), expressing her consent to God's plan. Thus did she become Mother of God and Queen, receiving the royal office of watching over the unity and peace of the human race." This is a translation of the original Italian address and is found in "Mary, Be Thou Our Queen," *The Pope Speaks* 1 (1954): 337-338.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. "Ad Caeli Reginam," nn. 47-49 and the corresponding text.



queenship. Almost all the witnesses cited speak of Mary's queenship of excellence, i.e., of her queenly dignity, her superiority. Some give hints of a dominion exercised by Mary.<sup>286</sup> The most important doctrinal contribution of this encyclical is to be found in the paragraphs which treat specifically of the foundations of Mary's queenship and its mode of exercise.<sup>287</sup> It is in studying these foundations that our understanding of the nature of the queenship will be clarified.<sup>288</sup>

In the encyclical the pope mentions explicitly two foundations:<sup>289</sup> the divine maternity and the part she played in the work of eternal salvation. He calls the divine maternity the main principle ("praecipuum principium") upon which her dignity rests.

There are many questions which have been raised regarding these elements of her queenship.<sup>290</sup> First of all, are these foundations really distinct? True, the

<sup>286</sup> Cf. Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 25-26; du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie," 12-13; A. Rivera, "La Tradición en la encíclica 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 5 (1955): 335-352, esp. 339 and 349. According to Rivera, these texts speak of Mary's powerful intercession with her Son, her action upon men's souls, the true regal authority which Mary possesses over angels and men: "...advirtamos solo de paso que el concepto de Realeza que nos proporcionan los testimonios y textos que vamos a aducir es no solo de una realeza impropia... sino mas aun de una realeza verdadera y propia, que implica cierto dominio sobre la comunidad y aun sobre el Universo entero, dominio ciertamente participado y analogo al de Jesucristo (no identico al mismo): exclusivo de Maria."

<sup>287</sup> Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 26-29; du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie," 14-17; T. Bartolomei, "Fondamenti della regalità di Maria," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 15 (1965): 49-82.

<sup>288</sup> E. Lamirande, "The Universal Queenship of Mary and her Maternity," [Hereafter: "Queenship and Maternity"] *Marianum* 16 (1954): 484: "It seems, however, that it is precisely in the study of the dogmatic foundations of the Queenship of Mary that we shall discover the principal characteristics of the Queenship itself." He goes on to say that it is not sufficient to analyze the concept of a queen and then apply this to Mary; this presupposes that her queenship is analogous to that of earthly queens, something that is far from certain: I am in agreement with this approach and shall attempt to show that the biblical foundation of Mary's queenship (the "Gebirah" theme) is simply different from the queenship with which we are familiar on the human, political level.

<sup>289</sup> In his Fatima message [AAS 38 (1946): 266] he mentions her fullness of grace, her special relationship to the Trinity, and her association with the work of redemption. He also speaks of divine election. I believe that these four are reducible to the two he mentions in the encyclical.

<sup>290</sup> Lamirande, "Queenship and Maternity," see n. 281; du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie," 15; J. Korba, "Maternité divine et royauté de Marie," *La Royauté de l'Immaculée* (Ottawa, 1957): 195-221 [Note: *La Royauté* was a short-lived journal of the Canadian Mariological Society]; E. Lajeunie, "Maternité divine et régence de la Vierge," *Supplément de la Vie Spirituelle* 54 (1938): 65-81; L. Arsenault, "L'encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam' et le concours marial au salut des hommes," *La Royauté de l'Immaculée*, 35-36. W. Most, "Co-redemption and Queenship in the 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *American Ecclesiastical Review* 133 (1955): 171-182; cf. W. Most, "De Core-demptione et regalitate in epistula encyclica 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Marianum* 17 (1955): 354-368.

pope mentions them separately. He uses expressions which do distinguish them ("not only by reason of her divine maternity, but also because by the will of God she has had an outstanding part in the work of our eternal salvation") and he develops a theology of Mary's cooperation in the redemption. But her maternity and her cooperation are treated as intimately connected and the pope uses the words of Pius XI ("Auspicatus Profecto") to illustrate this point:

Moreover, it can also be said that this most glorious Lady was the beloved mother of Christ precisely "so that she might be made His associate in the redemption of the human race."<sup>291</sup>

It seems, therefore, that the divine maternity and cooperation in the redemption are formally distinct, yet inseparable foundations of Mary's queenship. There is, however, an intrinsic connection between these two elements. Mary is mother so that she might be His associate. In his allocution the pope says that the origin of Mary's glories, that which illuminates her whole personality and mission is the moment she uttered her "Fiat." It was then that she expressed her consent to God's plan and became mother and queen.<sup>292</sup> In other words, we may express the foundation of Mary's queenship as: the divine maternity according to its concrete realization. At the Annunciation Mary accepted God's will in its entirety; she agreed to be the mother of the Redeemer as such, with all that this entailed. In calling her maternity the main principle the pope indicates that her role of associate in the redemption flows from her maternal role. Thus in this sense we can at least lay less stress upon the distinction between these two elements.<sup>293</sup>

A second question is asked: How is this intrinsic connection between the divine maternity and queenship on the one hand and between Mary's cooperation in the redemption and the queenship on the other hand expressed?

The arrangement is different in these two articles, although they treat substantially the same points in the same way.

<sup>291</sup> "Ad Caeli Reginam," N.C.W.C., 9. Cf. "Auspicatus profecto," AAS 25 (1933): 80.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. "Ad Caeli Reginam," AAS 46 (1954): 663: "L'origine delle glorie di Maria, il momento solenne che illumina tutta la sua persona e la sua missione, è quello in cui, piena di grazia, rivolse all'Arcangelo Gabriele il 'Fiat,' che esprimeva il suo assenso alla disposizione divina; in tal guisa Ella diveniva Madre di Dio e Regina e riceva l'ufficio regale di vigilare sulla unità e la pace del genere umano."

<sup>293</sup> Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "Nature de la souveraineté de Marie," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5 (1959):194-198. "On parle généralement de l'acte rédempteur comme d'un second titre à la royauté du Christ. La coopération de Marie à cet acte sera aussi son second titre à être reine. Mais, je préfère encore dire comme je l'ai fait pour le Christ; c'est parce que roi qu'il rachète son royaume; et c'est parce que Marie est reine qu'elle se voue avec lui à ce rachat" (197). Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 143-169; Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 28-29; Arsenault, "L'Encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam' et le concours marial," 53-56.

Theologians generally agree that there is an ontological connection between the divine maternity and the queenship and Mary's cooperation in the redemption but their explanations of this reality differ widely.<sup>294</sup> Lamirande emphasizes the need to underline the excellence of the divine maternity itself as a title for a queenship of "dominion," or true royal power. Authors have too often limited their appreciation of the divine maternity to calling it a queenship of "excellence,"<sup>295</sup> a metaphorical queenship. The divine maternity brings Mary into the sphere of the hypostatic union, in the sense that she pertains in a formal way to the hypostatic order.<sup>296</sup> This fact raises her above every other creature and gives her a title of excellence which is the foundation for her association with her Son in the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. We cannot speak of the divine maternity alone or in the abstract as being the foundation for Mary's proper queenship. It is her divine maternity as it was concretely realized in the order of events as they evolved under divine Providence. It is her consent to the incarnation and redemption (not two separate acts but one consent continued from Nazareth to Calvary) which fundamentally establishes her as queen. Any title she has to queenly power originates in this consent and the reality it brought into being, the grace-filled hypostatic order of redemption.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>294</sup> Lamirande, "Queenship and Maternity," 486-96; Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 28-29; Korba, "Maternité divine et royauté de Marie," 195-305.

<sup>295</sup> Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 12-13: "Un auteur au moins indique rapidement les rapports qui uniraient cette Royauté d'excellence à la Royauté de domination: la raison d'excellence ne donne-t-elle pas déjà un certain droit à l'exercice du pouvoir? Ne convient-il pas que les êtres supérieurs par nature ou par grâce régissent les êtres inférieurs?" Cf. J. Gervais, "Nature de la Royauté de Marie," *Royauté de l'Immaculée* (Ottawa, 1957): 174-75. He adds in a n. 4: "Par conséquent, lorsqu'on insiste pour dire que Marie est reine et non pas un roi féminin, voulant signifier par là qu'une femme ne règne pas de la même manière qu'un roi, il faut bien se garder d'en conclure que Marie n'a pas d'authentiques pouvoirs royaux. Elle n'est pas seulement reine au sens où l'épouse d'un roi terrestre est appelée reine: celle-ci à vrai dire n'a pas de pouvoir royal ou elle ne l'a que dans un sens bien diminué. Au fond la Royauté de la Vierge transcende ces distinctions, comme on le verra mieux dans la dernière partie: Reine parce qu'associée du Christ, comme Eve est compagne d'Adam, elle tire de cette association plus qu'un titre de gloire, un véritable empire. Tel est le raisonnement de l'encyclique, 'Ad Caeli Reginam.'"

<sup>296</sup> Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "L'appartenance de la Mère de Dieu à l'ordre hypostatique," *Études Mariales* 3 (1937): 147-194; M.J. Nicolas, "Le Concept intégral de Maternité divine," *Revue Thomiste* 42 (1937); Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 51-81; M.J. Nicolas, "Essai de synthèse mariale," *Maria* (du Manoir) 1, 706-41.

<sup>297</sup> I see an intrinsic relationship between divine maternity and queenship by way of Mary's association in the redemptive work of her Son. Some expressions of this relationship, however, seem to overemphasize the divine maternity itself, abstracting from its relationship to the concrete, redemptive order predestined by God. Cf. J. Goicoechea, "Explicación teológica de la Realeza de Maria," in *Actas del Congreso Asuncionista Franciscano de America Latina*, Studia Mariana 5 (Rome: Academia Mariana Inter., 1949), 259-304; 285: "Creo que entre la maternidad

Her Immaculate Conception and the fullness of graces it in fact entailed established her at the summit of creation—the most perfectly redeemed of all God's creatures.<sup>298</sup> This was a preparation for and an intrinsic ordination to her free, predestined consent to the redemptive incarnation as such, which consent established her as queen of the universe in the strict sense of the word, i.e., as one possessing authority.

We are touching here a most important aspect of the mystery of Mary.<sup>299</sup> The mystery of Mary is, as we have already indicated, intimately bound up with the mystery of Christ and that of all men and women called to salvation by means of a personal response in faith.<sup>300</sup> The unique character of Christ's mediating role must be maintained not only verbally but it must be explained coherently. At the same time, Mary's unique role in the salvation of men and women must also be explained. There must be some act which Christ, and He alone, performs in order to redeem the human race. Yet Mary's consent to the incarnation of a God-Savior<sup>301</sup> was willed by God as a real contribution to the redemption of mankind.<sup>302</sup>

divina de Maria y la realeza, en el sentido mas propio y verdadero, hay una especie de necesidad ontologica, una consecuencia necesaria, de modo que la maternidad constituye a Maria en Reina, con un poder, dignidad y autoridad que superan, en mucho, a todos los poderes, dignidades y autoridades de todos los reyes de la tierra sobre sus propios y señorios." Earlier he had described the "ontological necessity" in these words: "...puede dirse que no es posible con poder ordinario, por el inconveniente que entraña el que un hombre Dios no sea Rey o una Madre de Dios no sea Reina" (275). Cf. Also, Korba, "Maternité divine et royauté de Marie," 197: "C'est une nécessité hypothétique. Dieu était parfaitement libre de créer ou de ne pas créer une Mère de Dieu; mais une foi décidé qu'il allait en créer une, il n'était plus libre de l'établir ou de ne l'établir Reine de l'univers; il devait le faire, étant donné que dans la Maternité divine il y avait une exigence essentielle de la Royauté."

<sup>298</sup> Cf. J. Fenton, "Our Lady's Queenship and Her Immaculate Conception," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 133 (1955): 401-13; cf. Giocoechea, "Explicacion teologica," 273. Here again, Giocoechea establishes a "certain right" to a queenship of domination by virtue of Mary's Immaculate Conception. This type of reasoning seems to me to contradict the Gospel paradox of the kingdom which is said to belong to the "poor in spirit."

<sup>299</sup> J. Alfaro, "Significatio Mariae in mysterio salutis," *Gregorianum* 40 (1959): 9-37; Id. "Marie sauvée par le Christ," *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:449-70; H. Barré, "Le consentement à l'incarnation rédemptrice," *Marianum* 14 (1952): 233-66.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. R. Lack, "Mariologie et Christocentrisme," *Etudes Mariales* 21 (1964): 17-49.

<sup>301</sup> I do not wish to explore in depth the question of Mary's knowledge at the time of the Annunciation regarding the divinity of her Son; suffice it to state that she knew in an obscure way, through faith, a faith which grew with the passage of time, that her Son would be God's messenger and bearer of salvation to men. Cf. S. Lyonnet, "Le récit de l'Annonciation et la maternité divine de la Sainte Vierge," *L'Ami du Clergé* 66 (1956): 33-48. At the Mariological Congress in Santo Domingo Lyonnet expresses this same opinion. He says that it is "de probabilité plus ou moins sérieuse," though less strongly than he had said earlier. He adds: "Moins encore auto-rise-t-il à penser que l'intention certaine de saint Luc était d'affirmer que la Sainte Vierge avait

According to the theology of the Greek Fathers, the Incarnation itself was salvific in the sense that it established between Christ and mankind a solidarity by virtue of which God the Father, whose love had first sent His Son into the world, loved all men and women in His Son. The actual historical acts by which we were redeemed by Christ, namely His passion, death, and resurrection, were necessary but that which gave them their full salvific meaning was Christ's original acceptance of His Father's will that He come among us as our Brother.<sup>303</sup> His passion, death, and resurrection were the prolongation and consummation of His obedient love toward his Father. At the moment of His coming into the world the whole of humanity was constituted in a new relationship with God, or at least the foundation for a new relationship between God and us was placed. Christ's death and resurrection were distinct moments of the one unique mystery.

Mary's consent to the total mystery of Christ was undoubtedly obscure in the sense that she did not understand all that was being asked of her in regard to its concrete details; yet hers was a full consent—that is, in fact, the point

eu dès ce moment-là une pleine conscience de la divinité au sens propre de l'enfant à naître. La plupart des exégètes modernes ne le pense pas. Tout au plus est-on autorisé à dire, du point de vue de l'exégèse, que les formules employées par saint Luc, en vertu des réminiscences bibliques qu'elles devaient ou pouvaient évoquer, étaient vraisemblablement les moins ambiguës pour révéler à Marie le mystère de sa maternité divine." "L'Annonciation et la Mariologie biblique," *Maria in Sacra Scriptura* (1967) 4:59-72, esp. 67-68. R. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I et II*; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 118-140. It is interesting to note the opinion of Max Thurian in this matter: "Certainly Mary can only accomplish this act of faith because she is highly favored by God, but it is nevertheless she who says the Fiat; it is the Holy Spirit in her, and that is why one cannot neglect this place in which the purpose of God is accomplished, this heart of Mary in which resounds the echo of God's holy will, which becomes incarnate among us. God has not caused Christ to be born of Mary without her knowing it; He has desired her acceptance, and although it is He Himself who in her has said this 'yes,' by the grace with which He had endowed her, He has nonetheless desired that she should pronounce it, and that the Incarnation should begin there. Thus we cannot regard Mary with indifference; we must in no way dismiss her personality on the pretext of better attributing all glory to God alone for God has desired that she should be an obedient servant and not a passive instrument of His purpose. Mary is then for us the example of pure faith, without hesitation or reserve—a faith which sums up that of the patriarchs and prophets, and on which the salvation of the world depends, thanks to the Incarnation which it inaugurates" ("Mariology" [Reformed], in *Ways of Worship*, 299). Thurian does not allow for any merit on Mary's part, though he does see the importance of activity and not mere passivity. Cf. also G. Philips, "Perspectives mariologiques," *Marianum* 15 (1953): 467: "Représenter le Sauveur comme principe purement actif, et l'Église et Marie comme purement réceptives, produit une fois de plus une clarté trompeuse. L'Église et Marie sont aussi, à leur manière, des causes agissantes, et le Christ, lui aussi, est réceptif."

<sup>302</sup> Cf. Luke 1:26-38.

<sup>303</sup> Cf. Heb. 10:7, 9: This approach has its merits but one must be careful not to underestimate the importance of Christ's acts while He was on earth and now that He is in heaven.

of the Lucan narration. What role did that consent play in the incarnation itself and in the other phases of Christ's redemptive mission? Mary gave her consent to be the Mother of a Son who would redeem mankind. Her consent was salvific. This salvific consent gave Mary a definite meaning in the history of salvation; she occupies a central place in that history. Her consent was the free acceptance of salvation in behalf of the whole of mankind.<sup>304</sup> Her virginal conception<sup>305</sup> constituted her the only human person to have been so intimately associated with God in the redemptive incarnation. Her free consent not only made her the mother of the world's Savior but it was also her unique contribution to the spiritual rebirth of men and women. Her consent was truly effective of the salvific incarnation, in the sense that by her *fiat* the beginning of salvation was made possible. Her consent went beyond all the merely human aspects of her maternity to terminate in its salvific import.

Her spiritual growth in faith and submission to God's will were rooted in this initial consent which she not only did not retract but even confirmed by her actions throughout the life of her Son, culminating in her sorrowful acceptance of his death on Calvary. Her assent on Calvary was the completion of her initial consent at Nazareth. Her consent in both instances was what we might call two moments of one and the same salvific response. Her implicit acceptance of her Son's death in the first moment became explicit in the second moment. Her consent in both instances was a true cooperation in the mystery of salvation, not so much as two distinct consents as two phases of one consent. The clarity and depth of commitment had perhaps increased from Nazareth to Calvary but the second instance should not really be called a new consent.<sup>306</sup>

I believe that this theological explanation of the relationship between Mary's maternity and her cooperation in the redemption of mankind is in line with the mode of expression of the pope:

As Christ is our Lord and King by a special title because he redeemed us, so the Blessed Virgin (is our Lady and queen) because of the unique way in which she has cooperated toward our redemption by giving of her substance, by offering him willingly for us, and by desiring, praying for, and bringing about our salvation in a singular manner.<sup>307</sup>

<sup>304</sup> Cf. Leo XIII, "Octobri mense," *Acta Sanctae Sedis* (ASS) 24 (1891-1892): 195. Pius XII, "Mystici Corporis," AAS 35 (1943): 247; *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 30, a. 1. We shall develop this particular point in chapter 3. Cf. R. Lack, "Mariologie et Christocentrisme," 17-49.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Luke 1:26; Mt. 1:18-34.

<sup>306</sup> We shall discuss more fully in chapter three, the relationship between Mary and the Church in terms of salvation.

<sup>307</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 9, no. 37; AAS 46 (1954): 634.

We should not search for the solution of this question of the relationship between divine maternity and queenship by saying that in giving Christ His human nature Mary made Him a King and therefore she is a queen.<sup>308</sup> Christ is King of the universe because He is a divine Person who has assumed a human nature.<sup>309</sup> Jesus as God shares in the kingship of Yahweh; when He becomes man He becomes king over men by assuming one of the essential characteristics of human kingship, the "quality" of belonging to and coming from the people over whom he rules. In order to exercise human kingship over men (in contrast to

<sup>308</sup> Bartolomei says that Mary is queen by right because she generated Christ the King. She is queen because she inserted the Messiah into the Davidic line. There is some doubt, as we have said, as to whether Mary herself belonged to the Davidic line ("Fondamenti della regalità di Maria," 67, cf. n. 59). Cf. Korba, "Maternité divine et royauté de Marie," 202-203: Quant à la proposition 'Marie est Mère du Roi en tant que roi,' elle est, au sens qu'on semble ici lui donner, absolument inadmissible, comme sont inadmissibles ces deux autres propositions: 'Marie est la Mère du Rédempteur en tant que tel ou en tant que Rédempteur' et 'Marie est Mère de Dieu en tant que tel, c'est-à-dire en tant que Dieu.' Etre mère, en effet, signifie être principe. Quand on dit que Marie est la Mère de Dieu, cela signifie que Marie est vraiment le principe de Dieu et que Dieu réellement procède de Marie. Cependant, Dieu n'en procède pas selon la divinité, mais seulement selon l'humanité: ce qui signifie qu'il ne procède pas de Marie en tant que Dieu mais en tant qu'homme. Par conséquent, Marie n'est pas la Mère de Dieu en tant que tel. Et comme Marie, en concevant le Verbe éternel, ne l'a pas revêtu non plus de la formalité du Rédempteur ni de celle du Roi de l'univers."

<sup>309</sup> Pius XI, Encyclical Letter "Quas Primas," AAS 17 (1925): 596: "Verum, ut rem pressius ingrediamur nemo non videt, nomen potestatemque regis, propria quidem verbi significatione, Christo homini vindicari oportere; nam, nisi quatenus homo est, a Patre potestatem et honorem et regnum accepisse dici nequit, quandoquidem Dei Verbum, cui eadem est cum Patre substantia, non potest omnia cum Patre non habere communia propterea quod ipsum in res creatas universas summum atque absolutissimum imperium." The biblical notion of kingship of God is intimately associated with the notion of the kingdom of God. Cf. X. Léon-Dufour, ed. *Dictionary of Biblical Theology* [Hereafter: *DBT*] (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967). P. Grelot and R. Deville, "King," "Kingdom," in *DBT*, trans. by E. Ulrich, 950-56; J. C. Murray, "Kingdom of Christ," in *NCE* 8:188-191; M. J. Cantley, "Kingdom of God," 191-95; P. Hünermann, "Reign of God," in *Sacramentum Mundi*, 6 vols. (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968), 5:233-240. Yahweh was not always addressed as king by His people; this title became prevalent in the Old Testament only after human kingship had been established in Israel at the time of Samuel; yet Yahweh's rule was considered to be so supreme that the proposal to introduce human kingship was rejected by some as an infringement on Yahweh's rule (II Sam. 8:7; 10:19; 12:12). In later Old Testament times the notion of God's kingdom became an expectation for an eschatological kingdom. Jesus allows Himself to be addressed as king (Jn. 1:49; Lk. 18:28; Jn. 18:37) but at the same time He purifies the notion of kingdom in terms of the eschatological, spiritual kingdom. The notion of His kingdom is further purified after His resurrection and the Church perceives the perfect reign of God as occurring at the time of the parousia when Christ will place the kingdom into the hands of His Father (I Cor. 15:24ff.).

divine kingship, or lordship) Christ had to assume a human nature.<sup>310</sup> However, it is not simply his human nature which made him a king. It was the fact that he was a divine Person assuming that human nature which made him a king according to the sense we have given to that term.<sup>311</sup> In what way did Mary contribute to that assumption and consequently to that kingship? She contributed as an instrumental cause by supplying His human nature, the "material" element of His human kingship. Ultimately, the hypostatic union is not her work; it is the effect of a unique divine causality.<sup>312</sup>

Some theologians<sup>313</sup> teach that Mary's maternity is a formal participation in God the Father's paternity. From this it follows, they say, that Mary shares formally in the paternal authority of God over the Son. This is an exaggeration.<sup>314</sup>

<sup>310</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "Le Christ Roi des nations," *Revue Thomiste* 44 (1938): 463: "Dieu est en réalité beaucoup plus qu'un Roi, bien que la Société qu'il gouverne soit la Société parfaite et absolue. Il est le Seigneur, pour employer le mot qui traduit le 'Dominus' de la Bible, par lequel nous avons caractérisé les souveraines prétendues des anciennes monarchies. Jésus aussi est le Seigneur; il est le seul qui le soit, mais c'est là son titre divin, celui dont il jouit, bien qu'il soit homme, en raison de sa divinité...Or c'est selon son humanité que le Christ est, non pas seulement Seigneur, mais avec toute la précision du mot: Roi, Roi de tout ce dont il est le Seigneur souverain selon sa Divinité. En se faisant homme, Dieu s'est fait Roi: Je dirai même: il a fallu que Dieu se fasse homme pour que l'univers ait proprement son Roi."

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 463-464: "Selon son humanité. En tant qu'homme. C'est-à-dire que c'est un attribut attaché à sa condition humaine, qu'il reçoit en tant que Fils de l'homme, et que pourtant il ne recevrait pas si ce n'était pas Dieu qui était ce Fils de l'homme....Or le pouvoir royal du Christ lui revient en sa qualité d'homme, c'est une dérivation de sa souveraineté divine, mais qui s'attache à son humanité."

<sup>312</sup> Cf. Korba, "Maternité divine et royauté de Marie," 202-203; M.J. Nicolas says: "C'est en Marie que la nature humaine, dans son être même, en s'unissant au Verbe Incarné devient royale. On peut même dire, en sens inverse, qu'en donnant à Dieu l'être elle lui donne ce qui fait de lui le roi des hommes, aux sens strict....On peut vraiment dire que l'acte même qui fait Jésus roi en l'incarnant la fait reine" ("Nature de la Souveraineté de Marie," 196). Cf. n. 311 above.

<sup>313</sup> Goicoechea, "Explicación teológica de la Realeza de Maria," 283-285: "Ademas, no se debe olvidar que, si Maria es una pura criatura humana, su maternidad, como dice nuestro Carlos de Moral, 'Participatio formalis paternitatis Patris aeterni.'" Bartolomei speaks of her as sharing in the paternal authority over her Son.

<sup>314</sup> Cf. G. Van Ackeren, "Mary's Divine Motherhood," in *Mariology*, ed. by J.B. Carol, 3 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1955-1961), 2:215ff.: "...we can perhaps see the reason why Father Nicolas backs away from the idea of the divine motherhood as a formal participation in the divine paternity: namely, the hypostatic order is so utterly above any creature that union with (or formal assimilation to) any one divine Person involves a loss of the creature's own personality (as happens in the hypostatic union). In other words, it seems simply outside the realm of possibility that a mere creature preserving its own subsistence should be united to the one divine Person exclusively, no matter how great a grace God confers upon it" (216-217). E. Lajeunie, "Maternité divine et régence de la Vierge," *Supplément de la Vie Spirituelle* 54 (1938): 79-80 says: "Tout vient donc à Marie, en cette royauté, de sa maternité divine...elle a part à l'autorité du Père sur ce Fils; elle l'offre en vertu de cette autorité, comme le Père l'offre au monde pour le salut du



We shall speak of Mary's authority but we shall not describe it as an authority over her Son. It is an authority (a true influence) over grace and consequently over the subjects of her Son's kingdom.

A most important contribution of this encyclical is the elaboration it makes on Mary's cooperation in the redemption.<sup>315</sup> This is clearly indicated as a foundation for her queenly dignity and power:

Now the Most Blessed Virgin Mary is to be called Queen not only by reason of her divine maternity but also because by the will of God she has had an outstanding part in the work of our eternal Salvation. From this association with Christ the King she obtains a splendor and eminence surpassing the excellence of all created things. From this association with Christ comes the royal function by which she can dispense the treasures of the Divine Redeemer's kingdom. Finally, from this association with Christ comes the unfailing efficacy of her maternal intercession with the Son and with the Father.<sup>316</sup>

The encyclical does not settle the question of the manner of Mary's cooperation.<sup>317</sup> The encyclical does not make use of theological terminology

monde. Elle n'accepte pas seulement le sacrifice de la croix: en un sens, très mystérieux elle le veut et le commande, et le Fils, pourrait-on dire, en mourant pour nous obéit à sa Mère comme il obéit à son Père." This is an exaggeration, to say the least. Mary cannot share in any way in the act of "imperium" with regard to the redemption. Her will was united to that of her Son who offered Himself (and in this sense she can be said to have truly offered Him) to His Father as victim. In performing this act of self-immolation Christ obeyed His Father's will alone.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. du Manoir, "La Royauté de Marie," 16-17; Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 26-29; Arsenault, "L'encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam' et le concours marial au salut des hommes," 35-56; L. Jambois, "La Royauté de la Vierge Mère," *Vie Spirituelle* 87 (1952): 115-129; J. Galot, "Reine de l'Univers," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 77 (1955): 491-505; Most, "Co-Redemption and Queenship in the 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" see above n. 290.

<sup>316</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 8-10.

<sup>317</sup> Cf. C. Balič, "Circa thema III Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Internationalis 'Maria et Ecclesia,'" in *Maria et Ecclesia*, 2:6-8: "But if in pursuing the point further we ask what the magisterium of the Church, what the Roman Pontiffs have taught concerning the cooperation of the Blessed Virgin in the work of salvation and the place which Mary occupies in the Church, what, therefore, they have taught concerning the problem outlined by us, and especially concerning the character or nature of the Marian cooperation, it is evident that there is not one identical opinion among you. The Pontiff—who had our program before him—in the autographed document given to us and just now read to you, pronounces no opinion, places no limits either with regard to the reality or with regard to the vocabulary..." [italics mine] Cf. also, R. Hunt, "Our Lady's Coredemption as an Ecumenical Problem," *Marian Studies* 15 (1964): 48-86, esp. 55-60; H. Küng, *The Council, Reform and Reunion* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962), 126-27, citing Fr. Leiber, a close associate of Pius XII: "...on the subject of the titles of 'mediatrix' and 'co-redemptrix' Pius XII, a few weeks before his death and just after the Mariological Congress at Lourdes, said that both matters were too unclear and too unripe, that he had consciously and deliberately, throughout his pontificate, avoided taking up any positive attitude toward them, preferring to leave them to free theological discussion. It was not his intention to alter

which distinguishes between the "objective" and "subjective" redemption nor does it speak of Mary as a coredemptrix. She is said to have had an "outstanding part in the work of our eternal salvation."<sup>318</sup> This is said in complement to her divine maternity ("not only by reason of her divine maternity but also because by the will of God she has had an outstanding part...."). The Pope then cites the encyclical "Quas Primas" as expressing Christ's twofold title to kingship: natural right and right of conquest. This is done to prepare the way for the predication of a twofold title to Mary. To describe her cooperation he cites the Tract from the feast of the Seven Dolours which depicts the sorrowful Mother at the cross. This is followed by a text from Eadmer and another from Suarez both of which, in this context, indicate Mary's active cooperation in the redemption.<sup>319</sup>

this attitude." E. Leiber, "Pius XII as I knew him: Personal Memories of his Private Secretary," *The Tablet* 212, no. 6186 (December 13, 1958): 534-35. Cf. also *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 97 (1962): 45-49; *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 62 (1962): 1020-1030.

<sup>318</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 8-10; AAS 46 (1954): 633.

<sup>319</sup> The original text from Eadmer is not of itself a witness to an immediate cooperation in the redemption. "As...God is Father and Lord of all things preparing all by His power, so the Blessed Mary, repairing all things by her merits is the mother and ruler of all. For God is the Lord of all things, constituting each by His command in its own nature, and Mary is the Lady ruler of all in restoring each to its original dignity through that grace which she has merited." ("De Excellentia Virginis Mariae," Ch. 11, *PL* 159, 578a-b). This text is cited in conjunction with the "Stabat Mater" and a text from Suarez both of which speak distinctly of Mary's cooperation in the redemption by her consent given at the cross. She is said to have cooperated "in a unique way by giving of her own substance, by offering Him willingly for us and by desiring, praying for, and bringing about our salvation in a singular manner" (*De Mysteriis Vitae Christi*, disputation 22, section 2). None of these texts would fit in with the restrictive sense of cooperation in the redemption which would be limited to the fact that Mary brought forth the divine Redeemer of the world. In my opinion they are the basis for an attribution of a more active role, in terms of Calvary, to Mary in the redemption of the world.—In an article on the Mariology of Suarez (*Maria, [du Manoir]*, 2:977-990) De Aldama says that with regard to the theme of the coredemption Suarez is quite sober. He lays down principles from which her cooperation in the redemption can be deduced but he is hampered from developing them himself because the Protestants of his day accused Catholics of attributing to Mary the principal role in the work of redemption. Suarez replies that Mary was not the efficient (principal or instrumental) cause of our salvation because she did not merit it "de condigno." She did, however, merit "de congruo" the incarnation and she exercised a moral causality of intercession in the redemption. Cf. *ibid.*, esp. 987-988. Cf. Galot, "Reine de l'Univers," 493-495. In his article Arsenault ("L'encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam' et le concours marial au salut des hommes," 45) concludes: "Or, c'est précisément la doctrine contenue dans la thèse sur la collaboration immédiate de Marie à la rédemption objective. Conclusion légitime: l'encyclique approuve la position de la majorité des théologiens sur cette question." This is, however, an illegitimate conclusion, both because of the remarks made in n. 317 above and the fact that there is at least one other possibility if one were not willing to limit Mary's cooperation in the redemption to the subjective sphere (that of the distribution of graces) or to a "mediate" cooperation (the mere fact of bringing forth the Redeemer). That other possibility is explained and defended by Dillenschneider: "Toute l'Église

We are using the word "active" here in distinction to "passive" as a preliminary indication that our opinion concerning Mary's cooperation in the redemption is in accord with that proposed by Dillenschneider. According to him, Mary's role in the redemption must be explained from the point of view of redeemed humanity: As the new Eve she is a member of the human race, a member of the Church. She plays an active role in the incarnation and on Calvary through her "*fiat*." But how is this to be understood? She is the personification of the Church. As such, she participates in the very redemptive act of Christ through faith. She does more than accept in our name the fruits of redemption; yet her communication in Christ's redemptive act remains extrinsic to that act (in order to safeguard the uniqueness of Christ's redemptive act). According to St. Paul, our personal salvation depends upon our communication, through faith, in the paschal mystery of Christ into which we are inserted by baptism (Rom. 6:4-8; Col. 2:12ff.). We receive the effects of Christ's redemptive work because we have actively responded to His redeeming love. Our faith opens us to this mystery. Mary, personifying the Church on Calvary, responding in faith and love in our name to God's salvific initiative, united us to the very redemptive act of Christ. Having been perfectly redeemed prior to her Son's death on Calvary (although in virtue of that same death), Mary was able to participate actively (through grace, and therefore "receptively") in Christ's redemptive work. The difference between Mary and the rest of believers is that her adherence of faith was expressed at the moment of Christ's death and it was expressed in the name of all men and women as humanity's response to God redeeming us in Christ.<sup>320</sup>

In the next paragraph we see the principle of association brought into use in order to describe Mary's cooperative role. She is associated with Christ in

en Marie," *Études Mariales* 11 (1953): 75-132, and in his *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée* (Paris: Alsatia, 1957).

<sup>320</sup> Cf. Dillenschneider, "Toute l'Église en Marie," 123-126; J. Bur, "La médiation de Marie. Essai de synthèse spéculative," *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:487-498; C. Baumgartner, "Bulletin de théologie dogmatique," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (1958): 103: "Cette coopération est-elle une efficence proprement dite dans l'ordre du salut de l'humanité, subordonnée, bien entendu, et dépendante de l'acte rédempteur du Christ? Ou bien toute la coopération immédiate active de la Vierge à la rédemption objective, consiste-t-elle à l'accueillir, à y adhérer et consentir au nom de l'humanité? Nous nous inclinons à penser que la vérité est à chercher dans cette dernière direction." Cf. G. Philips, "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," *Maria* (du Manoir), 8:73: "Parmi les éléments désormais acquis, il faut compter surtout l'association intime de la Vierge de Nazareth avec la personne et l'oeuvre de son Fils, rédempteur du monde. Sans recourir aux termes techniques, la Constitution affirme nettement la coopération de la Mère du Christ à la réalisation du salut, coopération basée sur une réceptivité éminemment active, toujours dans l'ordre de la foi et de la grâce."

the work of redemption as Eve was associated with Adam in man's ruin. She is called the second Eve and again the parallel between her and Christ is drawn: "...so by a certain kind of analogy, the most Blessed Virgin is Queen, not only because she is the Mother of God, but also because, as the new Eve, she was associated with the new Adam."<sup>321</sup> Mary is said to have been Christ's associate in "*the struggle against His enemies*"—this is presented by Pius as something intimately connected with, but yet distinct from her "splendor and eminence surpassing the excellence of all created things" and "her royal function by which she can dispense the treasures of the Divine Redeemer's kingdom," and "the efficacy of her maternal intercession."<sup>322</sup>

What does the encyclical teach regarding the nature of Mary's queenship? How are we to conceive the regal power of the Virgin? The first point to make clear is this: The encyclical does not explicitly treat the nature of her queenship. There are at most indications of a solution to this question.

Mary is said to share, although analogically and in a restricted way, in Christ's royal dignity precisely insofar as she is the Mother of Christ and his associate in the labors of the redemption, in the struggle against his enemies, and in the victory which he won over them. Consequently she is elevated above all creatures, she exercises the royal function of distributing graces and the efficacy of her intercession is without limit. There is here a hint of real

<sup>321</sup> "Ad Caeli Reginam," N.C.W.C., 9; AAS 46 (1954): 634-35. Cf. Most, "Co-redemption and Queenship in the 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" 176, n. 10. Most indicates that in speaking of a "certain kind of analogy" the pope says that there is a likeness and a dissimilitude between the regal status of Christ and Mary. On the one hand, the parallel lies in the fact that Christ is the God-man and thus king while she is the mother of the God-man and thus queen. Further, Christ is said to be King by virtue of His redemptive work and Mary queen by virtue of her intimate association in the work of redemption. He then shows that if we limit Mary's cooperation in the redemption to the work of applying the fruits of the redemption there would be no analogy or similitude to Christ's second title to kingship since in this place the pope is obviously referring to Christ's work of paying the price of redemption. And further, if we said Mary's share in this work was restricted to her acceptance of God's will that she be the Mother of the Redeemer (thus, a remote cooperation) this would have been already said in the first part of the comparison. Most writes: "...the pope says that the reasons for Mary's queenship form 'a certain kind of analogy' with the reasons for Christ's kingship. Now Christ is King, as the Holy Father had said earlier, 'not only by natural right...but also by an acquired right...not only because He is the Son of God, but also because He is our Redeemer.' The conclusion is obvious. Mary by analogy must have shared in the work of that Redeemer, in the payment of that price. Were we to deny her such a sharing, the second half of the analogy would be destroyed." Most's argument does indicate that there was more than a purely receptive role played by Mary in the redemption, that she was truly active in the redemptive act as carried out by her Son on Calvary, but his argument does not exclude an opinion which would hold for an active receptivity, with the emphasis on "active."

<sup>322</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 9-10; "Ad Caeli Reginam," AAS 46 (1954): 635.

power.<sup>323</sup> Maternal intercession is prominent here and in the allocution given on November 1, but the efficacy of this intercession seems to be founded upon an influence (a "dominion") which she has in the kingdom of grace.<sup>324</sup>

Not only has Mary received a supreme degree of excellence and perfection but she has also received "some sharing of that efficacy by which her Son and our Redeemer is rightly said to reign over the minds and wills of men."<sup>325</sup> Further on, the pope exhorts all the faithful to glory in the fact that they are subject to the rule of the Virgin Mother of God who both enjoys royal power and burns with a Mother's love. He speaks of all created things being subject to her and mentions her royal scepter; he desires that all men more clearly acknowledge and zealously venerate the kind and maternal rule of the Mother of God. In the allocution the pope mentions that it was at the Annunciation that she received the royal office of watching over the unity and peace of the human race:

We have firm confidence that through her mankind will little by little progress along this way of salvation; she will guide the rulers of nations and hearts of their peoples toward concord and charity.<sup>326</sup>

In the encyclical he expresses the desire that she continue to carry out this royal office:

May the Lady, who commands all things and ages and who knows how to put down evils with her virginal foot turn her merciful eyes, whose light dispels storms and clouds and brings calm, toward her innocent and afflicted children. And may she soon grant, that enjoying at last the liberty which is their due, they may be able to perform the public duties of religion.<sup>327</sup>

In all of these expressions there is an indication that Mary exercises some authority. This is most clearly stated in the paragraph where she is said to

<sup>323</sup> In the encyclical it is said that Mary rules over nature and its forces; she rules over the minds and wills of men. In the allocution of November 1, the pope prays that she reigns over the Church which professes and celebrates her sweet dominion (AAS 46 [1954]: 665). She is said to "rule over the machinations of Satan" (662), according to the artistic monuments of the past.

<sup>324</sup> Besides the expression, "...comes the unfailing efficacy of her maternal intercession with the Son and with the Father," found in the encyclical, the pope cites a passage from "Ineffabilis Deus" which says that Mary "petitions most powerfully with her maternal prayers and she obtains what she seeks, and she cannot fail." In the allocution the pope says that Mary exercises her queenship "accepting our homage and deigning to hear even the humblest and least perfect prayers." (*The Pope Speaks* 1 [1954]: 340).

<sup>325</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 10-11; Ad Caeli Reginam, AAS 46 (1954): 636.

<sup>326</sup> *The Pope Speaks* 1 (1954): 338; AAS 46, 663.

<sup>327</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," 13; AAS 46, 639.

share in some way in the efficacy by which her Son rules over the minds and wills of men.<sup>328</sup>

There is an intimate connection between the queenship of our Lady and her dispensation of graces. The latter is said to be her royal function. In mentioning her dispensation of graces the pope uses as a point of comparison the instrumental action of Christ's humanity and the sacraments:

For if the word of God performs miracles and gives grace through the humanity He has assumed, if He employs the sacraments and His saints as instruments for the salvation of souls, why should He not use His Mother's office and efforts to bring us the fruits of the redemption?<sup>329</sup>

Some have concluded that by using such a comparison the pope wished to teach that Mary's dispensing action is to be conceived as the action of a physical, instrumental cause. This, however,<sup>330</sup> is an exaggeration since the Holy Father gave no indication that he wished to settle the point of controversy. He used the word "instrument" in a broad sense, wishing to indicate a real influence on Mary's part but not specifying its nature.<sup>331</sup>

Nowhere does he touch upon the question of legislative, judicial, or executive powers which some theologians wish to attribute to Mary. Even though there is a tendency in the encyclical to avoid too strict a comparison between Mary's

<sup>328</sup> J. Gervais, "Nature de la Royauté de Marie," 175 and n. 4: "C'en est assez pour conclure que cette excellence doit se traduire en un pouvoir réel, participé au pouvoir royal de Jésus Christ. — Nous rencontrons ainsi les affirmations les plus autorisées de l'enseignement chrétien, aussi bien la lettre même de l'encyclique 'Ad Caeli Reginam' qui distingue dignité et autorité et ne manque pas d'attribuer les deux distinctement à la Vierge-Reine, que les mille manifestations de la liturgie et de la piété chrétienne où on entend une louange à la dignité, une soumission à l'autorité, un appel au secours puissant de la Reine de miséricorde...reine parce qu'associée du Christ, comme Eve est compagne d'Adam, elle tire de cette association plus qu'un titre de gloire, un véritable empire. Tel est le raisonnement de l'encyclique." Cf. Galot, "Reine de l'Univers," 498ff. I believe, however, that we can explain the expressions of the encyclical without having recourse to the analogy of earthly queens.

<sup>329</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 11; AAS 46 (1954): 636.

<sup>330</sup> Roschini, "Breve commento all'enciclica 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" *Marianum* 16 (1954): 430: "Sembra qui affermata in modo chiaro la *strumentalità fisica* di Maria SS. nella distribuzione di tutte le grazie, oltre alla causalità *morale*, per via di intercessione."

<sup>331</sup> Lamirande, "Où en est le problème," 32: "Nous serions plus hésitants et plutôt porté à croire que dans une matière aussi controversée le Saint-Père n'a pas eu l'intention d'intervenir, mais bien plutôt qu'il a employé le mot instrument dans un sens général, faisant abstraction d'opinions d'écoles" (du Manoir, "Le Royauté de Marie," 21); Gervais, "Nature de la Royauté de Marie," 177. Cf. also M.J. Nicolas, "Théologie de l'intercession mariale," *Études Mariales* 24 (1967): 57-70; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., 151 and nn. 7-8.

regal status and that of Christ, in the opinion of some this does not of itself exclude the possibility of her exercising some jurisdictional power.<sup>332</sup>

Finally, there is an explicit treatment of the extension of Mary's queenship. It is said to be most efficacious. The pope makes his own the phrase of Eadmerus which hails Mary as the "Mother and ruler of all." She has a splendor and eminence surpassing the excellence of all created things. She is said to have gained a primacy over all things. Her queenship of excellence puts her above all the angels and saints. She rules over the minds and wills of men. Again, the pope quotes Pius IX as saying that she has been constituted Queen of heaven and earth and has been exalted above all heavenly choirs of angels and the ranks of saints. In one paragraph the pope hints at the universality of her queenship:

From so many testimonies gathered together there is formed, as it were, a far-sounding chorus that praises the high eminence of the royal honor of the Mother of God and men to whom all created things are subject.<sup>333</sup>

On two different occasions he calls her the Queen and Mother of the Christian people and in his final exhortation the pope refers to her as the Lady ruler of angels and of men.

In the prayer following the allocution Mary is hailed as Queen of heaven and earth, Queen of mankind. She is said to exercise her primacy over the choirs of angels who acclaim her as their Sovereign and over the legions of saints.<sup>334</sup> This is all that can be said about the extension of her power as far as the words of the pope are concerned.<sup>335</sup>

Having completed an analysis of the encyclical, a few remarks are in order: The Pope clarifies the issue regarding the scriptural foundations for the

<sup>332</sup> Roschini thinks, however, that such powers are definitely excluded in the encyclical ("Breve commento all'enciclica 'Ad Caeli Reginam,'" 428). Lamirande does not agree ("Où en est le problème," 31 and n. 77). He believes that some of the expressions which appear in the prayer said at the conclusion of the allocution on November 1 could well be interpreted as indications of legislative power. Some theologians (du Manoir, "La 'Royauté de Marie,'" 21) speak of a jurisdiction in a looser sense exercised by Mary over souls by means of grace, an activity in a maternal way which would bring to her a real share in the government of her Son over the kingdom. By means of this activity she would rule over people and lead them as individuals and as members of Christ's body to their final end. I do not agree with the approach which seeks to assign such powers to Mary. It follows too closely the political analogy of queenship.

<sup>333</sup> "On the Queenship of Mary," N.C.W.C., 12; "Ad Caeli Reginam," AAS 46 (1954): 638.

<sup>334</sup> Cf. *The Pope Speaks* 1 (1954): 340.

<sup>335</sup> Cf. R. Gagnebet, "Le mode d'exercice de la Royauté de Marie au ciel à l'égard des hommes vivants," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:201-212; J.H. Nicolas, "En quel sens peut-on parler d'une compassion et d'une peine de la Reine des élus pour son peuple souffrant sur la Terre?" *Nature de la souveraineté de Marie*, *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:213-22; H. Holstein, "La Royauté de Marie dans l'Église," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:223-237.

queenship. It is to the Lucan texts of the Annunciation and Visitation that we must go. He confirms the tendencies of theologians to see her maternity and her cooperative role as foundations for her queenly status. He makes frequent references to her royal power. As shall appear in my critique of the theological positions taken in this question before and even after the encyclical, I do not believe our theological reflections concerning the nature of Mary's queenship should be pursued along these lines. Such expressions are based upon the analogy of earthly kingdoms and rulers, concepts which are not only culturally relative but also are explicitly rejected by Christ Himself: "My kingdom is not of this world."<sup>336</sup> The encyclical, like theologians who work on this problem, is seeking to express a reality in terms which the men of its day will understand. As we shall see, the approach taken by Vatican II in regard to Mary is more biblical; consequently, biblical terminology placed in the setting of salvation history is used to express the mystery of Mary. It is in this light that we must approach the question of the queenship of Mary.

It remains for us to gather together some relevant statements of Pius XII, John XXIII, Paul VI, and John Paul II concerning the queenship since the encyclical. Initially, there is nothing really new; we do find a repetition of some of the aspects of Our Lady's queenly role which we have already considered in the writings of the popes. We limit our quotations to those which are more significant, making further references in the footnotes.

Pius speaks of her protection, of her maternal queenship, and he petitions her to rule over the minds and wills of all men.<sup>337</sup>

In 1955, the office and mass for the feast were published.<sup>338</sup> In the fourth lesson in the office we find a passage from a sermon of Peter Canisius in which her queenship of excellence is extolled. In the fifth lesson her divine maternity is given as the reason for her queenship. The sixth lesson is taken from the encyclical. The gospel selection comes from the Annunciation text of Luke. The homily is taken from St. Bonaventure's writings. He extols the divine maternity as the reason for her queenship. Her Son honors his Mother by making her queen. Mary is said to be queen and the dispensatrix of grace. She dispenses grace because of her merits. In the responsories she is hailed as the Queen of Mercy. In those for outside paschal time there is reference to her standing by the cross and she is called the Companion of the Passion, the Queen of the

<sup>336</sup> Jn. 18:36.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. "It is with a Full Heart," AAS 46 (Nov. 11, 1954): 702-705; "Como el agil," AAS 46 (Dec. 5, 1954): 721; "Cuando el ocho de septiembre," AAS 46 (Dec. 8, 1954): 724; "Dal profondo di questa terra" (Prayer to Mary Queen): AAS 47 (1955): 421-22; "Cum maerenti animo," AAS 48 (June 29, 1956): 554.

<sup>338</sup> AAS 47 (1955): 470-480.



World. We have already mentioned the changes which have occurred in the liturgical celebration of the feast.<sup>339</sup>

In his encyclical "Haurietis Aquas" [On Devotion to the Sacred Heart] (1956) Pius draws a parallel between devotion to the Sacred Heart and to Mary's Immaculate Heart. This is a return to a frequent theme in his writings and it is quite significant.<sup>340</sup>

In an encyclical letter on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the Lourdes apparitions Pius refers to her powerful intercession and asks her to lead men who are thirsty for truth to the source of living waters.<sup>341</sup> In an allocution he says that she shares in the sovereignty of her Son because of her maternity and redemptive role.<sup>342</sup> In a radio address to the Congress at Lourdes he speaks of the reconciliation of souls with Christ as her work.<sup>343</sup>

Pope John XXIII<sup>344</sup> lived a profound, personal Marian piety but his Marian pronouncements were often cautious because of his concerns about the ecumenical movement which he hoped to foster during his pontificate. His piety sprang from his family experiences. As a Cardinal he was very sensitive to the fact that the definition of the dogma of the Assumption by Pope Pius XII was disturbing to most non-Catholics. He felt that he could not subscribe to the

<sup>339</sup> Cf. "Ad Caeli Reginam," AAS 46 (1954): 631 [25-27, nn. 32-33].

<sup>340</sup> AAS 48 (1956): 352; N.C.W.C., 37: "That graces for the Christian family and for the whole human race may flow more abundantly from devotion to the Sacred Heart, let the faithful strive to join it closely with devotion to the Immaculate Heart of the Mother of God. By the will of God, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary was inseparably joined with Christ in accomplishing the work of man's redemption, so that our salvation flows from the love of Jesus Christ and His sufferings, intimately united with the love and sorrows of His Mother. It is, then, highly fitting that after due homage has been paid to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Christian people who have obtained divine life from Christ through Mary, manifest similar piety and the love of their grateful souls for the most loving heart of our heavenly Mother. The memorable act of consecration by which We Ourselves, in the wise and loving dispositions of Divine Providence, solemnly dedicated the Church and the whole world to the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is in perfect accord with devotion to the Sacred Heart." In a footnote in the AAS there is a reference made to AAS 34 (1942): 345ff., where we find the prayer of consecration to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, which is not dated in the AAS. Cf. footnote 247 above.

<sup>341</sup> "Le Pèlerinage de Lourdes," AAS 48 (1957): 618-19; *The Pope Speaks* 4 (1957-1958): 116-17.

<sup>342</sup> "Poussés par le désir," AAS 48 (Sept. 29, 1957): 912; *The Pope Speaks* 4, (1957-1958): 418.

<sup>343</sup> "Puisent ces ondes," AAS 50 (Sept. 17, 1958): 744.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. Enrico Galavotti, "Madre di Gesù e madre nostra. Gli interventi mariologici di Giovanni XXIII nella preparazione e nella prima sessione de concilio Vaticano II," *Marianum* 63 (2001): 245-272; G. Roschini, "La Madonna nella vita e nel magistero di Giovanni XXIII," *Marianum* 25 (1963): 217-247; Bertetto, "Acta Mariana Joannis Papae XXIII," in *Biblioteca Teologica Salesiana*, Ser. 2: Vol. 1 (Zurich: Magisterium, 1964). Mariologists of recent times have the advantage of the availability of these studies which analyze the Marian doctrine of the popes.

movement which sought to institute a feast for Mary's queenship.<sup>345</sup> Yet he adds that if the supreme authority in the Church decides to institute this feast he would be among the first to celebrate it.

He expressed his personal concerns about the effect the doctrines of co-redemption and Mary's universal mediation of graces would have upon the ecumenical movement. He was preoccupied with preparations for the Council and he witnessed the divisions which existed among Catholic theologians regarding Marian doctrine and devotion. He seems to have kept himself at a distance from the Mariological discussions which took place in preparation for the Council.<sup>346</sup> On a personal level he often invoked the intercession of Mary. Just prior to the opening of the Council he made a personal pilgrimage to Loreto. He also decided that the Council would begin on October 11, the feast of Mary's maternity, and that the first session would close on December 8<sup>th</sup>. The second session was set to open on September 8<sup>th</sup>.

He refers to the powerful protection of the Immaculate Virgin; he calls her the "Regina Mundi"; he petitions her intercession with great confidence: "Possiamo noi, col cuore tremante, occuparci intorno al più grande problema di vita o di morte, che incombe sulla umanità tutta intera, senza che ci confidiamo alla tua intercessione, a preservarci 'a periculis cunctis'?"<sup>347</sup>

In an allocution given on December 8, 1960, in St. Mary Major's the pope made reference to the prayer of Pius IX when he opened the first Vatican Council: He makes this prayer his own:

*Tu, mater pulchrae dilectionis, agnitionis et sanctae spei, ecclesiae regina, et propugnatrix. Tu, Nos, consultationes labores nostros in tuam maternam fidem tutelamque recipias; ac Tuis age apud Deum precibus, ut in uno semper spiritu maneamus et corde.*<sup>348</sup>

<sup>345</sup> Galavotti, "Madre di Gesù e madre nostra," 254, says that at that moment Pope John preferred to withhold his support "nel timore di un grave pregiudizio circa l'efficacia dell'azione Apostolica impiegata a ricondurre l'unità della S. Chiesa Cattolica nel mondo. Gesù morente a detto a Giovanni: 'Ecco la tua madre.' Questo basta alla fede ed alla liturgia. Il resto può essere, e lo è in gran parte edificante, e per parecchie anime devote e pie commovente; ma per molti, moltissimi altri pure bene inclinati per la Chiesa Cattolica, irritante—e come si dice ora—contraproducente." This citation is found in a letter from Cardinal Roncalli to Fr. Carlo Balic (April 22, 1954): cited in A. and G. Alberigo, *Giovanni XXIII. Profesia nella fedeltà* (Brescia: Quiriniana, 1978), 489.

<sup>346</sup> Galavotti, "Madre di Gesù e madre nostra," 255, 258-259.

<sup>347</sup> Examples: "Messaggio del santo padre Giovanni XXIII per la giornata della pace," AAS 53 (1961) 577-582. "Exeunte jubilari anno," AAS 51 (Jan. 31, 1959): 88; "L'ottobre," AAS 52 (Sept. 28, 1960): 814; *The Pope Speaks* 6 (1960): 371; "L'apostolo Pietro," AAS 53 (Sept. 10, 1961): 582.

<sup>348</sup> "Portiamo con noi," AAS 53 (1961): 36-37; *The Pope Speaks* 7 (1961): 41.

Mariologists have long had an appreciation for the depth and breadth of the Marian teaching of Pope Paul VI.<sup>349</sup> Fr. Calabuig describes the Marian magisterium of the pope in these words: "un magistero intenso, ampio ricco di intuizioni e di vedute originali."<sup>350</sup> He goes on to say that it will take many years of intense research to systematize his Marian thought. He used the Wednesday audiences as occasions for catechesis, often upon Marian topics and especially for reflections upon chapter 8 of *Lumen Gentium*.<sup>351</sup> His greatest contribution to Marian thought and piety was his Apostolic Letter "Marialis Cultus" (Feb. 2, 1974).<sup>352</sup>

On the first anniversary of the opening session of the second Vatican Council Pope Paul VI spoke about Our Lady. This was in the basilica of St. Mary Major and he invoked her protection upon the Church and humanity.<sup>353</sup> In the last meeting of the third session of the Council he named Mary Mother of the Church. He does not use the title, "Queen" but he does commend to her Immaculate Heart all mankind and he does petition her to lead mankind to Christ, to obtain peace, etc.,... functions proper to a mother and a queen.<sup>354</sup> We consider the doctrine of the Council in the third chapter.

Paul calls Mary the Queen of Heaven in his encyclical "Mense Maio" and says that she is rightly the way by which we are led to Christ.<sup>355</sup>

On February 2, 1965, the pope addressed those who were gathered for the blessing of the candles and he mentions that our Marian beliefs symbolize human cooperation in the redemption. He said that Mary is, under one aspect,

<sup>349</sup> Cf. D. Bertetto, "Il Magistero Mariano di Paolo VI nei Primi tre anni di Pontificato," *Salesianum* 28 (1966): 435-493; id., "Il Magistero Mariano di Paolo VI nel secondo triennio di Pontificato," *Salesianum* 32 (1970) 283-323; id., "L'Esortazione Apostolica di Paolo VI sul culto mariano," *Salesianum* 36 (1974): 409-430. Cf. T. Koehler, "Paul VI and Marian Devotion: An Ecclesial Renewal," *Marianum* 41 (1979): 445-460. Fr. Koehler says: "What importance do we attach to the Marian teachings of Pope Paul VI in his pontificate, so dedicated to the greatest needs of the Church? Precisely the one that the pope himself clearly indicated by his own preoccupation to put Marian devotion in its rightful perspective; he gave Mary her right place in the life of the Church by showing that Marian devotion is, first of all, truly 'ecclesial'" (446).

<sup>350</sup> I. Calabuig, "In memoriam Pauli Pp. VI ejusque erga Deiparam pietatis," *Marianum* 40 (1978): 1\*-21\*.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> "Marialis Cultus," Washington, DC: U.S.C.C., 1974. Reflecting upon this document, Fr. Koehler says: "Conscious of the liturgical renewal, he (Pope Paul) also wanted to indicate how the renewal prepared for and enhanced the place of Mary in our liturgy, in our prayer life. By this document he wanted to show how the various forms of Marian devotion are integrated parts of the worship, the prayer life of the Church," ("Paul VI and Marian Devotion," 455).

<sup>353</sup> "Diremo soltanto perché," *AAS* 55 (Oct. 11, 1963): 872-74.

<sup>354</sup> "Post duas menses," *AAS* 56 (Nov. 24, 1964): 1018.

<sup>355</sup> "Mense Maio," *AAS* 57 (April 19, 1965): 353-358.

daughter of the Church, our Sister, but under another aspect she is the Mother of God, the Queen of the Church and the Mother of the Mystical Body.<sup>356</sup>

In an address to the International Marian Congress held at Santo Domingo he urges the delegates to render homage to Mary and to impress upon this Marian cult its Christocentric and ecclesial characteristics.<sup>357</sup> On 15 September 1966, Paul issued an encyclical letter<sup>358</sup> urging the Christian people to recite the rosary for peace. He calls Mary the "*praestantissimam deprecatricem*" to whom the Church has always turned in troubled times.

In a radio address to the people present for the reception of the Golden Rose at Guadalupe he says:

La Iglesia corona el culto especial que la piedad del pueblo tributa a María durante el mes del mayo con la fiesta de su realeza universal. Nuestra Señora aparece así asociada por Cristo y con Cristo a su triunfo y su gloria; la pedagogía espiritual de la liturgia, al mostrarnos las prerogativas de María, nos señala el camino hacia Cristo.<sup>359</sup>

On May 13, 1967, Pope Paul delivered an Apostolic Exhortation<sup>360</sup> concerning the need to venerate and imitate Mary, the Mother of the Church and the exemplar of all virtues. He calls her the spiritual mother of all people and describes her truly maternal activity in terms of uninterrupted prayer which, far from derogating from the efficacy of Christ's activity, takes all its force from His power. He contrasts her intercession with her exemplary activity by which she attracts people to imitate the divine Exemplar, Christ. He further states that Mary devoted herself entirely to the service of God the Father and the Word Incarnate from the moment of the Incarnation but also to the service of mankind since she knew that Jesus was to free His people from sin and was to be king of a messianic, universal, everlasting kingdom.

In an allocution given at St. Peter's (May 3, 1967)<sup>361</sup> at which the pope announced his trip to Fatima he refers to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the consecration of the world to Mary's Immaculate Heart. He again refers to her as the Queen of Peace. At Fatima itself he addressed the people and began by referring to the consecration of the world to her Immaculate Heart.<sup>362</sup>

On October 16, 1978, Pope John Paul II succeeded John Paul I and became one of the greatest proponents of Marian doctrine and devotion in the

<sup>356</sup> "La cerimonia dell'offerta," AAS 57 (Feb. 2, 1965): 248-253.

<sup>357</sup> "En el mismo lugar," AAS 57 (March 25, 1965): 400-403.

<sup>358</sup> "Christi Matri," AAS 58 (1966): 745-749.

<sup>359</sup> "En la fiesta litúrgica," AAS 58 (May 31, 1966): 515-516.

<sup>360</sup> "Signum Magnum," AAS 59 (1967): 465-475.

<sup>361</sup> "Oggi il breve discorso," AAS 59 (1967): 502-505.

<sup>362</sup> "Tao grande," AAS 59 (May 13, 1967): 594-597.

history of the papacy. In his first public prayer to Mary as Pope he called her "*Regina Apostolorum*," and he predicted that she would be "a shining star of our pontificate."<sup>363</sup> Throughout his papal ministry he has referred to her under various titles bearing the name *queen*.<sup>364</sup>

His voluminous Marian teachings come to us in the form of an encyclical, "*Redemptoris Mater*,"<sup>365</sup> which traces in great detail the life and role of Mary in salvation history; an apostolic letter,<sup>366</sup> which develops a theological anthropology of woman based, in part, on the dignity and vocation of Mary; homilies,<sup>367</sup> and catechetical instructions delivered at the Vatican on the occasion of weekly audiences.<sup>368</sup>

In a commentary on the early Marian writings of Pope John Paul, Fr. Bertetto underlines the characteristics which continued to be a mark of the pope's personal appreciation of Mary as "Mother of God and our Mother."<sup>369</sup> Besides the Scriptures and the Vatican Council document on Mary, Bertetto feels that John Paul II was greatly influenced by the insights of Pope Paul VI in his Apostolic Letter "*Marialis Cultus*."

It seems to me that John Paul's greatest contribution towards a more profound, biblical understanding of Mary's queenly role is found in his frequent reference to the phrases, *servare est regnare* and *regnare est servare*. In a homily given during the mass for the feast of the Assumption in 1980 he refers to "the reign of God in her who always wanted to be nothing more than the Servant of the Lord."<sup>370</sup> It is in his encyclical on the Mother of the Redeemer that he

<sup>363</sup> Cf. "Prima invocation Summi Pontificis ad B. Virginem," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 28 (1978): 406 [excerpts of documents].

<sup>364</sup> In a homily at the Shrine of Guadalupe he calls Mary "Queen of Peace," "Queen of Apostles." *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 29 (1979): 125-126.

<sup>365</sup> "*Redemptoris Mater*," AAS 79 (1987): 424f.

<sup>366</sup> "*Mulieris Dignitatem*," AAS 80 (1988).

<sup>367</sup> In his numerous travels to shrines he took the occasion to preach on Mary, often reflecting exegetical and theological developments which have occurred since the Vatican Council.

<sup>368</sup> Cf. the vast documentation gathered in the volumes of *Ephemerides Mariologicae* and *Marianum* during Pope John Paul's pontificate.

<sup>369</sup> D. Bertetto, "Il Magistero mariano di Giovanni Paolo II nel primo biennio di pontificato (16 ottobre, 1978-21 ottobre, 1980) in *Salesianum* (1982): 393ff.; also his "I rapporti tra Maria e la Chiesa nel Vaticano II," in *Maria e la Chiesa Oggi* (1984): 393ff.; *Salesianum* 44 (1982): 189-190.

<sup>370</sup> "Omelia alla Messa dell'Assunta," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 30 (1980): 393ff. While reciting the Angelus, he says: "Non è avverata proprio in Lei—e soprattutto in Lei—la verità secondo cui 'servire' vuol dire 'regnare'?" Cf. "Nella recita dell' Angelus," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 31 (1981): 411: "Un tale 'regnare' ci insegna Cristo come programma della vita cristiana. A questo proposito troviamo uno splendido insegnamento nei documenti del Concilio Vaticano II, in particolare nella Costituzione sulla Chiesa. Fissando quindi lo sguardo sul mistero dell' Assunzione di Maria, del suo 'incoronamento' nella gloria, impariamo quotidianamente a servire.

develops this theme in greater detail.<sup>371</sup> In referring to Elizabeth's greeting Mary as "Mother of my Lord," he says that she recognizes Mary as the Mother of the Messiah.<sup>372</sup>

In paragraphs 41.3 and 41.4 he says:

Connected with this exaltation of the noble "Daughter of Sion," through her Assumption into heaven, is the mystery of her eternal glory. For the Mother of Christ is glorified as "Queen of the Universe." She who at the Annunciation called herself the "handmaid of the Lord" remained throughout her earthly life faithful to what this expresses. In this she confirmed that she was a true "disciple" of Christ, who strongly emphasized that his mission was one of service: the Son of Man "came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mt. 20:28). In this way Mary became the first of those who, "serving Christ also in others with humility and patience, lead their brothers and sisters to that King whom to serve is to reign," and she fully obtained that "state of royal freedom" proper to Christ's disciples: to serve means to reign!

41.4: Mary, the handmaid of the Lord has a share in the Kingdom of the Son. The glory of serving does not cease to be her royal exaltation: assumed into heaven, she does not cease her saving service, which expresses her maternal mediation "until the eternal fulfillment of all the elect." Thus she, who here on earth "loyally persevered in her union with her Son unto the cross," continues to remain united with him, while now "all things are subjected to Him, until he subjects to the Father himself and all things." Thus in her assumption into heaven, Mary is, as it were, clothed with the whole reality of the Communion of Saints, and her very union with the Son in glory is wholly oriented towards the definitive fullness of the Kingdom, when "God will be all in all."<sup>373</sup>

In 1988 in his Apostolic letter "On the Dignity of Woman" he repeats the theme: "to serve is to reign."<sup>374</sup>

At all times Christ is aware of being "the servant of the Lord" according to the prophecy of Isaiah (cf. 42:1; 49:3, 6; 52:13): which includes the essential content of his messianic mission. From the first moment of her divine motherhood, of her union with the Son whom "the Father sent into the world that the world might

Servire Dio nei nostri fratelli. Esprimere nell'atteggiamento di servizio la 'regalità' della nostra vocazione Cristiana in ogni stato o professione, in ogni luogo e in ogni tempo. Tradurre nella realtà della vita quotidiana mediante tale atteggiamento la domanda 'Venga il tuo regno' che eleviamo tutti i giorni nella preghiera del Signore al Padre. Che la nostra preghiera a Maria sia di nuovo un grido alla Regina della Pace."

<sup>371</sup> "Redemptoris Mater," AAS 79 (1987): 416-417.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>373</sup> J. M. Miller, *The Encyclicals of John Paul II* (Huntington, IN: O.S.V. Press, 1996), 318-399.

<sup>374</sup> "Mulieris Dignitatem," AAS 80 (1988): §5; *Origins*, 18 (Oct. 6, 1988): §17. Cf. "Servire regnare est," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 39 (1989): 114-115; see also: A. Serra, "La 'Mulieris Dignitatem.' Consensi e dissensi," *Marianum* 53 (1991): 144-182.

be saved through him" (cf. Jn. 3:17): Mary takes her place within Christ's messianic service. It is precisely this service which constitutes the very foundation of that kingdom in which "to serve...means to reign." Christ, the "Servant of the Lord," will show all people the royal dignity of service, the dignity which is joined in the closest possible way to the vocation of every person.

Thus, by considering the reality "woman-mother of God," we enter in a very appropriate way into this Marian year meditation. This reality also determines the essential horizon of reflection on the dignity and vocation of women. The dignity of every human being and the vocation corresponding to that dignity find their definitive measure in union with God. Mary, the woman of the Bible, is the most complete expression of this dignity and vocation.

On February 11, 1991, in a homily the pope says:

Ed ora, incoronata regina del cielo e della terra, Ella è sostegno e speranza del genere umano in cammino verso la vita senza tramonto, verso l'amore perenne, verso la giustizia senza ombre e l'imperturbabile pace.<sup>375</sup>

The emphasis here is upon Mary's queenly role towards humanity as a whole because of her Assumption into heaven. Through these citations we can see that Pope John Paul is reflecting the developments which have occurred in biblical/theological circles in recent years. He is attempting to respond to the desire expressed by Pope Paul VI in his "Marialis Cultus" that theologians reflect more profoundly upon the anthropological implications of Marian doctrine.

In 1995 (March 25), his letter sent to all priests in the world reflects a continued awareness of the theme of service lived out in Mary's life as a stimulus for priestly ministry:

Accanto a Cristo-Servo, non possiamo dimenticare Colei che è "la Serva," Maria. San Luca ci informa che, nel momento decisivo dell'Annunciazione, la Vergine pronunciò il suo "fiat" dicendo: "Ecco-mi, sono la serva del Signore" (Lc.1:38). Il rapporto del sacerdote verso la donna come madre e sorella si arricchisce, grazie alla tradizione mariana, di un altro aspetto, quello del servizio ad imitazione di Maria serva.<sup>376</sup>

In an address to all women in the world on June 29, 1995, he underlines the example of Mary as the model for the vocation of all women and even for every human person:

<sup>375</sup> "Homilía pronunciada por el Santo Padre Juan Pablo II en la Basílica Vaticana en la tarde del 11 de febrero, memoria litúrgica de la Virgen de Lourdes," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 41(1991): 298. *OR* 13 (Feb. 1991): 5. See also the same reflection upon the implication of Mary's Assumption: "E numerose sono le nazioni che considerano la Madre di Dio come loro Madre e Regina. Il mistero dell'Assunzione è congiunto, infatti, a quello della sua incoronazione come Regina del cielo e della terra." (*Homiliae et Allocutiones*. "In aula Domus Pontificalis Arcis Gandulfi habita [15 augusti 1995], " *Marianum* 60 [1998]: 567).

<sup>376</sup> "Presbyteris universis missus," *Marianum* 60 (1998): 553.

Ella si è posta anche a servizio degli uomini: un servizio di amore. Proprio questo servizio le ha permesso di realizzare nella sua vita l'esperienza di un misterioso, ma autentico "regnare." Non a caso è invocata come "Regina del cielo e della terra." La invoca così l'intera comunità dei credenti, l'invocano "Regina" molti nazioni e populi. Il suo "regnare" è servire! Il suo servire è "regnare!"<sup>377</sup>

He then applies this thought to the vocation of every human person. The true royalty of the human person consists in "service."

Il "regnare" è rivelazione della vocazione fondamentale dell'essere umano, in quanto creato ad "immagine" di Colui che è Signore del cielo e della terra, chiamato ad essere in Cristo suo figlio adottivo.... In questo consiste il materno "regnare" di Maria. Essendo stata, con tutto il suo essere, dono per il Figlio, dono Ella divente anche per i figli e le figlie dell'intero genere umano, destando la profundissima fiducia di chi si rivolge a Lei per essere condotto lungo le difficili vie della vita al proprio, definitivo, trascendente destino.... In questo orizzonte di "servizio" – che, si reso con libertà, reciprocità ed amore, esprime la vera "regalita" dell'essere umano.<sup>378</sup>

It is especially these insights of Pope John Paul which will help us to develop a more biblical and theological understanding of the fact and nature of Mary's queenship, a role which has been attributed to her for centuries by theologians and celebrated throughout the Catholic community.

<sup>377</sup> "Mulieribus ex omnibus nationibus missus (29 iunii 1995)," *Marianum* 60 (1998): 556.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., 556.





## CHAPTER II

### THE NATURE OF MARY'S QUEENSHIP

#### Two Schools of Thought

In the first chapter we considered the data regarding Mary's queenship. We sought to trace this doctrine to its roots, the Lucan Annunciation and Visitation scenes. We followed its progress through the writings of the first commentators on those texts and then in the writings of the Fathers. The Liturgy, both Eastern and Western, keeps pace with the theological currents in the Church concerning Mary's role as queen and all these events culminated in the official acts of the Magisterium of the Church, especially the encyclical letter "Ad Caeli Reginam," which have provided some directives in this matter.

Now we ask: What is the problem, what are the issues which would lead some theologians to say that the doctrine of Mary's queenship is passé, that it has seen its day and is now quite irrelevant. Since the science of theology is properly described as "faith seeking understanding,"<sup>1</sup> it remains for theologians to seek an understanding of this doctrine. This is the principal task and ultimate intention of our work: to analyze and then synthesize the elements of our Lady's universal queenship so that a clearer, though necessarily imperfect, understanding might be available to us.

Comparatively little has been done by theologians to settle the problem of the nature of Mary's queenship, although much has been accomplished in the field of positive theology to establish the fact of her queenly role. As we will see, it is the context, particularly the biblical context which will serve to shed light upon the meaning of this doctrine in our lives of faith.

One of the difficulties we face is the fact that the speculative solution of our question is intimately connected with the solution of the problem of Mary's mediatorial role—this in turn involves her complex relationships with Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Church, and individuals.<sup>2</sup> At best we can indicate the direction in which a definitive solution lies.

<sup>1</sup> St. Anselm, "Proslogion" (Proem.), *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Schmitt, 1:94, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "Nature de la Souveraineté de Marie," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:191. Nicolas begins his article by pointing out the difficulties connected with the study of the queenship. First of all, to justify our use of analogies to understand the nature of the queenship we have no dogmatic definition but only a liturgical feast which does have solid backing in tradition but where it is likewise difficult to distinguish between metaphor and analogy. Secondly, queenship

In this chapter we study two schools of thought on this question. This is basic to any thorough consideration of the problem since each of these tendencies has made a valid attempt, within the limited perspective in which it was formulated, to provide a solution to the problem of the nature of Mary's queenly status and has contributed to its clarification. One school is represented by De Gruyter.<sup>3</sup> In agreement with him we find E. Mura,<sup>4</sup> C. Friethoff,<sup>5</sup> and R. DeRoo.<sup>6</sup> The other school of thought is represented by H. Barré.<sup>7</sup> He is followed by Dillenschneider,<sup>8</sup> M.J. Nicolas,<sup>9</sup> and A. Luis.<sup>10</sup> We devote particular attention to the writings of Nicolas since he has advanced, explained, and defended this position more fully than the others, while retaining their fundamental starting point.

### De Gruyter: Mary, A Queen with Royal Power

De Gruyter begins his speculative treatment of the queenship by enumerating three mariological principles: a) Mary is the mother of God; b) Mary is a most worthy mother of God; c) Mary is the new Eve.

By the divine maternity Mary has a real, supernatural, spiritual relationship with a divine Person. This relationship is not merely founded upon physiological

is a moral value, a concept which corresponds to an essence less determined than metaphysical concepts. It is difficult and, in fact, impossible to transpose the human realities of societal life to the kingdom of heaven. Cf. H. Mühlen, *L'Esprit dans l'Eglise*, Vol. 2: *Marie et la médiation de l'Esprit* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 134-175; H. Manteau-Bonamy, *La Vierge Marie et le Saint Esprit* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1971); G. Phillips, *L'Eglise et son mystère au IIe Concile du Vatican*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée, 1967), 2:207-289; Id., "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," in *Maria* (du Manoir) 8:41-88.

<sup>3</sup> L.J.L.M. De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina, disquisitio positivo-speculativa* (Turin: Augustae Taurinorum Domus editorialis Marietti, 1934.) Cf. S. Franquesa, "Quaestiones de regalitate Mariae," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 5 (1955): 393.

<sup>4</sup> E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Blot, 1934), 2:157-58.

<sup>5</sup> C. Friethoff, *De alma socia Christi mediatoris* (Rome: Angelicum, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> R. DeRoo, *Regina in Caelum Assumpta* (Nicolet: Centre Marial Canadien, 1953).

<sup>7</sup> H. Barré, "Marie, Reine du monde," *Études Mariales* 2 (1937): 21-75; H. Barré, *La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles*, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 29 (1939): 129-162; 303-334; H. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Occident," *Maria et Ecclesia* 5:93-119.

<sup>8</sup> C. Dillenschneider, "De la Souveraineté de Marie," *Congrès Marial de Boulogne-sur-Mer* (Juillet, 1938): 126ff. Cf. nn. 105ff. of this present chapter for distinctions to be made concerning Dillenschneider's opinion.

<sup>9</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," *Revue Thomiste* 45 (1939): 1-29; 207-231. M.J. Nicolas, "Nature de la Souveraineté de Marie," *Maria et Ecclesia* (1959), 5:191-199.

<sup>10</sup> A. Luis, *La Realeza de Maria*; A. Luis, "La Realeza de Maria en los ultimos veinte años," *Estudios Marianos* 11 (1950): 221-251.

factors but also upon psychological ones. Mary was chosen by God to be His Mother and she freely consented to this motherhood.<sup>11</sup> Mary was the only woman ever chosen to be a mother by her son. For this reason, her Son, who is divine, filled her soul and body with privileges of the highest order. She exceeded in a supereminent way all other human beings in grace and holiness.<sup>12</sup> As the new Eve, Mary both gave the world its Saviour and cooperated with Him in saving the world. Mary cooperated as a Mediatrix insofar as she is between two extremes—the creature who offends God and God who is offended. She is infinitely distant from God as a creature and yet she does enjoy the plenitude of grace. The divine maternity is, as such, distinct from this plenitude but in this present order of things they are inseparable. By God's will Mary is constituted mediatrix and mother, although one would not strictly postulate the other.<sup>13</sup>

After describing and analyzing these principles, he proceeds to draw conclusions. His three conclusions are arranged in ascending order. The first is that Mary is queen in the improper and analogous sense.<sup>14</sup> This truth can be illustrated by showing that Mary is united to God more intimately than all other creatures. There are two reasons for this: (a) her divine maternity: If we consider the divine maternity formally, insofar as it includes not just a material, corporeal, union with the Son of God but insofar as it connotes a spiritual, supernatural union with Him, then the divine maternity must be said to have united Mary with God much more intimately than sanctifying grace unites others with God.<sup>15</sup> He then presents the testimony of Pius XI,<sup>16</sup> St. Luke,<sup>17</sup> and the Fathers and theologians of the Church<sup>18</sup> to prove his statement. In his theological argument he considers the justified person as having within his soul both uncreated and created grace. Although these two graces are distinct, they are inseparable and form together that grace which we call sanctifying. He then

<sup>11</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 113-115.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 115-119.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-123.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 124: "The Blessed Virgin Mary is queen in an improper, analogous sense, namely, she is that blessed one who in some respects is greater than others and holds a primacy over them."

<sup>15</sup> "Does the divine maternity, formally as such, insofar as it includes a union and a real supernatural society—not corporal but spiritual—of Mary with the Son of God—does this unite her more with God and consequently is it more of a grace than sanctifying grace? Without doubt, one must respond affirmatively" (*ibid.*, 126). De Gruyter is touching here upon the classical question of the formal sanctifying principle in regard to Mary: Was it sanctifying grace or was it the divine maternity as such? What are the relationships between them? Cf. G. Van Ackeren, "Does the Divine Maternity Formally Sanctify Mary's Soul?" *Marian Studies* 6 (1955): 63ff.

<sup>16</sup> "Lux Veritatis," *AAS* 23 (1931): 513.

<sup>17</sup> Luke 1:39-43.

<sup>18</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 126-130.

compares the divine maternity with each element. Created grace is a similitude of the divine nature existing in the human soul. But, by the divine maternity Mary is united, not in a similitude of the divine nature, but immediately to a divine Person and consequently to the divine nature itself. De Gruyter considers uncreated grace to be God insofar as He is an object of our knowledge and love. In this case the justified person is joined to God immediately as Mary is. But we must ask whether his union is more intimate than Mary's. We can say, first of all, that every real union transcends every intentional union. But Mary's union with God through the divine maternity is real, supernatural, and spiritual while the union between a justified person and God is intentional, supernatural, and spiritual. He goes on to clarify his statement by pointing out that he is talking about union *simpliciter, secundum essentiam*. He admits that under some aspects an intentional union could and does surpass a real union.<sup>19</sup>

The second reason why Mary is more closely united to God than other creatures is that she exceeds all others in grace and holiness. To prove this he adduces various writings of the Popes and Fathers of the Church. He finds the scriptural foundation for this truth in Luke 1:28 where the angel hails Mary as being full of grace. The exegesis at least means: "Hail, you who have been gratified" by God supernaturally to a singular degree. He considers her divine maternity to be a fitting reason for her plenitude of grace.<sup>20</sup> He does believe, however, that Mary's role as the new Eve, associated with the new Adam in the acquisition and distribution of graces, is a reason or title which postulates that she have within her the plenitude of grace (at least from the time that she begins to merit together with Christ for others—the time of the Annunciation).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 130-131. Cf. G. Van Ackeren, "Does the Divine Maternity Formally Sanctify Mary's Soul?" 63ff. On the one hand, De Gruyter compares the divine maternity with created grace and says that it is a greater "thing" than grace since by it Mary is united to the divine nature. But, we might ask, just how is Mary united to the divine nature through her maternity? The divine maternity is a relation, not of union but of origin. Mary is not united to the divine nature by virtue of her maternity. It would seem more correct to say that Mary is formally sanctified through (sanctifying grace) grace which unites her (accidentally) to God. On the other hand, he compares the divine maternity with uncreated grace and says that the divine maternity unites Mary to the divine nature itself (in a real, spiritual, supernatural union) and not to the divine nature insofar as it is an object of knowledge and love (which he calls an intentional, spiritual, supernatural union). He talks as though a union of the intentional order is not a real union. He seems to identify physical with real and to contrast this "real" with intentional. Consequently, this "real" union between Mary and the divine Person (nature) is much greater (in his opinion) than any intentional union between a human person and God (as an object of knowledge and love).

<sup>20</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 135.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 135-36.

His second conclusion is that Mary is queen, if the name "Queen" is taken to mean "Mother of the King."<sup>22</sup> This is very easily proven and meets with no difficulties since both premises are revealed. Mary is mother of Him who is King both according to His human and according to His divine nature. Therefore she is mother of a king and consequently queen. There are, however, some points which should be clarified, he says. Christ is king both in His human and in His divine nature. His kingship differs in each case. As divine, Christ is the first cause of all things. He confers upon human persons whatever they have and in this way He governs; He orders all things together with the Father and the Holy Spirit toward their end. As a king according to His human nature, He is a secondary, instrumental cause who distributes graces and intercedes for us; in this way He governs, directing human persons to their end. As divine, He is king together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. As human, He alone is king, since He alone was incarnate. This difference shows itself with regard to Mary's office as mother of the king. Mary did not in any way produce Her Son's divine nature. His human nature is the direct object of her maternal actions. Christ's human nature, crowned with grace and glory, is the formal constitutive element of His human kingship. And so the partial, formal constitutive element of Christ as king (His human nature) is the term of Mary's maternal action. By freely consenting to her Son's conception Mary gained for him His kingly status.

But with regard to Christ as king according to His divine nature, Mary did not in any way make Him king or gain for Him His kingly status. She is mother of a divine Person but does not constitute Him, as such, a king. He is already king with absolute independence from her.<sup>23</sup>

Mary's power comes from the fact that she is mother of a king. Because she is mother of God she is loved by God above all other creatures. God bestows His gifts because of the love of friendship; for this reason Mary can obtain more from God than any other creature. God has granted to her more goods than to anyone else. He has made her His mother. And she has freely responded to this gift by acceding to God's wishes. He therefore loves her again for this reason. The divine maternity cannot be lost; sanctifying grace can be lost. It follows that Mary is loved forever by God by reason of her divine maternity. Her Son loves her both as God and as man. Loving her as God, He made her His mother. De Gruyter concludes:

The blessed Mary is queen, mother of the King, loved above all others by her Son the King both according to His humanity and according to His divinity. To this

<sup>22</sup> "Mary is Queen, taking the name 'Queen' for 'Mother of the King'" (ibid., 137).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 137-139.

love there corresponds in Mary supreme power with God and her divine, incarnate Son so that as queen she is rightly called: "Omnipotent Suppliant."<sup>24</sup>

What rights does Mary as mother of the God-man have over Him? As man Christ was subject both to the divine, eternal law and to the natural law. But the divine and natural love suffered exceptions in His case since he is a divine Person who, as such, is not subject to any creature. As man, therefore, Christ does not fall under these laws when it is a question of His being subject to another. Specifically, Christ owed love and respect to His mother. Mary, then, had a right to them. Christ as man was not held to obey His mother by virtue of the natural law. He was not, as such, subject to human, positive laws. He was not bound to bestow His heredity upon Mary. He was, however, as man, subject to His Father's commands; thus He was subject to Mary and Joseph because of God's positive command.<sup>25</sup>

As his third conclusion De Gruyter proposes this truth: The Blessed Virgin is queen in the proper and formal sense, i.e., she has the task of ordering the multitude of a perfect society to its common end.<sup>26</sup>

He seeks to deduce Mary's queenly status and attributes in the formal sense from her role as cooperator in the work of redemption. There are three functions proper to Mary as Mediatrix which must be considered in order to perceive how she is a queen in the formal sense of the word. She is first of all a teacher. Christ was a teacher in two ways: He revealed to us a series of truths; He bestowed upon us the gift of faith by which we embrace revealed truths and other gifts by which we are helped to penetrate these truths more fully. Can we say the same regarding Mary? De Gruyter says that Mary as Mediatrix of all graces cooperates with her Son in their distribution; he cites a passage from "Adjutricem Populi"<sup>27</sup> in which Leo XIII extols Mary's role in

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 140-141.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 142-144.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>27</sup> "Adjutricem Populi," AAS 28 (1895-1896): 129-136. *Papal Documents on Mary*, comp. W.J. and J.P. Doheny (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1954), 103-104: "Since faith is the foundation, the source, of the gifts of God by which man is raised above the order of nature and is endowed with the dispositions requisite for life eternal, we are in justice bound to recognize the hidden influence of Mary in obtaining the gift of faith and its salutary cultivation—of Mary who brought the 'author of faith' into this world and who, because of her own great faith, was called, 'blessed.'—'O Virgin most holy, none abounds in the knowledge of God except through thee; none, O Mother of God, attains salvation except through thee; none receives a gift from the throne of mercy except through thee' (St. Germain of Constantinople, Orat. II in Dorm. B.M.V.). It is no exaggeration to say that it is due chiefly to her leadership and help that the wisdom and teachings of the Gospel spread so rapidly to all the nations of the world in spite of the most obstinate difficulties and most cruel persecutions, and brought everywhere in their train a new reign of justice and peace.

the propagation of the faith. Further, she cooperates with Christ in conveying some of the contents of divine revelation to the Apostles and sacred writers and through them to mankind. In this way she is a prophetess. Christ as man is a secondary, instrumental cause of revelation; Mary too acts as a secondary, ministerial cause of revelation. She shares specifically in the revelatory activity of her Son but to an inferior degree.<sup>28</sup> He considers her to be a "revealer" in two ways: (a) by her word: In this sense she is a mirror of all virtues and the most perfect human reflection of divine realities. He cites passages from the writings of popes and theologians in which Mary is called the "Illuminatrix" or "gate," the exemplar of virtues.<sup>29</sup> Mary is the exemplar of holiness because of her fullness of grace. Christ is the "firstborn of many brothers"<sup>30</sup> after whose image we are all modeled. We must conform to that image according to God's intention. Mary surpasses all angels and men in holiness, in her union with God. She merits with Christ (but subordinated to Him) our grace. Christ is Mary's exemplar; Mary is our exemplar. According to God's intention we must be conformed to Christ and Mary, looking to them both as to our exemplars.<sup>31</sup> (b) By her words: in this sense she conveyed to the Apostles and Evangelists the mysteries in which she herself believed and many of the incidents of her Son's childhood and public life which they would not otherwise have known. This is what Luke had in mind when he spoke of Mary as "keeping these things in her heart."<sup>32</sup> As a confirmation of this truth he quotes from many passages in medieval and later theologians which describe her as the source of strength, consolation, and especially enlightenment for the early Church.<sup>33</sup>

This it was that stirred the soul of St. Cyril of Alexandria to the following prayerful address to the Blessed Virgin: 'Through you the Apostles have preached salvation to the nations...; through you the priceless cross is everywhere honored and venerated; through you the demons have been put to rout and mankind has been summoned back to heaven; through you every misguided creature held in the thrall of idols is led to recognize the truth; through you have the faithful been brought to the laver of holy baptism and churches have been founded among every people' (Cyril of Alexandria, Homily against Nestorius)."

<sup>28</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 154-155.

<sup>29</sup> St. Bonaventure, "Sermo VI in Assumptione," *Opera Omnia Bonaventurae*, t. IX, 705. This is considered to be a spurious work. Cf. H. Graef, *Mary: History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 1:288-290. Conrad of Saxony, "Speculum B.M.V., lect.III," *Opera Omnia Bonaventurae*, 14:236-240 (Augustae Taurinorum, Marietti Bibliopolam, 1874); St. Ambrose, "De Virginibus," Lib. II, c. 2, *PL* 16, 220-222. De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 146-148.

<sup>30</sup> Rom. 8:29.

<sup>31</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 149-150.

<sup>32</sup> Luke 2:51.

<sup>33</sup> Eadmer, "De Excellentia B. Mariae Virginis," Ch. 7, *PL* 359, 571; Rupert of Deutz, "Commentarium in Cant. Canticorum," Lib. I, *PL* 168, 850; St. Bernard, "Hom. IV 'Super Missus



The fullness of her grace established in her the gifts of knowledge, counsel, understanding, and wisdom. Her faith was stronger than that of Peter; her grasp of divine mysteries deeper than that of Paul. She believed explicitly in the mysteries of the Trinity, the redemption, and the incarnation because of her role in the acquisition of graces. Nor could she be deceived. She was better instructed concerning the truths of revelation than all other men; she was more worthy to transmit these truths than the Church. These are fitting reasons why we believe that she taught all men divine truths.<sup>34</sup>

Together with her Son she indicates the way to holiness, to union with God. She helps us to perceive the divine will and to fulfill it. She is rightly called the "Mistress of Perfection" or the "legislatrix," since by her word and example she leads men to God.<sup>35</sup>

In answer to an objection against this thesis that Mary is an "ex officio" teacher in the Church, he replies that Mary as the new Eve holds an official position in the restoration of the kingdom. He cites Leo XIII as saying that Mary is "truly the Mother of the Church and the mistress and queen of Apostles, to whom she has revealed the divine oracles which she had kept in

Est'," *PL* 183, 82; St. Albert the Great, "Quaestiones super Evangelia," Q. 79, *Opera Omnia*, t. 37, 136; Denis the Carthusian, *Opera Omnia*, t. III, 529; Peter Canisius, "De Beata Deipara," c. 19, cited by De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 153.

<sup>34</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 153-54. Today these reasons would not be considered to be of much value; yet, follow quite logically from his method, an abstract, deductive method in which everything is attributed to Mary which does not contradict revelation. Cf. R. Lack, "Mariologie et Christocentrisme," *Études Mariales* 21 (1964): 26ff. Mariologists and especially exegetes stress the constant growth in the knowledge of Our Lady concerning her Son, the nature of his mission and her own part in that mission. Cf. Schillebeeckx, *Mary, Mother of the Redemption* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), 15-26: "We are concerned with the growth of faith in the religious life of the individual, and a supreme example of this is provided by Mary. It is clear that St. Luke had a definite purpose in mind when he included all the texts quoted above in his gospel. But they would become quite meaningless were we to deny that Mary's religious life was a growth towards explicit faith" (20). Cf. also, R. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957), 165-75; W. Dewan, "Mary's Faith as Response to God's Graciousness," *Marian Studies* 16 (1965): 75-93, esp. 83ff.; R. Kugelman, "The Object of Mary's Consent in the Annunciation," *Marian Studies* 11 (1960): 60-84; the same author amends his views in a later article: "Mariology and Recent Biblical Literature," *Marian Studies* 18 (1967): 122-34. At first Kugelman held that the angel's message insinuated Jesus' divinity to Mary; now he holds that the exegete cannot answer the question: Was Mary aware of the divinity of her child at the time of the Annunciation? Because of the fact that in Luke we have a presentation of the Church's faith in Christ's divinity together with Luke's theologizing concerning the meaning of the Incarnation. Cf. also J. Grispio, "When Did Mary Learn That Her Son Was Divine?" *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 25 (1965): 126-30.

<sup>35</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 155.

her heart."<sup>36</sup> The Fathers and Doctors teach that Mary was left on earth after her Son's ascension in order to teach and console the young Church.<sup>37</sup> Mary, like the Apostles, exercised the office of teacher; but hers was far superior to theirs. There are two stages in her teaching: While on earth she taught truths objectively; now in heaven she dispenses graces and gifts by which we come to believe and contemplate these truths.<sup>38</sup>

A second function proper to Mary as Mediatrix is her meriting power. She made satisfaction to God, merited for us and intercedes for us; she is a "coredemptrix."<sup>39</sup> God has willed, he says, that the new Adam, Christ, and the new Eve, Mary, repair the harm caused by the first Adam and Eve. Mary satisfied *de congruo* for the sins of mankind by a supernatural, free act whereby she became united to God. Mary merited graces *de congruo* for all persons. All that she merited, of course, was by the grace of her Son. In general, she merited all supernatural means to salvation; specifically she merited graces and glory and all natural benefits which in some way contribute to salvation. Mary together with Christ is united to all individuals, whether they attain salvation or not, as a principle of salvation.

De Gruyter describes Mary's mediatorial activity as being that of a secondary, moral cause. She "moves" God to confer graces upon us by her intercession. This capacity has been determined by God and conferred upon Mary gratuitously by Him. This activity consists of two stages. The first is completed since Mary has merited together with her Son the graces of redemption. The second stage consists in her heavenly intercession for all individuals. As the new Eve she knows the divine will and she prays with her Son in accordance with that will for the salvation of mankind. Mary's heavenly activity can be described as that of a Teacher and "Legislatrix."

This manner of conceiving Mary's mediation is totally dependent upon the principle: "According to the divine decree no grace is conferred upon anyone except through the intercession of Mary."<sup>40</sup> De Gruyter considers this principle to be firmly rooted in the doctrine of the Fathers and especially of the Roman Pontiffs.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 156. "Adjutricem populi," AAS 28 (1895-1896): 120-36.

<sup>37</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 158.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 161. Here he speaks of the work of coredemption. On the following page he says that in the second (heavenly) stage of Mary's mediation the office of teacher coincides with that of coredemptrix.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. J. Bittremieux, *De mediatione universali B.M.V.* (Bruges: Beyaert 1926), 154-156. De Gruyter holds that this truth is definable (*De Beata Maria Regina*, 228).

Mary is queen in the strict sense of the word because she directs us to our proper end. This is the third function of her queenship and that which formally constitutes her as queen. Mary's queenship is similar to Christ's kingship. Christ is a king exercising His royal functions primarily in our interior life by the conferral of grace and secondarily through his revelation. In the same way, Mary is queen through the distribution of grace and through her revelation. Because Mary is coredemptrix and teacher she exercises legislative power. It does not follow necessarily, however, that she exercises judicial and executive powers. At most we can say that it is fitting that she possess these queenly powers.<sup>41</sup> The fonts of revelation do not attribute to her either judiciary or executive power. On the contrary, the witness of tradition seems to exclude these powers when it depicts Mary as queen over the kingdom of mercy alone. He concludes that Mary exercises only legislative power. Since this is what formally constitutes Christ as king, it likewise constitutes Mary as queen in the strict sense of the word.<sup>42</sup>

Mary is queen principally because she confers graces upon us; secondarily because she indicates by word and example the way to life. If anyone rejects her graces he withdraws himself *de facto* from her ruling power; he withdraws from the kingdom of Christ and Mary. Mary's queenly role is primarily supernatural and spiritual; indirectly it touches upon the temporal order of things. This is well expressed by Eadmer:

Just as God is Father and Lord of all things, having prepared all things by His power, so too Mary is Mother and Mistress of all things, having repaired all things by her merits; for God is the Lord of all things, constituting by His command everything in its own proper nature, and Mary is Mistress of all things by restoring to each of them its dignity by means of the grace which she merited.<sup>43</sup>

Mary's reign is universal: Christ and Mary are united to all individuals to different degrees. They are potentially united to those who have not yet achieved justification, or salvation, whether they ever achieve it or not. They are actually united to those who have been justified or saved. Mary is properly a queen by conferring grace which she does as a secondary, instrumental cause. She also governs us externally by revealing the law of the New Testament to us by her words and works. Her legislative function is one of promulgating,

<sup>41</sup> De Roo, *Regina in Caelum Assumpta*, 44-46, considers this question and concludes that Mary does not share in the external jurisdiction which Christ has given to His Church but that she exercises dominative power by her role in the distribution of grace. The Church, he says, must possess these three powers which are inherent in every terrestrial kingdom.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 166-167: The Blessed Mary is simply queen because *legislatrix*.

<sup>43</sup> Eadmer, "De Excellentia B.M.V.," c. 10-11, *PL* 149, 578.

divulging the divine law. Mary's principal regal office pertains to her heavenly state where she governs us by obtaining for us the necessary graces by which we might fulfill God's will and attain salvation. It was in heaven that Mary was first crowned queen of the universe by her Son:

Christ sits at the right hand of God above all the angels as their king and governor; Mary sits at the right hand of Christ, the supreme queen and empress of heaven and over the angels.<sup>44</sup>

The Fathers say that Mary was constituted the "Lady" at the annunciation because it was then that she laid the foundation for her queenly role, her internal rule. De Gruyter insists that Christ as man is king insofar as He is, as such, a secondary instrumental cause; Mary's regality is not specifically different from Christ's. Both depend upon God ultimately. They are autonomous in the sense that our salvation really depends upon their wills. They are dependent in the sense that God ultimately confers grace.<sup>45</sup> Mary's regal power stems from the fact that she rules the whole of society. Others can intercede for individuals; Mary and Christ must intercede for all persons. Otherwise, she would not be a queen nor He a king. Christ's kingly power differs from Mary's queenly power in that He as man is a conjoined instrument while Mary is a separated instrument of grace. He is a king of infinite dignity; she a queen of finite dignity. His merit is condign, hers *de congruo*. Mary is queen by grace; Christ is king by nature and through conquest.<sup>46</sup> In no way is the excellence of Christ's kingly dominion diminished; in fact, it is heightened because He brings His mother into a share in His power.<sup>47</sup>

To sum up De Gruyter's opinion on the nature of the queenship of Mary: Mary's queenship must be understood in the light of Christ's kingship. She exercises this power through the distribution of graces; the foundation for such power is ultimately the role which she played in the acquisition of these graces. She is a queen subordinated to the king but enjoying a power which is specifically the same as His. She actually has kingly power but to a lesser degree than her Son.

One of the basic flaws in De Gruyter's position lies in what Laurentin calls the "Christo-typical" approach to Mary.<sup>48</sup> De Gruyter's entire synthesis is based upon a comparison between Christ and Mary, something which leads him to exaggerations in drawing out the analogy between kingly and queenly

<sup>44</sup> S. Laurentii a Brundisio opera omnia [Lawrence of Brindisi], *Mariale*, vol. 1 in his *Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Patavii: Ex officina Typographica Seminarii, 1928-1956), 1:350.

<sup>45</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 170.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 171-172; cf. "Bendito seja," *AAS* 38 (1946): 266.

<sup>47</sup> De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 172.

<sup>48</sup> R. Laurentin, *La question Mariale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963), Ch. 3, 66-97.

powers on the one hand and in describing the relationship existing between the royal office and functions proper to Jesus and Mary on the other hand. Mary is viewed from the level of Christ: What He is and has, she is and has, though to a lesser degree. He clearly states, moreover, that there is no specific difference between His royal office and hers. To speak of a difference of degree does not shed much light on the problem of the exact relationship between Christ and Mary and between them and the rest of humanity.

Another approach must be taken, one that will differentiate more sharply between the role of Christ and Mary in the salvation of mankind, one that will take into account the infinite distance between Son and Mother while at the same time allowing for a special rapprochement between them because of their unique solidarity in the work of redemption. This is the direction taken by theologians after De Gruyter with greater or lesser success.

The ultimate root of De Gruyter's approach is the method employed—a deductive method which tends at times to become rationalistic, and which does not pay sufficient attention to the founts of revelation. Instead of allowing himself to be guided by the Scriptures, he uses them as a proof or confirmation of his own thesis. This is not to say that he did not have some valuable insights; he followed the method which was proper to his era and used it well within the limits proper to that method. The progress that has been made in biblical studies since his day would have helped him to balance some of his statements. A clearer appreciation of the role of the Fathers and the magisterium in the development of theological issues would have enabled him to possess a more nuanced view of their statements; they are too often cited as “proof-texts” when in reality they are often speaking in a more rhetorical than theological way.

His conception of Mary's mediating activity in terms of a moral causality is not acceptable; nor would I seek to find reasons for predicating of Mary legislative power (judicial and executive powers are not to be predicated of her either). It will suffice to speak of her as exercising authority in the kingdom, an authority which will be exercised and expressed in terms other than legislative, judicial, or executive. The proper notion of this authority must be taken from biblical sources. In calling Mary's queenly office specifically the same as that of Christ, De Gruyter reasons that each is a secondary instrumental cause in the order of grace. This is incorrect. Christ as mediator, redeemer, priest, and king acts as man; in these instances he acts as a principal, though secondary, cause. Furthermore, his humanity is an instrument of the divinity. Christ the king as man shares in the divine sovereignty which God possesses over all things in the universe. Mary's share in royal power cannot be of the same order or species.

It does not suffice to insist repeatedly that Christ is at the center of our theology, if at the same time one places Mary at another center, as subordinated

to Christ as that center might be conceived to be. This is, in fact, the direction which one is inexorably forced to take, if one's predominant preoccupation is with a rigorous chain of privileges beginning, for example, with one particular concept, the divine maternity, and considering this concept outside of the plan of salvation as it is concretely portrayed to us in the Scriptures. If one's theology consists of a strictly deductive procedure rather than of a search for an understanding of the mysteries of salvation (imperfect as such an understanding may be) by considering their mutual relationships and their connection with our final end, then one ends up with a very impoverished grasp of the premises which had been found in revelation.<sup>49</sup>

### M.J. Nicolas: Mary, Queen Precisely as Woman

The object of Nicolas' study on the queenship of Mary is a speculative inquiry into its nature.<sup>50</sup> He sees her queenly status as something far surpassing the order of metaphor. Mary is not simply the greatest (and consequently the queen) of the saints; "she pertains more to Christ's order (the hypostatic order) than to the order of the blessed."<sup>51</sup> Hence we can compare her queenship with that of the temporal order only after having considered her relationship in general to the kingdom of God.

From the beginning of his article we can see that he does not favor the opinion which considers Mary (as queen) to be a king "au feminine." He believes that according to God's intention and from the very nature of royal power there is but one (Christ) who possesses that power.<sup>52</sup> The note of femininity is not

<sup>49</sup> See the remarks made by Lack, "Mariologie et Christocentrisme," 26ff., esp. 45: "Le nécessaire Christocentrisme de la Théologie ne supporte surtout pas que l'on fasse de Marie un doublet du Christ. A vrai dire, les auteurs les plus prompts à magnifier la Vierge, prennent soin de noter que l'analogie implique dissimilitude dans la similitude. Ils soutiennent également que les prérogatives de Marie sont inférieurs à celles du Christ et en dépendance des siennes.... L'analogie particulière qui revient à l'intérieur du mystère de la 'koinonia' dérive de son intime association au Sauveur. Le personnage de Marie porte dans le Nouveau Testament les traits d'une totalité. Il est en quelque sorte l'universel concret du rachat qui est dans le Christ. Le *Magnificat* de la Vierge est aussi le chant de l'Église... En tout cas, Marie est du côté des rachetés. Son analogie avec le Christ est foncièrement identique à la nôtre."

<sup>50</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 1-29; 207-31. Nicolas, "Nature de la souveraineté de Marie," 192-99; he repeats these ideas briefly but concisely in the synthetic study, *Théotokos. Le mystère de Marie* (Tournai: Desclée, 1965), 184ff.

<sup>51</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 2; cf. his "Le concept intégral de maternité divine," *Revue Thomiste* 42 (1937): 58-93; 230-272.

<sup>52</sup> Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 4: "Mais c'est en philosophe et en considérant la nature des choses que St. Thomas écrit: 'de ratione regis est quod sit unus qui praesit.' Par là il exclut la dualité des détenteurs d'un pouvoir vraiment royal." Cf. "Nature de la souveraineté de Marie," 192. Nicolas identifies royal power with the power to command: "On peut dire que l'acte

something accidental in the consideration of Mary's regal status. Her exaltation by God to the status of queen is the exaltation of "the Woman" as such and consequently her role as the Associate of the Redeemer must be modified by the specific note of femininity. Neither her regality nor her exercise of power can be considered as specifically (even though far inferior) the same as that of Christ.

Nicolas lays down what he considers to be a principle of extreme importance: Any sovereign ruler is such precisely because his sovereignty is attached to his very personality. His own proper good is identified with the common good of all citizens; his private life is immediately social. Christ is king in the purest, most formal, and most absolute sense of that word because His personal life is immediately, directly ordained for the common good of all creatures, especially humans.<sup>53</sup> If we attempt to attribute to Mary a sovereign power similar to that of Christ the King, we run the risk of eventually denying that Mary has any such power or we destroy the sovereign power of Christ which must be proper to one person alone.<sup>54</sup>

Nicolas disagrees with De Gruyter's concept of the kingship of Christ as man.<sup>55</sup> De Gruyter had said, in replying to an objection, that Christ as man was a king who exercised instrumental causality and that Mary was a queen who exercised a causality specifically the same. Nicolas, however, says that Christ as man exercises secondary but principal causality. In the same way He is a Mediator, Redeemer, Priest, and Head of humanity.<sup>56</sup> The sovereignty proper to God transcends the strict concept of royalty since God is outside the community which He directs and is not its chief member. In order that He be its chief Member, He must, in becoming man, become the man-King. Then the divine attribute of sovereignty is communicated to the creature. Christ's human royalty is a supreme participation in this divine reality. There is an analogy between Christ's sovereignty as God (according to which He is Lord) and His sovereignty as man (according to which he is King).<sup>57</sup> Christ as king is totally dependent upon God but at the same time perfectly autonomous. In this case

propre du roi comme tel, du chef comme tel, est *l'imperium*, que celui-ci s'exerce par la loi, par le commandement particulier ou par le jugement, pourvu que l'objet de cet *imperium* soit une 'ordinatio ad bonum commune.'

<sup>53</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 5. Cf. his "Le Christ, Roi des nations," *Revue Thomiste* 43 (1938): 437-78.

<sup>54</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 5-6.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. De Gruyter, *De Beata Maria Regina*, 6.

<sup>56</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 6.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. Cf. his "Le Christ, Roi des nations," 462-64; 466-67: "Ce qui fait proprement la grandeur qui désigne un homme à la fonction royale, c'est une suréminence en quelque sorte absolue en des qualités qui, loin de le séparer des autres l'en rapprochent et, loin de lui donner une

there are not two sovereignties of the same order or species. The same would not be true of Mary if she were to receive delegated sovereign powers. Hers would be of the same order as those of Christ the man. Thus, either there would be two sovereigns, or there would be an exercise of ministerial (not sovereign) power on her part.<sup>58</sup> This does not imply that we must not consider Mary to be a queen in the strict sense of the word; rather, it means that we must not consider her to be a feminine king. We must study the concept of queen, noting the differences and points of contact between it and the concept of a king.

Nicolas believes that there are two elements proper to Marian queenship-theology which are definitely settled: (1) Christ's power as king is identical with his power to infuse grace in man's soul according to his free choice. If Mary exercises governing power, it is by means of her cooperation in the distribution of graces. (2) It is in her intercessory power that we are to find Mary's proper power in the distribution of graces, whether or not she contributes to their production. Any autonomy she has, any initiative taken by her lies in the area of intercession. Mary's present intervention in our salvation is founded immediately upon her role in the redemption; in fact, it is a continuation of that role. The salvific value of her compassion and love continues to be present and to develop together with Christ's love in heaven. Mary's power is based upon the fact that her desires for our salvation will be answered. Her constant prayer for the salvation of man is united to Christ's prayer. His prayer is an offering of His merits, while her prayer remains an intercession, all-powerful and universal though it may be.<sup>59</sup>

In order to illustrate the real exercise of royal power in the distribution of graces (by Christ and/or Mary) it must be shown not only that they possess complete, absolute dominion over grace but also that in distributing grace they have in mind the common good of society. In Christ there are two elements which are distinct but inseparable: He is king and head of the mystical body. The corresponding function in Mary is that she is queen and mother. She is mother by her role in making Christ live in us; she is queen when considered as

finalité étrangère, l'adoptent au bien qui leur est commun. Cette suréminence, le Christ la possède dans son humanité par sa grâce capitale."

<sup>58</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 6-7: "Il faut décidément renoncer à tout ce qui nous ferait concevoir la Vierge comme une sorte de roi en second."

<sup>59</sup> M.J. Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 176ff.: "La prière, avons-nous vu, est l'acte de la créature comme telle. C'est pourquoi elle a été confiée à Marie, fille innocente de pécheurs." On p. 181, he considers Mary's intercessory power to be along the lines of a dispositive cause rather than that of a physical, instrumental cause. Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "Théologie de l'intercession mariale," *Études Mariales* 24 (1967): 57-70.



the Associate of the Redeemer she aids in the establishment of the community of saints (the kingdom).<sup>60</sup>

The whole problem of the nature of Mary's queenship lies in this question, says Nicolas: Can we find in Mary's universal power of intercession the essential characteristics of royal power? Nicolas thinks that, strictly speaking, we cannot. For him, royal power consists essentially in the power to command. It is a dominative power. This can only be attributed to Mary metaphorically, even if she intercedes for every grace and with the good of society in mind. She prays to God but does not command us in the strict sense. If she does command us, it is as God's minister. Her power of intercession does bring about the direction of society to an end but does not bring it about efficaciously by means of a command.

While we do not predicate, strictly speaking, the exercise of royal power to Mary, that does not mean that we do not call her queen in the fullest possible sense of the word, he says. In fact, we must insist upon her being a queen, exercising queenly powers, and not being a "feminine king."<sup>61</sup>

There is such a thing as a feminine king, one namely who rules as sovereign. She has the power proper to a king and her femininity does not affect her government except in accidental ways. Mary is not a sovereign in this way.

A queen, properly speaking, is the wife of a king who has somehow espoused his royal personality. The wife of an elected ruler is not a queen in any sense of the word and she exercises no power whatsoever. In a democratic society the elected ruler receives his power from the people and not from any title of heredity. The queen in the proper sense of the word is such and enjoys sublime dignity not only because she is the wife of the king but more properly because she becomes, together with the king, the source of royal blood and future royal power. The queen-wife is united to the king as such in order to complement him in his life as a man and also in his life as king.<sup>62</sup>

When we begin to examine Mary's queenship we meet with one obstacle. All earthly queens are such because they are spouses of the king. Mary is not Christ's spouse. She is His mother. An earthly Queen-Mother, however, is not constituted queen by her maternity. It is because she is queen that her son is king. Mary, however, is constituted queen because of her association as mother of Christ the king. Earthly mothers are not usually associated throughout their lives with their sons but Mary was thus associated with Jesus.

<sup>60</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 12. Cf. his *Théotokos*, 184ff.: "Marie, mère des hommes."

<sup>61</sup> Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 14. Nicolas thus distinguishes between queenly power and royal power by insisting that the latter involves a power to command.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 14-17. Cf. his *Théotokos*, 81-88.

By her divine maternity Mary is not in any true sense the spouse of Christ, as Scheeben would have it, but she is united to Him as person to person, participating in all His sentiments and intentions. She has thus contracted a friendship with the Incarnate Word embracing all the goods and interests of each. She is thus the companion, the associate, the consort of Christ. Because Mary and Jesus are "two in one flesh" their union retains its foundation and continues as long as the work which is the fruit of their union lasts, i.e., the work of their lives: the prolongation of the incarnation. In this way the association of the new Adam with the new Eve is just as intimate as that between spouse and spouse.<sup>63</sup> Our entire exposition of Mary's queenship must be clarified by

<sup>63</sup> Cf. esp. M.J. Nicolas' explanation in "Le thème de Marie nouvelle Eve dans la synthèse mariale," *Études Mariales* 15 (1957): 117: "Scheeben, lui, n'a pas hésité utilisant un certain courant traditionnel, à chercher un rapprochement, même en ce que la maternité divine comporte de physique, avec l'union conjugale. Il a d'une certaine manière fait jouer au Verbe le rôle du 'semen,' non pas certes en ce qu'il a de matériel, mais en ce qu'il a d'actif. C'est cela qui ne peut être retenu. Mais si nous n'admettons rien de semblable, il reste l'incompatibilité du titre de mère et celui d'épouse." Nicolas says that the image of "spouse" is quite traditional to describe the union between Yahweh and His people, between the Word Incarnate and the Church and the Word and each soul. It must be understood in a mystical, spiritual sense as opposed to the physical. Such a union has been realized in a supreme way in the case of Mary and Christ. Mary's consent may be called "nuptial" in the sense that it was given in the name of the human race. Nicolas refers here to St. Thomas who in *ST*, III, q. 30, a. 1, speaks of the Incarnation being a spiritual marriage between the Son of man and human nature. Mary is considered in this text, he says, as the representative of the whole human race (from which, eventually, we have come to view her as the personification of the Church). Scheeben goes further than this and speaks of the Word uniting Himself first of all to Mary in order to be born of her. This union is called "spousal" by Scheeben. Mary's spiritual, supernatural union with her Son effected by God's grace, is what is at the foundation of her maternity with regard to His human nature. With regard to the nuptial image being applied to any of the divine Persons and Mary, Nicolas considers this inadequate. The Word is born of Mary. He is not her spouse. But, if we consider what is spiritual in the nuptial bond and more specifically the complete community of person and life on the part of the spouses, then we may call the bond existing between Mary and the Word Incarnate a "nuptial bond." Cf. M.J. Nicolas, *Theotokos*, 82-85. Further on, he says, "Eve est la 'socio' d'Adam en vertu de son lien maternel. Mais il s'agit d'une maternité plus unissante encore que la sponsalité, si l'on considère qui est l'époux, ce qu'il donne, et ce qu'ils mettront en commun." *Ibid.*, 87, he had said earlier (86): "et que l'on consente ou non à donner le nom de 'maternité sponsale,' à la maternité divine, on peut vraiment dire qu'elle a ceci de commun avec le mariage d'être essentiellement une 'conjonction,' une union en toutes choses, une association universelle, un don réciproque et total de personne à personne." Cf. D. Flanagan, "Mary, Bride of Christ," *Irish Theological Quarterly* [ITQ] 28 (1961): 233-37. Flanagan had examined Scheeben's theory of bridal maternity in an earlier article ("Scheeben and the Basic Principle of Mariology," ITQ 25 [1958]: 368-73) and he studied the image of bride in early Marian tradition (ITQ 27 [1960]: 111-24). He concludes that "the Marian term 'bride of Christ' has in tradition served one purpose—to highlight the truth that Mary and the Church are intimately interrelated in the supernatural order" ("Mary, Bride of Christ," 235). He sees this conception of Mary as Bride of

the doctrine of the "new Eve," he says. Nicolas believes that Mary's queenship finds its double source in her maternity and coredemptive role, but precisely insofar as these two constitute her as the Woman associated with the Man-King.<sup>64</sup>

Mary was raised by the grace of an immaculate conception to a state in which she merited (even before the divine maternity took place, although in view of it alone) to be sovereign of the universe. By her plenitude of grace she became the sole inheritor of sovereignty, a sovereignty proper to Adam and Eve. By her maternity she entered into the hypostatic order, a dignity of the metaphysical, and not merely moral, order as is the dignity of earthly queens. At the moment of His conception Jesus Christ was more perfectly representative of the human race than any other king. His task was to lead all people to the end which he already possessed as man: the beatific vision. His capital grace is such because it is ordained to the welfare of all. It is the proximate principle of his sovereign royalty.

Mary's association with Christ the King must be such that it is directed towards the common good of the entire universe. Her grace (corresponding to Christ's capital grace) is similar to His, is supreme in relation to that of other creatures, and is geared toward their salvation through her cooperation. Mary is bound to Christ by their common orientation toward the good of all creatures. Christ becomes our brother through Mary who might be said to have placed the kingdom of souls into His hands as He does into His Father's hands. But this presage of sovereignty (at the Immaculate Conception) is completely enveloped and overshadowed by her union and association with Christ the King. She is vowed to the destiny of the human race because she is bound to Christ's destiny. She shares in His royalty by her title of "companion of the Incarnation." Once we have properly understood that the great principle of

Christ in a purely spiritual way and considers his opinion to avoid two extremes in this question—those who see no Marian tradition along these lines and those who consider this tradition to be a major theme in Marian theology. He rejects Scheeben's theory for two reasons: Scheeben considers the term "mother" to be inadequate to express Mary's personal relation to Christ; in using this imagery Scheeben does not follow the sense of the theme as it appears in tradition. He uses it to shed light on the divine maternity. In tradition it was used to express the significance of Mary's assent to God in faith—something which all are called to do.

<sup>64</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 18-21. Cf. his *Théotokos*, 87: "C'est trop peu de rapprocher, comme le faisait saint Irénée, la scène de l'Annonciation de celle de la chute. C'est tout le destin d'Eve, compagne et épouse de l'homme, mère avec lui des vivants, qui est repris, réparé, dépassé, transfiguré en Marie, comme celui d'Adam en Jésus." Cf. also his "Introduction théologique à des études sur la Nouvelle Eve," *Études Mariales* 12 (1954): 1-7, and "Le thème de Marie Nouvelle Eve dans le synthèse mariale," *Études Mariales* 15 (1957): 111-12. This theme was the subject of the annual meetings of the French Mariological Society from 1954 through 1957.

the association of Mary and Jesus in the work of the redemption is rooted in the bond of the Son-Mother relationship and that Mary properly becomes the new Eve when Christ becomes the new Adam (at the Annunciation) then we understand why she must remain His companion during His entire work as the Man-God, just as the first Eve had to remain the companion of Adam in all his work as man. Pseudo Albert applied the words of Genesis, "He made him a helpmate like unto himself," to Mary. Thus we understand Mary's association with Christ in His suffering and death.<sup>65</sup>

By His death on the cross Christ exercised His royal power and in virtue of this He loved his people, giving them a kingdom. This act at the same time gave Him an acquired right to kingly status, another title to royal power. Through the sacrifice of the cross Christ the King perpetuates the infinite value of His sufferings.<sup>66</sup>

Mary was present at this supreme act of sacrifice, present physically and intentionally united herself with her Son and for the intentions for which He was dying. She participated, then, in the efficacy of His actions. She was the first redeemed, the first subject of Christ the King and He willed to associate her with Himself in the redemption of all others. But, we must remember that if Mary's compassion contributed anything to the redemption of the human race, it was on an entirely different level from the passion of Christ. He properly merited, out of justice, the liberation of men and women from sin. Her sufferings derived their power to "move" God from the sufferings of her Son; she has no title based upon justice but only upon love. Because of God's love for her, Mary's sufferings give to her prayers their character of irresistibility. The Word incarnate is the immediate object of the love which binds Mary and God. Her union with the Word Incarnate in His birth and in His death gives to her prayer its intrinsic force.

If Mary is associated with Christ the King at the cross in the establishment of the foundations of the kingdom, she is not there as an associate king, subordinate though such a one might be conceived to be. She is queen, a companion of the King. In order to achieve this conquest she had to suffer. She was capable of that and it was precisely through her compassion that she acted as queen. This was a new title to her queenly status. No other woman was so bound up with the destiny of her Son as was Mary. For this reason she above all others is queen in the fullest sense.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "Le thème de Marie Nouvelle Eve dans la synthèse mariale," 21-26.

<sup>66</sup> Idem, "La théologie du Christ Nouvel Adam dans saint Thomas d'Aquin," *Études Mariales* 13 (1955): 1-13; idem, "Le Christ, Roi des nations," 437-78.

<sup>67</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 26-29.

The sources of Christ's kingly power determine the nature, the extension, and the mode of exercise of that power. So in studying the nature of Mary's queenly power Nicolas insists upon the necessity of considering the nature of the union existing between Mary and Christ, since this union is the source of her queenship. We must begin by attempting to understand the influence exercised by earthly queens.<sup>68</sup> Mary's influence will be far superior because she is actually a participant in the establishment of the foundations of that influence. The act proper to a king by which he directs his subjects to their end is called an "imperium." A king must have the psychology of a king, i.e., he must think constantly of the common good in all he does. Christ alone is this type of perfect king. It follows, then, that true sovereignty cannot be divided between two, i.e., a king and a queen; in such a case it would not be a monarchy. A truly royal imperium *ipso facto* demands that it be exercised by one person. The king can delegate authority to the queen but this would not be an exercise of sovereignty on her part. There is a difference between the queen and the other subjects of the king and it is precisely in analyzing this difference that we must comprehend the influence proper to a queen.

It happens at times that upon the death of the king the Queen-Mother of the one succeeding to the throne exercises royal power in his name until he comes of age. This is most natural since she, more than anyone else, represents the interests of the royal family and consequently of the country itself. If her husband should delegate royal power to the queen, this delegation would be more special than that given to any other because it would be more personal. While the imperium belongs to the king personally, nevertheless all the acts preceding it and following upon it are acts shared in profoundly by the queen. She shares in the intentions of the king regarding the multitude of which he is the representative. Their whole existence as husband and wife (even as parents) is ordained to the common good. The husband is perfectly king—his wife is perfectly queen, queen in the full sense of the word. The queen shares in the views of the king which lead up to and often cause his commands. She reigns in the sense that she exercises influence over his heart; she is intimately present at the very source of the command. She is his confidante and sometimes the inspiration for his commands.

Mary exercises an intercessory role proper to her. Its efficacy is founded upon the "de congruo" merit of her coredemptive acts. Other queens exercise intercessory power in different ways. Mary's is properly one of prayer. The common good shared by all members of the kingdom of heaven is grace, i.e., something wholly gratuitous. Christ the King gives grace to all the subjects:

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 207-208.

Mary obtains it for them by prayer. Her intercessory power is maternal if considered in relation to the needs of her sons and daughters. It is also queenly: (a) insofar as it is supremely efficacious, because of her intimate union with the author of all grace; (b) insofar as it has at heart the common good of all individuals; (c) insofar as the source of this desire is the union of her heart with that of Christ the King. Christ and Mary "work together," He by granting the grace, she by interceding for its distribution. Mary is closer to the people than any earthly queen. She represents them in all their needs; no one "reminds" God more efficaciously of His incarnation by which the world was saved than does Mary who prays, representing our littleness before God.

Does her role as mediatrix add something to the concept of her queenly office? Two qualities necessary for a queen seem to be: a certain personal superiority proportioned to that of the king, and a certain affinity to the people among whom she must live and over whom she must preside. Mary possessed the greatest possible dignity by her fullness of grace and at the same time she was profoundly united to the human race. She is different from and superior to earthly queens in that she became queen by becoming mother. It is as though the people placed all their hopes in her who would bring them their king. It does not suffice to say that she possesses something more than a spousal relationship with Christ. We must say that she has something *other than* a spousal relationship. She is not a queen like other queens. She exercises, according to God's plan, an indispensable role in the human community; not a power of government but a power of intercession with Christ in behalf of men and women. Her power is a power of prayerful intervention. The less we have of merit the more there is need for prayer. She is thus called the mother of mercy, not at all in the sense that she alone is merciful and her Son just, but with the full realization that Mary's prayer is the effect of the mercy of Christ.<sup>69</sup>

Her power in the world is not limited to that of her prayer. Christ can and does delegate to her the government of certain things. But even in this case she is not a minister like others to whom power is delegated. The wishes that she executes are her own united, or rather, identified with those of Christ. In order to understand this somewhat we must consider the influence of earthly queens with regard to the king. Besides his official capacity as king, the king has a "private" life. Even in that part of his life he is king and exercises kingly authority. In her character as spouse the queen shares the king's authority over the royal family and home. He accepts tacitly whatever the queen wills in this domain. Such queenly authority is not best described as delegated to her. Their

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 212-223.

personal relationship produces its effects quite naturally so that the subjects of the king easily transfer their allegiance to the queen.

Until the thirteenth century the kingdom was co-extensive with the personal property of the king. His "public" officers were those of his own house. In such an arrangement the queen occupied an important place, that of mistress of his lands and subjects. As the kingdom and its subjects began to belong more to the order of public domain the queen lost some of her prestige and the regal office gradually became separated from the private person of the king. The subjects' fidelity was expressed toward the person of the king as well as toward his family and ultimately toward the public good. At that time the bonds existing between subject and ruler were much more personal than they are now. The idea of a personal union between king and subject is in no way destroyed by the perfect sovereignty of Christ. There is an intimate, personal relationship of friendship between Christ and us based upon the common possession of grace which is the effect of Christ's love for us and the source of our love in return. It follows, then, that of all those to whom the king may delegate his power, expressing his greatness by this delegation of power, the queen is the most natural, being his "alter ego" in everything. This is all the more true in our case because the power is exercised by grace. The greatest possible aid or "helpmate" for Christ in the performance of a work demanding suffering is a woman, His Mother. The same is true from another aspect: In the kingdom of God to command signifies to give life. Therefore in this kingdom of Christ where the king does not need His subjects but on the contrary seeks only to promote their good, the queen is the most natural aid in His government.<sup>70</sup>

The character proper to Mary's dominion is that of mercy. Christ sends her to those for whom she has prayed. Mary is depicted in the tradition of the Church as participating in the domination over the devils, and thus as sharing in some way in the power of Christ who had conquered the Prince of Darkness.

Consequently, no grace is given without the explicit wish of Christ and the prayer of Mary. They were both intimately united on Calvary; both having their own proper place in heaven, He possessing the totality of sovereign power, she totally relative to Him. Mary is the echo of Christ.

There is a special bond between individual Christians and Christ, the stronger if it is a conscious bond. The same is true of Mary and those devoted especially to her. Not all the saints have had a characteristically Marian piety, although it remains true that anyone who has such a devotion towards her receives an abundance of grace. It would seem that there is in reality something

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 217-221.

corresponding to the "slavery" of a soul toward Mary; it is the subjection of that soul to Mary by Christ.

Her governing power in such instances is not autonomous and sovereign; it is a ministry or delegation by which Christ is united more intimately to a soul. If it is the mission of a queen, it is because of the profound union which exists between Christ and His mother even before this delegation, even before the exercise of Christ's royal power, a union of heart and mind in the conduct of the world towards its end.<sup>71</sup>

Mary's influence (through the exercise of mercy) is not limited to the spiritual domain but is extended to the material order, especially to all suffering and human misery, the result of original sin. We must understand her sovereignty over all the earth as we understand Christ's sovereignty. It is exercised through individuals and thus extends itself to society as a whole.

The effect of Christ's royal power is felt in the laws and mores where the evangelical principles have penetrated. Just as the natural law is said to be sculptured in our hearts, so too the Christian law is sculptured in Mary's heart and it is that law which guides and governs the actions of those who have been made new in Christ, the new Adam.

The mark which Christ wished to be a property of His law and His grace (the mark of Mary's influence and presence) must be found in any integral Christian community. Devotion to Mary should be above all social. The consecration of a whole people to Mary has a truly profound theological meaning.<sup>72</sup>

To sum up the opinion of M.J. Nicolas: The only proper way to understand the nature of Mary's queenship is to stress the specifically feminine characteristics of queenship. This feminine aspect is what essentially modifies and distinguishes Mary's queenly activity from the kingly activity of her Son. She is not a feminine king. In the strict sense of the word, she does not exercise royal power; she does not retain dominion over graces, even though she cooperated in their acquisition by her consent to the incarnation and the order of redemption willed by God and even though she merited "*de congruo*" all that Christ her Son merited "*de condigno*." She is not a spouse of Christ in the strict sense of the word; she is His Mother, His Associate. Her influence is the influence of a "mother-Associate" (queen) in the work of establishing and maintaining the kingdom. She exercises her power through intercession and this is supremely efficacious.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 221-223.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 223-227.



In a paper delivered at Lourdes in 1958,<sup>73</sup> Nicolas retains his fundamental thesis: Mary is not a feminine king. He does mention the Queen-Mother relationship but he does not attribute much importance to it in his attempt to understand Mary's queenship. A Queen-Mother is, before all else, *spouse* of the dead king for which reason she was able to give her son royal blood.

The Queen-Mother in the Old Testament had more of a share in the sovereignty of the king than the queen-spouse, he says, because of the authority conferred upon her by her maternity but particularly because of a special divine intervention in her womb by virtue of which royal status and even "divinity" were conferred upon the infant she carried.<sup>74</sup>

Even if we admit maternal authority, he says, a queen is primarily and formally such because spouse of the king. She is the companion of the king. For Mary we have to construe a concept combining the notions of queen and associate. She espouses Christ's mission. Her actions and intentions are identified with His; their common action produces a royal race embracing all subjects of the kingdom.

The spouse of the king is queen because she is his associate in his work. Mary is not a spouse of the King but by her very maternity she is His associate and consequently queen. Under a different aspect, even her maternity as such renders her a queen. Human nature becomes royal in her by being joined to divinity. Mary made God the King (*unus ex hominibus*) of all people by giving Him His humanity. She becomes queen at the incarnation.<sup>75</sup>

Nicolas says that it was because Mary was already queen that she was associated with Christ in the purchase of the kingdom. He would rather say this than speak of a second title (the coredemptive acts) to queenly status. He specifies more distinctly than before the act in which Mary cooperates now in the exercise of royal power. It is the act preceding the command, the act of counsel, not in the strict sense, however, that Mary influences Christ. By her prayer (her counsel) she has a unique and indispensable role in Christ's royal mission. No sovereign command proceeds from Christ except under the inspiration of Mary, His queenly companion.<sup>76</sup>

In my opinion, on the notional level Nicolas comes closer to the solution of the problem of the nature of Mary's queenship than does De Gruyter. He underlines correctly the specifically feminine characteristics of her queenly role.

<sup>73</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "Nature de la souveraineté de Marie," 191-199.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 195. Nicolas refers to Cazelle's paper given at the same Congress on the theme of the Queen-Mother of the Messiah (39-56) and underlines its value but insists that the queen-associate relationship is of primary importance.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 196.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 197-98.

She is not a feminine king; she is totally subordinated to Christ who is King. He explains this more clearly and coherently than does De Gruyter. Nevertheless, I believe that Nicolas' approach does not handle sufficiently the significance of Mary's maternal role since he rejects the Queen-Mother tradition as it is found in ancient Israel as a basis for our understanding of Mary's queenship. As I have already indicated, I think this is the key concept for an understanding of Mary's regal status, a concept conveyed to us explicitly in Scripture. Furthermore, we find an emphasis in Vatican II on this maternal aspect of her mission.

Fundamentally, the critique of Nicolas' opinion must begin (as in the case for De Gruyter) with a critique of his method. He seeks an abstract concept of queen which is clear, well defined, and distinct from that of king and then he makes an application of that concept to Mary. The result is a concise concept: Mary is not a king. Since she does not exercise the power of command in the kingdom of her Son, she does not possess any royal power in the strict sense of that term. He differs from De Gruyter in that he refuses to look for the essential notion of queenship in the notion of kingship.<sup>77</sup> Yet he follows the same methodology, a rather abstract, deductive approach which does not sufficiently take into account the concrete facts of revelation proposed to us in Scripture and developed within the living tradition of the Church.<sup>78</sup>

Contemporary to and consequent upon Vatican Council II, theologians have opted for a methodological approach which has been characterized as a "ressourcement."<sup>79</sup> This methodology has served as a principle for the doctrinal

<sup>77</sup> Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 2-3: "Quand on cherche à dégager du titre de Reine attribué à la Vierge Marie par une tradition toujours vivante son contenu théologique, une tentation menace qu'on n'évite pas toujours: c'est d'en faire une simple décalque du titre de roi propre au Christ, sans prendre garde à la forme féminine qui le caractérise et qui, loin d'être accidentelle ici, en détermine le sens spécifique."

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 14; Nicolas outlines his method of procedure and seems to be aware of the dangers involved; yet he yields somewhat to the temptation against which he forewarns us. "Demandons-nous donc en quoi consiste l'état du rôle de la reine comme telle; purifions de toutes les imperfections qu'elle contracte en ses réalisations temporelles l'idée que l'analyse philosophique nous permettra d'y percevoir, portons cette idée à son type parfait et suprême, réalisons-la selon la condition et le régime du royaume dont le Christ est roi. Demandons-nous en un mot quelle Reine ce Roi par excellence appelle à ses côtés. La difficulté est grande, parce que le rôle d'une reine ne paraît avoir en soi rien d'assez fixe pour prêter à un concept bien défini et pour servir du point de départ au mouvement dialectique que nous allons tenter. Mais il nous a semblé qu'à y regarder de près et pourvu qu'on ne cherche pas une rigueur géométrique que la matière ne comporte pas, la difficulté n'était pas insurmontable. Or la surmonter, c'est résoudre le problème théologique de la Vierge Reine."

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *La question mariale*, Ch. V: "Le problème oecuménique," 129-162, esp. 135-37. Cf. S. Cipriani, "La Sacra Scrittura 'anima della teologia,'" in *Fedeltà e risveglio nel Dogma*, Associazione teologica italiana (Milano: Ancora, 1967), 37-59. Laurentin explains the need for this return to the sources when speaking of the ecumenical movement.

elaboration effected by the Council and by theologians since the Council.<sup>80</sup> It has been particularly helpful in the elaboration of Marian theology.<sup>81</sup> This return to the sources involves a rigorous, scientific study of the sources of our faith, particularly Scripture, and it must be accompanied by an openness to the Spirit. At times it will demand that we abandon certain theological formulations which have with time become too rigid and which for that reason fail to convey the message they were intended to convey or which, in other words, distort the message because the "hearers" of the message today have another perspective from that in which the original theological formulation took place. We are searching for an understanding of the role of Mary as a queen; we are not seeking an abstract concept of Mary-Queen. We must allow ourselves to be guided by the original message of salvation (i.e., within a salvation history context) in order to come into contact with that reality. Our concepts are at best an analogical approach to the mystery we are attempting to conceptualize; sometimes they succeed in distorting that mystery to the point where we are engaging in mental gymnastics rather than reaching the reality itself.

One has the impression at times in studying Nicolas' position on the queenship that there are definite elements which are not sufficiently expressed

<sup>80</sup> Cf. G. Philips, "Deux tendances dans la théologie contemporaine," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 85 (1963): 225-238. "Entre temps la prudence s'impose, mais l'inquiétude systématique serait mauvaise conseillère. Il ne convient pas de canoniser toute tentative qui s'affuble du titre de renouveau, mais il serait regrettable de boucher les issues d'avant l'effort sincère de mieux comprendre la vérité sans minimiser les difficultés réelles qui embarrassent et parfois arrêtent les âmes en quête de lumière. Nous devons résister à la subtile tentation de nous rendre maîtres de la vérité et d'en devenir les propriétaires au lieu de nous en faire les ministres. Le culte exagéré de la connaissance notionnelle risque de diminuer en notre intelligence la sensibilité devant le Maître intérieur et d'émousser en notre âme le sens du mystère" (ibid., 238). In an international mariological symposium sponsored by the Marianum in Rome in 1990, this same issue received much attention, especially in two conferences given by Stefano De Fiores, S.M. ("Il Discorso mariologico nella storia della teologia," 33-88) and Ermanno Toniolo, O.S.M. ("Il Rinnovamento della riflessione mariologica dopo il Vaticano II: Impostazione e criteri," 89-139.) These conferences are found in *La Mariologia tra le discipline teologiche* (Roma: Edizioni "Marianum," 1992). On p. 88 De Fiores says: "Attualmente le due linee da percorrere sono quella *storico-salvifica* e quella *culturale*. La prima implica un adeguata conoscenza della teologia biblica, che non solo inserisca Maria nella storia della salvezza, ma che aiuti a percepire la logica divina che si manifesta negli eventi salvifici come concentrata in Maria 'microstoria della salvezza'." In an earlier article which appears in *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives*, 3 vols. (Mahwah, NY: Paulist Press, 1988), ed. René Latourelle, De Fiores writes: "The person, the mission, and the privileges of Mary, and also the devotion offered to her, are not considered in themselves or in relation to her dignity as mother of God. Rather, the whole treatment is developed and expanded in the broader framework of the history of salvation. The perspective of salvation is the true new theological perspective." Cf. vol. 1, Ch. 17: S. De Fiores, "Mary in Postconciliar Theology," 469-539.

<sup>81</sup> Philips, "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," 54-58.

because they do not fit into his systematic treatment of the question. For example, during my study of the documents of Tradition, including the writings of the Fathers and of the popes, I have been impressed with the spirit of submission to Mary's rule, the earnest petitions for guidance, protection, and direction expressed in these documents. Nicolas explains these phenomena by distinguishing between the will-acts of Christ which are properly speaking "royal" and those which are the "will-acts of a king."<sup>82</sup> He is willing to attribute to Mary a certain governing power in regard to those areas which do not come under the "royal" will-acts of Christ. These will-acts of the king are particular instances in which the king would quite naturally turn over to his queen the prerogative of government. In such instances, he says, we should not even speak of a delegation of power, properly speaking, nor should we call Mary a "minister" of Christ.<sup>83</sup> This explains the experience of a personal subjection to Mary to which so many bear witness.<sup>84</sup> I believe that a more coherent explanation of these facts can be given without making these distinctions which, however, are necessary within the notional system of Nicolas. He does well in insisting that the notion of Associate be united to that of Mother in order to express Mary's queenly prerogatives in an adequate manner. It seems to me that this is precisely the advantage of the "Gebirah" concept.

In this question regarding queenship we are concerned with two relationships: Mary's relationship to Christ in terms of queenship; she is the Queen-Mother exercising the office of the Gebirah, her relationship to us as our queen; she is the Queen-Mother intimately involved in the kingdom of her Son, personally associated with Him in His rule.

I believe that we should express her mode of exercising queenly activity in terms of intercession and perhaps in terms of *rule*; yet an understanding of these modes of action must be sought along new lines, involving new, more biblical,

<sup>82</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "La Vierge Reine," 218: "En nous demandant quelle part pouvait prendre la reine au pouvoir royal, nous nous en sommes tenus jusqu'à présent à la conception juridique et quelque peu abstraite de ce pouvoir, celle où il apparaît comme l'exercice d'une magistrature exercée en vue du bien public. Cependant tout un domaine échappe à cette analyse, qui est celui des volontés particulières du souverain, je veux dire des désirs de l'exercice formel de sa fonction royale. Si dominé que soit un homme par l'idée du bien commun, beaucoup d'éléments de sa vie n'en dépendent pas immédiatement. A côté des actes proprement humains, il y a les 'actes de l'homme.' De même à côté des volontés proprement 'royales' il y a des volontés du 'roi.'"

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 217: "Et bien qu'alors tout ce qui passe par elle de pouvoir et d'autorité lui vienne du Christ, elle n'est pas un ministre comme les autres..."

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 218: "Partout où n'ont pas à intervenir les organes juridiquement réglés du gouvernement, les liens personnels du roi et de la reine produisent tout naturellement leur effet aux yeux de tous. Le dévouement personnel du sujet du roi se transfère à la reine, ainsi que le sentiment du loyalisme qui l'inspire."

categories of thought. De Gruyter, Nicolas, and their followers (those whom we have already considered as well as those whom we shall study briefly at the end of this chapter) draw their analogy for queenship (as well as for kingship) from civil monarchical rulers. They speak in terms of power, of command, of dominion. There is an element of truth in this: All of us depend upon Christ absolutely and in a subordinate way upon Mary for our salvation. Yet this approach seems to have lost contact to some degree with the sources of our faith and our theology. The kingdom preached by Jesus is not of this world.<sup>85</sup> The notion of authority and power in this kingdom is vastly different from that of an earthly kingdom: "Earthly kings lord it over their people.... Yet it cannot be that way with you. Let the greater among you be as the junior, the leader as the servant."<sup>86</sup> Christ Himself was the first to give the example: "Do you understand what I just did for you? You address me as 'Teacher' and 'Lord' and fittingly enough, for that is what I am. But if I washed your feet—I who am teacher and Lord—then you must wash each other's feet. What I just did was to give you an example: As I have done, so you must do."<sup>87</sup> The notion of king and queen in this kingdom must be understood according to the notion of the kingdom as it is in fact revealed. It is a human term used by God to express a transcendent reality. For that reason, the terms *power* and *command* (and to a certain extent the word *rule*) are to be used cautiously. What are we attempting to express? We are trying to express and understand a real, actual dependence on the part of all individuals upon Christ and Mary in terms of the kingdom of God, and yet a dependence which is essentially different in regard to each.

The approach which these authors have taken tends to be too abstract and does not seem to bring out sufficiently the biblical meaning of Our Lady's words: "For He has looked upon His servant in her lowliness."<sup>88</sup> The paradox of the kingdom in which Christ is King and Mary Queen lies in the fact that it belongs to the "poor in spirit."<sup>89</sup>

Every phase of Marian theology has been profoundly affected by the new emphasis placed upon her as the personification of the Church, the exalted Daughter of Sion. Mary remains an individual but she is more than that. In a real but mysterious way the whole Church is found in her. Our understanding of Mary and of her role in redemption must come from our understanding of her relationship to Christ and to the Church. Her mediation, her so-called

<sup>85</sup> Jn. 18:36.

<sup>86</sup> Lk. 22:25-26.

<sup>87</sup> Jn. 13:12-15.

<sup>88</sup> Lk. 2:48.

<sup>89</sup> Mt. 5:3.

co-redemptive activity, her intercession, and her queenly role must be explained according to this ecclesial emphasis.

This latter fact also differentiates our approach from that taken in the past by the two schools of thought (exemplified by De Gruyter and Nicolas) outlined in this chapter. It is important that we consider these schools because, on the one hand, they represent what was best in the earlier approaches to Mary and on the other hand this study helps us to prepare for the new emphases to be placed upon this Woman and her role in the history of salvation.

Having considered these two main lines of thought regarding the nature of Mary's queenship according to the approach prior to Vatican II, we shall consider briefly the accidental modifications of these theories which have appeared in the writings of other theologians.

### Variations on a Theme

There have been few who have adopted De Gruyter's opinion as it stands. Friethoff<sup>90</sup> holds that Mary is a queen who has dominative power. Christ acquired his kingdom by redeeming mankind and teaching. Mary co-redeemed and taught mankind and is with her Son a universal cause of our salvation. In this way she acquired her dominion over all things.<sup>91</sup> Mary exercises royal power by distributing graces according to the will of Christ, her king. She is in this way a ministerial, secondary cause of grace; her causality is further to be classified as moral. To be a physical cause of grace she would have to have within her the plenitude of capital grace; this, however, is denied her by St. Thomas.<sup>92</sup> Mary's intercessory prayer for us is always supremely efficacious since she has merited "de congruo" all that Christ has merited "de condigno."

René De Roo<sup>93</sup> wrote his doctoral thesis on the relationship between Mary's queenly prerogatives and her Assumption. He follows De Gruyter in looking to the kingship of Christ for an understanding of the nature of Mary's queenship. He studies the two foundations for Mary's queenship, her divine maternity and her coredemption, and concludes that these give her a royalty in the strict sense, a dominative power.<sup>94</sup> He admits no division in Christ's kingdom, opposing His justice with her mercy. This is but a fanciful escape from reality. Christ has conferred upon His Church a power of jurisdiction proper to the external order. Mary does not participate in such power but she is united to Him in the interior

<sup>90</sup> Friethoff, *De Alma Socia Christi Mediatoris*, 191-222.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 195-196.

<sup>92</sup> *ST*, III, qu. 7, a. 10 ad 1; q. 26, a. 2 ad 1; q. 27, a. 5 ad 1.

<sup>93</sup> De Roo, *Regina in Caelum Assumpta*, esp. 37-47.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-43.

government of mankind by grace. Mary does not promulgate the law (of grace) but this does not diminish her role in the kingdom. Mary was predestined to have a share in Christ's absolute sovereignty. She has royal power analogous to that of Christ: She exercises jurisdiction over souls by leading them to their end.<sup>95</sup>

J. Lebon<sup>96</sup> does not fit easily into either of these two schools of thought. He does not wish to use the analogy of human queenship in order to understand that of Mary; she is neither a feminine king nor a queen-spouse, nor a Queen-Mother. Intercession is not a royal act.<sup>97</sup> He does not believe that Mary is associated with Christ in regard to the visible government of the Church nor does she partake of His triple ruling power.<sup>98</sup> Yet, she does exercise a dominative influence over mankind because of her role in the redemption. Mary cooperated in the redemption as such as the Associate of Christ. In her own way she merited the graces of the redemption; together with Christ she regulates their distribution. Through her intercession she helps to bring about the accomplishment of the divine plan of salvation. Since every salutary act comes through the grace of God, one who obtains these graces through her cooperation in the redemption must be said to rule over those for whom she obtains them.<sup>99</sup>

Congar was the first theologian to react in print to the thesis proposed by De Gruyter.<sup>100</sup> Congar insisted that a queen was not simply a king of the feminine sex. But he did not develop any theory of his own. Some have said that his progress was impeded by his own mariological principles: Mary did not take an active part in the redemption; she is not a coredemptrix.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 44-46.

<sup>96</sup> J. Lebon, "Les fondements dogmatiques de la consécration au Coeur Immaculé de Marie," in *Consécration Mariale* (Namur: Journées sacerdotales d'Études Mariales, 1943), 47-70.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 66-67.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 68-69.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 67-68; cf. 69: "... Associée au Christ Rédempteur comme tel dans l'opération de la rédemption, Marie domine, avec le Christ, l'ordre de la grâce, sur cette lumière surnaturelle qui procure la connaissance de la loi et les directions que le Christ donne par son Église, cette force surnaturelle qui en permet l'observation docile et sanctifiante, cette rectitude et cette richesse surnaturelle qui préparent et assurent une sentence du salut et de récompense au tribunal du Souverain Juge." Lebon considers the mission of founding and organizing a visible kingdom of God among the men and women of this earth as something added to the work of the redemption as such. With this distinction in mind, he denies that Mary is associated with Christ's exterior ruling power but he affirms her dominion over grace because of her part in the redemption.

<sup>100</sup> Y. Congar, "Sur l'inclusion de l'humanité dans le Christ." *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 25 (1936): 489-95.

<sup>101</sup> P. Franquesa-F. Sebastián, "Quaestiones de regalitate Mariae," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 5 (1955): 395.

Barré taught that Mary is queen, not in the sense that she holds the power of a king, but rather in the sense that she is mother of the king and has influence with Him. She does not exercise governing power, strictly speaking.<sup>102</sup> Mary's queenly power is one of intercession; it is universally efficacious because of her prestige. Barré also says that Mary has an acquired dominion over us according to the measure of her cooperation in the redemption.<sup>103</sup> When some wished to grant to Mary some independence, some governing power, some dominion over the graces of her Son, Barré replied that this dominion is actually present in her incomparable intercessory power. He pointed out that others will speak of her collaboration or dispositive action in the reception of grace.<sup>104</sup> There is complete accord of wills between Christ and Mary. Mary takes the initiative in Christ's authoritative decisions and He does all according to her will. Her initiative is taken by interceding.

Dillenschneider begins his exposition of Mary's queenship by saying that her Immaculate Conception and her fullness of grace are bases for her metaphorical queenship. She is likewise queen because she is spiritual mother of all the redeemed.<sup>105</sup> True, a mother does not exercise royal power over her children; nonetheless Mary's family includes the entire human race. Mary is queen in the proper sense because she merited "de congruo" all that Christ merited "de condigno." She is not a feminine king; she exercises royal power in a manner proper to her just as she coredeemed us in a manner proper to her. She certainly does not exercise judiciary or executive power. She does, however, exercise legislative power insofar as she authoritatively distributes grace to us, grace which constitutes the new law.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Barré, "Marie, reine du monde," 33-35.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 80-81.

<sup>105</sup> C. Dillenschneider, "De la souveraineté de Marie," in *Souveraineté de Marie*, Congrès Marial de Boulogne-sur-Mer (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1938): 126-48.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 141-42. Fr. Lamirande, "Queenship and Maternity" (481-507), does not think Dillenschneider can strictly be ranked with M.J. Nicolas and Barré since he attributes legislative power to Mary. This would be a compromise of Nicolas' theory which in no way seeks to explain or attribute to her any of the three powers proper to a king. Cf. 483, n. 10. I think the attribution of legislative power to Mary by Dillenschneider is of secondary importance. What he really wants to underline is the fact that Mary does exercise royal power when she procures, through her limitless intercessory power, graces for us. I do not believe he is stressing the analogy of legislative power as such: "Si donc la Sainte Vierge, en dépendance du Christ nous communique la loi interne de notre vie divine, c'est-à-dire, la grâce du salut, il semble, qu'elle participe pour autant non pas au pouvoir législatif de son Fils au sens juridique du mot, mais à sa conduite des âmes par la 'lex gratiae' vers leurs destinées éternelles.... Que Marie intervienne activement par son intercession dans la distribution des grâces aux hommes, c'est en quoi elle est médiatrice. Mais qu'elle exerce en notre faveur un pouvoir réel sur la grâce de son Fils et nous la



He clearly distinguishes in Christ His sacerdotal powers by which He merited all graces by which we are saved, thus acting as a mediator between God and man, and His royal powers by which He distributes these graces authoritatively in such a way that He brings about the correct ordering of all individuals to their common end. These two functions are inseparable. The same is true of Mary's mediatorial and regal functions. As mediatrix of graces she merits them together with and subordinated to her Son; as queen she communicates them to us authoritatively. Royalty adds to mediation the concept of a certain mastery over the object of mediation. The difference between Christ's mastery and Mary's in the mediation of grace will make the difference in their royalties.<sup>107</sup> Mary's power over grace is of an intercessory nature. Its efficacy stems from her plenitude of grace by reason of her divine maternity and her cooperation in the redemption. Her intercessory power is exceptional because her merit is exceptional. She commands the angels and sees to the distribution of graces to all individuals, saints, and sinners. Her power is not sacramental, as some would have it, but personal. Thus, while Dillenschneider wants to admit a real dominative power on Mary's part, he does not go beyond the admission of a power of an intercessory nature.

Angel Luis holds that De Gruyter's opinion is contradictory: Either we have two kings, neither of whom would be truly sovereign, or Mary is the first minister and thus not a queen.<sup>108</sup> An earthly queen is such because of her conjugal union; Mary is not Christ's spouse but she was assumed by Him as His consort in the work of redemption. Mary and Christ together constitute one vital influence in the redemption of all. Their union of wills and their common collaboration in the redemption is the most solid foundation for their common exaltation as sovereign.<sup>109</sup>

Luis believes that M.J. Nicolas exaggerates in his criticism of those who divide Christ's kingdom into a kingdom of justice and a kingdom of mercy and who speak of Mary as queen of mercy. This way of speaking simply underlines, says he, Mary's maternal interest in her children.

If Mary exercises any real power in the kingdom, it is through her intercession in the distribution of grace. We should not waste time, then, he says, by predicating of her powers not proper to her sex or to the notion of a queen. As a mother, as a woman she has great influence over the heart of the

communiqué avec autorité, voilà qui la constitue reine au sens fort du mot" (Dillenschneider, "De la souveraineté de Marie," 141-142).

<sup>107</sup> Barré, "Marie, reine du monde," 81-82.

<sup>108</sup> A. Luis, "La realeza de Maria en los últimos veinte años," *Estudios Marianos* 11 (1951): 221-51; esp. 234-35.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 236-37.

king and she manages to bring about the moderation of his justice with mercy. She transfers the tasks of earthly queens to the kingdom of grace.<sup>110</sup>

Luis finds some difficulty in the opinion of Nicolas. He does not believe that Nicolas solves this problem: If Mary's regal power comes from the dominion she exercises over graces and their distribution, can we find in her universal power of intercession characteristics of regal power? Nicolas says we cannot speak of a regal power in the strict sense of the word since this would include the power to command, something which Mary cannot do. But we can call it regal power, Nicolas insists, if we include in that term the power proper to both king and queen. Luis agrees that her intercessory power could be called a command only in a metaphorical sense since she intercedes with God (Whom she does not command). But, together with Dillenschneider, Luis says that Mary is a mediatrix insofar as by her merits, satisfactions, and pleas she obtains divine blessings for humanity. She is queen insofar as her prayer leaves the mark of security and autonomy in the acquisition and application of these treasures which she effects according to the impulse of her maternal heart and by the benevolent will of God. While Mary does not become equal to Christ in royal power, she does not remain on the level of the other saints; her power is not founded upon benevolence alone but to a certain extent upon distributive justice since she merited these graces according to her office of coredemptrix.<sup>111</sup>

Mary's authority must be compared to the authority of a mother in the family: authority which is both independent of and yet submissive to the supreme authority exercised by the father. Both powers of king and queen retain their own proper nature and sphere of influence, just as do the authority of mother and father in a family.

Luis is convinced that fundamentally her queenly powers are to be considered as similar to those of an earthly queen. There are differences of grade and intensity but her prerogatives always tend to be those which correspond to a Queen-Mother or consort.<sup>112</sup>

Up to this point we have investigated the positive "data" regarding the queenship; we have considered the two principal attempts at a solution to the speculative problem of the nature of Our Lady's queenship. The one (that which was first proposed) describes Mary's queenly role from the point of view of Christ's kingly role: Since Mary is a queen she must exercise royal power which is of the same specific nature as that of her Son, though subordinated and

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 242. I would agree more with Nicolas than with Luis on his treatment of this distinction between the kingdom of mercy and that of justice. In fact, there was a problem in this area and Nicolas shows a balanced approach to it, in my opinion.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 250-51.

inferior to His. The other opinion (that which has prevailed since the critique by Congar in the early 1930s) describes Mary's queenly status by analogy with that of an earthly queen. Her power is specifically different from that of a king; it is limited to intercession. It cannot be described in terms of a "dominion."<sup>113</sup>

Since the time of Congar's article criticizing the approach taken by De Gruyter most theologians who have treated this question have agreed with Congar that Mary's queenly role is to be understood according to the analogy of an earthly queen, i.e., her role is a specifically feminine one; she exercises her power by intercession. Yet in recent years there have been a few theologians who are quite dissatisfied with the conclusions of those who use the analogy of earthly queens.<sup>114</sup> Their main objection to this analogy is that it does not explain enough. They hold that her femininity is accidental, not essential to her role as queen. We must not totally prescind from her feminine sex, they say, but it is not *the essential* element in this question.<sup>115</sup> It is more of a psychological

<sup>113</sup> Cf. R. Laurentin, *La question mariale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963), esp. Ch. 3; English trans. *The Question of Mary* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1965) and *Mary's Place in the Church* (London: Burns and Oates, 1965).

<sup>114</sup> Two of the principal opponents of this analogy are: E. Sauras, "Alcance y contenido doctrinal del titulo de reina en Maria," *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956): 258-316; James M. Egan, "The Unique Character of Mary's Queenship," *The Thomist* 25 (1962): 293-306. Cf. also, J. Egan, "Mary, Queen of the Universe," *Marian Reprint*, Marian Library, University of Dayton, No. 54 (1958). "Mary is truly Queen-consort, but does it follow that she shares in a real way in the king's regnative power? Can an answer to this question be found by following closely the analogy of earthly queenship? It seems not, or rather, the evidence would incline to a negative answer. If Mary's function is in line with that of earthly queens, then she has only a negligible part to play in actually ruling the kingdom. All the evidence points to the fact that the queen has more to do with the myth of royalty than with its essence" (Egan, "The Unique Character," 295). Cf. also M. Cuervo, "La Realeza de Maria," *Salmanticenses* 8 (1961): 603-25: "Afortunadamente ha sido superada la tendencia segun la cual la realeza de Maria era concebida por muchos autores por analogia con la de las reinas de este mundo, asi madres como esposa del Rey, con notable detrimento de sus prerogativas reales. Pio XII establece en la 'Ad Caeli Reginam' que debe ser concebida analógicamente con la realeza de Jesucristo" (604). Cuervo wants to establish a formal analogy between Mary's queenship and the royal status of Jesus. Cf. G. Philips, "L'orientation de la Mariologie contemporaine," *Marianum* 22 (1960): 231: "Aujourd'hui, les érudits sont à peu près unanimes pour reconnaître que la souveraineté mariale ne doit pas se concevoir d'après les régimes modernes de gouvernement, mais d'après les idées bibliques sur le pouvoir royal. Le royaume du Christ n'est pas de ce monde: la place de sa Mère dans ce royaume ne doit donc pas se mesurer à l'échelle terrestre. Le champ de nos réflexions est d'ordre religieux et même explicitement chrétien. Seule cette ambience peut nous permettre de fixer le sens et la portée des notions employées." It is with this statement, this reason for rejecting the analogy of earthly queens, that I am in agreement.

<sup>115</sup> Sauras, "Alcance y contenido doctrinal," 292-93: "No compartimos esta confianza en la solución indicada. Antes al contrario, creemos que no es viable y que hay que revisarla profundamente.... En efecto, no es la analogia con las mujeres, sino la analogia con Cristo lo que tiene

criterion than a theological criterion for understanding her role.<sup>116</sup> Sauras sees Mary as having more than a power of intercession; as the mother of the king, she exercises a mediate dominion over individuals in the sense that she communicated to her Son his human nature which is the root of his immediate dominion over us. But he also attributes an immediate regal power to her by virtue of her association with Christ the King in the redemption.<sup>117</sup> Mary petitions graces and *distributes* them; Mary *acts* in subordination to her Son; she begs and she *gives*.<sup>118</sup> Mary has to exercise dominion over persons and things (graces) in order to be a true queen.<sup>119</sup> He says that the question of one or several holding governing powers in the kingdom is not essential to the question of a true ruling, kingly power. For this reason, then, he thinks that Mary could certainly not be denied true queenly power because of the fact that Christ is king in the kingdom of grace.<sup>120</sup> It is not important whether regal powers be absolutely or only relatively proper to the one having them. They must be proper in some sense, a sense to be determined according to the distinctions to be made between Jesus and Mary. Sauras insists upon the words of the pope in the encyclical on the queenship when he says that Mary shares the royal dignity.<sup>121</sup> Mary's subordinated power is not identical to a ministerial power. The latter is exercised in the name of another; proper power may be received or not but it is exercised in one's own name. Mary's power is *proper*, *received*, and *subordinate* by virtue of her divine maternity and her coredemptive activity.<sup>122</sup> The question as to whether regal power is legislative, judicial, or executive is accidental, says Sauras.<sup>123</sup> Egan takes a different approach to this latter point. He believes that if Mary is queen in the proper sense of the word, having real

valor y fuerza en la teología mariana" (288). "Repetimos que no se prescinde de la característica femenina. Pero repetimos también que *teológicamente* este vale poco" (293).

<sup>116</sup> Egan agrees in general with Sauras that the analogy of earthly queens is insufficient: "It may very well be that the analogy of human queenship is not to be followed too rigorously in trying to determine Mary's status as Queen in Christ's kingdom" ("The Unique Character of Mary's Queenship," 297). But he would attribute more than just an accidental importance to her femininity in analyzing her role as queen. She is destined to be both Queen-Mother and Queen-Consort (*ibid.*, 298). I shall stress her feminine characteristics as being of great importance in explaining her queenly status.

<sup>117</sup> Sauras, "Alcance y contenido doctrinal," 295ff.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. "Ad Caeli Reginam," N.C.W.C., no. 39: "Yet Mary also, although in a restricted way and only by analogy, shares in the royal dignity as the mother of Christ who is God..."; Sauras, "Alcance y contenido doctrinal," 303-04.

<sup>122</sup> Sauras, 304.

<sup>123</sup> Sauras, 301-302.

power, she must rule and that she exercises this ruling power according to its legislative, executive, and judicial aspects.<sup>124</sup> He proceeds to describe in detail the characteristics of these functions proper to all ruling power. Each of these opinions agrees in attributing to Mary a subordinated regal power, something greater than mere petition or impetration, but yet something less than the regal power of Christ.

We mention these opinions because they have contributed to a better understanding of the Christ-Mary analogy as applied to the queenship and they indicate a valid dissatisfaction with the opinion which compares Mary's queenly role to that of an earthly queen. This does not mean that I accept their solution, or that my rejection of the other solution is based upon their reasoning. Any analogy which is to be utilized to give an imperfect understanding of supernatural realities must be based upon human realities; yet those human realities are sometimes presented to us in revelation and it is to these revealed concepts that we must look for a solution. Our solution to this problem is based upon the analogy of the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel.<sup>125</sup> We have already seen something concerning the scriptural foundations of this approach.<sup>126</sup> It is upon this biblical insight that I shall build a synthesis for the theology of the queenship.

In whatever way this synthesis is developed there is a principle which, though obvious, should be clearly stated: In relation to Christ any office which Mary fulfills is the result of a grace; Mary operates in complete dependence upon Christ. Her office is characteristically feminine, that is, maternal.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Egan, "The Unique Character of Mary's Queenship," 635.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. B. Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," *Marian Studies* 12 (1961); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. by J. McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 117-119; García del Moral, "La realeza de María según la Sagrada Escritura," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 12 (1962); H. Cazelles, "La Mère du Roi-Messie," in *Maria et Ecclesia* 5:39-56; G. Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebira im Staate Juda," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 10 (1954): 161-75; R. Harrison, "The Matriarchate and Hebrew Regal Succession," *The Evangelical Quarterly* 29 (1957): 29-34.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. D. Stanley, "The Mother of My Lord," *Worship* 34 (1959-60): 330, and esp. H. Cazelles, "La Mère du Messie."

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Radio Message "Blessed be the Lord," 13 May 1946, on the occasion of the coronation of the statue of Our Lady of Fatima, in the section "Mary's Universal Queenship" in *Our Lady*, 269, no. 414: "And this queenship of hers is essentially motherly, used only for our good." "Bendito seja o Senhor," *AAS* 38 (1946): 266.

## CHAPTER III

### VATICAN II: A CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE

Up to this point we have considered the state of the question of the Queenship of Mary at the time of the Second Vatican Council. On the side of the positive data there was general agreement on most points: Scripture (for all practical purposes, the Annunciation and Visitation scenes), the Fathers and medieval theologians (beginning with their early reflections upon the import of Mary's maternity in regard to the Messiah-King and developing to the point of a deeper grasp of her role at Calvary), the liturgy, art, and the Magisterium testify to the fact that Mary is a queen in the proper sense of the word and that she exercises a queenly role which is universal in extent. With regard to the speculative question of the nature of that queenship, there was a radical opposition between those who viewed Mary in parallel to Christ ("a Christ in miniature") and those who looked upon her in the light of human queenship. The situation, in my opinion, had reached a stalemate. Even though the analogy of human queenship had prevailed in the speculative discussion, there were many theologians, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> who were dissatisfied with this approach and who tried to revive the theory which had related Mary's queenship in parallel with Christ's kingship.

#### Vatican II and Mariology

It is not my contention that the Second Vatican Council has settled this problem or solved this impasse. In fact, were we to look for new light on the problem by considering the direct reference to Mary's queenship in chapter 8 of the Constitution on the Church, we would find but a repetition of the statement found in the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam":

She was exalted by the Lord as Queen of all, in order that she might be the more thoroughly conformed to her Son, the Lord of lords, and the conqueror of sin and death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. nn. 114-24 of Chapter II.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents* (Abbott), 90, no. 59; cf. AAS 57 (1965): 62. Laurentin's comment upon this conciliar statement is almost as brief as the statement itself: "En rappelant l'Assomption définie par Pie XII, la Constitution rappelle aussi le titre de 'Reine' proclamé par ce même Pape en 1954. Cette gloire achève la conformation de Marie à son Fils" (*La Vierge au Concile* [Paris: Lethielleux, 1965]). In his commentary on this section Philips adds nothing except a reference

On the other hand, we could not expect the Council to enter into this particular theological discussion. The Council had no intention of settling theological disputes, especially in mariology.<sup>3</sup> What we do find in chapter 8 is a new methodology, the fruit of discussions which had been going on in biblical-theological circles since the early 1950s,<sup>4</sup> and the result of a new awareness within the Church of the world and its needs.<sup>5</sup> It is within the context of chapter 8 that we shall discover the path to be followed in mariology,<sup>6</sup> a path which will lead to a more integrated vision of the place of Mary in the life of the Church. The center of gravity around which all the conciliar discussions revolved was the Church itself. One of the fundamental reasons for convoking the Council was the desire to explain to the men and women of our day the meaning of the presence of the Church in the world.<sup>7</sup> It is for this reason that the Council

to Andrew of Crete and Saint John Damascene, which references are in fact included in the footnotes of the schema (G. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère au IIe Concile du Vatican* [Paris: Desclée, 1966], 254-56).

<sup>3</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), no. 54; Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 226-28.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief, concise history of these discussions and their influence on the mariology of the Council, cf. R. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1968), 88-95.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Maria in Sacra Scriptura*, Vol. 2: *Exegesis et Theologia Biblico-Dogmatica*; J. Blenkinsopp, "Biblical and Dogmatic Theology: The Present Situation," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26 (1964): 70-85. The Council proceeded according to a dialectic, an abrasion of ideas, based upon radical differences in approach. Thus different methodologies acted providentially, it seems, as a system of "checks and balances" out of which, in many instances at least, came doctrinal statements bearing a profoundly pastoral, ecumenical stamp. Cf. the important remarks of G. Garrone, *Le Concile: Orientations* (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1966), 58ff.: "Ce n'était pas tant tel point de théologie que la théologie elle-même qui les opposait." G. Philips, "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," *Maria (du Manoir)*, 8:74: "Mais alors en quoi consiste la différence entre le premier projet de la Mariologie du concile et son état final? Certains théologiens lisent le dernier texte avec leur formation mentale ancienne et ne supposent guère jusqu'à quel point la méthode théologique renouvelée et ravivée aux sources dut être clairement perçue pour bien comprendre la portée de la rédaction finale." Cf. H. Koester, "Mariologie," in *Bilan de la théologie du XXe siècle*, Vol. II (Paris: Casterman, 1970), 364-367.

<sup>6</sup> A. Vanneste, "Le problème de la théologie dogmatique," *Revue du Clergé Africain* 20 (1965): 301-28, esp. 320: "Peut-être Vatican II marquera-t-il un tournant en Mariologie. Il est question de rattacher le schème sur la Vierge au schème sur l'Église. Naguère, les théologiens avaient plutôt tendance à considérer la 'De Beata Maria Virgine' comme une annexe du 'De Christo Redemptore.' Le changement d'optique est manifeste. En mettant la sainte Vierge du côté de l'Église plutôt que de celui du Christ, on la rapproche singulièrement des simples fidèles. Ses privilèges personnels deviennent davantage le symbole du salut opéré en chaque Chrétien par le baptême." Cf. also R. Laurentin, *La question mariale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963), Ch. 2, for a good presentation of the relationship between the mariological movement and other movements within the Church. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 323-342: "Les lignes de force de 'Lumen Gentium'" makes some significant remarks on this subject.

<sup>7</sup> *Documents* (Abbott), 3: "Message to Humanity"; "The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," 200: "For the Council yearns to explain to everyone how it conceives of

devoted so much of its attention to the dogmatic constitution on the Church.<sup>8</sup> It is likewise within this perspective that we shall come to appreciate more fully the place of Mary in God's plan of salvation.<sup>9</sup> This fact is highlighted by the decision of the Council, after prolonged and at times passionate discussion, to include the doctrinal presentation of Mary within the schema on the Church.<sup>10</sup>

During the Council debates on Mary it became evident that there were two opposed tendencies which were eventually harmonized through the patient work of theologians. The one sought to bring out the scriptural and patristic bases for Marian doctrine and piety within the life of the Church without proceeding in a polemical or apologetic fashion. The other was more conceptual, more deductive in its approach and sought support for its doctrinal statements rather from the documents of the teaching Church. Scriptural and patristic "sources" were used for the most part as confirmations of established "theses." The first tendency prevailed in the sense that the framework for the doctrinal presentation on Mary which was approved by the assembly of bishops was that of salvation history with its fundamental thrust being supplied by the word of God as it appears and is developed in the writings of the biblical authors and the Fathers of the Church.<sup>11</sup>

the presence and activity of the Church in the world of today." Cf. Encyclical letter "Ecclesiam Suam" (August 6, 1964): AAS 56 (1964): 611: "We believe that it is a duty of the Church at the present time to strive toward a clearer and deeper awareness of itself and its mission in the world, and of the treasury of truth of which it is the heir and custodian. Thus before embarking on the study of any particular problem and before considering what attitude to adopt vis-à-vis the world, the Church must here and now reflect on its own nature the better to appreciate the divine plan which it is the Church's task to implement" (taken from *The Pope Speaks* 10 [1965]: 257-58).

<sup>8</sup> *Documents* (Abbott), 14-96; H. Küng, *Le concile, épreuve de l'Église* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963), 187.

<sup>9</sup> T. Koehler, "Le chapitre VIII dans la constitution dogmatique De Ecclesia," *Études Mariales* 22 (1965), 28: "Il n'est plus possible désormais d'étudier l'Église sans se référer à ses relations avec Notre Dame. La Vierge Marie permet à l'Église, en ce XXe siècle encore et toujours, de vraiment se connaître et se faire connaître en sa nature intime qu'elle reçoit du Christ. D'autre part, on ne pourra plus comprendre pleinement la Mère de Dieu en dehors de ce mystère du Christ et de son Église."

<sup>10</sup> For this question cf. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, esp. 12ff.; also, H. Mühlen, *L'Esprit dans l'Église* (2 vols., Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 2:161, who warns us to keep the proper perspective when speaking about the insertion of Mariology in Ecclesiology; Mary must not occupy the place proper to the Holy Spirit. G. Besutti, *Lo schema Mariano al Concilio Vaticano II* (Rome: Edizioni "Marianum," 1966), 85-92, gives us the complete texts of the interventions by Cardinals Santos and Koenig regarding the insertion of the schema within the Constitution on the Church.

<sup>11</sup> G. Philips, "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," *Maria (du Manoir)*, 8:46ff.; also his *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:256 (a good example of the scriptural-patristic approach taken by the



The insights (regarding the proper method to be followed) achieved in and through the workings of the Council have been confirmed time and again in the years following upon the Council.<sup>12</sup>

Council) and 328-30. H. Manteau-Bonamy, *La Vierge et le Saint Esprit* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1970), 87. H. Kistner, E. Peterman and J. Fallon, "Salvation History," in *NCE* (Saint Louis: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 12:998-1000; W. Van Roo, *The Mystery* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1971), 84-98: "Salvation History"; Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, 51-75: "Un 'schéma plus biblique,' tel fut un des leitmotives des Pères du Concile. Ce n'était pas une tâche si facile. Il eut été vain de juxtaposer des citations bibliques et des formules des manuels ou même d'encycliques, cela n'aurait fait qu'un amalgame disparate. Il fallait dégager l'essentiel par un éclairage réciproque" (58-59). At the same time it is also true that the present chapter 8 does reveal a twofold strain, the one biblical in orientation, the other more according to papal or traditional (scholastic) modes of expression. What is new is the definite biblical orientation, a conscious attempt to express the doctrine on Mary in biblical terms as well as an effort to avoid doctrinal positions which belong more to theological speculation than to scriptural-patristic sources. Cf. R. Le Déaut, "Marie et l'Écriture dans le chapitre VIII," *Études Mariiales* 22 (1965): 57-58. It is of some importance to realize that one of the fundamental concerns of the Council was Ecumenism. This movement which had been growing gradually until the time of the Council received a real impulse from the manner in which the Council documents were drawn up and presented. The mariology of the Council was perhaps the doctrine which was most affected by this concern. Cf. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, 69-72; A. Michel, "Régression en théologie mariale?" *L'Ami du Clergé* 75 (1965): 121-23; A. Bea, "Accord de la doctrine et de la piété mariales avec l'esprit oecuménique," *Maria (du Manoir)*, 7:III-XIII as well as the intervention of the Cardinal at the Council recorded in Besutti, *Lo schema Mariano*, 133ff. The Cardinal expressed a desire that the schema be more scriptural, i.e., that a better integration of scriptural material with "traditional" material be effected. There are several important articles to be found in the Acts of the International Congress on the Theology of Vatican II held in Rome in 1966. Cf. E.R. Carroll, "The Mary-Church Analogy in the Ecumenical Dialogue: Agreements and Disagreements," in *Acta Congressus Internationalis de Theologia Concilii Vaticani II* [Hereafter: *Acta Vaticani II*] (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1968), 245-254; J. Medina-Estevéz, "De momento oecumenico capitis VIII constitutionis dogmaticae 'Lumen Gentium,'" in *Acta Vaticani II*, 255-65. We will say more about this later.

<sup>12</sup> Much has been written since the Council about the method to be used in theology as a whole as well as in Mariology. Cf. *La mariologia tra le discipline teologiche*, Atti dell'8° Simposio Internazionale Mariologico Roma, 2-4 ottobre, 1990 (Roma: Edizioni Marianum, 1992). Of particular interest and significance are the reflections of Fr. I. Calabuig, "L'insegnamento della Mariologia nei documenti Ecclesiali dal decreto conciliare 'Optatum totius' alla lettera circolare (25. III.1988) della Congregazione per l'Educazione Cattolica," also in *La mariologia tra le discipline teologiche*, 141-256. Cf. also in the same volume, E.M. Toniolo, "Il Rinnovamento della riflessione Mariologica dopo il Vaticano II: Impostazione e criteri," 89-139, esp. 108ff. Stefano De Fiores considers these issues in his article "Mary in Postconciliar Theology," in Volume I of *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1988), 469-539: "When the Council placed its declarations on Mary in a context of the Church and of salvation history, it eliminated the perspective of an autonomous marian discourse and any mariological isolation...." (473). He quotes from an article which appears in *Nuovo dizionario di mariologia* (1985), 386-87: "The person, the mission, and the privileges of Mary, and also the devotion offered to her, are not consid-

Mary is presented to us by the Council as a unique participant in the mystery of salvation. The Council Fathers are careful to note, in perfect continuity with the doctrinal thrust of the entire document on the Church, that the mystery of salvation is carried on in the Church.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the mystery essentially involves the fact that God has willed to send His Son at a given time in history to take human flesh of a woman in order to save mankind from its sinful state.<sup>14</sup> We shall see in detail in this chapter how the biblical notion of the "Daughter of Sion" relates Mary to the Church as the "place" where the

ered in themselves or in relation to her dignity as mother of God. Rather, the whole treatment is developed and expanded in the broader framework of the history of salvation. The perspective of salvation is the true new theological perspective." Calabuig said in similar fashion: "Il ricorso del cultore di mariologia alla sacra Scrittura non può peraltro limitarsi ad un diligente studio dei 'passi mariani' dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento. Egli deve fare molto di più: deve collocare costantemente la figura di Maria nel grande disegno che va dalla Genesi all'Apocalisse, 'leggerla' secondo le categorie proprie del linguaggio biblico, interpretarla alla luce delle 'leggi' dell'agire divino, che lo studio costante e amoroso della Bibbia mette in evidenza, scoprire i collegamenti simbolico-profetici che si instaurano tra Maria e i personaggi e le istituzioni di Israele prima e della Chiesa poi" ("L'insegnamento della Mariologia," in *La Mariologia tra le discipline teologiche*, 231). A major part of Calabuig's reflections centers around the document issued in 1988 by the Sacred Congregation for Education entitled "La Vergine Maria nella formazione intellettuale e spirituale" (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989). This letter is reproduced in *Marianum* 50 (1988): 33-50 [See *The Virgin Mary in Intellectual and Spiritual Formation* published by the Mariological Society of America, 1999.]

<sup>13</sup> *Documents* (Abbott), 85: "This divine mystery of salvation is revealed to us and continued in the Church, which the Lord established as His own body." Cf. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, 61-64. G. Barauna, "La très Sainte Vierge au service de l'économie du salut," in *Unam Sanctam*, 51c., *L'Église de Vatican II* (Paris: Cerf, 1966), 2:1219-1241, who says that it was precisely in discussing the first schema on the Church that the council Fathers came to appreciate the need for a much broader perspective than the rather juridical approach which was in evidence in that schema. They gradually became sensitive to the need for a presentation of the dimension of the "mystery of salvation" in order to be able to include within it the various themes which they wished to cover (1220). Cf. L. Malvez, "Les dimensions de l'histoire du salut," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 86 (1964): 561-78.

<sup>14</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), nos. 52 and 56, 85-88 (Eph. 1:9ff., 3:9ff.); J. McKenzie, "Mystery," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1965), 595-98; X. Léon-Dufour, "Mystery," in his *Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), 331-33; R. Brown and A. Dulles, "Mystery," in *NCE*, 10:148-53; Van Roo, *The Mystery*; L. Pirot, "Le mystère dans la Bible," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément*, 6:173-225; Koehler, "Le Chapitre VIII," *Études Mariales* 22 (1965): 31ff.; Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:214: "Nous voici devant le mystère divin révélé et continué dans l'Église. Le terme mystère peut être considéré à peu près comme le mot-clef de toute la Constitution. C'est par là qu'elle se termine. Le mystère qui nous atteint dans l'Église, grâce aux missions divines, trouve son origine et son but final dans le sein de la Sainte Trinité." Cf. also 328-29.

divine plan of salvation, this "mystery," is effectively realized.<sup>15</sup> It is within this mystery of Christ that we shall discover the possibility of, or indeed a need for, a mariology.<sup>16</sup> Mary's significance is not simply that of an individual; she is the prototype of all those who are called to respond to God.

The mystery of the Church, within which the mystery of Mary is to be understood, is presented by the Council as identified in an inchoative way with the kingdom of God.<sup>17</sup> The Church of its very nature tends towards the eschatological consummation of this kingdom and it has the mission in the world of announcing the coming of the kingdom as well as actualizing it.<sup>18</sup>

From the very beginning Mary is hailed as a "preeminent and altogether singular member of the Church" and as "the Church's model and excellent exemplar in faith and charity."<sup>19</sup> Again, in #63 of the Constitution, Mary is

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Philips, "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," 74: "La Mariologie et l'Écclésiologie se rejoignent dans leur centre commun qui est la Christologie entendue dans son ampleur réelle. Voilà donc un fruit incontestable tant du ressourcement que de la réflexion sur l'analogie de la foi. Le Concile a intégré dans son exposé les deux perspectives sans que l'une absorbe l'autre...."

<sup>16</sup> Cf. R. Lack, "Mariologie et Christocentrisme," *Études Mariales* 21 (1964): 17-49; Philips, "La Vierge et l'avenir de la Mariologie," 51-54.

<sup>17</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), no. 5, 17-18. Cf. G. Dejaifve, "La Magna Charta de Vatican II," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 87 (1965): 3-22; T. Camelot, "Le mystère de l'Église," *La Vie Spirituelle* 112 (1965): 185-205. It is evident that the term "mystery" has many nuances all of which, when considered together, introduce us into a world rich with meaning. Consider the words of Camelot about the application of this term to the Church: "On se réjouira de voir ici rendre à ce mot toute la richesse de son sens traditionnel. Le 'mystère' ce n'est pas d'abord 'une vérité que nous devons croire bien que nous ne puissions pas la comprendre; c'est une réalité spirituelle, sainte et sanctifiante, cachée et présente sous le signe et le voile d'une réalité sensible et visible, qui la montre et la donne aux yeux de la foi...la réalité sainte, signifiée et opérée dans l'Église, c'est le règne de Dieu, le rassemblement en Jésus Christ de toute l'humanité rachetée" (187-88). We find in these words the identification of the "mystery"—God's eternal design for our salvation, with the "mystery" as it is lived and actualized in the Church. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 1:94-98, says: "Le Royaume, c'est aussi, le premier rassemblement de ceux qui y entrent, aujourd'hui déjà et non seulement à la fin des temps. L'Église c'est le royaume plus que préfiguré; c'est son stade initial et sa première croissance" (97).

<sup>18</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), Ch. 7, 78-85; Philips, *L'Église et son mystère* (97): "L'Église ne s'identifie donc pas encore avec le Royaume glorieux, mais elle s'y achemine et elle l'anticipe; au-delà de la préfiguration, nous en sommes à la première réalisation...L'Église n'est pas au terme de son pèlerinage, et la voilà engagée dans le siècle futur, non pas par métaphore mais par sa vitalité intérieure."

<sup>19</sup> *Documents* (Abbott), 86, no. 53; cf. J. de Aldama, "Typus et exemplar in capite VIII Constitutionis Dogmaticae 'Lumen Gentium,'" in *Acta Congressus Internationalis de Theologia Concilii Vaticani II*, 198-203. De Aldama believes that the precise use of the word "type" applied to Mary in Vatican II is to be understood in an ontic sense, i.e., it expresses who Mary is: The Church is made according to her likeness: virginal maternity (cf. nos. 63-64); "Exemplar" is to be understood in an ethic sense, that which allows of degrees: holiness, faith, charity (cf. no. 65).

said to be united to the Church most intimately through the gifts with which she was adorned by God. She becomes through her faith and charity the model, in the Church (and for the Church itself), of virginity and motherhood. There is a constant reference throughout the document to this exemplarism which is shown to be something much more than a mere external image of what the Church should be and one day shall be. It is clearly stated (#65) that in Mary the Church has already reached that perfection whereby she (the Church) exists without spot or wrinkle. In other words, the function of the Church as revealer and "actualizer" of God's kingdom among the men and women of this world is most perfectly realized in her preeminent member, Mary.

In expressing this interrelationship of Mary and the Church the Council chose the framework of salvation history, as we have said. It highlights the gradual development of the awareness of God's plan of salvation among His people from the time of the early prophets, indeed from the narration of Genesis, up to the fulfillment of God's promises in the fullness of time. Step-by-step Mary's role in this plan is underlined: Her faith at the Annunciation is the foundation for her total response to God's will throughout the life and at the death of her Son. It is her faith which is constantly extolled by the Council as her contribution to our redemption in the various stages in which this took place:<sup>20</sup> in her visit to Elizabeth, "Blest is she who trusted that the Lord's words to her would be fulfilled"<sup>21</sup>; at the presentation of her Son in the temple, and again when she found Him in the temple and did not understand these events: "This child is destined to be the downfall and the rise of many in Israel, a sign that will be opposed—and you yourself shall be pierced with a sword—"<sup>22</sup>; "but they did not grasp what He said to them.... His mother meanwhile kept all these things in memory."<sup>23</sup> Her own son recognizes and praises her faith, first at Cana when, at the inauguration of His public ministry, she intervened in behalf

<sup>20</sup> Mühlen, *L'Esprit dans l'Église*, 2:136: "De même que, selon saint Paul, Abraham se situe, en raison de sa foi exemplaire, au début de l'histoire sainte de l'A.T., la foi justifiante de Marie est également exemplaire pour l'histoire de la foi du N.T. Marie est donc vraiment la 'Mère des croyants' ou 'La Mère de la foi,' c'est-à-dire l'archétype et modèle de la foi justifiante de chacun de nous." J. Galot, "Marie, type et modèle de l'Église," in *L'Église de Vatican II*, Vol. 3: Commentaires, 1254-55.

<sup>21</sup> Luke 1:45.

<sup>22</sup> Luke 2:34-35; cf. P. Benoît, "Et toi-même, un glaive te transpercera l'âme! (Luc 2,35)," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25 (1963): 251-61.

<sup>23</sup> Luke 2:50-51; cf. R. Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple: Mystère de Pâques et foi de Marie en Luc 1-2* (Paris: Gabalda, 1966); R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 470-95; B. Buby, *Mary of Galilee*, 3 vols. (New York: Alba House, 1994), 1:92-96.

of the wedding couple (as a symbol of the Church)<sup>24</sup>; and then during His public ministry itself: "Whoever does the will of God is brother and sister and mother to me."<sup>25</sup> Her union with her Son in faith and love, despite the agonizing sorrow her heart experienced at that moment, is continued and deepened when she consents to the ultimate in God's will, the death of her own Son.<sup>26</sup> Not without significance is the fact that the text utilized by the Council in expressing the cult of the Church toward Mary is one which implies a reference to her faith: "All generations shall call me blessed, because He who is mighty has done great things for me."<sup>27</sup> Mary is blessed because she has believed and God has fructified her belief by doing great things for her.

The Council is careful to note that Mary's role in salvation history is brought to an ever clearer light by Sacred Scripture as well as by ancient Tradition.<sup>28</sup> Thus, while no interpretation is given of the literal sense of the Old Testament passages which are cited, there is an indication that in some real sense Mary is "prophetically foreshadowed" in them. The Council is at pains to establish the biblical foundation (even in this limited sense) for its teaching on Mary.

Of special importance is the weight attached to Mary's *fial* by the Council.<sup>29</sup> By this response she is said to have given herself totally to the work of

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Jn. 2:1-11; A. Feuillet, "La Vierge Marie dans le Nouveau Testament," in *Maria (du Manoir)*, 6:51ff. "Et ce signe qui inaugure le ministère public et fonde la foi des disciples (2:11): il est octroyé par l'entremise de Marie; qui se trouve ainsi représenter l'Église et est liée intimement par son Fils à son oeuvre d'instauration d'une alliance nouvelle entre Dieu et les hommes" (54). A. Feuillet, "La signification fondamentale du premier miracle de Cana," *Revue Thomiste* 65 (1965): 517-35.

<sup>25</sup> Mark 3:35.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), no. 58: "[She] advanced in her pilgrimage of faith and loyally persevered in her union with her Son unto the cross." Cf. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:249-52: "La phrase principale de notre article nous présente l'idée moins familière chez les fidèles que la Sainte Vierge a avancé dans le pèlerinage de la foi à travers la souffrance et l'obscurité jusqu'au Calvaire où, toujours selon saint Jean, elle se tenait debout.... Notre texte affirme qu'elle s'associe au sacrifice de Jésus, acquiescant à l'immolation de Celui qui a voulu naître d'elle pour mourir sur la croix" (250).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. "Lumen Gentium," no. 66, Luke 1:48.

<sup>28</sup> "Lumen Gentium," no. 55: "The Sacred Scriptures of both the Old and New Testament, as well as ancient tradition, show the role of the Mother of the Saviour in the economy of salvation in an ever clearer light.... These earliest documents, as they are read in the Church and are understood in the light of a further and full revelation, bring the figure of the woman, Mother of the Redeemer, into a gradually sharper focus." The exegetical discussion concerning the literal meaning of Gen. 3:15, Is. 7:14, and Mich. 5:2-3 is in no way settled by the Council. Cf. R. Le Déaut, "Marie et l'Écriture dans le chapitre VIII," 61-62. R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 143-53; B. Buby, "The Hebrew Scriptures and Vatican II," in *Mary of Galilee*, 2:123-151.

<sup>29</sup> "Lumen Gentium," no. 56: "By thus consenting to the divine utterance, Mary, a daughter of Adam, became the mother of Jesus. Embracing God's saving will with a full heart, and im-

redemption proper to her Son. The emphasis which theologians have laid upon the consent of Mary given at the Annunciation and carried on up to the death of her Son receives encouragement, if not an explicit confirmation, from the Council: "This union of the Mother with the Son in the work of salvation was manifested from the time of Christ's virginal conception up to His death."<sup>30</sup>

### Mary, Daughter of Sion

In the second part of this chapter we wish to consider a biblical theme which was mentioned in passing in the Council text and which has particular significance for our considerations, namely, the theme of Mary as the Daughter of Sion.<sup>31</sup> With her, the exalted Daughter of Sion, and after a long expectation

ped by no sin, she devoted herself totally as a handmaid of the Lord to the person and work of her Son. In subordination to Him and along with Him, by the grace of Almighty God, she served the mystery of redemption"; Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:260: "Sa fidélité dans l'acceptation du plan du salut, tel que Dieu voulut le réaliser, voilà l'idée fondamentale sur laquelle le schéma revient régulièrement." Cf. F. Braun, "Annotationes circa cap. VIII Constitutionis dogmaticae de ecclesia," in *Acta Congressus Internationalis de Theologia Concilii Vaticani II*, 238-40: "De Consensu Mariae."

<sup>30</sup> "Lumen Gentium," no. 57; J. Alfaro, "Significatio Mariae in mysterio salutis," *Gregorianum* 40 (1959): 9-37.

<sup>31</sup> H. Sahlin, *Der Messias und das Gottesvolk* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1945); A. Hebert, "The Virgin Daughter of Sion," *Theology* 53 (1950): 403-410; A. Hebert, "La Vierge Marie, Fille de Sion," *La Vie Spirituelle*, 85 (1951): 127-39 (the same article translated into French); S. Lyonnet, "Le récit de l'Annonciation et la Maternité Divine de la Sainte Vierge," *L'Ami du Clergé*, 66 (1956): 33-48; R. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957); L. Deiss, *Marie, Fille de Sion* (Paris: Desclée, 1959); H. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion et théologie mariale dans la Bible," *Études Mariales* 21 (1964): 51-71; id., "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura* (1967), 6:165-78; A. Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959): 55-86; id., "Les adieux de Jésus à sa mère (Jn. 19:25-27) et la maternité spirituelle de Marie," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 86 (1964): 469-83; Benoît, "Et toi-même, un glaive te transpercera l'âme," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25 (1963): 251-261; M. Thurian, *Marie, Mère du Seigneur, Figure de l'Église* (Taizé, 1962), 19-28; American edition, *Mary, Mother of all Christians*, trans. by Neville Cryer (New York: Herder & Herder, 1963), 13-19. A. George, "Découverte de Marie dans le Nouveau Testament," *Cahiers Marials* 73 (1970): 131-172. In fairly recent times there have been many studies and articles concerning Mary as the Daughter of Sion and its implications. For a good summary of the approaches taken to this biblical theme cf. N. Lemmo, "Maria, 'Figlia di Sion,' a partire da Lc. 1:26-28. Bilancio esegetico del 1939-1982," *Marianum* 45 (1983): 175-258. He covers three periods of exegetical reflection upon this theme: 1939-1962: pioneers; 1962-1970: those who promoted an awareness of the implications of this theme; 1970-1982: new approaches. I. de la Potterie, "Kekaritomene en Luc 1:28," *Biblica* 69 (1987): 357-382; 480-508. Id. "La figlia di Sion. Lo sfondo biblico della mariologia dopo il Concilio Vaticano II," *Marianum* 49 (1987): 356-376. Xabier Pikaza, "Hija de Sion, Origen y Desarrollo del Simbolo," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 44 (1994): 9-43. G. Papini, "La Vergine Maria, figlia di Sion, modello della Chiesa e

of the promise, the times were at length fulfilled and the new dispensation established.<sup>32</sup>

Commentators on the text are quick to point out the extreme importance of this statement by the Council in view of ecumenical considerations.<sup>33</sup> It is a theme which is fruitful for ecumenical dialogue because of the fact that it uses an Old Testament basis for a profound understanding of the role of Mary in salvation history. At one and the same time it is Christo-centric and Ecclesio-centric. It is particularly the second aspect that we shall underline here since I consider this theme to provide the biblical foundation for a theological

dell'unità del popolo di Dio," *Marianum* 37 (1975): 301-325; A. Serra, "'Esulta, Figlia di Sion!' Principali riletture di Zc. 2: 14-15 e 9: 9a-c nel Giudaismo antico e nel Cristianesimo del I-II secolo," *Marianum* 45 (1983): 9-54; Alfonso Muñoz Simon, *El Mesias y la hija de Sion: Teología de la redención in Lc. 2:29-35*, *Studia Semitica Novi Testamenti* 3 (Madrid: Editorial Ciudad Nueva Fundacion San Justino, 1994). Id. "Marie, Fille d'Israël, Fille de Sion," *Études Mariales* 59 (2002). O. Spinetoli, "Eccelsa Figlia di Sion," *Theotokos* 8 (2000): 499-512.

<sup>32</sup> *Documents* (Abbott), 87: "Lumen Gentium," no. 55.

<sup>33</sup> Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, 90: "Voilà donc deux thèmes d'une grande portée doctrinale, spirituelle, et oecuménique... Elle est personnellement la fille de Sion, c'est-à-dire la réalisation idéale du peuple de Dieu, l'Israël des derniers temps, l'Israël nouveau où Jahweh exerce son règne." R. Le Déaut, "Marie et l'Écriture dans le chapitre VIII," 63: "...et il est permis de voir dans l'expression adoptée par le Concile un encouragement à poursuivre cette piste biblique de l'assimilation de Marie à la Fille de Sion des oracles prophétiques.... Le thème de la Fille de Sion... ouvre la voie d'un approfondissement d'une théologie biblique prenant appui sur les deux Testaments et d'un dialogue oecuménique à partir du problème marial lui-même." Cf. de la Potterie, "La figlia di Sion. Lo sfondo biblico della mariologia dopo il Concilio Vaticano II," *Marianum* 49 (1987): 356-376. In this regard, W. Jones, "Mariology: An Unrecognized Entrée to Ecumenical Dialogue," *The Journal of Religion* 44 (1964): 210-222; G. Knight, "The Protestant World and Mariology," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 19 (1966): 55-73: "Any discussion of the person of Mary we now make, if it is to be truly biblically based, can confidently assume, therefore, that in a real sense Mary the Mother of Jesus was the ultimate expression of the Remnant of the People of God... What, then, is the place of the Virgin Mary in this transcendently important moment in the purpose of God? The answer to the question, I believe, we begin to discover when we set forth her relationship to the empirical and ancient People of God, the Israel of God's elective purpose. We have seen that the latter was (1) the Virgin People, (2) though sinful, yet chosen and given power to respond to God in faith, and (3) eschatologically significant far beyond anything that has empirical appearance in history would warrant" (62). Cf. M. Thurian, "Problèmes posés aux Protestants par la mariologie," *Études Mariales* 20 (1963): 79-94. Knight refers to Mary as the Woman symbolizing the people of God in its maternal function, the Daughter of Sion symbolizing the new people which brings forth messianic deliverance in suffering. While some non-catholic authors (Thurian, Hebert, Knight, Macquarrie) pursue the Daughter of Sion theme and draw from it many profound truths for the spiritual life, S. Benko, *Protestants, Catholics and Mary* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1968), strongly opposes this view. For him Mary is rather a figure of the Synagogue because of her lack of faith. When we discuss Mary's role in heaven today as the Daughter of Sion personifying the Church we shall see that our interpretation of this theme differs from that of those Protestants who favor the theme itself.

understanding of the relationship between Mary and the Church which, in turn, is essential for our understanding of Mary's relationship to God (Christ) and her role in the history of salvation.<sup>34</sup> As we shall see, as the Daughter of Sion Mary is the most perfect realization of the Church.<sup>35</sup> Yet in utilizing this theme we must be careful to remain faithful to the historical context in which it developed within the Bible itself. Only thus shall the full meaning and profound implications of this theme be appreciated.<sup>36</sup>

The expression "Daughter of Sion" is found for the first time in the Bible in the writings of the prophet Micah who dates from the eighth century before Christ.<sup>37</sup> While the exact origin of this term "Daughter of Sion" is unknown, it is thought by some<sup>38</sup> to signify a fortified section or borough of a town.<sup>39</sup> The prophet Micah uses the expression in two different chapters (1:13, 4:10,13), but their contexts make it difficult to determine the precise meaning of the expression.<sup>40</sup> In chapter 4:8 a further clarification concerning the "fortified city"

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:231: "La Ville de Sion, figure du peuple élu, porte la promesse qui s'accomplira lors de la plénitude des temps. Les deux dénominations sont pointées sur la tâche que le Dieu Sauveur confie à une créature privilégiée." Koester, "Mariologie," in *Bilan de la théologie du XXe siècle*, 2:360: "Le thème de Marie 'Fille de Sion' s'impose...et donc, implicitement et comme en filigrane, le thème de la fonction vicairie." Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 67: "La transposition pourrait être exprimée ainsi: La 'fille de Sion,' personification abstraite d'Israël, est actualisée en la personne de Marie qui accueille la promesse messianique au nom d'Israël." De la Potterie, "La figlia di Sion," 356-376.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Deiss, *Marie, Fille de Sion*, 110; Manteau-Bonamy, *La Vierge Marie et le Saint Esprit*, 90.

<sup>36</sup> E. Maly indicates that a constant awareness of the gradual development of these themes within revelation is essential in order neither to distort the sense of the theme nor to close the door to further penetration. "Principal Problems of Modern Exegesis Relative to Dogma," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura* 2:67-77; Manteau-Bonamy, *La Vierge Marie et le Saint Esprit*, 87: "Les plus authentiques 'acquisitions' de la mariologie laisseront un malaise tant que l'on n'aura pas montré qu'il y a une vraie continuité d'interprétation de l'histoire du salut, de la pensée Chrétienne moderne à la pensée biblique à travers l'élaboration patristique."

<sup>37</sup> Cazelles, "Fille de Sion et théologie mariale dans la Bible," 51-53.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Pikaza, "Hija de Sion, origen y desarrollo del simbolo," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 44 (1994): 9-43. He does not accept Cazelle's theory that the Daughter of Sion is part of the city of Jerusalem. He prefers to see this title as pursuing a more universal religious symbolism. In his article in the *Nuevo Dictionario de Mariologia* (1985), G. Mori supports Cazelle's insight: "Da Michea in poi, la figlia di Sion sembra non significare la totalità di Israele, ma una parte, un resto che è stato provato ma che è ancora una portatore di una speranza nuova" ( 582). Cf. also Mori, *Figlia di Sion e serva di Jahweh nella Bibbia e nel Vaticano II* (Bologna: Ed. Dehoniane, 1969), 107-108.

<sup>40</sup> Micah 1:13: "Harness steeds to the chariots, O inhabitants of Lachish; Lachish, the beginning of sin for daughter Zion." This is generally considered to be an addition to the text of 4:10 and 13: "Writhe in pain, grow faint, O daughter Zion; like a woman in travail, for now shall you go forth from the city and dwell in the fields; to Babylon shall you go, there shall you be



is found. It is called "the tower of the flock" which would probably place it somewhere near the "Sheepgate" of Jerusalem and perhaps at the very site of the future temple. It would seem, then, that the Daughter of Sion in 4:8 is the new quarter of Jerusalem to the north of the City of David where the refugees from the northern Israelite kingdom (733-732) had gathered. These refugees are to be identified with the "remnant" of vv. 6-7. In v. 10 Micah invites them to go forth as a strong nation from the city to Babylon. Thus for the prophet the Daughter of Sion is a remnant which has been tried but which is the bearer of a new hope.<sup>41</sup>

Another important element in this theme as expressed in Micah is the notion of childbearing. Chapter 5:1-2 is a reflection of Isaiah 7:14 speaking of a royal birth. The notion of a painful childbirth was from then on associated with a hope for deliverance of Israel from Assyrian oppression. It is here that there begins the concept of the Daughter of Sion painfully bringing forth a liberated people.<sup>42</sup>

Isaiah uses the expression Daughter of Sion in two different senses. In the beginning of his writings it indicates those who live in Sion. In chapter 22:4 it seems that he distinguishes between the Daughter of Sion and Jerusalem (Sion) itself. Again in 10:32 the prophet seems to distinguish between the mountain of Daughter Sion and the mountain of Sion. If this interpretation is correct, then the mountain of Daughter Sion would be the City of David.<sup>43</sup> In 37:27-29 the Virgin Daughter of Sion is the same as the Daughter of Jerusalem. In this chapter the Daughter of Sion scoffs at Sennacherib, the Assyrian, because he had foolishly placed the sanctuary of the Holy One of Israel on the same level as other sanctuaries. From this time on in prophetic writing the religious

rescued. There shall the Lord redeem you from the hand of your enemies.... Arise and thresh, O Daughter Zion; your horn I will make iron and your hoofs bronze, that you may crush many peoples. You shall devote their spoils to the Lord, and their riches to the Lord of the whole earth."

<sup>41</sup> D. Pellestrandi, "La Fille de Sion chez les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament préfigure-t-elle Marie?" *Études Mariales* 59 (2002): 24: "... quant à Babylone, royaume de la civilisation la plus raffinée, Israël y a vécu la redoutable épreuve, la perte de son âme, sauf pour le petit reste saint dont parlent les prophètes. Ce petit reste, fidèle et saint, a été assimilé à la Fille de Sion dans la mesure où cette expression recouvre une identité collective, ou plus exactement une personnalité corporative."

<sup>42</sup> Cazelles, "Fille de Sion et théologie mariale dans la Bible," 55-59.

<sup>43</sup> *The New American Bible* (St. Joseph Ed.) (New York: Catholic Book Pub. Co., 1970), 836, cites the mount of Daughter Sion and the hill of Jerusalem as parallel; so too the *Interpreter's Bible*, 10 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), 5:246, and the *International Critical Commentary* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963): "Isaiah" (Gray), 206. Cazelles, however, thinks that they are distinct; there are no parallels in the places cited immediately before, he says, and this would lead him to think that these are not parallel here. Cf. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion," 60.

sanctuary assumes greater importance than the political capital (Jerusalem). In chapter 1:8 the Daughter of Sion is the town under siege but at the same time she is the symbol of the hope for deliverance; in verses 26-27 Jerusalem becomes the Daughter of Sion, the bearer of hope. Some consider these latter verses to be the key to the entire book of Isaiah.<sup>44</sup>

The prophet Zephaniah<sup>45</sup> is the prophet of deliverance and the herald of hope. He speaks (1:10) of a cry coming from the new quarter of Jerusalem which, in fact, is to be identified with the Daughter of Sion, a cry announcing Jahweh's presence in their midst. From that quarter the purification of Jerusalem will take place and judgment will be extended to all the nations. He calls upon the Daughter of Sion to rejoice; she is the Daughter of Jerusalem, with her king in her midst. The remnant of Israel (the Daughter of Sion) will gain victory over the Assyrian and shall become the rallying place for all who have been scattered. This prophecy did not come to immediate fulfillment; in fact, it was followed by years of Assyro-Scythian suppression. We find evidence of this suppression of Judah in the early oracles of Jeremiah.<sup>46</sup> Jeremiah uses the expression "Daughter of my people" and applies it to Jerusalem (4:11). He bids her to mourn bitterly as for an only child. She is compared to a pasture which is to be laid waste (6:2); in 6:6 she is identified with Jerusalem itself. While in Zephaniah Daughter Sion was called to rejoicing, in Jeremiah we find the development of the theme of a victimized Jerusalem. Still, Jeremiah does not abandon hope. In chapters 30 and 31 we find him awaiting the deliverance of the captives of Samaria and the reconstruction of Jerusalem. In the definitive edition of his work these promises of the deliverance of Ephraim were joined to others concerning the deliverance of Jerusalem and Judah. From this time on the hope expressed in the Daughter of Sion theme is placed in Jerusalem which has been laid waste.

The Lamentations pick up this thread of thought and develop it. The ruination of Daughter Sion (identified with Jerusalem in 1:7-8) is described quite vividly. The second Lamentation describes the Daughter of Sion as the divine footstool; Jerusalem is called the Daughter of Judah and in v. 13 the Virgin daughter of Sion cries out to the Lord and sheds tears in torrents (vv. 15 and 18) on behalf of her children. Hope still remains since Daughter Sion

<sup>44</sup> See *The New American Bible*, 826, see note on these verses. Cf. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion," 59-61.

<sup>45</sup> See *International Critical Commentary*, "Micah, Zephaniah, etc.," 166-71; Cazelles, "Fille de Sion," 61-62. Cf. N. Lemmo, "Maria, 'Figlia di Sion,' a partire da Lc. 1:26-38: Bilancio esegetico dal 1939-1982," *Marianum* 45 (1983): 175-258. J. McHugh, *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1975), 37-55; Pikaza, "Hija de Sion," 32-35.

<sup>46</sup> Jer. 4:6-5, 17.

exercises a religious role toward God in favor of her descendants. The fourth Lamentation speaks of expiation (v. 22). Daughter Sion suffers because of the sins of her priests and prophets.<sup>47</sup>

Ezekiel does not mention the Daughter of Sion, although his work does affect the disciples of Isaiah and Jeremiah. He speaks of the establishment of an eternal alliance with Jerusalem by virtue of which God will give to her as her daughters her elder and younger sisters, and that not by virtue of the former alliance. Thus pagan cities will enjoy the privileges of Israel. Ezekiel uses the image of daughters to convey his message of hope founded upon this new alliance.

Isaiah's disciple who composed chapters 40 to 55 does not speak of the Daughter of Sion, though he does mention the virgin daughter of Babylon who would share the fate of Sion and the towns of Judah. In 54:1 he presents Sion-Jerusalem as the Spouse of the Lord, the mother of many sons, in which a people unknown to Israel would share in the promises made to David and fulfilled in the eternal alliance. In 56:3f. he speaks of the restoration of cult. In 62:11 the author mentions the Daughter of Sion in whose midst is the Lord and a people which shall be called "holy," "the redeemed of the Lord." In 65:9 the writer depicts God promising offspring to Jacob and to Judah those who will inherit His mountain. God's servants shall receive a new name and they shall live longer than their ancestors. In 66:6-10 it is a question of Sion bringing forth in joy, without pain. This is akin to Zephaniah's exhortation to rejoice. This shall be an eternal nation formed from all peoples and possessing a new priesthood, new heavens, and a new earth. Here, then, Sion assumes the role of giving birth which Micah had attributed to the Daughter of Sion: A new people is born in which pagans have their own place.<sup>48</sup>

In chapter 66:7-8 Isaiah describes both the birth (without pain) of an individual child and the birth of a collectivity. The first birth is in continuity with the predictions of the earlier part of this Isaian work (chapters 7-9). The second birth is in continuity with Isaiah 54. There is, then, a definitive notion of the birth of a collectivity and at least the possibility of a connection between that birth and the birth of the royal child.

The theme of Daughter of Sion received its ultimate Old Testament refinement at the hands of the last prophets.<sup>49</sup> Zechariah speaks in terms of

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion," 62-64.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Pikaza, "Hija de Sion," 32-35.

<sup>49</sup> A. Serra, "Esulta, Figlia di Sion!", 9-54. Pikaza, "Hija de Sion," 35-41. In his study Serra concedes that one of the difficult objections concerning Luke's use of Old Testament texts (such as Zeph., Joel and Zacharia) to shed light upon the role of Mary in salvation history is this: Would the community of Luke's day be familiar enough with the theme of the Daughter of Sion

rejoicing (2:14) because of God's dwelling among His people. Many nations will be joined to the Lord and He will be their God. In chapter 9 Zechariah exhorts Sion to rejoice because of the presence of her King in her midst, a king who will render God present to His people.

In the psalms, as in the Lamentations, Sion and the Daughter of Sion share the same fate and in fact Sion is to the rest of Israel what the Daughter of Sion had once been to Sion: the remnant out of which deliverance will come. Sion gives life, not only to the sons of Sion but also to the daughters of Judah. Psalm 87 speaks of Sion as giving birth to the pagan nations.<sup>50</sup> Psalm 22 mentions the birth of a people. On Calvary Christ Himself recited the first verse of this psalm: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me...?" just after he had given John over to Mary as her Son. Thus we have here an implied birth of a new people on Calvary in the person of the mother of the Saviour who has been indicated by the Saviour himself as the woman who receives a new son.<sup>51</sup>

The Daughter of Sion is mentioned explicitly only twice in the New Testament<sup>52</sup> and each time there is a direct reference to Zechariah 9:9.<sup>53</sup> In these New Testament scenes Christ is depicted as the Messiah entering Jerusalem to take possession of the temple. In the New Testament Jerusalem is portrayed as the city where Christ must die since it is the city which has killed the prophets:

to be able to conclude that it has a relationship to Mary? He studies the Old Jewish readings of these passages of Zachariah and writings of the N.T. times which express the understanding these particular communities had. He studies Zachariah because it is he who draws the most attention in the so-called intertestamental period concerning the Messiah and his coming. He concludes: "Dunque, tenuto conto e dell'arco di tempo in cui fioriscono queste reinterpretazioni e del loro raggio di diffusione sia dentro che fuori la Palestina, aumenta non poco la probabilità che i brani di Zc. 2, 14-15 e specialmente 9, 9 fossero ben conosciuti come testi messianici da Luca e dalla Chiesa per la quale egli scriveva. Appare quindi più fondata l'opinione che l'evangelista avesse chiara coscienza di echeggiare quei passi, applicandoli a Maria. Parallelamente vi sono buone ragioni per ritenere che i suoi destinatari fossero in grado di avvertire tali risonanze, anche se allusive" (53).

<sup>50</sup> Ps. 87:4ff.: "I tell of Egypt and Babylon among those that know the Lord; of Philistia, Tyre, Ethiopia: 'This man was born there.' And of Sion they shall say: 'One and all were born in her.'" St. Paul certainly has this motherhood in mind when he says in Gal. 4:26: "But the Jerusalem on high is freeborn and it is she who is our mother."

<sup>51</sup> Cazelles ("Hija de Sion,") considers the Wisdom literature to give the final touch to the theme of the birth of a new people by refining the role of the person in God's plan of salvation, without, however, there being a direct reference to Mary. The direct reference in this literature is to the mystery of Christ.

<sup>52</sup> Jn. 12:4ff.: "Jesus found a donkey and mounted it in accord with Scripture: 'Fear not o daughter of Sion! Your king approaches you on a donkey's colt.'" Mt. 21:4ff: "This came about to fulfill what was said through the prophet: 'Tell the daughter of Sion, your king comes to you without display, astride an ass, astride a colt, the foal of a beast of burden.'"

<sup>53</sup> See entire article: A. Serra, "Esulta, Figlia di Sion!"

This is the sorrowful, painful aspect of the drama of Sion in contradistinction to the theme of the joy of the Daughter of Sion who brings forth a son and "the nations."

St. Paul picks up this theme in Galatians 4. In verse 4 he speaks of the birth of Christ from a woman and in verse 26ff. he mentions the birth of a people from a woman, Sion. In these verses Paul unites the mystery of Mary to the mystery of Sion's giving birth to her children. It is in this light that chapter 12 of the Apocalypse receives its full meaning.<sup>54</sup> This chapter speaks of the birth of a male child from a woman and his immediate presence in heaven. This seems to be a reference to Christ's ascension and therefore a reference to a glorious childbearing by the woman. This childbearing is painful as is the birth of the new people on Calvary described by John in 16:21 and 19:25-27. In Isaiah 66:7-9 the joyful birth of the male child was linked to the painful birth of Sion's children into a new nation. The woman of the Book of Revelation also brings forth a people, "the rest of her offspring." This people is persecuted by the dragon who is only conquered in heaven. The seed of the woman of the Book of Revelation are Christians, the rest of her offspring, while her male child is Christ already present to God. Thus the Mother of the Messiah is the mother of Christians: She is the Sion of Isaiah 66:8. As such, she possesses the fullness of the graces of the Old Covenant and she assumes the role of the people of Israel. Her Son is a sign of contradiction for the salvation of many, according to the prophecy of Simeon.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," 165-178; Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre 12 de l'Apocalypse," 55-86. Feuillet, *L'heure de la mère de Jésus: Étude de théologie Johannique*, (Fanjeaux: Atelier Marie-Dominique, 1970). Cf. Buby, *Mary of Galilee*, 1:141-163 for a balanced view of the possible Marian interpretation of Apoc. 12; de la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, trans. by B. Buby, (New York: Alba House, 1992): 239-264.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion," 69-71; cf. also Benoit, "Et toi-même, un glaive te transpercera l'âme," 253: "Dans cette perspective, il devient vraisemblable que Luc poursuive dans la scène de la Présentation cette personnification typologique, et que ce soit en tant que Fille de Sion qu'il fasse adresser à Marie par Siméon la parole de 2, 35a: en sa personne, c'est Israël qui sera traversé par l'épée de Yahweh." And on 258: "Il vaut mieux maintenir ce verset dans l'horizon d'ensemble qui est celui du plan du salut dans son déroulement historique. Pour situer à ce niveau le personnage de Marie, nous disposons d'une solution de rechange à sa psychologie individuelle, à savoir son rôle collectif d'antitype de la Fille de Sion, qui fait d'elle la communauté messianique au moment décisif de la venue du Messie." Cf. Alfonso Muñoz Simón, *El Mestas y la Hija de Sión* (Madrid: Editorial Ciudad Nueva, 1994). This study considers in minute detail the prophecy of Simeon. Muñoz Simón concludes that a Marian interpretation in terms of the Daughter of Sion is both possible and to be preferred. At the same time, he nuances the study by Benoit (Muñoz Simón, 403-408).

In the Daughter of Sion theme we find the notion of joy and that of sorrow together with the generic notion of childbearing. This theme envisions God's salvific activity among His people by virtue of which a new people is born. This divine activity is realized ultimately in Mary who brings forth a new people through her suffering, glorious Son, the Messiah.<sup>56</sup> It is with this Old Testament background that we must proceed to consider the Infancy narratives in which we shall find a particular utilization of this theme.

We shall limit our considerations to the biblical-theological content of this theme as it appears in the first two chapters of Luke without entering into detail concerning the question of the literary genres or the literary structure proper to Luke.<sup>57</sup>

It seems evident that Mary occupies a central place in these two chapters of Luke, a place alongside that of Christ, the Messiah, Son of God towards whom all the characters and events presented by Luke converge.<sup>58</sup> The only reason for

<sup>56</sup> Cazelles, "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," 170: "...il faut ajouter que dans ce même ancien Testament, les textes sur la 'Fille de Sion' ne se présentent que comme un aspect d'une doctrine plus vaste sur l'enfantement; enfantement du peuple nouveau joint à l'enfantement de l'héritier de David, le glorieux Sauveur." Hebert, "The Virgin Mary Daughter of Sion," 130, does not lay much stress upon the notion of the Daughter of Sion bringing forth children. He emphasizes the notion of Israel suffering and awaiting the deliverance from slavery by God. This is in line with the general Protestant tendency to de-emphasize any active role on the part of the creature before God. I cannot ascertain from this article, however, whether this is responsible for Hebert's emphasis.

<sup>57</sup> Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*. Le Déaut, "A Propos a Definition of Midrash," *Interpretation* 25 (1971): 259-282; his original article, a review of the book *The Literary Genre of Midrash* by Addison G. Wright, appears in *Biblica* 50 (1969): 395-413, "A Propos d'une définition du Midrash." Concerning the problem of Midrashic literature, see *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5, cols. 1263-1281. I accept as valid the preliminary foundations for the study of these two chapters of Luke established by Laurentin, as well as the method and the principal conclusions drawn from the application of principles proper to midrashic writing by Laurentin and others. Cf. in this regard, J. Coppens, "L'Évangile lucanien de l'enfance," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 33 (1957): 729-735: "Que Marie ait hérité, par la voie de la typologie et de l'exégèse midrashique, de la théologie vétero-testamentaire relative à la Fille de Sion et au Tabernacle eschatologique, est une affirmation qui me paraît bien mise en lumière et démontrée" (734). C. Ceroke, in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 20 (1958): 273, says: "The accomplishment of Laurentin qualifies as the standard work in this field, and will constitute the point of departure for all further discussion and research." Cf. M. Oliver, "The Lukan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke-Acts," *New Testament Studies* 10 (1963-64): 202-226. Cf. de la Potterie, "Kekaritomene en Luc 1: 28," 357-382; 480-508, and his "La figlia di Sion," 356-376; Lemmo, "Maria, 'Figlia di Sion,' a partire da Lc. 1:26-28," 176-203; for a dissenting view cf. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 319-27 and Lemmo, "Maria, 'Figlia di Sion,'" 223-228.

<sup>58</sup> Lyonnet, "Le récit de l'Annonciation," 37: "Seulement il la raconte de telle façon que se dessinent les traits caractéristiques de deux personnages dont l'un annonce l'autre, mieux, de telle façon que toute la lumière soit projetée sur l'unique personnage que tout le reste regarde et

this emphasis placed upon Mary is to be found in the fact that the author wishes to present the mystery of Christ in terms of its Old Testament preparation, specifically by employing the complementary themes of the Daughter of Sion and the Ark of the Covenant. He thus presents Mary to us as the living dwelling place of Yahweh.<sup>59</sup> Luke's choice of personages, places, and scenes as well as vocabulary indicate a fundamental interest in Israel (exemplified by the Holy City in which his gospel begins and ends, Jerusalem) as awaiting the promised redemption. It is the poor and the humble remnant which awaits salvation at God's hands. Mary is depicted as the summit of the faith and hope of Israel, as the humble servant whose "humiliation" has been removed by Yahweh.

To establish this theme of a hope-filled expectation Luke has recourse to the exhortation of the prophet, Zephaniah to the Daughter of Sion: "Shout for joy, O daughter Zion! Sing joyfully, O Israel! Be glad and exult with all your heart, O daughter Jerusalem."<sup>60</sup>

In this sense the angel is shown to be inviting Mary, the Daughter of Sion, to rejoice because she has found favor with God who is in her midst. And, as in Zephaniah, there is an encouragement given not to fear. Mary, then, is for Luke the Daughter of Sion called to rejoicing because of the presence of the Messiah in her womb.<sup>61</sup> This same theme is carried through particularly in the texts

qui explique tout le reste, Jésus et inséparable de Jésus ne faisant encore pour ainsi dire qu'un avec lui: sa mère." Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 148ff., points out that there are instances in the Lukan account wherein one would expect a greater emphasis to be placed upon Christ as Messiah: Elizabeth says, "the moment *your (Mary's) greeting* sounded in my ears, the baby leapt in my womb for joy" (Luke 1:44); the shepherds are said to have "found Mary and Joseph and the baby...." This underlines the significant place Mary occupies in Luke's intentions.

<sup>59</sup> The Ark of the Covenant theme was not accepted by the Fathers of Vatican II for insertion into the schema on Mary. Cf. Le Déaut, "Marie et l'Écriture dans le chapitre VIII," 63.

<sup>60</sup> Luke, 1:30; Zeph. 3:15-16. The Greek word "Kaire" used by Luke does not have the usual banal sense of "Hail." Lyonnet points out that this word is used four times in the imperative mood in the Septuagint and each time it introduces a Messianic message: There is always an invitation to rejoice and the indication of God's presence among His people as their Saviour ("Le récit de l'Annonciation et la Maternité Divine de la Sainte Vierge," 29-40). De la Potterie, "Kekaritomene en Luc 1:28," 357-382; 480-508; also his *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, 14-20.

<sup>61</sup> Luke 1:28, 31; Zeph. 3:15, 17: "The Lord is with you.... You shall conceive and bear a son...." "The Lord is in your midst.... The Lord your God is in your midst, a mighty Saviour." Again here we do not have a mere promise of divine aid, as might at first appear from the expression used. The words of the angel: "You shall conceive and bear a son" explain the meaning of the words, "The Lord is with you." God's salvific presence is manifested in the very maternity of Mary. Lyonnet, "Le récit de l'Annonciation," 41.

related to the Magnificat and the birth of Christ<sup>62</sup> and, according to some,<sup>63</sup> in the words addressed to Mary by Simeon: "And you yourself shall be pierced with a sword."

In uttering the song of praise, Mary personified Israel. The canticle is constructed of Old Testament phrases used in relation to Israel.<sup>64</sup> In the midst of her recitation of this canticle there is a transition from the singular to the plural, from the individual to the collective.<sup>65</sup> Mary is portrayed as personifying this collectivity of those who await salvation from God's hands. Finally, in the last verse of the canticle we find an implicit comparison with Abraham in whom the whole Israelite nation was personified. Abraham was the beginning of this people, Mary its culmination, and in a certain sense one prefigures the other.<sup>66</sup>

We find a similar literary dependence of Luke's birth narrative upon the prophecy of Micah 5:1-5.<sup>67</sup> The Daughter of Sion theme is reinforced in the

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 82-88. The Magnificat answers the question: How is it that the transcendent God is present in the midst of His people without any exterior display and in fact in an obscure way? God loves the humble, the poor in spirit, and He exalts them to a supreme degree: This is exemplified in Mary. Cf. Mary Catherine Nolan, *Mary's Song: Living Her Timeless Prayer* (Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 2001); Benoit, "Et toi-même, un glaive te transpercera l'âme." Feuillet, "L'épreuve prédite à Marie par le vieillard Siméon (Luc. II, 35a)" in *A la rencontre de Dieu. Mémorial A. Gelin* (Le Puy: Editions Xavier Mappus 1961), gives a different nuance to this text. He sees it as a prediction of Mary's suffering as an individual person on Calvary. Muñoz Simon ("El Mesías y la hija de Sion) also nuances Benoit's interpretation, though he does not agree with Feuillet.

<sup>63</sup> The notions of exulting in God her Saviour, of poverty, of servant, and of blessedness because of what God has done for her are almost verbal repetitions of phrases (and meanings) found in Hab. 3:18; Dt. 26:7; 4 Esd. 9:45; Mal. 3:11; and Dt. 10:21.

<sup>64</sup> Luke 1:48: "For he has looked upon his servant in her lowliness"; v. 52: "...He has deposed the mighty from their thrones and raised the lowly to high places."

<sup>65</sup> These words of the angel to Mary (v. 37), "for nothing is impossible with God," are reminiscent of those pronounced to Abraham in regard to Sarah, his wife who was sterile (Gen. 18:14). Each is said to have found favor with God (Gen. 18:3; Luke, 1:30) and each is told not to fear God (Gen. 15:2; Luke, 1:30); each is the object of God's blessing (Gen. 12:3; Luke, 1:42, 48). Abraham and Mary are praised for their faith (Gen. 15:6; Luke, 1:45) and that in relation to a miraculous birth of a child (Gen. 16:11; Luke, 1:31).

<sup>66</sup> There is a parallel of place (Bethlehem, Judah: Mic. 5:1; Luke, 2:4); time for giving birth (Mic. 5:2; Luke, 2:8); the glory of the Lord (Mic. 5:3; Luke, 2:9); and peace (Mic. 5:4; Luke, 2:14).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion et théologie mariale dans la Bible," 55-59; Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 87-88. In chapter four we have a prophetic reflection upon God's ruling power; in chapter five it is a question of the Messiah ruling. If these two are seen to be alluded to in Luke's birth narrative, we have a definite allusion to the Daughter of Sion as being identified with Mary.



birth narrative to the extent that there is an allusion to Micah 4:8-10 in Luke's account, 2:1-14.<sup>68</sup>

There seems to be a more subtle reference to the Daughter of Sion theme in the Presentation scene wherein we find Simeon addressing Mary in these words: "... and you yourself shall be pierced with a sword."<sup>69</sup> There is at least a verbal similarity between this text and Ezekiel 14:17<sup>70</sup>; it seems probable that the sense of Ezekiel's expression fits in well with the context of Luke 2:34-35. The child will be a sign of contradiction in the sense that it will become necessary in Israel to choose for him or against him. The sword is not an instrument of destruction but of division. The heart to be pierced is not so much Mary's as it is Israel's. The sword would seem, then, to be the revealing Word present in their midst in the person of Christ, a word which will bring salvation and judgment, a word which will demand a response from Israel. Thus, Simeon's words to Mary are not a parenthesis addressed to her as to an individual but the continuation of the first thought, the child shall be a sign of contradiction, and a preparation for the last thought, that the thoughts of many hearts may be laid bare. They are addressed to her as the Daughter of Sion, the personification of Israel and the Church.

As we have already indicated, this identification by Luke of Mary with the Daughter of Sion is strengthened and clarified when it is considered under the light of another theme also found in the infancy narratives, the theme of Mary as the new Ark of the Covenant.<sup>71</sup> Luke seems to view Mary as the Daughter of Sion especially in the sense that she becomes the dwelling place for God. The relationship between Mary and the Ark of the Covenant is portrayed by Luke in chapter 1:35 when he speaks of the Holy Spirit coming upon Mary and the power of the Most High overshadowing her. It is deepened by his apparent

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie*, 89 and especially Benoit, "Et toi-même, un glaive te transpercera l'âme." There are two main questions which have puzzled exegetes concerning this text: (1) Why the sudden address to Mary—is this a parenthesis or not? (2) What is the meaning of the expression "a sword will pierce your soul?" In recent times many exegetes have struggled with this text in an attempt to understand the mysterious words addressed immediately to Mary by Simeon. Cf. Muñoz Simon, "El Messias y la hija de Sion"; this author makes a detailed philological study of the text and rules out most of the solutions offered by scholars. His own conclusions are closer to the opinion of Benoit than to those of any other author. He, like Benoit, has no doubt concerning the presence of Mary in this scene as the Daughter of Sion. Cf. 403-408.

<sup>69</sup> Ez. 14:17: "Oh if I brought the sword upon this country, commanding the sword to pass through the land cutting off from it man and beast..."

<sup>70</sup> Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 151ff., 78-81.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 154-161. The other characteristics in the background of Luke are spouse, virgin, holiness. These characteristics are to some extent included in his presentation but they do not assume the prominent place they occupy in Old Testament references to this theme.

reference to the transferral of the Ark by David in II Samuel 6:2-11 when he depicts the Visitation scene. This in turn fits in well with his general literary plan according to which the Messiah is shown to be ascending to Jerusalem, the place of his final dwelling among men.

The prophets themselves, (Micah 4:7-10; Zeph. 3:12-17) identify the Daughter of Sion with the remnant. Luke takes the further step and identifies Mary with the Daughter of Sion, making her the personification of the remnant. We have seen this passage from the individual to the collectivity especially in the Magnificat where Mary's "poverty" is the summit of the Old Testament "poverty" and where Mary herself is typified by Abraham. The biblical characteristics of the Daughter of Sion which Luke seems to develop most are "motherhood" and the "dwelling place of God."<sup>72</sup>

The maternal role proper to the Daughter of Sion is described, as we have seen, in Isaiah 66:7-9.<sup>73</sup> The maternity of the woman of the Apocalypse is inspired by Isaiah 66 while Luke takes his notion of maternity from Zephaniah 3:17: "The Lord, your God, is in your midst, a mighty savior." And from Micah 4:8-10 and 5:1-5. Luke seems to see the birth of Christ as proceeding from an individual, Mary, and at the same time from a collectivity, Mary as the Daughter of Sion, the personification of Israel and the Church. Mary is the dwelling place of Yahweh insofar as the Spirit of God (identified by the Israelites with Yahweh) overshadows her. This reference to Exodus 40:30 brings with it a double connotation: the presence of God's Spirit "over" Mary who is the tabernacle of the new covenant and the presence of God's glory within that tabernacle. In this way Luke links the Daughter of Sion theme (more collective in its tendency) with the Ark of the Covenant theme (more personally realized in Mary as an individual).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "Fille de Sion et théologie mariale," 66. Laurentin at first is hesitant to identify the "male child" of Is. 66:7 with the Messiah. Cazelles, on the other hand, sees this prophecy of a birth as a completion of earlier (chapters 7-9) Isaian prophecies concerning the birth of an individual male child, Emmanuel. "En Isaïe (VII-IX) Isaïe avait envisagé le salut par la naissance de l'enfant royal, l'Emmanuel. Isaïe (LIV) suivant Michée, avait étendu l'effet de cette naissance à une multitude de fils. Is (LXVI) s'explique par cette naissance au double effet. Au verset 7 il est question de la naissance d'un enfant mâle et ceci avant même (terem) les douleurs de l'enfantement. Il y ajoute, et c'est là nettement l'orientation de son message, l'enfantement d'une nation; on ne dit plus que cette enfantement est sans douleur. Notre auteur pense certainement en termes de collectivité, mais il ne nie pas le lien de cette collectivité avec la naissance royale de l'oracle de son prédécesseur." Utilizing other criteria such as IV Esdras and the Qumran hymns, Laurentin comes to the same conclusions (155-158).

<sup>73</sup> Lyonnet, "Le récit de l'Annonciation," 43-45.

## Mary and the Church

In utilizing these themes Luke emphasizes maternity (contrary to the Old Testament which had stressed the spousal relationship between Yahweh and the Daughter of Sion). The theological progress evident in Luke is the identification of this woman (Sion), tabernacle, with Mary who is thus presented as the summit of Old Testament expectations. She realizes personally in the most perfect way possible both the presence of Yahweh within her in the person of her Son and in her maternity by giving birth to the true Son of God.<sup>74</sup>

The significance of the Council's identification of Mary with the Daughter of Sion lies in the fact that the way is thus opened for an identification of Mary with the Church, a step which the Council itself took in numbers 64-65 of *Lumen Gentium*. She is the summit of Old Testament hopes for salvation; she bears in herself all the aspirations of God's chosen people. At the same time, she responds to God's salvific gesture as the first of the New Israel, the Church, mothering the Messiah and receiving salvation from Him.<sup>75</sup> This typology between Mary and Israel (the Church) as expressed through the Daughter of Sion theme is not an empty symbolism, a mere literary device. Mary, Ancient Israel, and the Church are historical realities. Mary springs from Israel as the "highly favored One" who really embodies in herself the destiny of God's chosen people. It is in the name of the "remnant" that she welcomes the Messiah. The messianic community is typified, is "contained" in the person of Mary. Mary is the messianic community giving birth to the Messiah as prophesied—this is the true sense of the Daughter of Sion theme. She is an individual and as His Mother she experiences the agony of her Son's suffering and death, bearing within herself (as a collectivity) Israel's destiny, she experiences the sorrowful rejection of her Son by so many.

<sup>74</sup> Some authors prefer to speak of Mary as the "personalization" of the Church rather than as the personification of the Church because the latter term implies imperfection while the former term brings out the fullness of meaning to be attached to God's plan of salvation with regard to His intention to fully "redeem" the human person. Cf. Koehler, "Le chapitre VIII dans la constitution dogmatique De Ecclesia," 51; Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 208ff.. A. George, "Découverte de Marie dans le Nouveau Testament," *Cahiers Marials* 73 (1970):150: "C'est aussi la fille de Sion: elle engage sa personnalité propre, bien sûr, mais elle engage tout le peuple de Dieu, elle accepte pour tous les hommes le Messie."

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Manteau-Bonamy, *La Vierge Marie et le Saint Esprit*, 90; Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 193: "Si la Fille de Sion, la 'communauté messianique,' est symbolisée par une femme, épouse et mère, ce symbole prend vie, cette femme s'individualise, pour devenir, en Marie, la mère du Messie—cependant que la personnalité de celle-ci s'étend ensuite jusqu'à signifier l'Église, puis la Jérusalem Céleste. Nous sommes passé d'Israël à Marie et de Marie à l'Église, sans avertissement, par ce procédé du sens typique que les Pères de l'Église ont emprunté à l'Écriture elle-même."

This theme and these conclusions open the way for a further study of the place of Mary in the plan of salvation according to theological theories which had been developing in the years just prior to the Council.<sup>76</sup> We are touching here the crucial issue of the relationship between Mary and the Church. The development of this aspect of mariology is largely due to the work of scholars during the decades prior to Vatican Council II and the ecclesiological direction given to mariology by the Council is the result of this research.<sup>77</sup> Before considering the concrete ramifications of this ecclesiological approach for a

<sup>76</sup> Cf. C. Dillenschneider, "Toute l'Église en Marie," *Études Mariales* 11 (1953): 75-132; his *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée* (Paris: Alsatia, 1957); and his *Le mystère de Notre Dame et notre dévotion Mariale* (Paris: Alsatia, 1962); Alfaro, "Significatio Mariae in mysterio salutis," 9-37; J. Bur, "La médiation de Marie: Essai de synthèse spéculative," in *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:471-512 and his "La Vierge Marie dans l'économie du salut," *Divinitas* 12 (1968): 725-52; G. Philips, "Marie et l'Église," in *Maria* (du Manoir) 6:363-419. In more recent times there is the biblical-theological synthesis on this theme presented by I. de la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, esp. 157-264.

<sup>77</sup> The literature in this area of research is abundant and as it would be impossible to give an adequate bibliography here, we shall cite some of the principal works in which a fuller bibliography can be found. "Marie et l'Église, I-II-III," *Études Mariales* 9-11 (1951-1953); *Maria et Ecclesia*, Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani (Lourdes, 1958); H. Coathalem, *Le parallélisme*; Y. Congar, *Le Christ, Marie et l'Église* (Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer, 1952) and his "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 38 (1954): 3-38; A. Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria: Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1955); Philips, "Marie et l'Église," 363-419. In more recent times there are many studies upon this theme. *Maria e la Chiesa* (Roma: Edizioni Marianum, 1984) gives an excellent panoramic view of the status of recent theological reflections upon the Mary-Church relationship. Cf. de la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, trans. by B. Buby (New York: Alba House, 1997): especially chapters five and the following. In his book the author develops in great detail the implications of Mary as Daughter of Sion in terms of her relationship to and effect upon the Church. He refers with approval to the writings of Urs von Balthasar in regard to the latter's concept of the "Marian face of the Church." The developments are in line with the authors cited above in this note. In this regard cf. A. Sicari, "Mary, Peter and John: Figures of the Church," *Communio* 15 (1992): 189-207: "Since all believers in the Church must tend toward uttering a full bodily as well as spiritual 'yes,' they immediately realize in looking at Mary that the assent of the immaculate Virgin contains the whole; it is in her that the Church knows how to turn fully to the grace of the bridegroom that constitutes her as Church. Mary is 'the objectivity of a Church which is subjectively holy,' even if all other individuals in her are still entangled in sin" (199). An author to whom many of the modern commentators turn in regard to the relationship between Mary and the Church is C. Journet, *L'Église du Verbe Incarné. Essai de théologie spéculative* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1941), 1:382-453, Ch. 2: "La Vierge prototype de l'Église." D. Fernandez, "Maria y la Iglesia en la perspectiva del Concilio Vaticano II," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 35 (1985): 401-413: a good reflection upon Mary's maternal role in regard to the Church in the three phases of the Church's life. J. Ratzinger, *Daughter Zion* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1983); G. Besutti, *Lo schema Mariano al Concilio Vaticano II* (Rome: Edizioni Marianum, 1966).

theology of Mary's role in the salvation of mankind we shall undertake a brief analysis of the tendency itself.

The biblical roots for an understanding of the relationship between Mary and the Church do not lie in any one text or even in a series of texts taken by themselves. It is rather within the historical context of the scriptures in which we perceive God's plan of salvation developing that we shall come to appreciate the basis for a biblical comparison or relationship between Mary and the Church.<sup>78</sup>

According to this plan, God has willed that mankind participate actively in its own salvation and that this activity be concentrated, at times, in certain individuals who would act in behalf of the entire group. This allows for a typology, a personification, or, as some prefer, a personalization, according to which individual persons really contain the destiny of a group or of a whole people or even of the human race.

The Daughter of Sion theme is one such typology. The Daughter of Sion is identified with the remnant to be saved and eventually, in the New Testament, with Mary who thus typifies (i.e., really contains within herself) a whole people, indeed the human race. In Luke and John in particular Mary is presented as intimately involved, as an individual, in the redemptive work of her Son. In the Cana and Calvary scenes as well as in the Book of Revelation we have the development of a profound symbolism according to which we experience an almost imperceptible interchange between the individual, Mary, and the group or collectivity, the New Israel. Paul utilizes the feminine symbol when speaking of the Church to underline the notion of fidelity to Christ, a notion which is equally applicable to Mary and the Church.<sup>79</sup> From a scriptural perspective, Mary becomes the point of insertion of the Messiah into humanity

<sup>78</sup> For this question, cf. Philips, "Marie et l'Église," 369-75; C. Vollert, "Mary and the Church," in *Mariology*, ed. by J. Carol, 2:530-558; F. Braun, "Marie et l'Église d'après l'Écriture," *Études Mariales* 10 (1952): 7-21; Y. Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 15: "...à cet égard, l'idée patristique du type rejoint fort exactement celle qui est dominante dans l'Écriture. Il nous apparaît donc qu'elle suppose, au-dessus de deux termes de figure et de réalité (type et antitype): un troisième terme, le dessein qui les enveloppe tous les deux comme les moments de sa réalisation." Cf. Michalon, "Le témoignage du Nouveau Testament sur la Mère de Jésus," *Lumière et Vie* 10 (June, 1953): 109-126: "Il y a eu jusqu'à Jean un développement impressionnant par son homogénéité, sa continuité, sa fermeté. Il est un axe qui s'impose comme central: le plan de Dieu pour le Salut du monde. C'est dans ce plan que la mariologie néo-testamentaire prend place. Le Christ seul domine le déroulement des 'temps' et il est le 'Mystère.' Mais il entre dans l'histoire à un certain 'moment' et cela s'opère par la 'femme.' Ainsi la maternité de Marie se place dans la traduction historique du dessein divin sur le monde" (124).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 11:2-3; Eph. 5:22. It is true, however, that Paul develops the feminine symbolism more in behalf of the Church's relationship to Christ.

and as such she is at the term and the summit of the preparatory phase of the new economy. In this sense she is perceived to be "the Church before the Church." Fundamentally it is her maternity which forms the principal point of comparison between her and the Church. But this scriptural material had to be developed in the reflective thought of the Fathers in order for the implications of a Mary-Church analogy to be grasped.<sup>80</sup>

It is important to realize that the Fathers did not make any direct comparison between Mary and the Church.<sup>81</sup> They came to an understanding of this relationship because of their far more fundamental concern with the plan of God as it had been revealed in Christ.<sup>82</sup> The aspects under which the relationship between Mary and the Church was grasped by the Fathers were their maternity and their virginity. Their maternity was viewed in relation to Christ.<sup>83</sup> For the first eight centuries Mary's significance in salvation history was limited to a consideration of her *fiat* pronounced at the time of the angel's visit. During this same time the Church was considered to be the mother of Christ in souls by her (the Church's) presence on Calvary.<sup>84</sup> From the late seventh to the twelfth

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Koehler, "Le chapitre VIII dans la constitution dogmatique De Ecclesia," 37: "La tradition, surtout patristique, n'a pas hésité à suivre la leçon. Quant à l'explication de cette typologie et symbolique bibliques, on peut dire en bref qu'elle est semblable à celle des paraboles du Royaume: dégager leur point! Quand donc saint Paul voit dans le Christ le Second Adam... le Premier-Né d'une multitude de frères... l'Époux de l'Église... quand il nomme l'Église, Corps du Christ... la Jérusalem d'en haut, libre, notre Mère pour cette liberté d'en haut... lorsque l'Apocalypse évoque l'Épouse de l'Agneau... ou le signe dans le ciel sous l'aspect d'une femme resplendissante et douloureuse, avec un enfant mâle et aussi une descendance nombreuse..., ce sont des inspirations suggestives du plan divin qui ne s'expliquent que par leur pointe théologique: Emmanuel, l'insertion de la Sagesse divine dans l'humanité—en Israël—pour susciter le vrai peuple de Dieu." Cf. S.F. Florez, "El binomio Maria-Iglesia en la Tradición patristica del s. IV-V (S. Ambrosio-S. Augustin)," in *Maria e la Chiesa Oggi* (Rome: Edizioni Marianum, 1985), 86-142; Also in this volume: D. Bertetto, "I rapporti tra Maria e la Chiesa nel Vaticano II," 375-399; S. Meo, "Il tema Maria-Chiesa nel recente magistero ecclesiastico: contenuti e terminologia," 9-89.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 3-38. Congar insists strongly upon this point in order to avoid many pitfalls, especially that of an anachronistic approach to the Marian doctrine of the Fathers which would lead one to find in their writings all the theses of modern day mariology.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 13: "L'identité qui existe entre Marie et l'Église, et qui ne s'explicite pas encore nettement, est donc d'abord conçue comme étant celle du mystère de cette naissance d'en haut, toute spirituelle, qui est le terme visé par le dessein de Dieu. Ce mystère est, dès le début, visé par Dieu comme devant s'accomplir dans l'Église, mais il ne se réalise en celle-ci que par la base d'une première réalisation en Jésus Christ et en Marie, en qui il fait, si l'on peut dire, irruption dans le monde. Le plan de Dieu, l'idée divine supratemporelle est le 'tertium quid' en lequel et par lequel l'Église et Marie sont mis en continuité."

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Coathalem, *Le parallélisme*, chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 46: "Le conclusion qui se dégage de l'examen détaillé des diverses formes du parallélisme Marie-Église [jusqu'à la seconde moitié] du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est donc que la perspective de

century we find a transposition taking place. Authors begin to apply to Mary what they had previously applied to the Church: She begins to be viewed in terms of her present activity in heaven (i.e., as having a role in the distribution of graces).

The maternity of Mary and the Church is considered to be virginal, implying by this term a constant fidelity to God's word expressed in Christ, in other words a faith which is incorruptible. Again, these virginities were not compared one with the other; rather they were considered in their relationship to God's power which made them fruitful. Even the explicit affirmations of the early Fathers about Mary were fundamentally in line with the notion of the divine economy or plan of salvation. They did not attribute to her any role in the redemption, either as a co-redemptrix or as a representative of mankind on Calvary or as a spiritual mother.<sup>85</sup> While the Church is frequently pictured as the spouse of Christ, this title is very rarely applied to Mary.<sup>86</sup>

In what sense do the Fathers understand Mary as the "type" of the Church?<sup>87</sup> As we have already indicated, the Fathers contemplated primarily the divine plan for our salvation which they found expressed in the deeds and words of Scripture. For them, the term of the divine plan was the Church. God's plan was clearly carried out in the Old Testament through many personages who played a distinctive role according to His will. In Christ and Mary, however, the

ce parallélisme se place exactement dans le prolongement de celle du thème de la nouvelle Eve durant la même époque. Ici et là la Sainte Vierge et l'Église sont considérées sur deux plans et sous deux horizons différents: Marie est envisagée comme épouse de saint Joseph et mère du Sauveur, dans la phase temporelle de sa vie ici-bas; l'Église comme épouse de Jésus Christ et mère des fideles, dans son activité transcendente de 'distribution' de grâces."

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the important remarks of Congar on this point in "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 8-9 and notes.

<sup>86</sup> Coathalem, *Le parallélisme*, 59ff. Some authors in the Middle Ages apply this title to Mary by arguing from the fact that any good Christian is the spouse of Christ to the realization that Mary, the greatest of all Christians, must likewise be His spouse. Cf. Philips, "Marie et l'Église," 399: "Quant à l'union sponsale de l'incarnation, c'est en règle générale 'la nature humaine et non Marie qui y tient le rôle d'Épouse. Sur ce point la tradition est ferme depuis saint Augustin jusqu'à saint Thomas, et dans le développement de la métaphore on désignera le sein de Marie comme la chambre nuptiale." Cf. D. Flanagan, "The Image of the Bride in Early Marian Tradition," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 27 (1960): 111-24, for a balanced view of the evidence for this theme in Marian writings. See also his "Mary, Bride of Christ," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 28 (1961): 233-37. In more recent times the theme of Mary as Spouse of Christ has been developed by Balthasar; cf. B. Leahy, *The Marian Profile in the Ecclesiology of Hans Urs von Balthasar* (New York City Press, 2000); de la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Ambrose, "Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam 2:7," *PL* 15:1555: "Bene desponsata, sed virgo, quia est Ecclesiae typus, quae est immaculata sed nupta." Cf. J. Huhn, "Maria est Typus Ecclesiae secundum Patres, imprimis secundum S. Ambrosium et St. Augustinum," in *Maria et Ecclesia*, 3:163-99; Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 3-38.

definitive reality entered upon the scene. The mysterious rebirth of mankind, the term of God's plan to be realized in the Church, was realized first and fundamentally in Christ and Mary. Mary and the Church are sharers in the same mystery, which is ultimately God's doing. Now, is Mary in any sense the source of what happens in the Church, or is she merely its first realization and manifestation?<sup>88</sup> In other words, does she exercise any kind of effective role in place of the whole Church? What weight is to be given to the statement, for example, that in the moment of the Annunciation she personifies the Church? This is a crucial question, touching upon the sensitive issue of Mary's cooperative role in salvation. It would be impossible to consider and to form a critique of the various theories which have been proposed concerning this question. I shall express a positive synthesis of what I believe is the most satisfying systematic approach to the broad, complex problem of Mary's role in salvation history, leaving to the footnotes further references to the various nuances which can be found in other opinions. This material shall likewise serve as a preparation for the study of the "Gebirah" theme and its insertion into a biblical-theological synthesis of Mary's role in salvation history as queen.

Congar describes the patristic notion of personification, which he says is quite close to that found in Scripture, as a reality in which the plan of God is disclosed and to some degree already realized, even though the full revelation and realization of that plan will be accomplished in another reality to come later. The first disclosure and actualization is the type of the second.<sup>89</sup> This does not prevent this first typification from being the most perfect actualization (in an individual) of God's plan (for a whole people). Such is, in fact, the case with Mary in relation to the Church.

We have seen that God's plan for our salvation involves the sending of His Son into the world as Redeemer. The redemptive work of Christ is fundamentally, though not exclusively, a work of expiation for sin, the restoration of an order of justice which has been disrupted by man's rebelliousness.<sup>90</sup> This same divine

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Philips, "Marie et l'Église," 399ff.; Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouée*, 209ff. H. Barré, "Marie et l'Église du vénérable Bède à saint Albert le Grand," in *Marie et l'Église I* (Études Mariales 9) 66ff.; M. Bélanger, "De Maria Ecclesiae Vicaria," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 2:101-17; Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique, esp. 15-20; G. Philips, "La Mariologie de l'année jubilaire" (Essai Bibliographique 1953-1955), *Marianum* 18 (1956): 40-54; K. Rahner, "Le principe fondamental de la théologie mariale," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 42 (1954): 481-522; Bur, "La Vierge Marie dans l'économie du salut," *Divinitas* 12 (1968) and "La médiation de Marie," *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:471-512.

<sup>89</sup> Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 15. Cf. K. Woollcombe, "Le sens de 'Type' chez les Pères," in *La Vie Spirituelle, Supplément* 16 (1951): 84-100.

<sup>90</sup> For these notions cf., among other theology manuals, B. Lonergan, *De Verbo Incarnato* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1961), 536ff., and T. Rausch, *Who is Jesus? An Intro-*



design can also be expressed in terms of a dialogue which God intends to institute with man, a personal relationship initiated and sustained by God's love for us but also demanding a response from us.<sup>91</sup> Under this personalist aspect we can perhaps better appreciate the significance of the marriage theme which developed in the course of revelation in relation to God's desires for His people. Salvation in this respect is founded upon God's loving initiative but it also includes essentially man's acceptance of that initiative, his "yes."

Even though there is some ambiguity in the notions of objective and subjective redemption,<sup>92</sup> we must distinguish the various phases of God's redemptive plan carried out in Christ in order to situate better (His and) Mary's role in this dynamic process. In fact, the distinction between the incarnation, the passion and death of Christ, and His eternal presence with His Father is at the basis of the Patristic and theological understanding of the redemption.<sup>93</sup> The first two phases (the incarnation and death-resurrection) pertain to the so-called "objective" redemption, that is, those activities of Christ by which, in fact, sin was expiated and mankind as a whole was given the capacity to respond to God's offer of friendship. The latter phase (His presence in heaven) constitutes the so-called "subjective" redemption, that is, the actualization by Christ in individuals of their personal response.

When we speak of Mary as the personification of the Church we are placing her role on the side of humanity in need of redemption and we are considering her as she exemplified (i.e., reveals and actualizes in some way) the individual's response to God. It is evident that when we speak of her response we are speaking of her *fiat* pronounced at the moment of the incarnation and "prolonged" or ratified on Calvary.<sup>94</sup> In what sense, then does this *fiat* of Mary represent or personify mankind's response to God?<sup>95</sup> In no sense of the word has she received

*duction to Christology* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), esp. chapters 10 and 11.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. J. Alfaro, "Persona y gracia," *Gregorianum* 61(1960): 4-29; R. Latourelle, "La Révélation comme dialogue dans 'Ecclesiam Suam,'" in *Gregorianum* 64 (1965): 834-39. Cf., however, G. Kelly, "Our Lady and Objective Redemption," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 33 (1966): 242-53, for a different understanding of objective-subjective redemption. Rausch, *loc. cit.*

<sup>92</sup> Cf. footnote 261 of chapter one of this text.

<sup>93</sup> The ambiguity arises when the distinction between these phases becomes a separation to such an extent that one loses sight of the fact that Christ is actually personally involved at present, through His Church, in redeeming us.

<sup>94</sup> For the sake of clarity and in order to remain faithful to the theological development of our times we shall distinguish these two phases of her total self-gift to God expressed at Nazareth: "Behold the servant of the Lord, let it be done to me as you say" (Luke 1:38). Cf. "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), nos. 55-59.

<sup>95</sup> K. Rahner, "Le principe fondamental de la théologie mariale," 481ff., teaches that by means of her consent Mary makes the objective redemption a possibility because in consenting to give birth to the world's Redeemer she is consenting to God's plan as He has determined it,

a mandate or a delegation from mankind to act as its juridical head. Even Christ was not chosen by us to be our redeemer; He was sent by His Father. The only possible way for Mary to act as a representative of humanity was by divine decision which we find verified, it would seem, in the revealed role as Daughter of Sion according to which Mary was invited by God to welcome messianic salvation in the Person of Christ<sup>96</sup> by consenting to the marriage of mankind with the Messiah.<sup>97</sup> In the Old Testament the covenant is symbolized as a marriage between God and His people, underlining the idea of God's fidelity to His people even when they are unfaithful to Him. In Jewish thought it is God who will renew the marriage with His people; in the New Testament it is Christ who takes God's place in this marriage. He becomes the bridegroom. The kingdom of heaven is often described as a messianic banquet; the messianic

including, then, the redemptive death of her Son. Her consent is thus *on behalf* of the human race but only as *an example* to the rest of men who must themselves consent to this objective redemptive act of Christ in order to be saved. Rahner would restrict the effectiveness of her consent to that of a model or example; in his view Mary's consent does not include in any way the consent of humanity: "Pour nous, Marie, étant une personne individuelle, pose simplement un acte qui, par l'effet qu'il produit, a une importance salvifique pour tous. Et cet acte, elle l'accomplit essentiellement à l'Incarnation. Il ne fait donc pas partie du sacrifice réconciliateur du Christ," 498.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 255ff.; Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 64-71; Lyonnet, "Le récit de l'Annonciation et la maternité divine de la Sainte Vierge."

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Hos. 2:16, 21-23; Is. 54:54ff., 62:4; Ez. 16:8 and 61; Mt. 22:1ff., 25:1-13; Mk. 2:19; Jn. 3:28-30; II Cor. 11: 2; Eph. 5:23ff.; Rev. 19:7-9, 21:2, 22:17; St. Thomas, III, q. 30, a. 1; G. Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1964), 653-57. J. Bauer, "Marriage: (c) The Symbolical Meaning of Marriage," *Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology*, 2:554-56; Koehler, "Le chapitre VIII dans la constitution dogmatique De Ecclesia," 43-47. Koehler points out that while the term "the Daughter of Sion par excellence" as used in the Council document could be interpreted to signify Yahweh's Spouse made perfect to carry out God's designs, yet strictly speaking there is no identification of Mary with the Church nor personification of the Church by Mary as Spouse of Christ in the document itself. Others, however, such as de la Potterie, would underline the spousal relationship between Mary and Christ as implicit in the theme, the Daughter of Sion. Cf. his *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, esp. 232: "The symbol of the 'Daughter of Zion' is the most fundamental biblical theme for the Church's Marian face. It fits in perfectly with John's ecclesiology, one that is basically a theology of covenant relationship on a symbolic level; the Church, like Mary, is the 'Woman' in covenant relationship with her spouse, the Christ. This then, as Vatican II teaches, is the basic structure of the Church as Spouse of Christ and Mother of the People of God. As 'People of God' and 'Spouse of Christ,' the Church is to be interpreted biblically against the background of a covenant theology. This is also the framework for the Marian dimension of the Church. So we see a kind of dialectical relationship between the two faces of the Church: its Marian and Petrine faces. Both belong to the structure of the covenant; both are facets of one unique reality. However, the Marian facet expresses the most inward and the most profound aspect of the mystery of the Church."

period is frequently described by Christ Himself under the image of a wedding. In the Old Testament the people of God was Yahweh's bride; in St. Paul Christ is said to be married to the Christian community. In Ephesians 5 marriage is not only an image of the union of Christ with His bride, the Church, but it is of its very nature constituted by that union. In the Book of Revelation the bridal image is used to express the various aspects of the messianic banquet in which the Church, the heavenly Jerusalem, is seen to come down from heaven prepared as a bride for her Spouse, Christ. This marriage between Christ and His Church (humanity) is understood to have taken place at the incarnation and to be sealed with His blood on the cross.<sup>98</sup> This is not to say that the idea of Mary personifying the Church at the time of the incarnation by giving her consent to the marriage between Christ and humanity is explicitly patristic in origin.<sup>99</sup> Yet this theological development which St. Thomas explicated in his *Summa* is in perfect accord with the scriptural-patristic data concerning the significance of Mary's *fiat* at Nazareth. Since the incarnation is frequently described as a marriage, naturally enough the question of a matrimonial consent between the two parties of the marriage (covenant) arose.<sup>100</sup> The letter to the Hebrews describes Christ as giving consent to His Father's will that He establish the new covenant.<sup>101</sup> It is St. Thomas who gives us the definitive formula to express the existence of a consent on the part of humanity.<sup>102</sup> This development (whether it

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 29: "Le mystère de l'Église est celui d'une union de l'humanité avec Dieu, telle que les deux font une seule chair, selon l'idée même des épousailles qui est exprimée dans la Genèse (2:24) et l'épître aux Ephésiens (5:29-31).... Mais ce mystère s'accomplit d'abord en Jésus Christ, dont l'Église est le corps." The Council uses the marriage theme in its description of the Church: "Lumen Gentium," no. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Congar, "Marie et l'Église dans la pensée patristique," 19: "Notons seulement que, chez les Pères, il ne s'agit pas encore d'une union sponsale entre Dieu d'un côté, Marie de l'autre, représentant l'humanité, sur la base du oui de l'Annonciation: nous avons vu que ce thème n'est pas patristique.... Mais le mystère de l'union de l'humanité à Dieu, qui est le terme de tout le propos salutaire et sur l'évocation duquel se termine la Révélation (Apoc. 19, 7s.; 21, 2, 9s.) s'opère d'abord en Marie."

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 195ff. Augustine and those who followed him described the incarnation in terms which are drawn from the Genesis statement concerning marriage: "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother...." (Gen. 2:24). Treatise 9, no. 10 in Johannem, *PL* 35, 1463; 1990. There is a frequent reference to the Virgin's womb as the bridal chamber. Cf. S. Tromp, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia*, ed. altera revisa et aucta (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1946-1960), 27ff. [Original publication (1946) had 3 vols.; revision (1960) is one vol.] Cf. Huhn, "Maria est Typus Ecclesiae secundum Patres."

<sup>101</sup> Heb. 10:6-9.

<sup>102</sup> *ST*, III, q. 30, a. 1: "Fourthly, in order to show that there is a certain spiritual wedlock between the Son of God and human nature. Wherefore in the Annunciation the Virgin's consent was besought in lieu of that of the entire human nature."

should be referred to as an intuition of faith or as a theological reflection) has been assumed into the patrimony of theological thought and has on occasion been explicitly approved by the teaching of the popes.<sup>103</sup> The biblical image of the Daughter of Sion, identified with Mary by Luke, seems to be a positive scriptural basis supporting St. Thomas' thought (and giving a nuance to that thought): that Mary consented in the name of humanity, as its representative, to the incarnation. This insight is further confirmed by two other facts which are underlined in the infancy narratives. On the one hand, the genealogical list given by Luke is intended to portray Mary's maternity as the fulfillment of the Messianic promises and in this sense it is seen to have universal significance; her consent is not a private affair but an act performed in behalf of all mankind. On the other hand, in the Magnificat there seems to be a typological association between Mary and Abraham in the sense that Israel was concentrated in Mary taking possession of the Messianic promises just as Israel was present in Abraham receiving those promises.<sup>104</sup>

We have spoken of the consent of Christ and the consent of Mary given at the moment of the incarnation; there is no needless duplication here; no notion of Mary supplying for something which might be lacking in Christ's humanity. On the contrary, as perfect man, Christ represents the whole of humanity before

<sup>103</sup> Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 223: "Nous voilà donc en présence, nous semble-t-il, d'une acquisition doctrinale légitime dont le théologien peut à bon droit se réclamer." Rahner does not admit that the consent of humanity is in any way contained in Mary's consent. According to him, the consent thereafter of individuals to their redemption would be superfluous. Yet the same difficulty arises when it is a question of the significance of Christ's consent to the redemptive incarnation given in our name to His Father. Rahner's difficulty would be valid if we said that Mary was chosen by us as our delegate at the Annunciation. Philips insists that St. Thomas is speaking metaphorically here. He is not laying down a metaphysical principle from which a whole theology of Mary may be deduced: "La Mariologie de l'année jubilaire," 53: "Marie et l'Église," 401: "St. Thomas n'a pas voulu dire autre chose; il n'envisage aucune inclusion légale ni métaphysique, mais pour une fois il emploie de confiance une phrase poétique pour exprimer une réalité ineffable." Cf. also, G. Philips, "Le mystère de Marie dans les sources de la Révélation," *Marianum* 24 (1962): 41-75. On the other hand, Philips indicates that we must recognize and give full weight to the fact that the Church, considered as the extension of the incarnation, has as its principal member the Virgin Mother of Christ who both welcomes Christ as Redeemer and introduces Him into the people of God. "De la sorte, elle ne se trouve pas simplement à la pointe initiale de la communauté: elle influence tous ceux qui la suivent pour avoir part à la même donation. Tel est le sens manifeste de la typologie que la doctrine reçue découvre en Marie par rapport à l'Église. Membre du groupe et représentante de tous les autres, elle agit sur eux comme un modèle propulsif" (43).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, 85: "On saisit le mouvement du Magnificat. Il va de Marie, personnification eschatologique d'Israel, à Abraham, qui en est la personnification originelle, en passant par la collectivité." Cf. A. Serra, "Dimensioni ecclesiali della figura di Maria nell'esegesi biblica odierna," in *Maria e la Chiesa Oggi*, 241ff.

the Father and the object of His consent is that He come into the world as its Redeemer, that He become the Head of His Body, that He espouse the Church (the human race) as His bride. Christ's consent in behalf of mankind makes it possible for mankind to receive the benefits of His redemptive life, death, and resurrection. Every human consent to God's salvific will is virtually contained in this primordial consent of Christ, the Head of His Body, the Spouse of His Church.<sup>105</sup>

Mary's consent is totally subordinated to that of her Son. She does not represent the Church in need of redemption before the Father. She represents the Church in its acceptance of Christ as Redeemer, as Head, as Spouse. She unites the Redeemer to the human community in need of redemption.<sup>106</sup> She is at the point of the personal encounter of Christ with humanity. As such she is a member of the human community but at the same time its preeminent member. Mary's consent is the act of an individual and not a collective act; yet it has universal consequences because it is performed in behalf of the human race by a unique individual of that race, by one who had been previously redeemed "*sublimiori modo*," by one whose very being is identified with the name with which she was addressed by God's messenger, "the highly favored one." Her maternal consent is not the source of salvation for mankind but, according to God's designs, it brought mankind into contact with that Source.

Following the same perspective, we must consider the Calvary scene in order to appreciate more fully the relationship between Christ, Mary, and the Church in the drama of salvation.<sup>107</sup> It must be emphasized that Mary's consent

<sup>105</sup> Cf. L. Malvez, "L'Église dans le Christ," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 24 (1936): 257-294, 418-440; Y. Congar, "Sur l'inclusion de l'humanité dans le Christ," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 25 (1936): 489-95; E. Hocedez, "Notre solidarité en Jésus Christ et en Adam," *Gregorianum* 13 (1932): 378. Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 47: "Dans l'ordre ontologique il ne peut être question que d'une éminente présence virtuelle de l'humanité dans son chef, le nouvel Adam." Congar admits the actual presence of all the states of perfection and virtualities of human nature in the personal humanity of Christ. With regard to the presence of all men in Christ, not ontologically, but in the order of knowledge and love, he admits an actual presence of our individual humanities in Christ.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. H. Barré, "Le consentement à l'Incarnation rédemptrice. La Vierge seule, ou le Christ d'abord?" *Marianum* 14 (1952): 233-266. I believe that Barré insists too strongly upon the intrinsic necessity of the "representative" consent of Mary to the incarnation. His reasoning is that since it is a grace, like all graces it must be freely accepted and hence someone had to accept the incarnation in the name of humanity. Yet it seems that God could very well have sent His Son to redeem humanity without humanity's assenting to His design. Each individual who was saved would have to assent to His redemption but it does not seem intrinsically necessary that those individual, free acts be preceded by one person's consent (in their behalf).

<sup>107</sup> Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 231-43; Alfaro, "Significatio Mariae in mysterio salutis"; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 141-145; Feuillet, "Les

given to God's plan of salvation at Nazareth is actually identical to the consent which we believe she gave on Calvary as the personification of the Church. Scripture makes no explicit mention of a consent given by Mary to her Son's redemptive sacrifice; nor can we find any Patristic theme which underlines Mary's role on Calvary. On the contrary, in Patristic writings it is generally the Church which is seen to be the "woman" at the cross. Yet as Mary's active role in salvation began to become more evident within the praying Church medieval theologians and Scripture scholars began to pay more attention to her presence on Calvary.<sup>108</sup>

There is a biblical support for considering Mary as personifying the Church on Calvary in giving or ratifying her consent to the marriage between Christ and humanity willed by His Father. The context of chapter five of Ephesians which describes Christ in His spousal relationship to the Church refers to the redemptive suffering of Christ.<sup>109</sup> In this perspective the messianic espousals between Christ and humanity at Nazareth would be sealed by His blood. Mary's role in this instance would be to unite humanity to this redemptive sacrifice through her act of faith (her loving consent) which is a continuation of her consent at Nazareth. To be more precise, she unites the Church (and humanity) to the actual redemptive mystery of Christ's death. Christ alone in that moment represents humanity in need of redemption before the Father; Mary responds in the name of humanity to Christ's self-offering by means of an act which can best be described as a communion. He alone effects mankind's redemption;

adieux de Jésus à sa mère et la maternité spirituelle de Marie," 469-89; Rahner, "Le principe fondamental de la théologie mariale."

<sup>108</sup> An abundance of material can be found on this subject in *Études Mariales* 16-18 (1959-1961), and an excellent bibliography is contained at the end of the very thorough article written by Koehler, "Maternité Spirituelle, Maternité Mystique," in *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:551-638. It is impossible for us to consider this material in any detail but I shall attempt a synthesis which will be in line with the previous considerations. The council states clearly in *Lumen Gentium*, no. 58: "Thus the Blessed Virgin advanced in her pilgrimage of faith, and loyally persevered in her union with her Son unto the cross. There she stood, in keeping with the divine plan (cf. Jn. 19:25) suffering grievously with her only begotten Son. There she united herself with a maternal heart to his sacrifice; and lovingly consented to the immolation of this Victim which she herself had brought forth." Cf. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:249ff. Bur, "La médiation de Marie," in *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:493-99.

<sup>109</sup> Eph. 5:25ff. "Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the Church. He gave Himself up for her to make her holy, purifying her in the bath of water by the power of the word...." This purification in water is not an exclusive reference to the sacrament of baptism. The primary purification takes place in the passion and death of Christ which he himself called his "baptism." Cf. Mk. 10:38ff.; Lk. 12: 50.

through Mary mankind is put into communion with that self-oblation.<sup>110</sup> Mary's consent in behalf of humanity adds nothing essential to Christ's redemptive act (which alone redeems us): yet it is a consent willed by God.<sup>111</sup> Her consent is best expressed as an active receptivity in the sense that it remains extrinsic to Christ's personal act of love by which He accepts His Father's will (thus safeguarding His unique mediatorship) and yet is an active communion with Christ's decision, an integral part of God's redemptive design, and thus humanity's (through Mary) participation in the objective redemption itself. As at Nazareth, this communion remains a personal act of Mary offered in behalf of mankind. It is meritorious in regard to the redemption of mankind because it is a supreme act of personal love offered by One who has been prepared by God to represent mankind at that moment.<sup>112</sup> It is a true cooperation in the redemptive work of Christ.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>110</sup> According to this approach, we maintain that Mary was representing humanity in response to Christ as she did at the Annunciation, even though on Calvary she is not welcoming Christ as Redeemer. Laurentin says that Mary's role as representative of mankind which she exercised at Nazareth was provisory; at Calvary she represents what he calls "secondary" aspects of humanity which Christ could not represent. I do not believe his distinctions are necessary in order to justify Mary's representative role on Calvary. In both instances she represents humanity responding to Christ and to God. Cf. *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 142ff.

<sup>111</sup> Here again, I would disagree with Barré, "Le consentement à l'incarnation rédemptrice, la Vierge seule ou le Christ d'abord?" 264ff., who speaks of Mary's merit as being a "mérite d'opération rédemptrice." I believe that Mary's act is best expressed as an active receptivity, an act which does not enter into Christ's redemptive will-act but which is not, however, either superfluous or pure passivity. Cf. Bur, "La médiation de Marie," 493ff.

<sup>112</sup> Feuillet, "Les adieux de Jésus à sa Mère et la maternité spirituelle de Marie," 479-80, sees Mary on Calvary as the personification of the ideal Sion of the prophets who is to give birth to a messianic people. This exegesis would confirm what we have already said about the significance of Mary's presence on Calvary in the sense that as the personification of the ideal Sion (the Church) Mary would give birth to many offspring out of love proven by her suffering. Cf. also, Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," 55-86. While these texts (Rev. 12 and John 19) are concerned with the spiritual maternity of the Church and Mary, they involve a personification and salvific activity on the part of an individual on behalf of a group. Cf. also, Philips, "Le mystère de Marie dans les sources de la Révélation," 14: "Sur l'interprétation des détails des péripécies johanniques, il n'y aura peut être jamais d'accord parfait, mais il semble impossible de méconnaître la typologie ecclésiale de Marie, soit dans le récit du Calvaire, soit dans le célèbre chapitre 12 de l'Apocalypse. Dans ces derniers deux passages c'est encore le drame de la rédemption qui occupe le premier plan."

<sup>113</sup> We shall distinguish this cooperation given by Mary from that proper to the Church (considered as a salvific community) and to individuals. But we shall first consider the final phase of Mary's salvific activity. Cf. Dillenschneider, *Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 245-260; Bur, "La Vierge Marie dans l'économie du salut," 725-52, and his "La médiation de Marie," 499-511.

The heavenly phase of the salvific activity of Christ is usually referred to as the subjective phase of redemption. While this terminology may be ambiguous, it is intended to express the fact that the heavenly Christ conveys to individuals the benefits of His earthly redemptive mission. His death is definitive; yet He continues to redeem us by interceding for us before His Father.

Gradually the Church became aware of the fact that Mary, as His Mother, exercises even now an influence upon the salvation of the world; gradually too, the Church began to address Mary in prayer, a prayer which at times indicates a belief in her universally efficacious activity.<sup>114</sup>

Though medieval theologians do not give much evidence of an ecclesial interpretation of Mary's presence in heaven,<sup>115</sup> it seems proper that we express her heavenly activity in these terms since it is based upon her earthly activity which was one of personification. In this way, too, the unique mediatorship of Christ will be sufficiently safeguarded. Mary intercedes with Christ, not in the sense that she informs Him of something of which He is ignorant (e.g. of our needs or of our petitions) nor even less does she move Him to grant our requests. Her intercessory role is similar to her role at Nazareth and at Calvary,

<sup>114</sup> Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 52ff., esp. 53. He dates the "Sub tuum" as prior to the Council of Ephesus, a prayer which portrays a note of universality. J. Galot, "L'intercession de Marie," in *Maria (du Manoir)*, 6:513ff. A. Malo, "La plus ancienne prière à Notre Dame," in *De Primordiis Cultus Mariani: Acta Congressus mariologici-Mariani in Lusitania anno 1967 celebrati*, 6 vols. (Rome: Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1970), 2:475-85. For the question of the theology of the cult of Mary, cf. esp. G. Philips, "Le sens chrétien de la foi et l'évolution du culte marial," loc. cit., 2:103-24; C. Colombo, "De fundamentis dogmaticis cultus mariani," loc. cit., 2:183-93.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Dillenschneider, "Toute l'Église en Marie," 126ff. He indicates that the ecclesial character of Mary's assumption hardly received notice until after the Middle Ages. The same author (*Marie dans l'économie de la création renouvelée*, 250ff.) says that the Middle Ages did not make explicit Mary's heavenly role as "representative" of the Church before Christ. Yet, he says, this representative role is implicit in the theme which calls her the most excellent member of the Church. As such she is qualified to act as the heavenly "representative" (personification) of the Church. As we have indicated in the first chapter, in art there seems to be some early evidence of a personification theme in the heavenly phase of Mary's role in salvation. It seems, then, that Dillenschneider does not take this evidence sufficiently into account when he makes these statements. Flanagan ("Eschatology and the Assumption," 68-73) mentions that in the twelfth century there is a certain tradition according to which the term "spouse" is transferred to Mary from the original application made to the Church because of the awareness that existed at that time of an identification between Mary and the heavenly Church. In speaking of her Assumption Flanagan says: "This principle of representation familiarly applied in the Marian tradition to Mary's office at the Incarnation and at the cross is verified most of all in the Assumption. For in her Assumption she is the Church in its final state and the type of the pilgrim Church." Thus, he thinks, it is more correct not to call her the type or figure of the heavenly Church. This expression should be limited to her relationship to the earthly Church.



a communion by which her will is totally united to that of her Son before the Father. It is the act of an individual but it embraces all the prayers of the members of the Church, that is, of those who form the "communion of saints." Her intercession is efficacious because it is in communion with that of Christ. She is a mediator in Christ. Her prayer is universal and supremely efficacious in contrast to ours, first of all, because she is the universal mother of mankind and secondly because she is the preeminent member of the communion of saints who alone cooperated effectively in the name of humanity with the Redeemer in the very act of redemption. Mary personifies the Church (militant, suffering) and she is the glorified Church in the presence of Christ with whom before the Father she intercedes for all mankind.<sup>116</sup>

In this present stage of her salvific role Mary has rightly been called "the Eschatological Icon of the Church."<sup>117</sup> The sense of this expression is that the Church sees in Mary the perfect fulfillment of all that she (the Church) is called to be. As Laurentin indicates, she is not *the* sign of sure hope—that sign is the Resurrected Christ—but *a* sign of sure hope.<sup>118</sup> In a subordinate way she serves as a source of attraction and encouragement for the rest of mankind still on

<sup>116</sup> Cf. *Recherches sur l'intercession de Marie I-II*, in *Études Mariales* 23-24 (1966-1967); Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 150-53. Cf. Flanagan, "Eschatology and the Assumption," 72; J. Galot, "L'intercession de Marie," in *Maria (du Manoir)*, 6; Philips, "Le mystère de Marie dans les sources," 48ff., 62-63. H. Barré, "L'intercession de la Vierge aux débuts du moyen âge occidental," *Études Mariales* 23 (1966): 79: "Et ne songeons pas seulement, ni d'abord, au rôle tout particulier de celle qui nous a donnée le Sauveur. Il faut remonter plus loin encore, chronologiquement parlant, au dogme général de la 'communion des Saints' consigné dans le Symbole de foi primitif." Cf. Dillenschneider, *Le mystère de Notre Dame et notre dévotion mariale*, 195-225; Braun, "Annotationes circa cap. VIII constitutionis dogmaticae De Ecclesia," 239: "Nunc vero, quando officium maternum quo Beata Virgo in caelo assumpta de salute peregrinantium curat variis locutionibus describitur, sano oculo patet mediationem eius intercessionem ceterorum sanctorum valde excellere. Eo vel magis quod Maria mater est hominum quatenus mater Dei. Unde sequitur maternitatis divinae et maternitatis spiritualis Mariae, prout hic et nunc exercetur, communem radicem inquirendum esse in primo perpetuoque consensu matris tam intime operi Redemptionis sociatae." The bridal theme in the Book of Revelation is concerned with events after the final consummation. Cf. 19:7-9, 21:2, 22:17. It is a bridal union between Christ and His Church, personified by Mary, which will involve the full spiritual communion between them which is precisely the consummation of the revelatory image of marriage. Cf. A. Vonier, *L'Esprit et l'Épouse* (Paris: Cerf, 1947). Cf. de la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, 239-64.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. L. Bouyer, *Le culte de la Mère de Dieu dans l'Église Catholique* (Chevetogne, 1950), 33. This expression inspired the title for the last section of chapter 8 of *Lumen Gentium*: "Mary, a Sign of Sure Hope and of Solace for God's People in Pilgrimage." Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 111, 155 and his *La Vierge au Concile*, 141-42: "C'est à ce plan de la communion et de la participation au Christ que l'achèvement de sa destinée prend un sens particulier: l'Église y reconnaît l'image parfaite de ce qu'elle espère devenir auprès du Christ."

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, 141.

its pilgrimage toward final union with Christ. In her by God's grace has been realized the most perfect possible union with the heavenly Spouse. This truth was partially responsible for the definition of Mary's Assumption by Pius XII.<sup>119</sup>

At the moment of final consummation the salvific function of Mary and the Church will come to an end. Yet Mary's love will continue to be absorbed in Christ and through Him in mankind. She shall occupy the principal place among creatures, in the heavenly kingdom because of her preeminence in God's plan of salvation. Yet she shall be joined in love by all those who have kept God's commandments and remained faithful to His Word.<sup>120</sup> All separation between her and the Church which she personifies will come to an end. All salvific functions exercised by her and the Church during the pilgrimage of faith will be absorbed in simple contemplation. At that instant God will be all in all.<sup>121</sup> While it is true that the methodology used by the Council in its

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 155; L. Bouyer, *The Seat of Wisdom* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962), 196-97. This same theme of Mary as the personification of the Church under the image of uncreated and created Wisdom is profoundly underlined by Bouyer in his last chapter: "But since the Incarnation and Redemption are not processes forcibly imposed on the world of multiplicity and sin, and still less involve its simple reabsorption in God, wisdom is not confined to a single personal realization in history. It will comprise, while preserving their distinctness, all those who are saved in the actual course of history, all who have attained to the filial status shared in by so many brethren in the Only Beloved. More particularly, the Spouse, along with their husband himself, is to be, as it were, made ready and brought into being by the mother from whom all motherhood on earth proceeds, within time, in view of eternity. Her final realisation as Virgin and spouse, at the end of time, is, therefore, not only prefigured but pre-contained in an antecedent realisation, in the middle of time, as Virgin Mother. It is strictly in this aspect that Mary is, not the final or complete realisation of Wisdom, but its supreme realisation on the plane of history. Mary is truly the Seat of Wisdom, of the uncreated Wisdom shown forth as a creature in her Son who is, at the same time, Son of the Father; and she is, thereby, the source, within history of the eschatological Wisdom, created in time to espouse in time its eternal realisation in the Son who is the Word."

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Rev. 12:17.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. I Cor. 15:28; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 156-57. I should like to indicate briefly the similarity and dissimilarity existing between Mary and the Church in their common roles of mother, virgin, and spouse in regard to Christ. Mary is a member of the Church, even though she precedes the organized assembly of the faithful in time and experiences to the fullest degree the phases of life destined by God for the Church as a whole. One radical difference between them is the fact that she is an individual person, inadequately distinct from the collective personality of the Church. Mary has brought Christ to birth physically; because of this fact, taken in the totality of its meaning, she also brings Him to birth spiritually in souls. The Church, on the other hand, is a spiritual mother of human persons by cooperating in their birth in Christ, principally, nonetheless, by means of the sacraments each of which flows from and centers around the physical, glorified body of Christ in the Eucharist. The Church exercises her mission among us by word and rite, bringing us into contact with the redeeming Christ, fundamentally with His passion, death, and resurrection. Mary cooperates in our salvation by

presentation of Catholic doctrine on Mary has been generally well received in non-Catholic circles, nevertheless there still remain some profound differences in understanding her role in the history of salvation. We cannot consider this question in great detail here but it would be helpful to underline the points of contact between Catholic and non-Catholic theology as well as the sources of disagreement between them. By doing so we shall clarify the position we have taken thus far and we may also shed some light on the direction we shall now

her love, a love by which she first welcomed the world's Redeemer and then consented to His self-offering to the Father; a love by which she now prays for their needs. She performs no hierarchical function, even though she belongs to a Church which at present is hierarchically structured. She is in no sense a minister of the liturgy; yet she is ever present at the Church's liturgy: "In union with the whole Church we honor Mary, the ever-virgin mother of Jesus Christ our Lord and God...." (Communicantes, Canon I); she is the *Orans*, the one who prays. Mary's activity should not be called sacramental; she is a person who brings Christ to birth in souls through love. She has been fittingly described as "L'Église avant l'Église" because, visited by the Spirit before Pentecost, she gave birth to Christ from Whom the Christian community arose by the power of His Spirit. The Church imitates Mary in her maternity and her virginity. She is likewise the Spouse of Christ, something which was not to be predicated of Mary in earlier times. (I believe, however, that de la Potterie and others have recently justified and explained the use of this title for Mary.) As His Spouse, the Church receives from Christ; as His Mother, she acts with Him to give life. The Church is faithful to Christ as a Virgin, faithful to God's word in all things. This fidelity is an essential condition of her fecundity. As a virgin, she gives herself to Christ, as a mother, she gives herself to mankind. Mary is Virgin and Mother both physically and spiritually. Her physical virginity is the sign of her profound fidelity to God; her physical maternity is the source of her universal spiritual motherhood. In consenting to become Christ's mother in the flesh she acted out of faith and implicitly accepted to become in the future the spiritual mother of men. She fulfills this role by continuing her faith-assent to the redemptive death of her Son in behalf of mankind. In the Catholic understanding of the virginal maternity of Mary and the Church is found the touchstone for the profound appreciation our faith possesses for the grace of God, a reality which, while never removing the distinction between divine and human, between infinite and finite, brings the created person into a real participation of the uncreated life of God, Father, Son, and Spirit. In terms of redemption, in Mary the victory over Satan and his works is definitive and absolutely perfect since she of all creatures was redeemed "in a more sublime way." As the source of salvation on earth, the Church is holy and yet she prays each day for forgiveness of the sins of her members. Cf. on this question of the holiness of the Church: Y. Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Église* (Paris: Cerf, 1950), 63-138; Journet, *L'Église du Verbe Incarné* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1951), 2:893-934; Laurentin, "Sainteté de Marie et de l'Église," *Études Mariales* 11 (1953): 2-24. The one is still a pilgrim; the other is a source of sure hope for pilgrims. Raised body and soul to the kingdom of heaven, Mary shares perfectly as His Mother and Queen, as His Queen-Mother in the glorious reign which shall reach its perfect realization "when finally all has been subjected to the Son; He will then subject Himself to the One who made all things subject to Him, so that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. 15: 28).

take. We shall give a general list of authors and their works at the end of our presentation.<sup>122</sup>

One of the most important tasks of the mariologist is to indicate in a scientific way the link existing between Old Testament and New Testament in regard to Mary. Prudence is the key; yet "ingenuity" based on a profound study of Old Testament times and mentality is essential. In other words, we must continue to search for what may be a "missing link" between what might be called an inchoate Christian awareness (rather intuitive in nature) of Mary's significance in salvation history and the teaching of the prophets, none of whom explicitly foretold or grasped her role. Our own grasp of the slow development of Marian doctrine and devotion within the Church is at times quite fragmentary and our, at times, too hasty attempts to "justify" our beliefs have contributed more confusion to this picture. In insisting that we go back to the Scriptures and in showing the way, the Council has definitely set mariology on the right course, helping to alleviate the fears of non-Catholic and Catholic scholars alike.

With regard to the concrete understanding of the Scriptures (Old and New Testaments) concerning Mary, there is closer agreement between Catholics and non-Catholics than perhaps at any time since the Reformation. On the one hand, Mary is no longer ignored by the non-Catholic scholar; on the other hand, we have finally succeeded in viewing Mary as a member of the Christian community, its preeminent member, and yet one who needed to be redeemed by Christ in order for her to respond to God's love. We have gradually come to a greater appreciation of the ramifications of that belief. That she is the ideal model of faith and love for all to emulate—this is well accepted by all. Still, the profound meaning of this exemplarity, the fact that one creature, by divine ordination and grace has actually achieved the fullness of ontological and spiritual perfection to which the whole of humanity is called, has up to now eluded the "theological grasp" of the non-Catholic. This is important because it touches upon the core of Catholic Marian belief and devotion. It gives the Catholic a fundamentally different appreciation of her maternity, of her virginity, of her holiness, and of her presence in heaven. Ultimately these differences flow from differing christological and ecclesiological insights. At

<sup>122</sup> Cf. E.R. Carroll, "The Mary-Church Analogy in the Ecumenical Dialogue: Agreements and Disagreements," in *Acta Congressus Internationalis de Theologia Concilii Vaticani II*, 245-54. This communication was made by Fr. Carroll soon after the Council in 1966. At several of the International Mariological Congresses which have taken place since the Council, Fr. Carroll participated in and reported on the discussions and consequent developments between Catholics and non-Catholics at the meetings. I have made reference to these communications in the first chapter. Dombes Group, *Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints* (New York: Paulist Press, 2002).

least we have come to appreciate the basic good will and scholarly capabilities of those who do not agree with us. This is perhaps the "one thing necessary" for the grace of the Spirit to produce all these gifts, "distributing them to each as He wills," that is, to bring about a unity of faith among all the members of the one Body of Christ (cf. I Cor. 12:11).<sup>123</sup>

The object of this chapter has been twofold. We have sought direction from the Vatican Council in regard to the methodology to be employed in the theological investigation of Mary's role in salvation history. We have seen that the fundamental principle which guided the deliberations of Vatican II was a return to the sources of revelation in order to reevaluate God's design for the salvation of mankind. We have seen that in the case of Mary this "ressourcement" has led the Council to place Mary within the context of the mystery of the Church. We then made an application of this principle in order to understand more concretely the actual role which Mary as an individual and as the personification of the believing community exercises in regard to salvation. The first point (methodology) was intended to serve as a guide in our research on the question of the nature of Mary's queenship; it will enable us to avoid an *a priori*, deductive approach to the question which, I believe, was a mistake in the past. The second point (her role in salvation history expressed as an active receptivity) was intended to serve as a theological basis for our understanding of Mary's queenly role within the context of salvation history.

<sup>123</sup> For this question cf. articles (already cited in notes) by Braun, Carroll, Medina Estévez, Semmelroth, and G. Corr, "De Oecumenismo et Mariologia," in *Acta Congressus Internationalis de Theologia Concilii Vaticani II*, 706-11; *Études Mariales* 19-21 (1962-1964); articles by Knight and Thurian already cited in footnotes. S. Benko, *Protestants, Catholics and Mary* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1968). In the area of scriptural collaborative scholarship, cf. *Mary in the New Testament*, ed. R. Brown et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

## CHAPTER IV

### MARY: QUEEN-MOTHER IN SALVATION HISTORY

The reality of salvation<sup>1</sup> involves communication, liberation, and response. Salvation is a value, a good which God communicates to those whom He saves. Ultimately, it is Himself. He "saves," properly speaking, those whom He liberates from sin.<sup>2</sup> Yet no one is saved unless he responds to God's liberating, self-communicating activity.<sup>3</sup> In Christ Jesus the believer finds the greatest possible assurance of his actual liberation from sin; yet he holds his salvation in a frail vessel: "In hope we were saved."<sup>4</sup> It is only when he has joined the saints in glory that his personal pilgrimage of faith is over. He is, however, more than an individual; he is called to be a member of a people to whom, as such, God has promised salvation.<sup>5</sup> The initiative for this plan of salvation for us belongs to God; it is not, however achieved without the personal commitment to God on the part of those who are saved in faith, hope, and love, a commitment which is a real contribution of the individual to his own salvation. In this communication-response on the part of God and man, God's glory is magnified and man's perfection is fully realized.<sup>6</sup>

Salvation is a temporal process imbedded in the historical character of man and his activity. God's condescension to man in his miserable state of sinfulness is complete in the sense that He willingly enters into our history to save us. This is verified to an absolutely supreme degree in the incarnation of His Son whose mission it is to save us from sin by giving us access once again to His

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. McKenzie, "Salvation," in *Dictionary of the Bible* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1965), 760-63. J. Jensen and E.J. Peterman, "Redemption," in *NCE* 12:136ff. K. Rahner et al., "Salvation," in *Sacramentum Mundi*, 5:405-438.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the significance of the name given to Christ by the Angel: "... you are to name him Jesus because he will save his people from their sins" (Mt. 1:21).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Acts 2:37: "You must reform and be baptized, each one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ that your sins may be forgiven."

<sup>4</sup> Rom. 8:24. Cf. J. Alfaro, *Fides, spes et caritas. Adnotationes in tractatum de virtutibus theologis* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1964); see also his, *Speranza cristiana e liberazione dell'uomo*, Biblioteca di Teologia Contemporanea, 10 (Brescia: Queriniana, 1972); F. Kerstiens, "Hope," in *Sacramentum Mundi*, 3:61-65.

<sup>5</sup> "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation," in *Documents* (Abbott), 121, no. 14.

<sup>6</sup> M. Flick and Z. Alszeghy, *Il Vangelo della grazia* (Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1964).

Father through the power of the Spirit.<sup>7</sup> Salvation history<sup>8</sup> is the recorded account (taken from written and oral sources) of God's saving activity, from the moment of creation to the eschatological age, in the lives of men and women and their response (positive or negative) to that divine initiative. As we have indicated in chapter three, it is within the perspective of this salvation history that the second Vatican Council approached its theological task.<sup>9</sup> It is within this context that we must consider the nature of Mary's role in God's plan of salvation. Her role is rooted in history and I believe that the very character of that role has been revealed to us in terms of an historical reality: the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel. In this chapter, then, we shall develop the following points: (a) salvation history and the kingdom, (b) the notion of the "Gebirah," (c) the nature of Mary's queenship in the light of the Queen-Mother tradition, (d) Mary as the type of the Church in the history of salvation.

### Salvation History and the Kingdom

The notion of kingdom<sup>10</sup> has played a dominant role in the history of salvation.<sup>11</sup> It is in this context that God's desire to save mankind was revealed.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Eph. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. Kistner, "Salvation History," in *NCE* 12:998-1000; W. Van Roo, *The Mystery* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1971), 84-98. We must be satisfied here with a brief description of this complex reality. Problems of a philosophical, theological nature related to this question are treated in greater detail in the articles cited.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Acta Congressus Internationalis de Theologia Concilii Vaticani II* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1968), Theme VI: "De conceptu theologico historiae salutis," 444-503. Especially relevant to our point is the article by C. Vagaggini, "De loco et momento historiae salutis in methodo theologica integra delineata a Concilio Vaticano II," 499-503. Cf. the Document on Priestly Formation in *Documents* (Abbott), 451-53; cf. also no. 12 in Ch. 3.

<sup>10</sup> It is impossible for us to treat in great detail the manifold aspects of the theology of the kingdom but we shall outline its main features in order to have a background for our understanding of queenship in salvation history. A good bibliography on the kingdom will be found in R. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1963). In addition one should take note of J. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite*, *Analecta Biblica* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1954); H. Kleinknecht et al., "Basileus" and "Basileia," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: W. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1964), 1:564-78 and 579-90; J. McKenzie, "King," in *Dictionary of the Bible*, 474-79; "Kingdom of God," 479-82; J. Murray, "Kingdom of Christ," in *NCE* 8:188-91; H. Cantley, "Kingdom of God," in *NCE* 8:191-95; L. Cerfaux, "Le titre 'Kyrios' et la dignité royale de Jésus," in *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux*, 3 vols. (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1954-1962), 1:3-63; J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1960). Van Roo, *The Mystery*, passim in parts 2 and 3; A. Gelin, "Messianisme," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément*, 5, cols. 1165-1212; esp. cols. 1175ff. J. Coppens, *Le Messianisme et sa relève prophétique*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium (Leuven: University Press, 1989), esp. 3-30. The notion of the Church as the kingdom of God is

There is some doubt as to whether the notion of Yahweh as king could be called one of the original elements in the religion of Israel;<sup>13</sup> however a proper understanding of St. Paul's statements about Christ's salvific will presupposes a belief in Yahweh as king.<sup>14</sup> When Paul speaks of Christ as handing over the kingdom to God the Father<sup>15</sup> this is not to be understood as the dethronement of Christ. On the contrary, He and the Father will continue to reign over the entire cosmos. In fact, this reign will be the absolutely perfect reign of God since all of creation will have been redeemed and in this new creation God will be "all in all." Christ's salvific activity will have been completed (hence the significance of His handing over the kingdom to His Father), but He and the Father and (with Him to a real but lesser degree) all the just will reign. This action on Christ's part, when He shall have gained the final victory over death, should be viewed as the restoration of ruling power to Yahweh as prophesied in Isaiah 40-55.<sup>16</sup> Yahweh's kingship in Israel is linked with the notion of His glory and the reality of the Ark of the Covenant. Isaiah 6:5 calls Yahweh king; there seem to be even earlier references to His kingship in Exodus 15:18 and I Samuel 12:12, texts which have an eschatological nuance related to the promise of ultimate salvation.<sup>17</sup> Belief in Yahweh's eschatological kingship grew considerably at the time of the exile; yet even before that time we find texts which place Him in Sion judging the nations, a kingly function.<sup>18</sup>

After the return from Babylon, messianism involves God as King and the nation, Israel, in a return to the original form of the alliance—a pact between Yahweh and His people. This is the message of Isaiah 40-55. The people of those days looked forward to Yahweh's coming in a theophany similar to that of Sinai. They expected a direct, theocratic rule, perhaps because of the failure

treated in "Lumen Gentium," no. 5; G. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère au IIe Concile du Vatican*, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée, 1968), 1:94-98.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 348ff.

<sup>12</sup> A multitude of questions arise once we begin to consider the notion of kingship in Israel. We shall content ourselves with an indication of these problems and with a generally accepted solution to them whenever possible. Cf. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 11-21; McKenzie "Messiah, Messianism," in *Dictionary of the Bible*, 476. While it is true that the fundamental dependency of the people upon God is expressed early on by other concepts, such as covenant and election, it seems that the idea of Yahweh as king was an ancient one, preceding the time of the monarchy in Israel.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. I Cor. 15:23-28; Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 292ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. I Cor. 15:24.

<sup>16</sup> Gelin, "Messianisme," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément*, 5, cols. 1190-92.

<sup>17</sup> L. Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde* (Paris: Aubier, 1960), 1:278-79, n. 251.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Is. 2:1-4 and Micah 4:1-4.



of the other pre-exilic kings to carry out Yahweh's will. These eschatological expectations are quite vividly expressed in the psalms.<sup>19</sup>

It is in the Book of Revelation that we come to appreciate the full significance of God's kingly rule.<sup>20</sup> Eschatological kingship is presented as a recreation of the created order, God restoring with the same power He used to create.<sup>21</sup>

In the light of all this, we must now consider the relationship between messianism and kingship.<sup>22</sup> Messianism has been described as the backbone of the Bible.<sup>23</sup> Because of its complexity, however, it is difficult to give a satisfactory definition. Whatever be its origin, messianism in Israel presupposes certain underlying elements: (a) a linear conception of history (History is heading toward an end, the establishment of Yahweh's universal kingdom; this involves the idea of the "Emmanuel" theme: God is present among us guiding our steps toward an end predetermined by Him.); (b) a living structural community, in terms of kingship, prophetism, and priesthood according to a common awareness of a fundamental vocation to be God's people; (c) a capacity to utilize all situations for its purposes. Judaic messianism is founded upon history—Yahweh's historical interventions in the life of His people. It is not the product of myth or of ritual or of a royal ideal.

In chapter three of Genesis we encounter a history of salvation. The struggle between man and the serpent symbolizes the perpetual battle between man and

<sup>19</sup> Cf. esp. Ps. 97 (96 vg), 98 (97 vg.).

<sup>20</sup> Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 329-47.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 325: "God's eschatological kingship is seen here clearly as the completion of creation and the summit of redemption."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gelin, "Messianisme"; McKenzie, "Messiah, Messianism," 568-72; id., "Royal Messianism," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 19 (1957): 25-52; id., "Second Isaiah" (trans. with an introduction and notes) in *Anchor Bible* 20 (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1968); J. Bonsirven, *Le Judaïsme palestinien au temps de Jésus Christ*, 2 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1934-35), 1:340-417 (Ch. 8). This chapter treats of the Jewish (Apocryphal, Rabbinical writings) conception of Messianism. A. Feuillet, "Le Messianisme du livre d'Isaïe," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 36 (1949): 182-97; J. Coppens, "La relève du Messianisme royal," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 47 (1971): 117-43; id., "Le Messianisme Israélite: La relève prophétique," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 47 (1971):321-339 and 48 (1972):5-36; id., *Le Messianisme et sa relève prophétique*; H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952); J. Obersteiner, "Messianism," in *Sacramentum Verbi*, ed. by J. Bauer (New York: Herder & Herder, 1970), 2:575-821; M. Cantley, "Messianism," in *NCE* 9:714-21; Grelot, "Messiah," in *Sacramentum Mundi* 4:14-16; id., *Sens Chrétien de l'Ancien Testament* (Tournai: Desclée, 1962), 374ff.; S. Mowinckel, *He Thal Cometh*, trans. by G. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), 155-257. Here there are many problems of an historical and theological nature into which we cannot enter in any depth.

<sup>23</sup> Gelin, "Messianisme," col. 1166.

evil. There is some hint of a future ultimate victory by man over the serpent.<sup>24</sup> In this sense this text is generally recognized, at least by Catholic exegetes, as messianic.<sup>25</sup> This first, rather vague promise of salvation made by Yahweh to man in general is further concretized in Genesis by the promises He made to the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and their descendants. The frequency with which these promises are cited in the Old Testament is a witness to the awareness among the Israelites of a special vocation and blessing bestowed upon them by Yahweh. From these promises there arises a chosen people, a select group whom Yahweh would use to bring about His ultimate plan of salvation. It is in this context that the reality of the "remnant" arises.<sup>26</sup> The remnant is constituted solely of those whom God chooses and they are identified with those who believe.<sup>27</sup> It is not a quantitative reality, nor is it limited to a particular people or city; it is a present and a future reality. Salvation dawns for the remnant with the coming of the Messiah.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., cols. 1170-1171. We shall consider this messianic prophecy in greater detail when we speak of the place of woman in messianism.

<sup>25</sup> O. da Spinetti, "La data e l'interpretazione del Protovangelo (Gen. 3:15)," in *Il messianismo: atti della XVIII Settimana biblica* (Brescia: Paideia, 1966), 35ff.

<sup>26</sup> V. Hertrich and G. Schrenk, "Leimina," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by G. Kittel, 4:194-214. The remnant concept is not so much an idea as it is a witness to God's activity by which He establishes a remnant through whom He brings salvation. The notion is frequent in the Old Testament; yet it is never comprehensively explained. Its reality is based upon three acts of God which stand at the heart of the history of His people: the election of the people, the calling of the prophets, the promise of the Messiah. Cf. J. Nelis, "Messianism," trans. by L. Hartman, in *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), cols. 1511-1524; also his article "Messiah," cols. 1510-1511.

<sup>27</sup> R. de Vaux, "Le reste d'Israël d'après les prophètes," *Revue Biblique* 42 (1933): 526-539. He points out the development of this notion among the prophets: (a) Before the exile (in Amos, Micah, and Isaiah), the remnant are Israelites left in Palestine by those who conquer the land. (b) During the exile (Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel), the remnant are the exiles who will return from Chaldea and who will form the new Israel. (c) For the prophets of the restoration the community of Esdras (530) is the remnant. Certainly in the beginning the people believed that the remnant would be made up of those who remained in the country which had been taken over: How is anyone outside of Israel to stay in contact with Yahweh? Israel was His land. However, there was a gradual awareness that the remnant would be constituted by those who had been led into captivity. The people found this very difficult to accept; even after the fall of Jerusalem they thought of themselves as the remnant of Judah. It was Jeremiah who tried to dissuade them of that idea. In Ezekiel's eyes, the remnant is not the debris of a past history; it is a seed, identified with the new Israel risen from the dried bones. This involves a new heart, a new spirit, a new alliance, a new temple (533-536).

<sup>28</sup> We shall consider this notion further when we study the New Testament views, as expressed by Paul, on the ultimate fulfillment of these divine promises. Cf. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 727-728.

It is with the formation of an alliance between God and His people, Moses acting as the intermediary, that the promises made to the patriarchs are clarified and solidified.<sup>29</sup> The alliance, while instituted solely on God's initiative, involves essentially the response of the people. In this sense, salvation is to be a common effort between Yahweh and His people. The covenant flows from the promises and is a consolidation by means of the law and cultic ritual which accompany it.<sup>30</sup> By this covenant Yahweh's reign is established in Israel and in it the universal character of messianism finds its roots.

Kingship came in Israel after the establishment of the alliance.<sup>31</sup> In Genesis 35:11 God promises Jacob that kings would issue from his loins. During the period of the Judges (ca. 1200-1020) there was a federation of several tribes called an amphictyony. There is frequent mention of "princes" who ruled the different tribes in a collegial fashion. It would seem that Saul was able to introduce kingship in Israel because his royalty did not differ in its profound spirit from that of a charismatic prince who would rule over the independent but united tribes.

Some authors admit a double source for the account of the rise of the monarchy in Israel. According to what is critically called "the old source," neither Saul nor the people had anything to do with his appointment as king. It was a revelation by God to Samuel (who had not even heard of Saul until that time) which brought about his selection. Kingship is presented as God's response to the distress of His people under Philistine oppression. Saul was given the title of *nagid*; this indicates one who is chosen as a leader. He is not yet king in the full sense of that term. He is a prince or commander of God's people. This

<sup>29</sup> Ex. 19:1ff. There were possibly other earlier covenants between God and men such as in the case of Noah (Gen. 6:18) and Abraham (Gen. 9), but these may be a retrodiction of a belief into these traditions.

<sup>30</sup> McKenzie, "The Covenant," *Dictionary of the Bible*, 153-157; P. Van Imschoot, "Covenant," trans. by B. Vawter, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, cols. 432-439.

<sup>31</sup> Once we begin to investigate the historical rise of kingship in Israel, we run into many difficulties. Cf. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite*, 76ff; Bright, *A History of Israel*, 163ff. For one thing, kingship as exercised in Israel (north) and Judah (south) and Jerusalem differed; for another, the texts of the Old Testament describing this institution in its origins are not always clear. In the first book of Samuel (chapters 8-12) there seem to be differing versions of the origin of kingship in Israel as well as differing attitudes concerning kingship. This latter factor is due in part to the differing philosophies of history evident in the final redaction of the historical books of the Old Testament. Some would say that this makes it impossible to reconstruct the actual history, but this is an exaggeration. Certainly, the material has been reworked by editors and selections have been made but the substance is present and verifiable. De Fraine believes that there are two sources of the kingship account in Samuel each of which accepts kingship as an institution but with differing views on it. These accounts complement each other since they are by themselves incomplete.

word is often associated with an anointing, signifying the transformation of a private individual into a charismatic leader. This same source contains elements of a religious import: mention of the portion of the sacrifice reserved for Saul, God's signs, etc.

The second source would be from the priestly tradition; it stresses religious aspects of kingship. The theocratic is especially underlined. The institution of kingship is viewed from the perspective of the ideal theocracy. There is evidence of a reaction against kingship in this tradition. There were many objections to kingly rule, the principal one being that it would detract from Yahweh's immediate rule over His people. Samuel viewed the establishment of a king as a rejection of Yahweh's rule, though he was not completely opposed to the monarchy as such.<sup>32</sup> He warns the people about the need for fidelity toward God on their part and on that of their king. He is expressing a principle established by God Himself: The prophet will always be ready to act as a stimulus to the king. Kingship in Israel ultimately comes from divine choice ratified by the people. In this way Israelite kingship differs radically from that of the surrounding nations.<sup>33</sup>

We find almost an exact replica of the events in the installation of David as king over Israel. He is anointed as *nagid*, leads the army of Saul to victory, flees from Saul, although always respecting his kingship, conquers Isboseth after Saul's death, and is acclaimed king at Hebron by the people. He had been chosen and prepared for this task by Yahweh. There is a succession of events under David's rule by which the rather modest kingship becomes a rather glorious monarchy. These events culminate in the prophecy of Nathan (II Samuel 7) according to which an eternal covenant is established between

<sup>32</sup> Not everyone accepts this opinion concerning the two sources of the Samuel account. There are various nuances of opinion expressed in Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde*, 269ff. He raises the question as to the nature of the sin committed by the people in asking for a king, I Sam. 12:19: "They said to Samuel, 'Pray to the Lord your God for us, your servants, that we may not die for having added to all our other sins the evil of asking for a king.'" I Sam. 8:7: "Grant the people's every request: It is not you they reject, they are rejecting me (Yahweh) as their king." Ligier sees the sin of the people as consisting in their impatience with God's plan. They wished to anticipate His establishment of the monarchy in Israel because of their desire for political power. On the other hand, the king slowly but surely became so independent of Yahweh that he at least allowed worship of false gods, killed prophets, and interfered in the sanctuary. The people thus "prostituted" themselves with pagan customs; they turned away from Yahweh to worship false gods.

<sup>33</sup> McKenzie, "Royal Messianism," 47: "The basic Israelite ideas which are presupposed in the king ideology and which cannot be explained as derived from foreign belief are the Sinai covenant and the kingdom of Yahweh."

God and the Davidic dynasty.<sup>34</sup> David centered his kingdom around Jerusalem, "David's city." Nathan gave God's blessing and support to his kingship and in this way David's dynasty becomes the bearer of salvation for Yahweh, supplanting the earlier covenant of Sinai. From then on it was the dynasty which would pass on the blessings or curses to the people depending upon the obedience or rebellion of the kings toward God. The Hebrews never considered their king to be a necessary link with the pagan deities or cosmic forces; he was, however, considered as the Delegate for the alliance.

The idea of a theocratic monarchy was incarnated in Solomon, the ideal king. He was established as *nagid* over Israel and Judah by David. The people ratified their choice. Though there is no mention of a divine choice, it is said: "May the Lord, the God of my lord the king, so decree."<sup>35</sup> From then on the succession of kings in Israel takes place without much allusion to this "traditional" manner of acting. It is more often indicated as a choice of the people than as a choice made by Yahweh and acclaimed by the people. The underlying theological interpretation of human kingship in the Bible is based upon the kingship of God over all men. At times human kingship is presented as a sharing in and manifestation of God's kingship; at times it appears as an obstacle to that kingship. Human kingship is expressed as a mediate form of theocracy. The king is often depicted as carrying out Yahweh's ordinances, as totally dependent upon Yahweh. Both Yahweh and he are called shepherd.<sup>36</sup>

There is a problem concerning the dating of the royal psalms: Were they composed during the reign of the kings themselves or later, thus taking on an eschatological sense?<sup>37</sup> It seems probable that these psalms were written under the monarchy. Each king is a bearer of God's promises: The Messiah is not necessarily the eschatological king; each king is like a Messiah in expectancy.

<sup>34</sup> There is some discussion as to which of the three accounts (II Sam. 7; I Chron. 17:4-14; Ps. 89:20-38) of the dynastic blessings is the most accurate. Cf. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 570. Cf. also, McKenzie, "Royal Messianism," 30: "From the time of the oracle of Nathan no form which the messianic expectation might take could reject the idea of the kingdom and the king, the successor of David." Cf. also, J. McKenzie, "The Dynastic Oracle: II Sam. 7," *Theological Studies* 8 (1947): 187-218.

<sup>35</sup> I Kings 1:36.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. McKenzie, "Royal Messianism," 48: "The covenant of David is inconceivable without the Sinai covenant preceding it, even though the royal covenant seems to absorb the Sinai covenant... when the King becomes the mediator of the covenant. In virtue of the royal covenant, a personal and intimate relationship arises between Yahweh and the king which may be compared to the relationship between Yahweh and the people of Israel as a whole in the Covenant of Sinai." R. de Vaux, "Le Roi d'Israël, vassal de Yahvé," in *Bible et Orient* (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 287-301.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Cf. also, McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 570; Gelin, "Messianisme," cols. 1177-1179; Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 21-30.

The Messiah was at first conceived as the model of the perfect king after the image of David. The people continued to hope that one of the kings would indeed fulfill the qualifications and thus be the Messiah foretold and promised by Yahweh. Even if the individual king did not meet the qualifications, to the extent that he remained faithful to Yahweh he contributed to the preservation of kingship and thus prepared for the coming Messiah who would be a perfect king. In Psalm 2 the Davidic kingdom becomes coextensive with the kingdom of Yahweh Himself. Since this could not be predicated of any historical ruler in Israel, exegetes believe that it expresses a confident hope in the dynasty established by God and represented by the ruling king. In this sense, Yahweh's promises to David and to His people will be realized at some definite time. Here the king is a messianic figure, the guarantee that Yahweh's rule and kingdom will be eternally verified within the framework of the kingdom of Israel.<sup>38</sup>

The prophets announce the coming of the day of Yahweh in terms which express the same ideal of the Messiah as the royal psalms. They constantly recalled messianic expectations and led the people more and more to think in terms of the "one who is to come," the ideal, eschatological king. During the time of the Assyrian invasion the kings failed more and more to live up to the messianic ideal of which they were the representatives. In the writings of Isaiah and Micah who presuppose (and constantly recall) the Nathan oracle and the royal psalms we find this idealization of the future, eschatological messianic king.<sup>39</sup> In chapter nine of Isaiah the messianic descendant of David, ruling on his throne, is described in transcendent terms. In chapter eleven the same royal theme is found together with the theme of the return to a state of paradisaal happiness. The prophet Micah (5:1-4) repeats a messianic oracle in terms similar to Isaiah, chapter seven. The Messiah shall be of Davidic origin and his birth shall be a sign that his people have been delivered.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> McKenzie, "Royal Messianism," 33-34: "(Psalm 2)... adds to this promise an element drawn from the Hebrew belief in the universal kingship of Yahweh, with which the Davidic ruler is associated by covenant. The hope of the eternal dynasty now demands that the kingship ultimately become coextensive with the kingship of Yahweh Himself, from whom the king has received his commission to rule."

<sup>39</sup> At present we shall sketch the general lines of prophetic messianic oracles in order to indicate how the notion of kingship was preserved, though altered, in their writings. We shall consider Isa. 7:14 and Mic. 5:1-4 in more detail when speaking of the Queen-Mother and messianism.

<sup>40</sup> E. Hammershaimb, "The Immanuel Sign," *Studia Theologica* 3 (1951): 138: "It may be a mere coincidence, but it should at any rate be considered, that the only other passage in the Old Testament which mentions a royal mother who gives birth to a child of the house of David is to be found in Isaiah's contemporary, the prophet Micah, who also combines this event with the return of the northern kingdom to Judah."

At the time of the Babylonian exile messianic oracles were pronounced by Jeremiah (23:1-6) and Ezechiel (21:32). Jeremiah speaks strongly against the kings of Judah; he announces God's choice of kings who will be shepherds and, it seems, among them there will arise one who will be a Shoot and who will exemplify the ideal monarch. He shall be called "the Lord Our Justice." Ezechiel (13:22-24) prophesies the restoration of the kingdom by the future Messiah. It seems that he personally placed his hopes upon Jehoiachin who had been taken into exile by Nabuchadnezzar. Ezechiel has no confidence in those remaining in Judah or those who had fled to Egypt (33:23-29). In 34:23-24 the Messiah is depicted (in contrast with the king Zedechiah) as the one to whom Yahweh will give the city of Jerusalem. In 34:23-24 and 37:24-25 Ezechiel speaks of David (the Messiah) who shall be prince and shepherd over the one people arising out of Judah and Israel.<sup>41</sup>

In these oracles of Jeremiah and Ezechiel the Messiah is not the center of interest. Jeremiah emphasizes a new, interior covenant (31:31-34) while Ezechiel emphasizes the new cult and priesthood (20:40-44; 40-48). Neither of these prophets, however, simply replaces the notion of a future messiah-king.

In the year 520, Zerubbabel began the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The prophets Haggai (2:21-23) and Zechariah (6:9-14) predicate messianic titles of him. After Zerubbabel the messianic succession was interrupted. These last five centuries before Christ are obscure in regard to specific messianic expectations; yet the expectations remain strong and vivid up to the time of Christ himself. We do not know exactly when these expectations began to involve the notion of the coming of the Messiah as coinciding with the end of the world. The prophecy of Zechariah (9:9-10) seems to place us directly before the unique Messiah who will come at the end of the ages. He alludes to other Old Testament books and prophecies. He includes the notion of the "poor of Yahweh" in the Messiah's traits.<sup>42</sup> In post-exilic times we find a new reading or interpretation given to the pre-exilic psalms. For example, Psalm 110 was originally written to describe the enthronement of the Messiah at Jerusalem along the lines of a conquering king. Later on this psalm takes on

<sup>41</sup> Ezechiel refers to the Messiah not as a king but as a prince. The word *nasi*, however, might well be used in opposition to the word *malek* which was usually applied by him to the foreign kings; he may well have used *prince* of the Messiah to indicate a more meek type of kingly rule proper to the future Messiah.

<sup>42</sup> Albert Gelin, *The Poor of Yahweh*, trans. by Mother Kathryn Sullivan (Collegeville, MN.: Liturgical Press, 1964), 89-90.

an eschatological tone: The enthronement takes place in heaven and there is a notion of the so-called eschatological struggle.<sup>43</sup>

Thus far we have seen how kingship arose in Israel and developed by means of a series of historical events over a period of five centuries. This kingship was idealized in the form of messianism which went beyond the human institution itself. Messianism is, in fact, the cardinal point in the Old Testament and in Judaism.

The attachment of kingship to messianism in Israel was prepared by the reality of the covenant from which there arose among the people eschatological expectations of deliverance. The Hebrew notion of corporate personality helped to effect the transfer of messianic hopes from the people as such to their king. He incarnated in himself a whole people and thus became their mediator. The Jewish ideal of the perfect king transcended all earthly kingships. Little by little the King-Messiah was separated from the dynasty; this occurred after the exile which caused the people to reflect upon the religious meaning of the covenant. God's people would be rebuilt around the prophets who will be the mediators of the future. The figure of prophet will be attached to that of King-Messiah of earlier times. The Savior will suffer: The post-exilic age insists upon the direct theocratic reign of God who will build His kingdom on the ruins of the earthly kingdoms. Here we have the introduction of transcendent messianism:<sup>44</sup> Yahweh

<sup>43</sup> Most authors today do not favor the idea of a double redaction (pre-exilic, post-exilic) of the royal psalms. J. Coppens, "Où en est le problème du messianisme?" *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 27 (1951): 81-91, esp. 89-90. Coppens believes that from the very beginning the psalmists envisaged both the historical kings of the Davidic dynasty and the Messiah. In a literary manner their features were intermingled. It is the prophecies which help us to separate the characteristics proper to one and the other.

<sup>44</sup> This notion is proper to Deutero-Isaiah. He does not mention an earthly representative of God's kingship. He reverts to the notion of kingship exercised by God prior to the historical monarchy in Israel. This is but one aspect of the religious significance of kingship in Israel which ultimately, in and through Christ, is to terminate in Yahweh's immediate (theocratic) rule. Cf. I Cor. 15:25-28. We shall not discuss here the question of the priestly messianism evidence of which is found in Ezekiel 40-48, Jeremiah 33:14-26, Zechariah 4:1-6a, 10c-14, and Sirach 45. Nor shall we consider the question of the two Messiahs in Qumran literature. Cf. M. Burrows, "The Messiah of Aaron and Israel," *Anglican Theological Review* 34 (1952): 202-206; G.R. Beasley-Murray, "The Two Messiahs in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1947): 1-12; W. Lasor, "The Messiah of Aaron and Israel," *Vetus Testamentum* 6 (1956): 425-29; A. Higgins, "Priest and Messiah," *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1956): 321-26; Grelot, *Le sens chrétien de l'Ancien Testament*, 376ff. Whatever be the answer to the questions posed by these traditions, Christ is recognized in the New Testament as the kingly Messiah of the Davidic line, the servant, priest, prophet, the Son of Man. We note in passing the fact that there are two other messianic figures: the suffering servant of deutero-Isaiah, the Son of Man of Daniel. Each of these themes has its importance in the development of messianism. Yet for our purpose it will not be necessary to study them in detail. Cf. Coppens, "Où en est le problème du messianisme?"



as King. This transformation of the messianic ideal brings the religious notion of kingship in Israel to its summit.

In the New Testament we find the realization of the messianic expectations. In the temptation scene<sup>45</sup> we have a first indication of Jesus' attitude toward his messiahship. It is not to be one of glory and power; it is to be based upon humility. Before the acclamations of the people regarding his messianic (kingly) status Christ retained a prudent attitude; he did not absolutely deny that he was the Messiah but he cautioned them to remain silent. He did not want his messiahship (kingship) to be misunderstood; still, he invited them to a transcendent understanding of it. He remained silent himself, even when this silence caused him insult and eventually death. He preached a transcendent royal messianism: My kingdom is not of this world.<sup>46</sup>

The event of the resurrection-ascension of Christ was the catalyst for the New Testament which recognized Jesus' authentic, transcendent messianism.<sup>47</sup> Instead of preaching the advent of *God's* reign, as might be expected, the Apostles preached the Lordship and Messiahship of Jesus.<sup>48</sup> There is an increase in Jesus' power after his resurrection-ascension since his lordship which had been hidden is now clearly revealed and operative through his Spirit.<sup>49</sup> The early Christian community considered the present period of time to be a continuation of salvation history, a period prior to the complete reign of God and Christ in the Parousia.

and especially his article in the same journal "Le Messianisme Israélite la relève prophétique," 48 (1972): 5-36. Each of these themes presents literary and exegetical difficulties. The certain identity of the Servant and the Son of Man does not meet with general agreement among exegetes. Some favor a collectivity, some an individual. Coppens is less sure now (in his latest article on the subject) of the royal characteristics of the Servant: "A notre avis, une interprétation directement et explicitement messianique, du moins dans le cadre du messianisme royal, ne s'impose pas," (33). In a later monograph (*Le Messianisme et sa relève prophétique*, 111) he retains this opinion. Yet he still maintains that there is a certain messianic, Christological character in the Servant Songs. He views the individual portrayed in these songs as more of a prophet than a king. Daniel's "Son of Man" is described in explicit royal terms (Dan. 7:13-14) and, according to some, it is at least a typological reference to Christ. Cf. Aage Bentzen, *Messias, Moses Redivivus, Menschensohn: Skizzen zum Thema Weissagung und Erfüllung* in *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 17 (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1948), 80, fn. 7; n. "k" of the *Jerusalem Bible* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1966), 1437.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Mt. 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Coppens, *Le Messianisme et sa relève prophétique*, 244-253. This is a good summary of his study of the question of Jesus' messianic awareness.

<sup>47</sup> Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 259-346.

<sup>48</sup> Acts 2:36.

<sup>49</sup> The "Son of David" theology is quite visible in Acts 13:32ff

In Paul's writings the cosmic aspect of Christ's rule is introduced. Christ is, in fact, the head of creation and of its entire domain.<sup>50</sup> Jesus' response to Pilate in no way denies his royal dignity or power.<sup>51</sup> He simply denies that he exercises power in the manner of an earthly king: "My kingdom does not belong to this world." He does, in fact, assert his kingship positively in this encounter with Pilate.<sup>52</sup>

Jesus does not accept the title, "King of the Jews"; yet He does admit the title, "King of Israel"<sup>53</sup> since the one title would indicate a political reality while the latter is of religious significance. As king, in John's way of speaking, Jesus testifies to the truth which He has received from His Father, from above, and which He communicates to His followers through His Spirit. When He was "lifted up" and returned to the Father, then He began to exercise His full royal authority over men who believe, and who are themselves "of the truth."

The Christ of the Book of Revelation is the king of kings and the lord of lords.<sup>54</sup> His ruling power is shared by Christians who have been redeemed.<sup>55</sup> John speaks of a period of persecution before the final victory by Christ and God over the powers of the earth. This is in contrast, though not in contradiction, to Paul. The significance of salvation history is to restore God's all-embracing reign over the world; the original creative order will be surpassed in this ultimate divine triumph.

At the sounding of the seventh trumpet<sup>56</sup> God begins His eschatological reign. Christ contributes actively to the establishment of this reign by carrying out the divine decrees. His chosen and faithful ones shall be with Him as He conquers His enemies and they shall reign forever.

Christ's final victory is described as the wedding of the Lamb.<sup>57</sup> He is married to the Church, brings her to the perfect kingdom, the heavenly city of God where the earthly community is joined to the heavenly community. This image recalls the fulfillment of the marriage images with which Paul,<sup>58</sup> Christ

<sup>50</sup> Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, 317: "Christ's rule here and now over Church and world is the manner in which the kingship of God is realized in the present era of salvation between fulfillment and completion, in the field between the polarities of this aeon and the future aeon, in this mixture of 'light' and 'darkness.'"

<sup>51</sup> Jn. 18:38ff.

<sup>52</sup> Jn. 18:37. Cf. D. Stanley, "The Passion according to John," *Worship* 33 (1958-1959): 210-30, esp. 213-225.

<sup>53</sup> Jn. 1:49, 12:13.

<sup>54</sup> Rev. 19:16.

<sup>55</sup> Rev. 1:9, 5:9.

<sup>56</sup> Rev. 11:15ff.

<sup>57</sup> Rev. 19:7-9.

<sup>58</sup> II Cor. 11:2, Eph. 5:22-23.

himself,<sup>59</sup> and the Old Testament<sup>60</sup> had described the intimate relationship between Christ and His Church, God and His people. Church and Kingdom are identified in eschatological fulfillment; likewise cosmos and Church. In this time between resurrection and parousia God exercises His rule with and through Christ.<sup>61</sup> The Book of Revelation does not speak of Christ handing over His kingdom to His Father. Rather, He shall be on the throne with His Father in the eschatological city of God while Their servants, seeing Them face to face, worship Them and reign with Them forever.<sup>62</sup> There is one kingdom of God and Christ. Revelation brings together all the themes which have been used in the Old and New Testaments to describe the multiple relationships existing between God and those who are called to salvation, ultimately in terms of the kingship of God and Christ over the nations.

I have gone into some detail in regard to the kingship of Yahweh and Christ because it will serve as a background or context in which we will be able to appreciate the significance of Mary's queenship. This is true not only in a speculative sense according to which we understand queenship through kingship but more fundamentally it is true because Mary's queenship has, in fact, been revealed within the positive context of salvation history. There is a tendency to think that the notions of kingship and queenship are passé, the product of an earlier age when monarchy existed on a much larger scale than it does today. However, we should be able to see clearly that the biblical notion of God's (Christ's) kingly sovereignty allows us to come to a synthetic grasp of the whole plan of salvation. This is not to say that the biblical notion of queenship, and specifically Mary's queenship, is either frequent or extremely clear.<sup>63</sup> The biblical basis for her queenship is obscure; yet, there are solid reasons for believing that the person of the Queen-Mother was present to the sacred authors' minds, even in the Old Testament, when they spoke of the woman who would play a role in salvation history.<sup>64</sup> We now consider queenship in its relation to messianism or more precisely, the mother of the Messiah insofar as she is Queen-Mother.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Mt. 21:1-10, 25:1-12.

<sup>60</sup> Hosea 1:3, Jer. 2:2, 3:1-3, Is. 54:6-8.

<sup>61</sup> It is extremely difficult to interpret clearly the "reign of a thousand years" (20:1-3) but it does seem that this concept is not a description of an interregnum by Christ after the Parousia and until the time of God's final victory.

<sup>62</sup> Rev. 22:4.

<sup>63</sup> In the various biblical dictionaries one does not find an article on queenship.

<sup>64</sup> H. Cazelles, "Genèse 3:15. Exégèse contemporaine," *Études Mariiales* 14 (1956): 91-99; id., "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura* (1967): 6:165-78; A. Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959): 55-86; id., *L'Heure de la Mère de Jésus: Étude de théologie Johannique* (Fanjeaux: Marie-Dominique Prouilhe, 1970); Gelin, "Messianisme," col. 1181; H. Cazelles, "Le Penta-

teuque," *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément* 7:796-803; B. Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," *Marian Studies* 12 (1961): 27-48; C. Stuhlmüller, "The Mother of Emmanuel (Is. 7:14)," *Marian Studies* 12 (1961): 165-204; R. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie* (1968), 165-167.

<sup>65</sup> A point of methodology: We cannot enter into any long discussion concerning the "Marian" sense (literal, typical, fuller) of texts such as Gen. 3:15, Mic. 5:1-5. This would take us too far afield. What I wish to underline for the moment is that in these texts there is a "Marian" sense, that is, that it is not simply an accommodation. I favor the position that the sacred authors are speaking of a woman to whom God has assigned a definite role in salvation history and that the woman is Mary, the Queen-Mother. I do not believe that the sacred authors themselves had Mary in mind; but I do think that God intended to reveal in an inchoative way Mary's future role in our redemption. There is much discussion among exegetes and theologians concerning the so-called "fuller sense" of Scripture and its possible verification in the three Old Testament texts we have mentioned above. Cf. R. Brown, "The Problem of the Sensus Plenior," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 43 (1967): 460-69; id., "Hermeneutics," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* [NJBC] (Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 1146-1165; id., "After Bultmann, What? An Introduction to the Post-Bultmannians," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26 (1964): 1-30; Also included in *CBQ* 26 are: B. Vawter, "The Fuller Sense: Some Considerations," 85-96; J. Cahill, "Rudolph Bultmann and Post-Bultmannian Tendencies," 153-178; R. Murphy, "The Relationship between the Testaments," 349-359. J. Robinson, "Scripture and Theological Method: A Protestant Study in Sensus Plenior," *CBQ* 27 (1967): 6-27. A. Feuillet, "De fundamento Mariologiae in Prophetiis Messianicis Veteris Testamenti," in *De Mariologia et Oecumenismo* (Rome: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1962), 33-48; A. Robert, "La Sainte Vierge dans l'Ancien Testament," in *Maria (du Manoir)*, 1:21-39, esp. 34-36; he favors the typical sense; Duncker, "Our Lady in the Old Testament," in *Mother of the Redeemer*, ed. by K. McNamara (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1969), 1-29. Even those who accept the theory of such a scriptural sense (a "more than literal sense," as it is called) do not agree as to its concrete application. I favor the view that there is a fuller scriptural sense to all three texts, though I realize that the question is still very debatable. Both Coppens, "Le Protévangile. Un nouvel essai d'exégèse," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 26 (1950): 5-36, and Rigaux, "La femme et son lignage dans Genèse 3:15," *Revue Biblique* 61 (1954), consider Eve to be present in the sacred author's mind when he wrote Gen. 3:15. The woman of Gen. 3:15 is possibly the feminine sex in general (Coppens) and thus every woman would engage in the struggle with Satan. The author could not entirely lose sight of Eve; in the prophetic perspective of this oracle he would have viewed Mary indirectly as the Mother of the seed to whom the decisive victory was promised. She is included not as one of the seed nor as in Eve but as mother of the seed. Here we have a mixture of the general, the universal and the individual—something akin to the notion of corporate personality. Mary is present literally, says Coppens; knowledge of this woman who is implied as the future mother of the Victor must develop with further revelation. He speaks of a fuller sense and rejects the typical sense since Eve is not a "type" of Mary's victory to come. Possibly the woman of Gen. 3:15 is the individual mother of the future Messiah and thus Mary is present literally in this text. Eve, the woman, is projected into the future; she disappears as an individual to be replaced, fulfilled by the eschatological, messianic woman, Mary. This is the opinion of Rigaux. I am of the opinion that Isa. 7:14 and Mic. 5:1-5 should be interpreted in the same way, i.e., according to the fuller sense. All three texts are, I believe, messianic and should be understood in the light of the Queen-Mother tradition as it existed in Israel. Cf. in this regard, Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 165-167.

The methodology followed by the Second Vatican Council in proposing its doctrine on Mary in the light of Scripture has gained considerable praise on the part of Scripture scholars, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.<sup>66</sup> Reserve and prudence characterize the conciliar presentation of Mary's life and role in salvation history according to Scripture.<sup>67</sup> Instead of stifling initiative in exegetical work, this approach will cause exegetes and theologians to probe more deeply into the scriptures, especially the Old Testament, to lay bare the roots of Marian doctrine and to explain the development of Marian devotion within the Christian community from early times. The principal way in which this scriptural investigation should be carried out is to seek out any pre-figurations or possible hints of Mary's mission in regard to our salvation. Thus it becomes necessary to understand how Jewish thought at the time of primitive Christianity conceived of the salvific role of the Mother of the Messiah.<sup>68</sup> It is precisely this which we shall now attempt. As I have already indicated in the first chapter,<sup>69</sup> it seems that devotion to Mary in the primitive Christian Church centered around her queenship.<sup>70</sup> What is the basis for this tendency in early Christianity? How could the Christian community come to an appreciation of Mary's role as a queenly one? Our starting point for an answer to these questions is the Yahwist author, his milieu, his intentions.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Cf. R. Le Déaut, "Marie et l'Écriture dans le chapitre VIII," 55-74; Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:232, says: "Le Concile attribue à la préparation vétero-testamentaire une portée ni trop grande, ni trop restreinte. Son exégèse s'appuie sur une base solide, et le fait mérite d'être signalé que les Protestants, pour autant que nous soyons au courant, ne se sont pas opposés à l'argumentation biblique de Lumen Gentium, chapitre VIII." This statement is, however, too broad. Cf. S. Benko, *Protestants, Catholics and Mary*, 79-92, who is pleased with the fact that the Council took a biblical approach to Mary, though he is critical of the biblical method which was employed: the interpretation of some biblical texts in the light of current Catholic teaching on Mary. Cullmann complains that some of the biblical texts in Chapter 8 have been taken out of context. Cf. "The Bible in the Council," in *Dialogue on the Way*, ed. by George Lindbeck (1965), 129-144. For other specifics of Protestant reaction cf. E.R. Carroll, "Protestant Reaction to the Role of Mary in Vatican II," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 154 (1966): 289-301.

<sup>67</sup> Not only is this required by a rigorous scientific exegesis, but the delicate problem of ecumenism also gave a further incentive to circumspection in this area. Cf. nn. 55-59 of chapter 8 and commentaries, such as Le Déaut, Philips (*L'Église et son mystère*, 2).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Le Déaut, "Marie et l'Écriture dans le chapitre VIII," 61.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. nn. 70 and 71 of the first chapter here.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. D. Stanley, "The Mother of My Lord," *Worship* 34 (1959-1960): 330: These words attributed by Luke to Elizabeth, which he clearly regards as spoken under divine inspiration (Luke 1:41), indicate that it was the queenship of Mary which was honored in the primitive Christian Church."

<sup>71</sup> Cf. A. Clamer, "La Genèse," in Pirot-Clamer, *La Sainte Bible* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1953), 9:102; R. de Vaux, *La Genèse*, in *La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem* (Paris: Cerf, 1951), 7-24; E. Maly, in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 1-6; H. Cazelles, "Le Pentateuque," esp. cols. 790-

Without attempting to settle the problems which face the student of the Pentateuch,<sup>72</sup> we shall indicate briefly some elements which are commonly accepted by scholars as characteristic of the so-called "Yahwist tradition" and which will serve to give us a clearer understanding of the background for the development of a Christian awareness of Mary's salvific significance.<sup>73</sup>

The authors of the Pentateuch present an outline of salvation history with its basis in the fact that God, Yahweh, speaks to people's hearts: God is the only God of the people of Israel. God's word involves promise, election, alliance, and law.<sup>74</sup> His promises were made to individuals and to the whole people whom He had chosen as His own; they concern lands, blessings, protection, and, most importantly, salvation. It is this divine plan of salvation which is gradually revealed and worked out by God with our collaboration.

The Yahwist author concentrates, we might say, upon two questions: the problem of evil and redemption from that evil. He outlines in some detail the origin and progressive growth of evil in the world. Around this basic problem he constructs a history of salvation founded upon God's multiple interventions in the lives of individuals and the community. Though depicted in anthropomorphic terms, God retains the profound respect of men. He is the God who is concerned with His creation; it is He who will convert evil into good.<sup>75</sup> In presenting us with a history of salvation, the Yahwist account seems to intend

803; B. Rigaux, "La femme et son lignage dans Genèse 3:15," *Revue Biblique* 61 (1954): 321-48, esp. 331-36. J. Coppens, "La mère du Sauveur à la lumière de la théologie vétérotestamentaire," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 31 (1955): 9: "Pour saisir la vraie portée de la péripécie il faut la replacer dans un large contexte, c'est-à-dire celui de toute l'oeuvre jahviste, dont elle est partie intégrante et dont elle marque même un des principaux centres d'intérêt."

<sup>72</sup> These include the author(s), the date, the literary composition of the various books as we have them today, and their relationship to the rest of the Old Testament.

<sup>73</sup> We speak of the Yahwist "tradition" rather than of the Yahwist "document" because scholars today are more inclined to view what they call Yahwist strata in the Pentateuch as being the result of a complex, dynamic influence (authors, milieu, schools, etc.) and at the same time as quite dependent upon other living traditions. It seems that the Yahwist tradition can be dated as pertaining to the era of Solomon's reign. What is of greater importance is to pinpoint the milieu out of which this tradition was formed. Fundamentally these traditions are intimately associated with the life of worship proper to the believing community since their purpose in general is to stimulate the cultic worship of God by recounting on certain feasts the mighty deeds of God in behalf of His people. The Yahwist tradition came from Judah in contrast to the Elohist tradition coming from the northern tribes. Cf. de Vaux, *La Genèse*, 15-19; Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde*, 161-164. For the sake of convenience we shall refer here to the Yahwist author in the singular.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Rigaux, "La femme et son lignage dans Genèse 3:15," 330-333.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. J. Coppens, "Le Protévangile. Un nouvel essai d'exégèse," 5-36. This understanding of the theology proper to the Yahwist author, especially as it is refined and deepened by the reflections of the Elohist author, helps us to appreciate the unity and profundity of what otherwise

an explanation and defense of the legitimacy of the successor of the patriarchy, Moses, and David. It is the Yahwist's message that upon this individual rests the divine promise: that in him the trust of the people must be centered. Much significance is given to the choice of a successor who is not the firstborn. It is Yahweh who directs history. In this same line great emphasis is placed upon the legitimacy of Solomon as successor to David. Finally, this explains the importance accorded to women in regard to the preservation of the dynastic succession. This is the perspective under which we must understand the place of Eve,<sup>76</sup> Sarah,<sup>77</sup> and Rebecca<sup>78</sup> in the history of salvation. In the time of the monarchy it is Bathsheba and the other Queen-Mothers who occupied the place of importance because they contributed to the divine plan for the transmission of God's promises through concrete individuals (the successors of David).<sup>79</sup> For the same reason we find in the Yahwist tradition those texts which are usually recognized as messianic.<sup>80</sup> These texts are based upon the royal ideology proper to the time of the monarchy. It is in and through the descendant of David in eschatological times that salvation will come. Cazelles remarks that the hope (of final victory) given to Eve in Genesis 3:15, which is followed by the birth of her firstborn in Genesis 4:4, seems to be considered by the Yahwist as the primordial archetype of the salvation of the people by the descendant of the Queen-Mother.<sup>81</sup> Thus the Yahwist author gives prominence to the role which women play in the work of salvation. In the cases of Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel we meet with women who are sterile but who by a special divine intervention become pregnant. It is Yahweh who opens their wombs; it is to Him that Israel owes everything since it is ultimately He who has provided for the heir to His promises. This dependency is symbolized by Abraham's complaint to Yahweh:

might appear to be a series of disparate myths. Cf. Cazelles, "Genèse 3:15, Exégèse contemporaine."

<sup>76</sup> Gen. 3:15 and 4:1.

<sup>77</sup> Gen. 16, 18:9-15, 21.

<sup>78</sup> Gen. 24. What is striking about the case of Rebecca is the fact that she deceives Isaac to procure the inheritance for Jacob and yet God allows this deceit for His own purposes.

<sup>79</sup> We shall say more about this shortly since this is the particular significance of the gebirah or Queen-Mother.

<sup>80</sup> Gen. 49:10—the prophecy of Jacob (cf. H. Cazelles, "La religion des Patriarches," *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément*, 7, cols. 153ff.) and Numbers 24—the oracles of Balaam.

<sup>81</sup> Cazelles, "Le Pentateuque," col. 797. He continues: "De même que l'innovation capitale du Jahviste...c'est (que) l'acte du premier homme...est le noeud de la relation historique entre l'homme et Dieu...la faute d'Adam engage son existence terrestre, historique, et celle de toute sa race, dans la 'maladie mortelle' (Humbert, "Démesure et Chute dans l'Ancien Testament", dans *Hommage à Wilhelm Vischer*, Montpellier, 1960, 80): la naissance de la descendance d'Eve est signe de la défaite du serpent." Cf. also, Cazelles, "La Mère du Roi Messie," in *Maria et Ecclesia* 5:49.

"O, Lord God, what good will your gifts be, if I keep on being childless and have as my heir the steward of my house, Eliezer?"<sup>82</sup> These women are chosen by Yahweh to keep alive messianic hope in Israel. This pattern seems to be accentuated in prophetic messianic oracles of Isaiah 7:14 and Micah 5:1-4 which depict a woman in close association with the descendant of David, the messianic heir of the promises.<sup>83</sup>

With this as a background, we shall now consider Genesis 3:15, Isaiah 7:14, Micah 5:1-5, and Revelation 12 in order to appreciate what could be called Mary's "double role" in salvation history as Queen-Mother. As an individual and as the archetype of the Church she has, by divine design, been associated in a subordinate way with the royal, eschatological heir of David, her Son, Christ, the Messiah-King.<sup>84</sup>

Genesis 3:15, arising out of the Yahwist tradition, depicts the continual struggle which mankind will wage with the devil and his descendants; at the same time we are given a glimpse of the victory which mankind will eventually gain through the descendant of the woman. This text was written at a time (around the tenth century, B.C.) when there was a definite messianic hope in the midst of Israel concretized in the person of the dynastic heir of David and harking back to the divine promises made by Yahweh to the Patriarchs and to David. It is contemporaneous with the prophetic utterances concerning an

<sup>82</sup> Gen. 15:2.

<sup>83</sup> A. Feuillet, "Le Messianisme du livre d'Isaïe," 182-338, esp. 196-197. Rigaux notes the Yahwist account in Gen. 2-3 is filled with symbolism. He sees the "Woman" of Gen. 3:15 as a symbol of God's great power by which He uses the one who was deceived in the beginning by the serpent, uniting her to the ultimate author of salvation, the Messiah. She is in a state of victory, abstracting from her sinfulness in the beginning and during the course of history. Eve, first to fall under sin, is the transparent figure of the woman who will be first in redemption. ("La femme et son lignage," 347-48). Cf. Gelin, "Messianisme," col. 1181: "... Mais dans les idées du temps on attachait une valeur théologique au rôle de la mère de l'héritier dynastique. Les représentations de Louksor et de Deir el Bahari font naître l'enfant royal non du père, mais de l'union entre le dieu et la mère.... Des conceptions semblables semblent avoir été recueillies à Jérusalem, tout en tenant compte de la nature morale et invisible de Yahweh. Le livre des Rois nous donne avec grand soin le nom de la mère. Celle-ci, la Gebirah, avait un statut spécial. Isaïe n'insiste pas sur cette croyance, mais cette idée d'une naissance divine, épurée par les exigences morales de Yahweh et l'action des Prophètes, s'exprimera en une naissance virginale quand les Grecs traduiront la Bible."

<sup>84</sup> As I have indicated above, I favor the position which sees in these Old Testament texts a fuller sense than that which the Old Testament author perceived when writing the account. The Council says in *Lumen Gentium* no. 55 that Mary is prophetically foreshadowed in the texts of Genesis 3:15, Isaiah 7:14, and Micah 5:2-3 inasfar as these texts have been read in the Church and are understood in the light of a further and fuller revelation. Nothing is said about Rev. 12 and Mary but I shall propose in that regard an opinion which I believe to be probable.



eschatological victory on the part of the royal Messiah. Its significance cannot be separated from this messianic milieu.

The optimism characteristic of the Yahwist author shines through the whole account. Man is punished but he is not cursed as is the serpent; he continues to experience the paternal concern of God who will eventually bring him to victory in his struggle with Satan.<sup>85</sup>

The woman and her maternity are underlined in this messianic oracle. She is depicted as associated with her descendant in the victory over the serpent. He is in reality (prophetically foreshadowed) the eschatological King-Messiah; she is in reality His Queen-Mother. These concepts receive further clarification from the messianic oracle of Isaiah 7:14.<sup>86</sup>

Exegetical problems connected with the Isaian oracle (7:14) abound.<sup>87</sup> Still, according to some exegetes,<sup>88</sup> the key to an understanding of this text lies in verse 9b: "Unless your faith is firm, you shall not be firm." It seems that the purpose of the prophet and his disciple<sup>89</sup> was to inculcate faith in his hearers, faith in the fact that God alone saves. The counterpart of this demand for faith by Isaiah was the rejection of any sign by Achaz. He wished to trust in his own human wisdom and skill to solve his nation's crisis. Isaiah's message to Achaz concerned the sign to be given by God which would guarantee the continuation of the Davidic line. The one condition was faith in that message, in that sign and, ultimately, in Yahweh's promises made to David. Seeing the rejection of that sign by Achaz, his loss of faith in Yahweh, Isaiah foresaw the end of the Davidic dynasty and he predicted its doom in 7:14-20. Yet he also foretold that in the midst of all this destruction God would be with them.<sup>90</sup> He sees the future Emmanuel with His Mother as personifying perfect faith, a total

<sup>85</sup> Rigaux, "La femme et son lignage," 334-343.

<sup>86</sup> Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 163-64; Rigaux, "La femme et son lignage," 343-348.

<sup>87</sup> J. Coppens, "La prophétie de l'Alma," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 28 (1952): 648-678. This is a good review of the positions taken by various authors concerning the interpretation of Is. 7:14. H. Cazelles, "L'interprétation d'Is. 7:14 à la lumière des études le plus récentes," in *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1961): 31-45; G. Vella, "Isaia 7:14 e il parto verginale del Messia" in *II Messianismo. Atti della XVIII Settimana biblica Roma 1964*, 85-93 (Brescia:Paideia, 1966); Hammershaimb, "The Immanuel Sign"; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 164-65; C. Stuhlmueeller, "The Mother of Emmanuel"; G.F. Gray, "The Book of Isaiah," in *The International Critical Commentary* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1959), 122-123, indicates the series of questions which must be answered in interpreting this passage.

<sup>88</sup> Stuhlmueeller, "The Mother of Emmanuel," 167 and 194.

<sup>89</sup> We refer to the so-called "Second Isaiah."

<sup>90</sup> Is. 8:8b, 9:1-6, 11:1-9.

surrender to God's will.<sup>91</sup> Out of destruction and ruin would come salvation by God's power. We are dealing here with a messianic prophecy which was fully realized in Jesus and His Mother.<sup>92</sup> As in many prophecies, there seems to be a reference to the immediate future as well as to the remote (eschatological) future.<sup>93</sup> The sign is the Queen-Mother who conceives; the signified is the future, eschatological heir of David's throne.<sup>94</sup>

The third messianic prophecy concerning the woman and her Son (literally, "she who is to give birth") is that of Micah 5:1-5.<sup>95</sup> A contemporary of Isaiah, Micah links liberation with a birth; he too criticizes his contemporaries for their lack of faith and exhorts them to place their hopes in the future messianic shepherd who shall rule in Israel by the strength of Yahweh. Isaiah insists more upon the sign of maternity, Micah more on the future deliverance. Each of them, however, places some emphasis upon the role of the mother of the Messiah. The woman giving birth to the eschatological Messiah in Micah is to be identified with the young girl who conceives in Isaiah.<sup>96</sup> Here again, we find God's mysterious plan evolving: He will show forth His power in a woman, as He did with Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, in order to confound the wise.<sup>97</sup> The

<sup>91</sup> Stuhlmüller, "The Mother of Emmanuel," 180: "As the perfect representative of all God's people, they will rise above everyone. Theirs will be a preeminent spirit of faith. This spirit might be called the 'spirit of virginity' — a strong, devoted, single-minded consecration to God."

<sup>92</sup> Mt. 1: 22-23; "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), 87, no. 55.

<sup>93</sup> Stuhlmüller, "The Mother of Emmanuel," 181, speaks of a "prophetic compenetration" by which the prophet has in mind both Ezechia (scil. Hezekiah) and his mother as well as Jesus and His Mother; Coppens, "La Prophétie de l'Almah," 675-678, sees the Messiah and His Mother present literally (exclusive of Ezechia and his mother or the wife and son of Isaiah). Vella, "Isaia 7:14 e il parto verginale del Messia," speaks of a "fuller" sense. I favor the fuller sense.

<sup>94</sup> H. Cazelles, "La mère du Roi-Messie, 5:51-52; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 165.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. articles cited in n. 87 and also Cazelles, 52-53; J. Smith, "Micah," in *International Critical Commentary* 33 (1911): 5-156; Gelin, "Messianisme," cols. 1182ff.; A. George, "Michée," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, 5, cols. 1251-63.

<sup>96</sup> Hammershaimb, "The Immanuel Sign," 138.

<sup>97</sup> Rigaux, "La femme et son lignage," 347; Cazelles, "Genèse 3:15. Exégèse contemporaine," 98: "Il faut tenir compte de ce qu'il précède le don de son nom à Eve et précise la portée de ce nom. Il ne faut pas oublier que quelques versets plus loin nous avons le récit de Caïn et d'Abel. Gen. 4:1 est très important sur la maternité d'Eve. Elle est mère et mère avec Dieu. Le verbe et la phrase font difficulté. De même qu'il y a eu le don par Dieu des tuniques de peau, ce qui implique un droit sur l'animal, il semble qu'il y ait ici un nouvel ordre de grâce." Cf. also Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 166, who likewise underlines the fact that in Gen. 3:15, Isa., and Mic. the father of the future King-Messiah is not mentioned, only his mother; this would indicate a role of special importance for this woman who was made "fruitful" by the power of God. Spinotoli, "La data e l'interpretazione del Protovangelo (Gen. 3:15)," 55: "La prima volta che la lotta e la vittoria sono annunziate in tutte le loro proporzioni e in tutte le loro prospettive, è nel nostro oracolo e nei citati profeti del 700, Isaia e Michea.—In questa successione, logica e crono-

only fitting response to this plan is confident faith. The woman of Micah is the Queen-Mother, associate of the Messiah-King. In the future eschatological age it would be God's Spirit who would fulfill the implications of this (and, in fact, of all the messianic prophecies) by coming upon the Virgin and overshadowing her who would then bring forth Him who would occupy the throne of David, His father and who would rule over the house of Jacob forever.<sup>98</sup>

Complementary to this scriptural portrayal of Mary, prophetically foreshadowed in the messianic texts of the Old Testament, as an individual, the Queen-Mother associated with her Son, the Messiah-King, there is the theme of Mary, the Daughter of Sion, personifying Israel and the Church in their role in salvation history.<sup>99</sup>

There are numerous influences of the Old Testament upon the Book of Revelation.<sup>100</sup> Those who interpret Revelation usually seek to discover in a given text which Old Testament text is fundamentally present to the author.<sup>101</sup> In apocalyptic writings we usually find one of these two literary patterns: (a) An angel or a spirit or a divine light explains an obscure text of the Old Testament; (b) Obscure visions are portrayed which are then explained by an angel or by a complementary revelation. The Book of Revelation combines both these themes: A new Christian vision applies and comments upon an obscure vision or

logica insieme, 'la donna' non è un personaggio sperduto nella storia delle origini, ma una figura parallela all'almà di Isaia e alla 'partoriente' di Michea. Se essa è menzionata da tutti e tre gli autori senza precisazioni e presentazioni, è perché si tratta di una protagonista nota agli ascoltatori. Non un personaggio del presente tuttavia, ma una figura femminile entrata a far parte del piano della salute. La sua notorietà è per questa, può dirsi più fondata e meglio garantita." Stuhlmueller, "The Mother of Emmanuel," 193: "From Gen. 3:15 and more clearly from Mich. 5:2 we receive corroboration that Isaiah quickly passed beyond Ezechia and his mother Abia to a king and Queen-Mother of the messianic future.... All three traditions—the Isaian, the Michean, and the Yahwist—expected the King and his Queen-Mother to govern a land of paradise."

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Luke 1:32-35.

<sup>99</sup> Although we have considered this theme in detail in the third chapter, I wish to add one further reflection taken from the Book of Revelation. Its relevance at this point, besides the fact that it complements the Queen-Mother theme, lies in the fact that it seems to be intimately connected with the messianic oracles in terms of the woman, her Son, and deliverance through giving birth. Cf. Cazelles, "La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," 165-78; Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," 55-86; B. Le Frois, *The Woman Clothed with the Sun, Individual or Collective?* (Rome: Orbis Catholicus, 1954), esp. 245-62; B. Le Frois, "Semitic Totality Thinking," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 17 (1955): 315-323; Buby, *Mary of Galilee*, 1:141-163, also, 2:57-69: "Daughter of Zion"; de la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, 239-64.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Cerfaux, "La vision de la femme et du dragon de l'Apocalypse en relation avec le Protévangile," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 31 (1955): 21-53, esp. 24-25.

<sup>101</sup> In chapter twelve, for instance, Cerfaux thinks there is a clear reference to the proto-gospel; Feuillet and Cazelles see there a greater influence on the part of Isaiah.

oracle of the Old Testament. Everything happens as though the Old Testament vision or prophecy furnished a slide projected and reproduced upon the screen of eschatological times. This projection comes from the inspired intellect of the Visionary and it specifies the old image by adjusting its characteristics to this new Christian situation.<sup>102</sup> There are some allusions in the Book of Revelation to actual historical events (persecutions of the early Church by the pagan nations), but these are secondary in importance. The religious message is primary. The book seems to be divided into two phases: (a) the visions experienced by the writer; (b) his literary use of these visions to express what might be called the eschatological drama. With these elements in the background, we can more easily proceed to an understanding of the Old Testament themes which are underlined in chapter twelve of Revelations.

The sign in chapter twelve seems to be an eschatological sign concerning the perfect establishment of the reign of God. The description of the newborn child being "caught up to God and to His throne" (v.5) is a reference to Christ's ascension by virtue of which he was constituted as Lord and given an effective rule over the earth. The twelve stars represent the twelve tribes of Israel. The messianic birth described here is not that of Christ at Bethlehem; it is rather that of Easter. The pains of childbirth correspond to Calvary.<sup>103</sup> In describing the pains of childbirth this text leans heavily upon chapters twenty-six and sixty-six of Isaiah which portray the metaphorical childbearing of Sion, the people of God. Before entering upon His passion Our Lord Himself speaks to His Apostles in terms reminiscent of chapter 26 of Isaiah. He is suggesting, according to various exegetes,<sup>104</sup> that His passion shall be similar to childbirth to which the Apostles' sufferings will contribute.

Feuillet believes that it is chapter sixty of Isaiah which inspires the description of the woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet. The woman of Revelation is presented according to themes proper to Isaiah and the Song of Songs, particularly their description of the ideal people of God of eschatological times. She is first of all and primarily the personification of

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Cerfaux, "La vision de la femme et du dragon," 25. This does not mean, however, that the picture of the future is a clear one. Cf. K. Rahner, "The Hermeneutics of Eschatological Assertions," *Theological Investigations*, 5 vols. (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1966), 4:323-346.

<sup>103</sup> Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère," 58ff. This explains why Christ caught up to heaven is described as newly born. In St. John's gospel the struggle between Satan and Christ is restricted to the period of His passion. This is a further reason for believing that this text of the Book of Revelation (belonging to the Johannine circles, at least) is speaking of Christ's passion-resurrection.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 62, with further references to Westcott and Brownlee. Cf. also Le Frois, "Semitic Totality Thinking," 300.

God's people. She is glorified and illuminated by God's brightness; she gives birth to messianic salvation.<sup>105</sup>

The flight to the desert, the place prepared by God for the woman, is not heaven or eternity but this earth and the time of persecution to be experienced on earth. The woman thus nourished by God for 1260 days is the pilgrim Church, the people of God. After giving birth to Christ, the people of God becomes Christ's Church. Thus we have a clear picture of the continuation of God's plan from one economy to the other. The members of the Christian Church are constantly subject to hostile attacks, though they shall overcome if their faith is strong.

Since the interpretation of the birth in Revelation 12:2 and 5 is metaphorical it becomes an even more solid foundation for a reference to the woman as Mary. The best argument in favor of a Marian sense is the relationship between Revelation 12 and the Calvary scene described in John 19. These two scenes come from a Johannine tradition. Each speaks of "the woman"; she has no children other than Jesus; her maternity is linked with Calvary. Chapter 19 is presented by John as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. Some see a reference to Genesis 3:15; others see Mary as figure of the Church, the spiritual mother of Christians. In this view John represents Christians who love Jesus and observe His commands; Mary represents the Church bringing these Christians to birth. Others arrive at the same conclusions by seeing John 19:25-27 as a reference to chapter 16 of John, which speaks of a woman giving birth at a certain time, "the hour." As we said above, 16:21 seems to be referred to the metaphorical childbirth of Isaiah 26 and 66. Thus it would be these latter oracles which would be fulfilled in John 19. If this is so, then John 19 is likewise referred to in Revelation 12 wherein the woman brings forth in pain. This is to say that, even though the personification of the people of God (by the woman) is primary in regard to bringing Christ to birth, Mary as the ideal Sion of eschatological times is likewise present in the author's view.

<sup>105</sup> Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère," 67-72. Cerfaux also insists that Mary's representative role is even more important than her personal role. The main thrust of Cazelles' article is that the Daughter of Sion theme, which involves Mary as the personification of God's people, is but one aspect of a broader theme centering around the birth of a new people linked to the birth of David's heir ("La fonction maternelle de Sion et de Marie," 170ff). Cf. Le Frois, "Semitic Totality Thinking," 200: "Hence in its complete Semitic setting, the Woman of Apoc. 12 is truly the individual and privileged Mary, Mother of Christ, portrayed not so much in her personal traits, but rather insofar as she realized in herself that sublime vocation which has been extended to the whole Church, namely, by redemptive sufferings to regenerate all men in Christ, and thus to bring to nought all the machinations of Satan. In other words, the person of Mary is the perfect realization of God's secret designs for man, the perfect embodiment of His Church."

It is, therefore, Isaiah 26 and 66 which link Revelation 12 with John 19. These texts which establish the metaphorical character of the messianic birth in Revelation 12 are the very texts which link Mary most intimately to the Church in the interpretation of the woman of Revelation 12.<sup>106</sup>

As the ideal Sion, the personification of the Church, Mary is the point of transition between Israel and the Church. She is thus at the heart of the economy of salvation, a woman who brings forth the Messiah, Son of David under the Law, God's Son who will fulfill the Law.<sup>107</sup> The woman of Revelation 12 is the Mother of the Messiah-King who on the day of His birth, "caught up to the throne of God," is ruler of the universe, "who was descended from David according to the flesh, but was made Son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness, by His resurrection from the dead: Jesus Christ our Lord."<sup>108</sup> Here too, she is the Queen-Mother, Mother of Christ, Head and Members, Mother of the Church. The obscurity of the role of the Woman of Genesis 3:15 is lifted to some degree by chapter 12 of Revelation, even though, paradoxically, the mystery is deepened.

### The Gebirah

Now we turn our attention to the office of the Gebirah or Queen-Mother.<sup>109</sup> The Hebrew root from which Gebirah is taken is "g b r." This word and its derivatives may be said to be a qualified concept in the sense that the ideas of

<sup>106</sup> Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère," 78-84; Le Frois, "Semitic Totality Thinking," 200: "With the closer study of Apocalyptic images came the realization that they are highly symbolic in character, and hence the birthpangs were conceded to be also symbolic. That opened the way to a solution. Granted that the Semitic mind prefers to portray a collective in a living person, well qualified to embody and represent that collective, what more fitting person was known to the Beloved Disciple to sum up in herself the entire plan of God for man than Mary, the Mother of Christ? For it was well known to him that Mary, fully invested with the divinity (the sun), brought forth the Perfect Man (12:5) vanquishing Satan completely (I Jn. 3:8). That is the role of the whole Church and every member of it."

<sup>107</sup> Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère," 84-86.

<sup>108</sup> Rom. 1:3-4.

<sup>109</sup> Besides the articles cited earlier (Cazelles, Ahern, etc.), cf. G. W. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion* (Lund: Gleerup, 1963), esp. 57-88: "Gebirah and the Reforms of Asa"; H. Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königmutter im Alten Testament," in *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg: C. W 1959), 101-45; W. Plautz, "Zur Frage des Mutterrechts im Alten Testament," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74 (1962): 30; G. Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah im Staate Juda," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 10 (1954): 161-74; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. by J. McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 117-19; A.H. de Boer, "The Counsellor," *Supplement to Velus Testamentum* 3 (1955): 43-71. N.A. Andreason, "The Role of the Queen Mother in Israelite Society," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 179-194. X. Pikaza, "La Madre de mi Señor. Lc. 1, 43," *Ephemerides Mario-*

rule, power, domination, and superiority are expressed in these Hebrew words<sup>110</sup> Some translate the word, Gebirah, as "the powerful Lady";<sup>111</sup> others<sup>112</sup> as "the Great Lady." The sense is the same.

The mothers of Israel's great men were often named because of the strong influence they wielded over their sons. In the Hebrew mentality motherhood gives a woman her nobility; through it she gains her place in society and in the family. Even a servant, in becoming a mother, looks down on her mistress, if she is childless. Whatever the opinions of the Israelite regarding women, for the mother he knows only respect. The notion of blood relationship and authority come to the fore here; a man is closer to his mother than to his wife.<sup>113</sup> Because the king had many wives he left the upbringing of his children to their mothers. Consequently when the king died and one of his children succeeded to the throne this was largely due to the influence (and at times the machinations) of his mother. Thus the heir to the throne owed his life and his ruling position to his mother. Frequently too, as we have seen, God Himself acted through this mother to protect and nourish the one who was to be the future savior of Israel. Although there is some discussion as to the origin of a kingly form of government in Israel, some attributing the initiative in the formation of this government to God, others calling it a human invention based upon expediency,<sup>114</sup> it is certain that the Israelites borrowed the monarchical form of government from their

*logicae* 46 (1996): 395-432, esp. 413ff. In this present section we shall consider the Queen-Mother in non-Israelite cultures, the Queen-Mother in Israel and finally Mary as Queen-Mother.

<sup>110</sup> Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 61-62.

<sup>111</sup> Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 42. He points out that this powerful lady is the mother of the king, the "geber."

<sup>112</sup> De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 117, indicates that in ordinary speech the word is used in opposition to servant, that it is translated as "mistress" and corresponds to "adon" which means "lord." This word is used since there is no feminine equivalent for "adon." Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes," 160, believes that gebirah is a word which was originally connected with the family but which was later transferred to royal contexts. However, Ahlström thinks that the opposite might be true—that the word had an original royal connotation and then was extended to other contexts. It is difficult to trace its development with certainty.

<sup>113</sup> J. Pederson, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1-2:72: "It is therefore in exact accord with the old Israelite manner of thinking, when the mother of the king in later Israel holds the position of honor as gebirah, even though this institution probably has its prototype in foreign (Egyptian) customs."

<sup>114</sup> A. Johnson, "Hebrew Conceptions of Kingship," in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, ed. by S. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 204-205; J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, trans. by W. Stinespring (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1956); S. Mowinckel, *He Thal Cometh* (Oxford: Abingdon Press, 1956); de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite*, 57-168; Bright, *A History of Israel*.

neighbors.<sup>115</sup> Whatever be the case, monarchy served the purpose of keeping Israel's hope for salvation alive through periods of the gravest difficulty.

We shall look at the position of the Queen-Mother in the non-Israelite kingdoms of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ugarit, and the Hittites. In all of these cultures, to some extent, there existed an anthropomorphic view of the deities whom the people worshipped which frequently induced a hierogamic view of the origin and significance of kingly rule. Yet for the most part it seems that it was not the supposed divinity of the king which was responsible for the exalted status of his mother.<sup>116</sup> She was esteemed because of the influence she exercised over her son, the king.

In the Assyro-Babylonian empire<sup>117</sup> the idea of a divine adoption of the king in the womb of the Queen-Mother was quite prevalent; this gave great prestige to the mother herself.<sup>118</sup> The Queen-Mother of Gilgamesh is extolled for her wisdom, counsel, and intercessory powers in behalf of her son.<sup>119</sup> We find other instances of the influence of Queen-Mothers in the affairs of government in Assyria and Babylonia. Sammuramat is called "the Lady of the Palace"; for four years she acted as regent in behalf of her son Adad-Nirari II.<sup>120</sup> Naqui'a,<sup>121</sup> the wife of Sennacherib, seems to have played a role in the accession of her son Esar-haddon to the throne when Sennacherib died at the hands of his sons.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*; A. Malamat, "The Kingdom of David and Solomon in Its Contact with Egypt and Aram Naharaim," *The Biblical Archeologist* 21 (1958): 97ff. Biblical scholars have long recognized the need to study the cultural milieu of Israel's neighbors in order to understand better the nature and significance of Israel's institutions. This is especially true of Ugarit which seems to have had a particular influence upon Israel. Cf. B. Vawter, "The Ugaritic Use of g l m t," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 14 (1952): 319-322. For this reason we shall consider the Queen-Mother tradition in non-Israelite countries.

<sup>116</sup> O. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship" in *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 105-21; I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktr., 1943).

<sup>117</sup> L. Hartman, R. Caplice, W. Moran and A. Parrot, "Mesopotamia, Ancient," in *NCE* 9:696-713.

<sup>118</sup> R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1939); Cazelles, "La mère du Roi-Messie," 41ff.

<sup>119</sup> <sup>119</sup> J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, trans. and annotated by W. Albright et al. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 49 and 51; Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 37.

<sup>120</sup> D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1:260, no. 731. Reprint of 1926-1927 ed.

<sup>121</sup> H. Lewy, "Nitokris-Naqui'a," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11 (1952): 264-86.

<sup>122</sup> II Kings, 19:37; Lewy, "Nitokris-Naqui'a," 271-72: "...it is worth recalling that, to all appearances as a surprise to his court and many of his subjects, Sennacherib chose as his heir apparent his youngest son, Assur-ah-iddina (Esarhaddon). By so doing he naturally aroused the resentment of his older sons whose intrigues against both their father and their youngest brother



The Queen-Mother in Assyria possessed her own lands and was ranked along with other court officials. It may be that she exercised cultic functions too. She is referred to as "the mother of the king, my Lord" and several official letters are addressed to her by servants of the state.<sup>123</sup> In these texts from Assyria there are terms used of the Queen-Mother which denote a woman enjoying great authority.<sup>124</sup>

In the book of Daniel,<sup>125</sup> we find a trace of the power and authority of the Queen-Mother in the Persian Empire who seems to dominate the whole scene.

The notion of a divine being having sexual intercourse with a human woman is basic to the ruler ideology of Egypt.<sup>126</sup> The importance of the Queen-Mother in Egypt stems from the fact that she was the one who conveyed the divine status from the god-father to the royal son. In a certain sense (namely, the fact that she and not the king, passed on the divinity to the heir to the throne) she is more important than the king. She receives titles of dignity, is mentioned together with the Pharaoh, and takes part in the affairs of state.<sup>127</sup>

In pre-Semitic Elam (3<sup>rd</sup> millenium, B.C.), the southern part of the Iranian plateau, we find some matriarchal elements,<sup>128</sup> including the need for the heir to

were bound to represent a serious menace to the stability of the empire. Now it is easy to see that the fateful decision (which, as is well known, was the ultimate cause of Sennacherib's assassination) was inspired in him by a woman, and this woman can, of course, have been none other than Assur-ah-iddina's mother who can be assumed to have wanted, like other Oriental princesses, to secure the throne for her son."

<sup>123</sup> de Boer, "The Counsellor," 64.

<sup>124</sup> Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 65-66; Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 168-71. Molin mentions the fact that the Queen-Mother had not only the right but the duty to call together the leading men of the kingdom whenever the king died in order to preside over the oath of fidelity which all were to take in behalf of the future king. It may be that this duty fell upon her, not as gebirah, as the "senior member" of the community after the death of the king, but because of her personal appeal with the court. Cf. Lewy, "Nitokris-Naqui'a," 284.

<sup>125</sup> Daniel, 5:1-12: "When the queen heard of the discussion between the king and his lords, she entered the banquet hall and said, 'O my king, live forever! Be not troubled in mind nor look so pale! There is a man in your kingdom in whom is the spirit of the holy God....Now therefore, summon Daniel to tell you what this means.'" J. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1959), 257ff. In the Persian court the mother of the prince who reigned when the king died held a position at the court of her son which was of greater importance than that of his wife-consort.

<sup>126</sup> E. Stauffer, "Gameo," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Kittel, 10 vols., 1:653. H. Goedicke, "Egypt," in *NCE* 5:195-206; J. Vergote, I. Ellinger, B. Marczuk, "Egypt, Ancient," in *NCE* 5:206-224.

<sup>127</sup> C. Bleeker, "The Position of the Queen in Ancient Egypt, in *La Regalità Sacra* (VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni, Rome, 1955) (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 227-228; Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 171-72.

<sup>128</sup> J. McKenzie, "Elam," in *NCE* 5:236-237; Dhorme, "Elam, Elamites," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément*, 2, cols. 920-962.

the throne to marry his sister or even his mother (the king's widow) in order to legitimate his claim to the throne.<sup>129</sup> It cannot be demonstrated, however, that the matriarchal society is responsible for the significance of the Queen-Mother in Israel.<sup>130</sup>

The Hittites were an Indo-European group, the history of whose kingdom may be divided into two phases: the Proto-Hittite kingdom (1700-1530) and the new Kingdom (1420-1200).<sup>131</sup>

The title, "Tawannannas" which the Queen-Mother of the Hittites bore is derived from the name of the wife of the founder of the dynasty, King Labarnas. This title was inherited only on the death of the Queen-Mother; until then the wife of the reigning king (the queen-consort) was only known as the king's wife.<sup>132</sup> There are two cases of deposition of the Queen-Mother recorded, one of which involved the widow of Suppiluliumas who was judged to have had an illegitimate income, to have robbed the temple, and to have cursed the wife of Mursil II. What is significant is the fact that this deposition was considered as sacrilegious.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 175, plays down the concept of a matriarchate. He attributes the position of the Queen-Mother in the Ancient Near East to the fact that she is looked upon as the mother-goddess and occupies a place in cult. R. Harrison, "The Matriarchate and Hebrew Regal Succession," *The Evangelical Quarterly* 29 (1957): 29-34.

<sup>130</sup> Pederson, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, 76: "... but it would be an error to take cases of this kind as a proof that the matriarchate should have existed in a people whose whole manner of thinking was so patriarchal as that of the Israelites. In reality the dominant feature of the matriarchate is lacking, viz. that the children are not reckoned as of the family of the father." Andreasen, "The Role of the Queen Mother in Israelite Society," 181, says: "Furthermore, the OT gives little if any evidence of an early matriarchal or matrilinear society.... These difficulties were taken up by H. Donner, who concluded that not an ancient matriarchy but specific political structures, including the position of queen mother, borrowed from the Hittites, were responsible for the presence of this position in Jerusalem."

<sup>131</sup> J. Huesman, "Hittites," in *NCE* 7:39-40; W. Moran, "Hittite and Hurrian Religions," *NCE* 7:35-37; L. Delaporte, "Hittites," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, 4, cols. 32-110.

<sup>132</sup> O. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1952), 66-67; Cazelles, "La mère du Roi-Messie," 45-46; Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 41; Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 165ff. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 65, emphasizes her role in cult. According to him, the name "Tawannannas" corresponds to the Sumerian title "Amadinger" which means mother of the god; thus she seems to hold the same position as the mother of the gods in the world of deities.

<sup>133</sup> Hattousil III, the third successor to Mursil II (who had deposed the Queen-Mother), prayed to the gods protesting his innocence in regard to this deposition hoping to avert their anger. Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 166-167.

Ugarit, a city in Syria, is thought to have existed from the sixth millennium to 1200 B.C.<sup>134</sup> It is particularly important because of its influence upon Hebrew culture, institutions, and language. The noun "adt" is thought to be a title of the Queen-Mother; it is the feminine form of "Adon" (lord) and thus corresponds to the Hebrew "gebirah." It may be translated as "my lady."<sup>135</sup> There are Ugaritic texts which tell the story of Ahatmilku who was the Queen-Mother of Amistamru II and who divided the inheritance of her late husband, the king, and sent two of his sons into exile because of crimes they had committed. She secures the throne for her son by forcing those sent into exile to swear that they shall no longer seek the royal power for themselves.<sup>136</sup> In texts published within the past few years<sup>137</sup> we find the story of a Ugaritic queen, sister of the King of Amurru, who had committed some mysterious fault against the King of Ugarit. She fled to Amurru when she feared punishment by the king. But since she was the daughter of "the Great Lady" of Amurru, it was extremely difficult for the king of Ugarit to have her extradited and punished.

In the mythological texts of Ras Shamra, which treat of the succession among the gods, the mother of the future king has a very important role, particularly in the so-called "Keret-cycle."

From these non-Israelite sources we have a picture of the office and significance of the Queen-Mother. She is recognized as possessing great authority, some actual ruling power, and prestige because she is the mother of the king and has been responsible in some way (whether because of her cultic role in a hierogamos ritual or because of an existing matriarchate is not always easily discernible) for his accession to the throne. Though there are cases of deposition, her status is for the most part inviolable. In many instances her intercession with the god or king is sought and always she is treated with the utmost respect by her subjects as well as by her son, the king.

We shall now consider how the position existed and was exercised in Israel.<sup>138</sup> When Israel assumed a monarchical form of government the Queen-Mother received a homage similar to that which had been attached to the institution

<sup>134</sup> M. Dahood, "Ugarit," in *NCE* 14, 364-65; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Canaanite Religion," in *NCE* 14:365-368; Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 168; Cazelles, "La mère du Roi-Messie," 43-45; Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 40.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. C. Virolleaud, "Textes alphabétiques de Ras-Shamra provenant de la neuvième campagne," *Syria* 19 (1938): 128. He translates "adt" as "la dame"; cf. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 67-68.

<sup>136</sup> Here again Ahlström emphasizes the cultic role of the Queen-Mother in Ugarit. He considers her to have played the role of the mother goddess in the "hierogamos" ritual.

<sup>137</sup> J. Nougayrol, *Le palais d'Ugarit IV* (Paris: Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, 1957): 129-148.

<sup>138</sup> Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 161-65; Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 75ff.; Cazelles, "La mère du Roi-Messie, 48-55; Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 41-44; N. A. Andreassen,

in non-Israelite nations.<sup>139</sup> Saul, the first king in Israel, failed to imitate the customs of foreign nations concerning the Queen-Mother, most probably because he was still thinking in terms of the past; his was a charismatic rule not dependent upon the person or influence of a Queen-Mother. In fact, he spoke very harshly about Achinoam, the mother of his son Jonathan, to whom he intended to transfer his kingly power at death.<sup>140</sup>

Once the monarchy had been established in Israel and the promise of a dynasty had been made to David by Nathan, it became important, in the minds of the biblical authors, to indicate the legitimacy of David's succession.<sup>141</sup> This explains the detail into which the author goes in order to indicate how Solomon

"The Role of the Queen Mother in Israelite Society," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 179-194.

<sup>139</sup> True to his central thesis, Ahlström insists that the office of Gebirah is basically cultic in origin; that it is founded upon the fact that the Queen-Mother symbolized the virgin goddess in the hieros-gamos ceremony: "The position of the Queen-Mother as gebirah is thus an ideological replica of that of the mother of the gods in the congregation of the gods" (75-76). In this same context he explains the Song of Songs and some of the psalms. Molin considers the office of gebirah to be derived primarily from Hittite influences. (Cf. Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 172ff.). Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes," 128, considers the origins and development of the office of gebirah in Israel to be connected with the centuries-old Canaanite practice of administration which had a strong influence upon the formation of Israelitic institutions. Ahlström contends that even if Molin's thesis is correct, this would not postulate the existence of a matriarchate as the source of the office of the gebirah. It is too certain, in his view, that this is explained from cultic factors. For a critique of this school of thought, cf. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite*, esp. 27-54. S. Mowinckel, "General Oriental and Specific Israelite Elements in the Israelite Conception of the Sacred Kingdom," in *La Regalità Sacra* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 255-57, makes some very pertinent remarks about this entire question. Cf. esp. 255: "Phenomenological 'parallels,' however, are liable to be elusive. If an expression, a particular idea etc. is found in two different civilizations and religions, it does not follow that they mean the same, even if there is a direct historical loan from one of the sides. Each detail obtains its significance from the structure of the whole in which it has been incorporated. The essential question is not what Israel may have borrowed from Babylonia and Egypt, but what significance has been imparted to it in its new context." Cf. N. Andreason, "The Role of the Queen Mother in Israelite Society," 193: "The position of queen mother, as we have suggested, was shaped in ancient Israel so as to perform such a function (to provide a stabilizing, moderating influence in the political system) in its political system without the cultic aspects so familiar from other ancient societies. However, this sober and rather secular designation of her role is remarkably like that uncovered in some recent societies by social anthropologists."

<sup>140</sup> I Sam. 20:30: "Son of a rebellious woman, do I not know that to your own shame and to the disclosure of your mother's shame, you are the companion of Jesse's son?"

<sup>141</sup> Cf. J. Delorme, "Introduction critique à l'Ancien Testament," in *Introduction à la Bible*, ed. by A. Robert-A. Feuillet (Tournai: Desclée, 1959), 418-420: "La royauté en effet, n'est pas vue comme une institution purement politique: elle se place dans le déroulement du dessein de Dieu sur Israël." De Vaux, *Les Livres de Samuel*, 2<sup>nd</sup> éd., La Sainte Bible, 8 (Paris: Cerf, 1961).

became king, even though he was not the eldest son of David.<sup>142</sup> The role of Bathsheba in procuring the throne for her son Solomon is underlined. When he became king, Solomon imitated the customs of the neighboring nations, having many wives and freely adopting their various national institutions. Bathsheba, his mother, was of Hittite descent and her role at Solomon's court is strikingly similar to that of the Queen-Mother in the Hittite kingdom.<sup>143</sup> She had given birth to Solomon and had been mainly responsible for his rise to power; these are partial reasons to explain her influence in the court of Solomon. The principal reason for her prestige was the fact that she was the "Gebirah," that is, she acquired the honored position and share in the ruling power proper to the office of the gebirah which had been taken over from neighboring cultures.<sup>144</sup> If we compare one text of the first book of Kings (1:16-17, 31) wherein Bathsheba is depicted in the presence of her husband, David, with another text of the same book (2:19-20) wherein she is in the presence of her son, Solomon, we can see that as Queen-Mother her prestige was far greater than it was as queen-spouse.

Bathsheba bowed in homage to the king, who said to her, "What do you wish?" She answered him: "My Lord, you swore to me your handmaid by the Lord, your God that my son Solomon should reign after you and sit upon your throne...." Bowing to the floor in homage to the King, Bathsheba said, "May my Lord, King David, live forever!" (1:16-17, 31). Then Bathsheba went to King Solomon to speak to him for Adonijah, and the king stood up to meet her and paid her homage. Then he sat down upon his throne, and a throne was provided for the king's mother, who sat at his right (2:19-20).<sup>145</sup>

Sitting at the right hand of the king is also symbolical of power.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>142</sup> I Kings 1.

<sup>143</sup> Ahlström is not too favorable to this conclusion, though he admits it may be so (*Aspects of Syncretism*, 85).

<sup>144</sup> Even though the various schools have differing views on the origin of the office of the gebirah in Israel, they all agree that it was prestigious and involved a definite influence in the kingdom.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Pirot and Clamer, eds., *La Sainte Bible*, 3:592-93: "Solomon accueille sa mère avec un empressement affectueux et le respect le plus délicat; il accorde d'avance la 'petite demande' qu'elle présente et il ne veut rien lui refuser." Even though, in fact, he did refuse her request, the significant point is that she was universally recognized as having great influence with the king. The refusal of her request no more derogates from her position of honor in the kingdom than does the fact that at times the Queen-Mother was deposed. Cf. *Interpreters' Bible*, 3:34: "He (Adonijah) proffers this request through the Queen-Mother who, as head of the harem, holds a dominant place at court." Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 65: "This account, however, reveals something of the high regard in which the Queen-Mother was held as counsellor of the king (and as partly responsible for his decisions)."

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Ps. 110 (109):1. The Psalmist portrays God as saying to the Messiah, "Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a footstool for you," to indicate that the Messiah has been called to a share in God's ruling power. This is the sense of Peter's words to the people at Pen-

From the time of Bathsheba in the monarchical government of the kingdom of Judah we find the Queen-Mother enjoying the prestige of the gebirah. As a rule, her name is mentioned together with that of the king of Judah, a sign of her importance in preserving the dynastic rule of David.<sup>147</sup> The name of the queen is seldom mentioned. The name of the Queen-Mother of the northern kingdom is not mentioned, though it may be that Jezebel occupied that office for a time.<sup>148</sup> Since the office of gebirah presupposes dynastic stability, it is to be expected that it would not be found, except intermittently, in Israel. The Queen-Mother wore a crown and was present at royal functions.<sup>149</sup> There is at least one instance in which the gebirah was deposed because she had abused her office by offering sacrifice to idols.<sup>150</sup> The fact that Maacah was deposed by her grandson, Asa, would indicate that the Queen-Mother occupied the office for life. In another instance, that of Hamital, the gebirah was in office for some time, was relieved of that office under two kings, and then was restored to that office.<sup>151</sup> Athalia<sup>152</sup> exercised great power as gebirah. In fact, she destroyed practically the whole of the Davidic dynasty. She may have wanted to subject Judah to Phoenician rule. Ahaziah reigned only one year and, since his sons were too young, Athaliah, his mother, the gebirah, seems to have ruled. II Chronicles 22:3ff. tells us that Ahaziah had been influenced by his mother,

tecost: "Exalted at God's right hand, he first received the promised Holy Spirit from the Father, then poured the Spirit out on us. This is what you now see and hear. David did not go up to heaven, yet David says, 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool.' Therefore let the whole house of Israel know beyond any doubt that God has made both Lord and Messiah this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:32-36). Ahlström attributes this being seated at Solomon's right hand to the fact that she is the "mother of the god," "ruler of the gods" (*Aspects of Syncretism*, 76).

<sup>147</sup> Exceptions are found in II Kings, 8:16ff. (Joram) and 16:1ff. (Ahaz). Molin, "Die Stellung der Gebirah," 164, thinks that the mothers of Joram and Ahaz may have died before they became kings. Definite exceptions are I Kings 14:21, 15:2, 10; II Kings 8:26, 12:2, etc.

<sup>148</sup> In II Kings 10:13 the word "gebirah" (Queen-Mother) is found. In II Kings 9:30, Jezebel is described as "adorning her hair" which might have meant that she put on the crown. Furthermore, she wrote letters in Ahab's name and used his seal. Those to whom they were addressed obeyed her immediately. They knew these letters had come from the queen. Cf. de Boer, "The Counsellor," 61.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Jeremiah 13:18 and 22:26 (with note in the American Bible). The king's wives, even his favorites, remained within the seclusion of the harem while his mother, the head of the harem, was not restricted to the harem but actually appeared at royal functions.

<sup>150</sup> I Kings 15:13. The deposition of Maacah by Asa is the starting point for Ahlström's study (*Aspects of Syncretism*, 57ff.).

<sup>151</sup> II Kings 23:31, 36, 24:8, 18.

<sup>152</sup> II Kings 11:11ff. Cf. Ahlström, 63-64; Molin, 164.

Athaliah, to act sinfully.<sup>153</sup> Here we have an outstanding example of one of the principal functions of the Queen-Mother, that of counsellor.<sup>154</sup> The counsellors of the king formed a special caste; they are attached to the king's household, and they are concerned with the government.<sup>155</sup>

The gebirah retained her importance until the end of the monarchy. From what we have seen in the texts of the Old Testament, especially if they are understood in the light of parallels found in non-Israelite kingdoms, we may agree with Ahlström: The conclusion may be drawn from certain passages that the position of the Israelite Queen-Mother was virtually equal to that of the King.<sup>156</sup> This is the evidence we have of a Queen-Mother tradition in Israel. She was recognized by everyone as having great power which was attached to her office more than to her personality.

Whatever be the facts regarding the time when the people began to dream of the Messiah as the eschatological Savior,<sup>157</sup> in order to be able to interpret the sense of Isaiah 7:14 and Micah 5:2 it is necessary to understand the Queen-Mother tradition. These and other texts<sup>158</sup> are centered around a woman who has a special role to play in the dynastic succession which appears as the vehicle for God's salvific activity among His people. There is no mention in these prophecies of a father according to the Davidic line, but a very clear reference to a mother who is to be viewed according to the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel. The solemnity of these prophecies is derived from the importance of the message: Salvation is to come from Yahweh in the person of the Messiah from the kingly line of David. Salvation will come through the cooperation

<sup>153</sup> Ahlström sees this sinful action as connected with the cult, implying that Athalia's religious influence was considerable. There is nothing in the text, however, to substantiate this hypothesis.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. de Boer, "The Counsellor," 54.

<sup>155</sup> De Boer, 56-57: "A counsellor possesses insight into things unknown to men in general. His wisdom stems from knowledge of circumstances in foreign countries and from a capacity to have intercourse with a foreign world by reading and writing the language of that world. His counsel is considered as guidance for king and people in matters of life and death" (66-67).

<sup>156</sup> Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism*, 62.

<sup>157</sup> Mowinckel thinks that it was only after the exile that they began to think in eschatological terms of deliverance by a Messiah-King. He sees evident traces of this desire only after the monarchy had passed. Others think that even in Isaiah's time men longed for a future deliverer because of the failure of the Davidic dynasty. Cf. text and corresponding n. 18 of this chapter. The latter opinion seems more probable.

<sup>158</sup> E.g., Gen. 3:15 received its literary form during the time of Isaiah and Ezechiel. It may well be that the woman of Gen. 3:15 is understood by the author in terms of the Queen-Mother tradition in Judah. Cf. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 163-167; Ahern, "The Mother of the Messiah," 45. As we have also seen, the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation is closely related to these Messianic texts concerned with the Queen-Mother and her royal son.

of one who, as Queen-Mother, responds in faith to Yahweh's promises. It is my contention that this Queen-Mother is Mary and that to appreciate her significance in salvation history we must look to the gebirah tradition since this is the setting in which the Messiah and His Mother have been placed by God. It is within this tradition that God's plan of salvation gradually unfolded, revealing more clearly with the passage of time the place of the divine and the human in the drama of our salvation.

Our intention through this study is to give an explanation of the nature of Mary's queenship. We have already considered two attempts at such an explanation. I believe that each of these fails to give an adequate solution to the problems raised by this question because of the analogy they use. Each of them does, however, possess elements which must be included in any synthesis.

In taking a position which attempts to harmonize the positive elements of these two schools of thought which we considered in chapter two, an important initial point is to be made: We insist upon the *maternal* relationship existing between Mary-Queen and her Son, the King. In the approach taken by each of these opinions Mary's motherhood is considered but it does not enter formally into the analogy of queenship. What is stressed by each, though in different ways, is that she is the queen-consort, the associate of the king. De Gruyter and Sauras would place Mary on a level with Christ. They make a point of the fact that as Christ's mother Mary was the object of His special love and respect. But they do not use the analogy of the Queen-Mother relationship in describing her queenly status. She is His mother but she is likewise the second Eve who has been associated with Him in the establishment of the kingdom and in ruling over it. They stress her spousal relationship in explaining the nature of her queenship and its functions. Thus Mary's queenship is based upon and is explained according to the Eve-Mary analogy.

Nicolas too emphasizes her relationship as consort ("Socia") and insists that precisely as a woman (consort) she is totally subordinated to Christ the King and does not possess any ruling power properly speaking. Human maternity, he says, implies an intimate bond between mother and son but this bond never becomes a total, lifelong association.<sup>159</sup> He explicitly rejects the Queen-Mother relationship on the grounds that the Queen-Mother is primarily the wife of the deceased king for which reason she was able to give her son royal blood. He acknowledges the fact that in some cases the Queen-Mother shared much more closely in the ruling power of the king than did the queen-spouse but he

<sup>159</sup> "Une mère, en tous cas, qui serait pour son fils, au sens total et exclusif des mots, une 'associée,' une 'amie,' ne le serait pas en tant que mère. On peut même soutenir qu'une maternité non abusive implique plutôt une situation et même des sentiments d'un tout autre ordre qui font obstacle à une telle relation. Celle-ci est réservée à l'épouse" (Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 82).



attributes this to her authority stemming from her maternity and especially to the fact that the people in these instances believed that God had intervened to bestow royal blood or even divinity upon the child whom this woman had conceived.<sup>160</sup>

These authors establish a very definite relationship between the divine maternity and the queenship but they abandon the Queen-Mother analogy because they view it in the light of modern day Queen-Mother relationships.<sup>161</sup> Consequently they conclude either that Mary is a queen-consort sharing Christ's royal powers because of her role in the redemption (De Gruyter and Sauras), or that she is a queen (*Socia*) in the strict sense of the word, a mother-associate in the establishment and maintenance of the kingdom, not, however, exercising dominion since this is not a proper function of the queen (Nicolas). It is my contention that the perspective taken by these two schools of thought can and should be corrected by the methodological insights of the Second Vatican Council. In the light of salvation history Mary is the Queen-Mother, the "Powerful Lady" chosen by God to respond in faith in the name of humanity to His (and Christ's) redemptive love. Once given and never retracted, that response continues to exercise a redemptive role for the benefit of all mankind.

<sup>160</sup> M.J. Nicolas, "Nature de la souveraineté de Marie," 195. Egan too rejects the Queen-Mother analogy: "It is commonly agreed that Mary is Queen-Mother, and in a very special way. Ordinarily the 'Queen-Mother' is the woman who gave birth to a child who eventually becomes king. She is not his queen.... It was theoretically possible that God would ask no more of Mary than to be the mother of her divine son.... If Mary's task had been confined to that of Mother, she too, in all probability, would have disappeared from this earth before Jesus began his life work. She would still be Queen-Mother. No greater dignity could be conceived; yet in the strict sense, Mary would not be our Mother in the sense we know her to be, nor would there be any further question about the character of her queenship. Mary would have been the first subject in the kingdom of Christ, but He would have been the sole ruler" (J. Egan, "The Unique Character of Mary's Queenship," *The Thomist* 25 [1962]: 294-295). Egan's reason is the same as that of Nicolas in rejecting the Queen-Mother analogy: Human maternity is a limited relationship which does not include a total, lifelong association between mother and son; in fact, it excludes it. My contention, however, is that the biblical notion of the *gebirah* precisely includes such an intimate, permanent association. Sauras attributes much importance to the fact that Mary is Christ's mother. As such, she brings him forth, and gives him all the human qualities he possesses. But in his opinion the most important element is the fact that Mary is Christ's consort. For this reason, he says, her royal activity is not limited to intercession. Much more than this is involved. Cf. his "Alcance y contenido doctrinal del titulo de Reina en Maria," *Estudios Marianos* 17 (1956): 290-291, 293-295. It is evident that in each of these approaches there is a real difficulty in integrating the notion of maternity with that of queen.

<sup>161</sup> Nicolas is aware of the attempts made by some (Cazelles and others) to utilize the Queen-Mother tradition in Israel as a starting point for a synthesis, but he does not accept the conclusions which have been drawn from these studies. Cf. his "Nature de la souveraineté de Marie," 195.

Viewing her as the gebirah, we can better appreciate her maternal association with Christ, a dynamic relationship totally involved with the kingdom, and her maternal concern toward us who are subjects of the kingdom. We have a foundation for this belief in Mary as the Gebirah in what now appears to be the principal scriptural text conveying this truth to us.<sup>162</sup> I believe that the words of Elizabeth not only indicate the fact of Mary's queenly prerogatives but also give us a strong hint as to their nature and exercise. I do not, however, say that the pope himself was aware of all these implications when he cited this particular passage in the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam."<sup>163</sup> I consider this analogy to better integrate the various aspects of Mary's queenly role than the analysis proposed by De Gruyter and Nicolas. In this analogy Mary retains the formality of her maternal relationship to Christ and to us. It seems to me that we can best express the nuance proper to this approach in contrast with others

<sup>162</sup> Luke 1:43: "But who am I that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" In the encyclical "Ad Caeli Reginam" Pius cites Luke 1:32-33 together with Luke 1:43 and says: "It can likewise be said that the first one who with heavenly voice announced Mary's royal office was Gabriel the Archangel himself." AAS 46 (1954): 633. English trans., no. 8.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Cazelles, "La mère du Roi-Messie," 56: "On ne pouvait plus explicitement annoncer la naissance du Messie attendu et annoncé par les prophètes. Mais implicitement parlant directement à la Mère du Messie, l'ange évoquait ce qu'était la mère du Roi, associée à son fils. C'est ainsi que ces paroles recèlent une théologie mariale de la Royauté de Marie." Cf. also the more recent study by X. Pikaza, "La Madre de mi Señor," 421:

Es muy posible que, por ahora, en este primer momento de su formulación evangelica, Lc esté recogiendo un título judeo-cristiano de Maria, venerada en la iglesia primitiva de Jerusalén como madre del rey mesiánico, es decir, del Kyrios, en claves que deben formularse desde el AT (y desde el contexto judío del tiempo.)

Further on (430-31), reflecting upon the differences between Mark's rather negative assessment of Mary (3:21, 31-35 and 6:1-6) and Luke's positive appreciation of her role, Pikaza concludes:

Para Lc el problema ya no es (como para Mc) la iglesia judeocristiana que, centrandose en la madre y hermanos de Jesús, puede secuestrar el evangelio dentro de un legalismo generalógico judío. En contra de eso, el problema de Lc consiste en *recuperar para la iglesia universal las auténticas tradiciones judeocristianas* y entre ellas la figura de la madre de Jesús.

Lc acepta en principio la protesta de Mc y por eso ha copiado casi todo su evangelio. Lo ha copiado pero lo recrea, a la luz de una nueva vision del camino salvador de Israel. El riesgo que él ha visto ya no es el judeo-cristianismo sino la perdida de raices de una iglesia que puede olvidar su origen israelita. Por eso ha recuperado la figura de Maria, situando en nueva perspectiva algunas de las visiones judeocristianas que Mc habia rechazado.

En esta perspectiva podemos afirmar que Lc ha descubierto a Maria como reina madre (Gebirah), pero solo en la medida en que ella viene a presentarse como la creyente. Por eso ha terminado su evangelio (ha comenzado el libro de los Hechos) situandola en el interior de una comunidad cristiana ejemplar donde caben todos (mujeres, apóstoles, hermanos de Jesús). Allí ha quedado, en el comienzo de la iglesia, para todos nosotros, como testimonio de una realza que se identifica con la fe mesianica y con la comunión entre todos los creyentes.

by saying: "Queen because Mother" or not merely "Mother of the king," but "Queen-Mother."

### **The Nature of Mary's Queenship in Light of the Queen-Mother Tradition**

One of the major criticisms concerning the application of titles such as "Queen" to Mary is that it is irrelevant, that it is not based in Scripture, and that it feeds a pietistic, non-theological approach to Mary. A second concern is more profound: It (the queenship) attributes too much of a role to Mary and thus derogates from the unique, all-powerful, all-sufficient mediation of Jesus. Since I completed my thesis on the Queenship of Mary in 1973, the feminist critique of theology in general and mariology in particular has received much attention. Many of the women theologians who are part of that critique are scholars who have given an added dimension to the discussion. In the case of Marian studies they have sought to discover the so-called "historical Mary" by following the historical-critical method in exegesis and by emphasizing a "feminist hermeneutics." Foremost among them is Elizabeth Johnson, a highly respected theologian who has utilized her scholarly credentials in the fields of Christology and mariology.<sup>164</sup> It would be impossible to address all the concerns voiced by these theologians but it is necessary to reflect upon the major points they make. To do so I shall utilize the book recently written by Johnson, namely, *Truly Our Sister: A Theology of Mary in the Communion of Saints*. I believe she raises most, if not all the concerns.

The key to Johnson's concerns is expressed quite clearly in chapter five of her book, "A Modest Proposal." There she writes:

The fact that Miriam of Nazareth has been depicted in so many diverse ways, from the humble handmaid to the powerful Queen of heaven indicates that the human imagination has been at work crafting symbols....By contrast, situating this woman in the communion of saints focuses on the fact that she is in truth a very concrete historical human being with her own ultimate destiny in God. A basic issue that arises at the outset, then, is whether and to what extent the figure of Mary is or should be symbolic.<sup>165</sup>

While not saying that we can do away with symbolic construals, she is emphatic in saying that Mary is not "first and foremost a model, a type, a representative figure...the image of the eternal feminine, an ideal disciple, an

<sup>164</sup> See E. Johnson, "The Symbolic Character of Theological Statements about Mary," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 22 (1985); "The Marian Tradition and the Reality of Women," *Horizons* 12 (1985): 116-135; *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (New York: Continuum, 1998); *Truly Our Sister: A Theology of Mary in the Communion of Saints* (New York, London: Continuum, 2003).

<sup>165</sup> Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 95.

ideal mother, a corporate personality, or in any other way a religious symbol."<sup>166</sup> Her emphasis, then, will be the historical person of Mary who lived, suffered, and "survived" in the midst of the world of her day, just as her brothers and sisters of those days did. She and they constitute what we call the "communion of saints" who now share in the fruits of the kingdom. Johnson is concerned that in our theology we have so exalted Mary—as ideal, as model, as "mediatrix"—that we have removed her from the real world and have created a woman who either rivals Christ in terms of prestige and power, or we have made her into a figure to suit our patriarchal need to keep women in their proper place. In her feminist critique she believes that in some ways "the Marian tradition has functioned to block the self-realisation of women as persons."<sup>167</sup> She calls for a re-symbolization of Mary in order to liberate her (and others, men and women) from the harmful male projections imposed upon her in the past.

While I certainly agree with these aspirations, I continue to believe that we can and, indeed, must pursue our reflections upon Mary as a Queen-Mother in the historical context of her times, that is, within the context of salvation history wherein she was gifted by God with a call to a unique kind of servanthood, analogous to that of her Son. In my view, she continues to exercise that role in the kingdom, as a unique member of the Communion of Saints, as one who still serves God's people. Her "power" is not that of an earthly queen or Queen-Mother; rather it is identified with her special influence within the kingdom of God on its way to perfect fulfillment. She continues to be a faithful handmaid of the Lord. It seems to me that this approach is in continuity with the faith-tradition of the Church, while being in need of vigilance in order to remove any vestiges of patriarchal manipulation.<sup>168</sup>

It remains for us to consider in more detail the nature of Mary's queenship: How does she exercise this role? To this point we have concluded that Mary's queenly role is linked biblically with the Queen-Mother tradition as it existed in Israel. Since we are speaking in analogical terms we must indicate the basis for comparison and we must draw out the implications for a better understanding of Mary's queenly role in salvation history.

If we look at the Queen-Mother tradition as it existed in Israel, we can perceive these significant elements: The Queen-Mother plays an active

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 100-101.

<sup>167</sup> Johnson, "Marian Tradition and the Reality of Women," 120.

<sup>168</sup> My concern is that we not take the feminist critique lightly. It has already and continues to offer valuable insights into Marian theology and devotion. I do believe that older understandings of queenly imagery have been too simplistic (pietistic) or too rational. There is need for the development of a queenly symbolism which invites and fosters involvement (imitation) on the part of all who belong to God's kingly people.

(sometimes even an aggressive) role in the establishment of her son upon the throne. This does not simply mean that she conveyed "royal blood" as a result of her marriage to the king, his father. There were usually many possible heirs to the throne and it often happened that the least likely candidate (from a legal point of view it was the firstborn who should have succeeded to the throne) became king. His mother was responsible for his selection. In a double sense he owed his kingship to her. This explains why she was so intimately associated with him in his government. Her whole being is linked with the kingdom.

While not every aspect of this first element can be applied directly to Mary as Queen in her relationship to Christ as King, the fundamental point at issue is verified: Mary is truly responsible for Christ's kingship; her whole being is associated with the kingdom. Within the perspective of salvation history we perceive God's desire to have a human response to His transcendent plan of salvation. This is one of the principal elements of Luke's account of the Annunciation.<sup>169</sup> This response by Mary in terms of an active receptivity is the key to the conciliar considerations on Mary.<sup>170</sup> Totally under the inspiration of God's grace on the one hand, totally, actively committed to God's will that a Savior-king redeem mankind on the other hand, was Mary aware of the royal character of her assent and of her consequent role? It would be difficult to prove that she was.<sup>171</sup> In contrast with many of the Queen-Mothers of non-

<sup>169</sup> Luke 1:26-38; cf. Gal. 4:4 and Rom. 1:3. Cf. "Lumen Gentium," no. 56: "The Father of mercies willed that the consent of the predestined mother should precede the Incarnation so that just as a woman contributed to death, so also a woman should contribute to life." And further on: "By thus consenting to the divine utterance, Mary, a daughter of Adam, became the Mother of Jesus. Embracing God's saving will with a full heart and impeded by no sin, she devoted herself totally as a handmaid of the Lord to the person and work of her Son. In subordination to Him and along with Him by the grace of Almighty God she served the mystery of redemption."

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:233: "Les premières générations chrétiennes ont tenu à exprimer leur foi en cette attitude réceptive de Marie, fruit de sa foi et son amour: elle 'accepte.' Voilà non seulement le mot clef de tout le récit, mais en même temps le résumé de la vision de vie des chrétiens. Acquiescer à la venue de Dieu et laisser à accomplir en nous sa volonté salvifique, en se livrant généreusement au service de l'oeuvre de la rédemption, telle est la portée de la réponse que Marie exprime sous une forme passive: fiat! qu'il me soit fait ainsi! Qu'elle ne refuse ni ne s'oppose, c'est trop peu dire: Elle coopère activement sans la moindre suffisance. N'est-ce pas là la note caractéristique de l'esprit du Catholicisme?"

<sup>171</sup> From the gospel account it is not possible to determine what degree of conceptual clarity Mary had in this regard but we are given to believe that, in the light of Old Testament revelation, she had some perception of the royal, messianic status of her Son. Cf. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 234-35; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 30ff.; Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II* 165-75. R. Kugelman, "Mariology and Recent Biblical Literature," *Marian Studies* 18 (1967): 127ff., argues that it would be impossible for an exegete to answer the question: Was Mary aware of the divinity of her child at the Annunciation? Luke, he says, has no intention of conveying to his readers Mary's subjective state at the time of the Annunciation.

Israelite and Israelite rulers, Mary did not seek the throne for her Son because of personal ambition. In fact, we are told by the Council "in subordination to Him and along with Him, by the grace of Almighty God she *served* the mystery of redemption."<sup>172</sup> Theologians of more recent times and Pope John Paul II have developed the link between "reigning" and "serving" and have applied it both to Mary and to the Christian community whose vocation it is to serve.<sup>173</sup> Hers was to be a ministry of service involving a self-effacement similar to that of her kingly Son who, though rich, became poor for our sakes, that we might be enriched by his poverty.<sup>174</sup> To say that Mary was responsible for Christ's kingship is the same as saying that Mary's consent to the redemptive incarnation was sought and obtained by God. The fullness of time about which Paul speaks in Galatians involves not only the implementation of God's designs to send His Son but also the particular woman who would be in a real sense the new Israel out of whom salvation was to come, the Queen-Mother of a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation."<sup>175</sup>

A second characteristic of the Queen-Mother in Israel was her powerful influence in the kingdom. She is subordinate to the king; in fact, her requests are not always granted, even though by virtue of her office it is generally presumed that her pleas will not go unheard. There are many indications of a real deference of the king toward his mother and she is universally recognized as the power behind the throne, even with regard to the wife of the reigning monarch. This power and authority flow from her status as *gebirah* and not simply from her personality.

What the Council says concerning Mary's maternal mediation<sup>176</sup> forms the basis for our understanding of her powerful role in the kingdom. To an even

He is interested in conveying the faith of the early Christian community about Christ's divinity, a truth contained in the words of the Annunciation scene.

<sup>172</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), 87-88, no. 56.

<sup>173</sup> *Nuovo dizionario di mariologia*, col. 1197ff.; "Redemptoris Mater," no. 41.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. II Cor. 8:9.

<sup>175</sup> I Peter 2:9.

<sup>176</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents*, no. 60: "The maternal duty of Mary toward men in no way obscures or diminishes this unique mediation of Christ, but rather shows its power. For all the saving influences of the Blessed Virgin on men originate, not from some inner necessity, but from the divine pleasure. They flow forth from the superabundance of the merits of Christ, rest on His mediation, depend entirely on it and draw all their power from it. In no way do they impede the immediate union of the faithful with Christ. Rather, they foster this union." Cf. also no. 62: "... so also the unique mediation of the Redeemer does not exclude but rather gives rise among creatures to a manifold cooperation which is but a sharing in this unique source." In his encyclical "Redemptoris Mater," Pope John Paul devotes an entire section to what is called "Mary's Maternal Mediation" (nos. 38-41). It is in this section that he develops his understanding of Mary as Queen (mother).

greater degree than in Israel the Queen-Mother's powerful influence in Christ's kingdom is totally relative to the unique, supreme activity of Christ. Not only was she assigned a powerful role in the kingdom by the merciful free decision of God but the very basis for her reception of this power, her response to God's invitation, was a gift of His grace. She was predestined. In Israel the Queen-Mother preceded her son in existence and oftentimes she ruled in his stead. She could and sometimes did abuse her influence. Mary, the all-holy one, was made so by virtue of the foreseen merits of her own Son. In God's eyes He was the focal point of her existence; He gave meaning to her motherhood. Never has she ruled in His place; always have her motherly actions flowed from her basic attitude of service which never changed: "I am the servant of the Lord. Let it be done to me as you say."<sup>177</sup>

We are touching here upon the core of the mystery of a human being's capacity to cooperate with God. God's greatness is thus manifested and in a sense magnified by the fact that He allows His creature to do something with Him. Usually we admire those who are able to share responsibility. Infinitely more worthy of our praise is God whose every activity (for God to love is to do) touches the innermost reality of being and who wills to involve us in our own salvation. To some, to a greater degree than to others, He has willed to communicate this capacity to influence His own redemptive work. To Mary, the type of the Church, He granted the task of a personal, intimate association with the Supreme Mediator between Himself and the human race, Christ Jesus.<sup>178</sup> As Queen-Mother, Mary does not command her Son; in a real sense, however, He defers to her wishes.<sup>179</sup> Her authority in the kingdom is real, though in no way is it independent from His.<sup>180</sup> Mary rules in Christ, or better still, Christ rules in her.<sup>181</sup> I believe that this is another way of expressing (in terms of the kingdom) what Paul describes as the profound mystical union between Christ and the Christian: "... and the life I live now is not my own; Christ is living in me. I still have my human life, but it is a life of faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me."<sup>182</sup> The rule of Mary, like that of

<sup>177</sup> Luke, 1:38. Elizabeth Johnson carefully nuances this consent of Mary at the Annunciation so as to avoid any notion of passivity which could be, and perhaps has been, used to subjugate women to men. Her positive presentation of the meaning of Mary's consent is quite powerful and helpful, though I would retain the notion of "servant" which is common to the tradition. Cf. *Truly Our Sister*, 247-258, esp. 254ff.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. I Tim. 2:5-6; Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:257-259.

<sup>179</sup> I shall attempt to express this more clearly when I speak of intercession.

<sup>180</sup> In no. 60 of "Lumen Gentium" the Council reiterates this total dependence in four different ways.

<sup>181</sup> I shall clarify this when speaking of the mode of exercise of her queenly influence.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Gal. 2:20.

Christ, is not to be understood in terms of domination, except in the case of the "powers of this world" over whom all the just will preside on the last day. Her rule is based upon humility and obedience and is characterized by faith, hope, and burning charity. This is how she, in Christ, leads others who have not yet attained their goal to their ultimate destiny. He by His redemptive obedience and love toward His Father is the supreme Sovereign; she by actively responding to Him in our name and for our benefit is the Queen-Mother in His kingdom. Even though she does not command Christ, in a sense she may be said to command us, according to John 2:5: "Do whatever he tells you." Here she is telling all men and women: Do as I have done. She shows the way, she encourages, she leads by her effective example. Perhaps it can be best expressed in this way: She disposes us to salvation; she is a special "instrument" God uses to establish and intensify Christ's personal reign over us. It is precisely along these lines that we can formulate a renewed understanding of Mary's queenly role in salvation history, that is, by considering Mary insofar as she shares, in a preeminent way, in the royal calling and dignity of God's people.<sup>183</sup>

In its explanation of the role of the laity in society the Second Vatican Council uses the theology of the kingdom to ground what should rightly be called the ministry of the laity: It is described as one of service.

Christ obeyed even at the cost of death and was therefore raised up by the Father (cf. Phil. 2:8-9). Thus he entered into the glory of his kingdom. To him all things are made subject till he subjects himself and all created things to the Father, that God may be all in all (cf. I Cor. 15:27-28). Now Christ has communicated this power of subjection to his disciples that they might be established in royal freedom and that by self-denial and a holy life they might conquer the reign of sin in themselves (cf. Rom. 6:12). Further, he has shared this power so that by serving him in their fellow men they might through humility and patience lead their brothers and sisters to that King to whom to serve is to reign.<sup>184</sup>

The Council says clearly that it is by means of the laity that God wishes to establish His kingdom, a kingdom of justice and truth, a kingdom of peace and love, a kingdom of grace and holiness. It is their role through service of God and neighbor to insert the values of the kingdom into this world, a mission which will reach its ultimate perfection in the eternal kingdom of heaven.

As Queen-Mother, Mary welcomes the graces of the kingdom. Her virginity is a sign of her fidelity to the Lord and His designs upon the world. Her Magnificat sings of the paradoxical manner in which the Lord reigns, exalting the lowly and putting down the mighty. In her own person and through the

<sup>183</sup> *Nuovo dizionario di mariologia*, col.1198.

<sup>184</sup> "Lumen Gentium," no. 36.



promises made to her people she shows forth God's power.<sup>185</sup> Through her Immaculate Conception (that is, her complete freedom from sin) she has been protected from ever falling under the influence of the "powers of this world." In this way she has shared in Jesus' complete triumph over sin. In her Assumption she shares in His absolute triumph over death. A model, indeed, but even more so an icon of eschatological hope for those who are struggling to achieve a complete share in those same victories. In no way does her present reign in the kingdom remove her from us. She remains vitally, personally involved in our journey towards that same kingdom. She continues to serve the Lord and His people through her prayer and exhortations: "Do whatever he tells you." She could have added: "Do as I have done." Her struggles towards an authentically human commitment to the Lord's ways, so well expressed in recent feminist writings,<sup>186</sup> encourage us who are still on the way to authenticity to always speak the truth under the impulse of the Spirit. This truth which is identified with the life (and ministry) of Jesus will lead us to service of our brothers and sisters (Mk. 10:45).

A third and fourth characteristic of the Queen-Mother in Israel would be better considered together. Because she had a definite concern for the kingdom and its subjects she often interceded in their behalf with the king. Subjects of the king used her good offices to obtain the favors they sought and even though they did not always receive their requests they considered her to be their most powerful advocate.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>185</sup> Cf. E. Touron, "De Maria Regina a Maria Liberadora," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 46 (1996): 468: "Jesús en el NT asume como misión regia, mesiánica y profética esta función en el ministerio del Reino. Maria, como discipula y madre, camina con la iglesia en esta dirección de Jesús (cf. Mc 10,45) en la ayuda a los necesitados. Ejerce su diakonia en la casa de Isabel (Lc 1,56): en la iglesia (Hech 1,15). Y ahora desde su condición asunta y asociada plenamente a Cristo lo realiza como madre de todos los hombres." In a brief homily delivered in 1997 Pope John Paul says: "Assunta in cielo, Maria viene associata al potere di suo Figlio e se dedica all'estensione del Regno, partecipando alla diffusione della grazia divina nel mondo. Il titolo di Regina non sostituisce certo quello di Madre: la sua regalità rimane un corollario della sua peculiare missione materna, ed esprime semplicemente il potere che le è stato conferito per svolgere tale missione" (*Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II*, 20/2, 55-57).

<sup>186</sup> E. Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, Part IV.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. F. Rossier, "Biblical Perspectives on Marian Mediation: Lessons from a Failure of Mediation," *Marian Studies* 52 (2001): 53-77. The author considers the failure of intercession on the part of Bathsheba on behalf of Adonijah to have occurred because there was nothing in common between Bathsheba and Adonijah. "In all cases of successful intervention, the intercessor is always altruistic, interested in the welfare of the one or ones for whom the intercession is made.... The intercession of I Kings 2 is the only example of intercession on the human level which seems to oppose God's plan" (70). Cf. Z. Ben-Barak, "The Status and Right of the Gebira," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110 (1991): 23-34.

Mary's queenly, maternal attitude toward men and women is the special object of conciliar considerations:

This maternity of Mary in the order of grace began with the consent which she gave in faith at the Annunciation and which she sustained without wavering beneath the cross. This maternity will last without interruption until the eternal fulfillment of all the elect. For taken up to heaven, she did not lay aside this saving role, but by her manifold acts of intercession continues to win for us gifts of eternal salvation.<sup>188</sup>

This maternal concern specifies the manner in which Mary exercises her queenly role toward men and women in the present stage of the eschatological kingdom of her Son.<sup>189</sup> Because of its singular importance I shall consider the question of intercession in greater detail in the next section. What is important to retain as a basis for a proper understanding of intercession is the fact that the kingdom of Christ is a dynamic reality, not simply a thing to be possessed or a place to dwell, but a divine-human exchange begun in revelation (faith), sustained by promise (hope), and fulfilled in perfect charity.<sup>190</sup>

It is not sufficient that we indicate the fact of Mary's influence in the kingdom of her Son. We must attempt to explain the manner by which she exercises that influence. There are two aspects under which we must consider her activity. First of all, insofar as she is the exalted Daughter of Sion, the personification (archetype) of the Church, she effectively cooperated in the redemption of mankind by giving her consent in the name of mankind to the redemptive incarnation, passion, and death of her Son. I believe that this effective cooperation of an individual in behalf of and especially as a "representative" of mankind can best be expressed in terms of the biblical notion of "corporate personality."<sup>191</sup> Secondly, insofar as Mary is an individual she acts in behalf of

<sup>188</sup> "Lumen Gentium," in *Documents* (Abbott), 91, no. 62.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., "By her maternal charity Mary cares for the brethren of her Son who still journey on earth surrounded by dangers and difficulties, until they are led to their happy fatherland."

<sup>190</sup> Cf. I Cor. 13:1-13. In her reflections upon Mary in the Communion of Saints Elizabeth Johnson opts for what she calls the "companionship model" (*Truly, Our Sister*, 315) in contrast to the "patronage model" since the former emphasizes the notion of equality between individuals while the latter is based upon "asymmetrical relations," i.e., between persons of unequal status. She sees this as antithetical to friendship between equals. I think that it depends upon the way in which this "inequality" is understood. We are called to be friends of God, even though unequal to Him. I believe there are degrees of "closeness to God," dependent upon one's "graced position" in God's kingdom and one's response to that call. On the other hand, friends of unequal status can and do intercede for each other. The companionship model does emphasize the equal status of friends and there too I believe we are, in a sense, "equal" to Mary in terms of our shared call and shared response to God.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. H.W. Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 66 (1936): 49-61; id., *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel* (Phila-

the human race, particularly now as Queen in the kingdom of Christ. In this context her activity consists primarily in intercession. We shall consider these two modes of acting in order to come to a more complete view of the Marian mystery.<sup>192</sup>

Just as in philosophy the question of "the one and the many" is among the most fundamental problems to be investigated, so too in biblical circles the problem of the interrelationship of the individual and society is one of the most important keys for an understanding of the Old Testament.<sup>193</sup> It is within this context that the notion of corporate personality is to be placed. Authors generally indicate four characteristics of this biblical notion.<sup>194</sup> It is important to realize that corporate personality is not a juridical fiction but rather a concrete, physical unity existing among a group of persons so real that the group really acts through one of its members who actually is the group in a true sense. The individual so acting as a "functional representative" of the group retains all the same his individuality.<sup>195</sup> The horizon within which this reality of corporate personality operates transcends the present to extend in both directions, to the past and into the future. This aspect is most clearly realized in the reality of the family. At the time of the prophets the present generation of Israelites was in a real sense those who had been delivered from the slavery of Egypt; the Patriarchs are really identified with their future descendants.<sup>196</sup> Not only is the individual not suppressed in such a notion, but he is also, in fact, emphasized either as the past or present or future embodiment of the group. On the other hand, he is significant precisely as a member of the group.

A second point to be underlined is the realistic character of this corporate personality. The bond between the individual and the group is physical; the

delphia: Fortress Press, Facet Books, Biblical Series 11, 1967); J. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, trans. D. Raible (New York: Alba House, 1965); B.J. Le Frois, *The Woman Clothed with the Sun*, 245-262 and his "Semitic Totality Thinking," 315-323; R. Kugelman, "The Hebrew Concept of Corporate Personality and Mary," in *Maria in Sacra Scriptura* (1967), 6:179-84.

<sup>192</sup> We shall not consider each of these important questions under all aspects but we limit ourselves to a consideration of the speculative issues involved. For a fuller study of the scriptural data on "corporate personality" cf. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 49-122; 235-270.

<sup>193</sup> J. de Fraine, "Individu et société dans la religion de l'Ancien Testament," *Biblica* 33 (1962): 324-55, 445-75; H. Rowley *The Faith of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), 99-123; Robinson, *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel*, 21-35.

<sup>194</sup> De Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 20-48; Robinson, "The Hebrew Concept of Corporate Personality," 50-55. This term is not found in the Bible; it was coined by Robinson.

<sup>195</sup> De Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 81: "Here we have two significant aspects of the idea of 'corporate personality'; on the one hand, the individual is always a member who works and suffers in intimate union with the group; on the other hand, he has a signal significance for his group in that he is capable of directing or at least influencing its destiny."

<sup>196</sup> Cf., Amos 3:1; Hosea 12:3-4.

two form one total reality. The identification between the group and the individual is dynamic. The Hebrews considered the whole family to be present in one individual member.<sup>197</sup> Any member of the family concretely represents the entire family. Abraham or Isaac is the concrete representation of the entire nation; whatever he does, the nation does.

Thirdly, since each person is at one and the same time an individual living at a definite time and place in history and a concrete realization of the group there is a real fluidity, an ease of passage from one to the other. At one time it is the individual as such who receives emphasis, at another the individual as a concretization of the group. The language passes almost unnoticeably from the singular to the plural and vice versa; the simple reason is that "Hebrew thought refers with equal facility to a representative individual as to the group he represents."<sup>198</sup>

It follows from what we have already said that, even when the individual is being emphasized in a particular situation, the group or collective aspect of that individual is never out of sight. Jeremiah and Ezechiel stress individual responsibility; yet for them punishment, like sin, is both individual and collective. Throughout the entire history of Israel there were individuals who acted in the name of the entire community in such a way that the community itself was thought to have acted through them. The ultimate basis for this interchange between individual and community lies in the covenant established by God with His people. God inserted, we might say, His plan of redemption into the Hebrew socio-psychological thought-pattern in such a way that the notion and reality of corporate personality became the channel through which His salvific message was transmitted. This is the reason why it has been suggested as a viable concept for expressing the complex relationship existing between Mary and the Church, the community of salvation.<sup>199</sup>

According to this way of thinking, Mary as the Daughter of Sion (as indicated in the Johannine-Lukan reflections) is both an individual who responds to God as such and as a concretization of the new Israel (the Church) in her acceptance of God's will (or, as we have expressed it in chapter three,

<sup>197</sup> When we think of the family we consider it as a group made up of individuals. The Hebrews began with the reality (not the abstract notion) of a collectivity and they found the specific characteristics of that group embodied in each member. A Moabite is not an individual who comes from Moab but an individual who embodies Moabite characteristics.

<sup>198</sup> Citing A. Cook, *Cambridge Ancient History* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 3:493.

<sup>199</sup> De Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 276: "Will it not be a great help in the Marian theology which describes the Blessed Virgin as the 'image of the Church,' that is to say, she who 'represents,' in fact, in a certain sense, is the entire Church (at the moment of the objective Redemption, for example)?"

in giving her consent to the marriage between God's Son and humanity). The consent which she gave in the historical moment at Nazareth and which she renewed on Calvary is, then, a consent of an individual and at the same time a consent of the community. Though the modality of that consent has changed since the death-resurrection of Christ, the same (individual-communitarian) consent continues in the present stage of salvation history to be effective.<sup>200</sup>

It is easy enough for us to conceive of a certain individual exercising a special influence upon the group in the sense that his or her actions affect the group for better or for worse. This way of conceiving things would involve a certain type of causality coming from without; the one would in some way be acting upon the many. Yet the notion of corporate personality is more profound still, since it involves an even more intimate association of the one with the many. In the biblical perspective, the group and the individual are so intimately unified that the group actually affirms or expresses itself in and through the individual. Objectively speaking, the individual *is* the group and the group *is* he/she.<sup>201</sup>

I believe that it is according to this concept of corporate personality that we shall best maintain both the distinction between Mary and the Church in all its realism and the identity of the two as it is expressed in the Council document. In terms of queenship, Mary is the Queen-Mother consenting to the kingly, messianic existence and activity of her Son, believing in God's word, hoping in His promises, and lovingly accepting His will that salvation be accomplished in His way. As the first member of the Christian community, she exemplifies (better still, she *is*) the Church believing, hoping, loving. In her the Church is likewise a Queen-Mother whose total existence concerns Christ's redemptive mission among the men and women of this world. Mary's consent to God's will by which she has been constituted Queen-Mother has been total from the beginning; yet it has intensified with time according to her ever clearer perception of the concrete details of God's plan. Her perfect fidelity

<sup>200</sup> I believe that this manner of conceiving the actual reality and significance of Mary's consent is a deeper expression of a more general statement of Vatican II, in "Lumen Gentium," no. 65 and especially in no. 68: "In the most holy Virgin the Church has already reached that perfection whereby she exists without spot or wrinkle." "In the bodily and spiritual glory which she possesses in heaven, the Mother of Jesus continues in this present world as the image and first flowering of the Church as she is to be perfected in the world to come." The Council itself did not enter into this question in any detail, though it does lay the foundation for the "archetypical" explanation of the relationship between Mary and the Church.

<sup>201</sup> De Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 272: "When we come right down to it, we are here face to face with one of the most profound intuitions of biblical metaphysics, namely, the dynamic (not at all static) character of the idea of 'being': The individual tends to become the group, and the group tends to be identified with the representing individual."

to that plan, her willingness to rely solely upon God in accomplishing His will is the fundamental meaning of her perpetual virginity. In a real sense the Church is immaculate, the Church is a virgin in Mary; yet she (the Church) strives continuously to achieve the perfection of that fidelity and holiness. This mysterious coexistence of perfection and imperfection in one and the same reality is due to the dynamic identity of the all-holy one with the community of those who are called to salvation but who are still on pilgrimage. As Queen-Mother, Mary exercises what might be called an "exterior" influence upon her subjects (who are her children) through her example and in a certain sense through her command that they "Do whatever He tells you." In this way she helps to lead them to Christ who as Messiah-King is for them salvation.<sup>202</sup>

Both as an individual responding to God and as the personification (archetype) of the Church responding to Christ, Mary's queenly, motherly role is one of active receptivity in the sense, already expressed, that she contributes in the most perfect way possible all that humankind can contribute to its own redemption. Her *yes* is constructive in terms of the existence, maintenance and growth of the kingdom.<sup>203</sup>

Intimately associated with, in fact, based upon Mary's earthly activity as Queen-Mother is her present heavenly role as intercessor.<sup>204</sup> Her intercession

<sup>202</sup> I use the term "exterior" influence reluctantly to express the real distinction between Mary and her spiritual children who are, like her, subjects of the kingdom. In another sense, however, her influence (activity) is interior, namely, it is an activity of inspiration, ultimately actualized in the individual through the Holy Spirit.

<sup>203</sup> In her book on Mary in the Communion of Saints, Elizabeth Johnson expresses clearly the reasons why she at first favored the presentation of Mary as a symbol of what individuals and the Church itself have been called to be by God. Then she explains why she is dissatisfied with this approach (98ff). One of her critiques of the symbolic approach to Mary is that it fails to account for the sinfulness of individuals for whom she is proposed as a model, that it also tends to cover over the scandalous situations which have always been a part of the Church itself. Her greatest concern is that by symbolizing Mary we cut off Mary (and all women) from their concrete histories. I would agree that we need to consider Mary as well as we can within the concrete historical situation in which she lived. The studies done by feminist authors in recent times help us to do this. Yet I do not believe that we should discount the meaning and value of Marian symbolism. Granted that Mary is not a symbol of sinful humanity (or a sinful Church), she personalizes (by God's grace) all that we have been called to be; through her the human person is given a sense of hope. Any patriarchal use of this symbolism should be rejected; yet I do not believe that patriarchy must be part of the picture. When I contemplate Mary, under God's grace, I think of the human person, not man or woman as such. In her God has manifested His power to convert, to make holy, ultimately to glorify creation.

<sup>204</sup> See "Lumen Gentium," no. 62. Here, the Council describes Mary's intercessory activity in its relationship to her earthly life and work. Her intercession is a continuation of her personal involvement in the salvation of mankind. "For taken up to heaven, she did not lay aside this saving role, but by her manifold acts of intercession continues to win for us gifts of eternal sal-

must be considered within the context of the communion of saints.<sup>205</sup> At issue here fundamentally is the question of the possibility of individual persons to contribute in a positive way to their own salvation.<sup>206</sup>

Mary's intercessory power, whatever further qualifications it may receive, is specifically the same as that of any creature before God.<sup>207</sup> Traditionally it is linked with her queenship which in turn is explained according to her maternal relationship with Christ and gradually (especially after the twelfth century)

vation." Cf. H. Barré, "Marie et l'Église du vénérable Bède à Saint Albert le Grand," *Études Mariales* 9 (1951): 107-112.

<sup>205</sup> M.J. Nicolas, *Théotokos*, 169-83 and his "L'intercession," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 7:2, cols. 1858-1870 and articles in *Études Mariales* 23-24 (1966-1967) [Various studies on intercession]; E. Lamirande, *The Communion of Saints*, trans. A. Manson (New York: Hawthorn, 1963); F.X. Lawlor, "Communion of Saints," in *NCE*, 4:41-43; J. de Baciocchi, "L'intercession," *Études Mariales* 24 (1967): 5-20; J. Bur, "La médiation de Marie: Essai de synthèse spéculative," *Maria* (du Manoir), 6:471-512; J. Galot, "L'intercession de Marie," *Maria* (du Manoir), 513-550; Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 149ff.; E. Johnson, *Truly Our Sister* (London: Continuum, 2003); esp. Ch. 11: "Mary Friend of God and Prophet," 305ff. D. Flanagan, "Eschatology and the Assumption," 68-73; J. Cahill, "Our Lady's Present Role in the Communion of Saints," *Marian Studies* 18 (1967): 31-45; *The One Mediator, the Saints and Mary* ed. H. G. Anderson et al. (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1992); *Marian Studies* 48 (1997), theme "The Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Icon of the Church, Intercessor: Ecumenical Perspectives"; F. Rossier, "Biblical Perspectives on Marian Mediation," 53-77; *Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints*, Group of Dombes (New York: Paulist Press, 2002).

<sup>206</sup> Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:268: "Il est vrai que nous touchons une corde sensible chez les Protestants en affirmant avec le Concile que l'unique médiation de Jésus non seulement tolère la coopération des créatures (la tolérance ici serait odieuse et dépourvue de sens): mais suscite et raffermis la synergie tant décriée." X. Pikaza, "Maria, la persona humana: relaciones entre mariologia, antropologia, y misterio trinitario," *Marianum* 49 (1987): 107-61: "Maria es prototipo de la humanidad que colabora con el Cristo de Dios.... Sabemos que la salvación es don de Dios en Cristo; pero Cristo nos ha dado la capacidad de acoger la salvación y decidírnos, surgiendo así como personas libres, responsables" (157).

<sup>207</sup> We cannot consider all the questions which arise in the area of intercession; we must limit our remarks to the role of Mary in terms of her intercession, although we should be aware of the implications for an understanding of the more general problem of the communion of saints. In fact, we shall be applying to Mary with a certain nuance general principles governing our role in our own salvation. Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "Introduction à une théologie de l'intercession mariale," *Études Mariales* 23 (1966): 14: "Autrement dit, le pouvoir d'intercession de l'Église trouve en Marie sa réalisation personnelle parfaite et typique. L'universalité qui revient à la prière de toute l'Église revient à la prière personnelle de Marie." It is at this point that the Protestant problematic enters upon the scene. On the one hand, basic to the Protestant approach is a reaction to many abuses which existed in regard to the cult of the saints. On the other hand, there is the legitimate desire to preserve intact the fundamental doctrine of Christ's unique mediation. Cf. M.J. Nicolas, "L'intercession," and J. de Baciocchi, "La crise du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle sur l'intercession," *Études Mariales* 24 (1967): 5-20; M. Lods, "L'intercession dans le protestantisme actuel," *Études Mariales* 24 (1967): 21-35; Groupe des Dombes, *Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints*; E. Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 317ff.

according to her maternal relationship with men and women.<sup>208</sup> In the Second Vatican Council the emphasis is upon her maternity of grace when mention is made of her "manifold acts of intercession."<sup>209</sup> It is precisely this maternal aspect of her queenly intercession which I believe is best explained through the analogy of the gebirah reality. Before making any application of this theme in the context of intercession, we shall consider the development of the Church's understanding of intercession in order to perceive more clearly the significance of Mary's intercession.

In order to appreciate the implications of the Cana scene we shall investigate briefly the general notion of intercession in Scripture.<sup>210</sup> Intercession involves

<sup>208</sup> Cf. H. Barré, "La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 29 (1939): 129-162; 303-34; id., "La Royauté de Marie au XIIe siècle en Occident," *Maria et Ecclesia*, 5:93-119; id., "Marie et l'Église. Du vénérable Bède à saint Albert le Grand," *Études Mariales* 9 (1951): 107ff. Cf. "Ad Caeli Reginam," *AAS* 46 (1954): 638: "Therefore let all approach with greater confidence now than before to the throne of mercy and grace of our Queen and Mother to beg help in difficulty, light in darkness and solace in trouble and sorrow" (Engl. trans., 12, no. 48). Pius XII quotes Pius IX (*ibid.*, 11): "Turning her maternal heart toward us and dealing with the affair of our salvation, she is concerned with the whole human race. Constituted by the Lord, Queen of heaven and earth, and exalted above all the choirs of angels and the ranks of the saints in heaven, standing at the right hand of her only begotten Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, she petitions most powerfully with her maternal prayers, and she obtains what she seeks. She cannot fail." Galot, "L'intercession de Marie," 522, points out that in the writings of John the Geometer in the 10th century we find an emphasis upon her royalty and her spiritual maternity in regard to her intercession. Her spiritual maternity, however, was not commonly appreciated until later. Cf. A. Wenger, "L'intercession de Marie en Orient du VIe au Xe siècle," *Études Mariales* 23 (1966): 51-75, who refers to John's *Life of the Virgin* as a Marian "Summa" of Byzantine Marian theology. He indicates that John's doctrine on Mary's spiritual maternity is not taken from the words of Jesus on the cross but is founded upon her suffering in behalf of men. After the Ascension of her Son, John the Geometer emphasizes Mary's relationship with the early Christian community. He even speaks of her as replacing her Son who is absent. Her house, he says, was like a royal court whence she sent forth the Apostles to the whole world. Rossier, "Biblical Perspectives on Marian Mediation," 75, holds that intercessory power is not in proportion to one's relationship with the one who is being petitioned but rather because of the intercessor's relationship with the one in need: "If Mary's prayer of intercession is efficacious, it is not primarily because of the privileged position which unites her to her Son, but because of the privileged position which unites her to those for whom she is making intercession, her children."

<sup>209</sup> "Lumen Gentium," no. 62. Pope John Paul II (e.g., "Redemptoris Mater," #38ff.) frequently speaks of Mary's maternal mediation.

<sup>210</sup> A. George, "Les fondements scripturaires de l'intercession de Marie," *Études Mariales* 23 (1966): 19-35; Galot, "L'intercession de Marie," 531-37; *Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints*, Dombes Group; J. Fitzmyer, "Biblical Data on the Veneration, Intercession and Invocation of Holy People," in *The One Mediator, the Saints and Mary*, 135-147; G. Forde, "Is Invocation of Saints an Adiaphoron?," in *The One Mediator*, 327-338; K. Peter, "The Saints and Mary in the Eschatology of Vatican II," *The One Mediator*, 295-304; Rossier, "Biblical Per-



some form of mediation but since it is a form of prayer, it means that the one who intercedes is in an inferior position with regard to the one from whom some favor is sought.<sup>211</sup> In the Old Testament there are several instances of one human being interceding for another and it is upon these human facts that Israel could base its understanding of a human person interceding for others with God. There seem to be two types of intercession in the Old Testament: those of an institutional nature (e.g. priests and kings); those of a more personal nature (e.g., prophets and just persons). Each of these is verified, it would seem, in Mary. On the one hand, she occupies an office: the *gebirah*.<sup>212</sup> On the other hand, she is intimately, personally united to her Son in His work of salvation. The main characteristics of this second type of intercession are the fact that the one interceding feels close to God and is a member of the group for whom he/she intercedes. Those who are prophets have a mission from Yahweh to announce His message to their brothers and sisters. Their intercession is a means established by God in behalf of salvation. God wishes to associate human beings with Himself in the effective accomplishment of salvation. Others (the just) in the Old Testament intercede for their brethren efficaciously because of

spectives on Marian Mediation," *Marian Studies* 52 (2001): 53-77; id., "La médiation de Marie à la lumière de l'intercession vétérotestamentaire," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 48 (1998): 57-72; R. Mackenzie, "Mary, Intercessor on Our Behalf; One with Us in the Communion of Saints and Witness to What We May Become in Christ," *Marian Studies* 48 (1997): 51-57.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. E. Johnson, *Truly Our Sister*, 313 ff. She develops the point that those whom she calls "paradigmatic figures" exercise a great influence within the communion of saints of which they form a part. Her emphasis is upon their exemplary role. She does not mention intercession in this section. In the next section she develops two models to describe the relationship between the living and the dead. One is the so-called "patronage model," emphasizing intercession; the other is the "companionship model" which stresses equality among the members of the communion of saints. While this second model does not exclude intercession of one in behalf of the other, it greatly downplays it: "I would suggest, rather, that in our democratic, egalitarian culture the patronage system is marching out." I think too much weight is given to this political context in which the question is placed. I appreciate the emphasis upon equality under the action of the Spirit as a source of encouragement for all who are striving to be faithful to the Lord; yet because of their (the saints and Mary) special role in salvation history I believe there is some merit to the emphasis upon the patronage model. It is ultimately always a question of God's special election of certain individuals for particular roles.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Zafer Ben-Barak: "The Status and Right of the *Gebirah*," *Journal of Biblical Studies* 110 (1991): 23-34. He does not accept the conclusions of many scholars that the *gebirah* had an official political status in the kingdom. He says that the mere fact that she was a Queen-Mother did not bestow upon her any special status beyond the honor due to her as mother. On the other hand, in those cases in which the *gebirah* did rise to a position of power in her son's domain this is a purely individual occurrence, the direct consequence of the woman's character, ambition, and personal qualities. I believe this is overstated.

the friendship existing between them and God.<sup>213</sup> They are human instruments in God's plan of salvation, attempting to bring God's salvific intentions to fulfillment in the world.

In the New Testament it is Jesus' intercession which occupies first place. During His earthly mission there are several occasions when He prays in behalf of others, especially during the Last Supper. It is particularly after His resurrection, however, that the Christian community becomes fully conscious of His intercessory power and mission. This is recognized once the meaning of His presence with the Father, His Lordship, is appreciated. In the letters theological reflection leads to a more precise expression of this reality. Jesus is referred to (in Romans, Hebrews, and I John) as the Advocate and His function is described as one of intercession. He is portrayed as eternally attached to God's plan of salvation for all people. He associates His disciples in His saving mission and specifically in His power of intercession. During His public ministry He listens to and responds to the intercessory prayers of His disciples in behalf of others. The primitive Church herself frequently interceded for those in need. Jesus is seen as the Intercessor *par excellence* and all other intercessory power is perceived to be bound up with His.

At first glance, Mary does not seem to have much, if any, intercessory power, according to the New Testament witness. St. Luke mentions no intercessory act of Mary strictly speaking, though he does show her as playing an intimate role in God's plan of salvation. In fact, Luke inserts her into the context of the friends of God and prophets of the Old Testament. He calls her "the highly favored one." Mary's reception of God's favor is at the same time a call, a vocation to occupy a special place in the development of salvation. She is present at the key moments of Jesus' infancy to welcome God's salvific initiative and to respond to it; she visits Elizabeth, she brings Jesus to the temple, she receives Simeon's prophecies in regard to Jesus' role in salvation. At the same time she assumes the role of the people of God. She accepts salvation in the name of that people as the Daughter of Sion. In this double complementary activity Mary becomes a mediator, and this mediation is the source of her intercessory role. Luke depicts her as the faithful believer in God's word: Blessed rather is she who hears God's word and keeps it; she keeps these words in her heart; she is blessed for having believed.<sup>214</sup> In Acts she is shown in prayer with the nascent Church.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Rossier, "Biblical Perspectives on Marian Mediation," 75. He emphasizes rather the relationship between the one interceding and the one on whose behalf intercession is made.

<sup>214</sup> Luke 1:45.

<sup>215</sup> Acts 1:14.

John presents Mary as being present at the two key moments of Jesus' mission: its beginning and its end. Jesus' hour is the time of His passion and glorification. The term "Woman" seems to be a solemn indication to Mary of her role and its demands upon her in the drama of salvation.

The simple statement of Mary at Cana: "They have no wine," has received many interpretations. Some believe that Mary was asking for a miracle. There is a parallel with Martha and Mary's statement to Jesus: He whom you loved has died. The calm assurance of Mary even after she was apparently refused: "Do whatever he tells you"; the mention of the disciples' faith after and because of the miracle—her faith is present before the miracle. John depicts her faith as a recognition of Jesus as God's messenger, a faith which gradually grows in intensity.<sup>216</sup>

Her faith is answered by a miracle, a sure sign of Jesus' acceptance of her petition. His apparent refusal seems to be a vivid reminder to Mary that He is beginning His salvific mission alone and that He must leave His family (the cost of discipleship). She must continue to believe, awaiting the hour when she shall receive a new task.

At Calvary when Jesus speaks to Mary first, calling her "Woman" within the context of His hour He is clearly indicating that He speaks as one responsible for salvation to one who has a place in salvation which is now present. At that hour Jesus' disciples become His brothers. Mary is to be their mother. She appears here as the personification (archetype) of the Church, the mother of the new people. John utilizes the theme of Mary as the Daughter of Sion. This seems to be confirmed, as we have seen, by chapter 12 of the Book of Revelation in which the mother of God's people is at the same time mother of the Messiah.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>216</sup> De la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, esp. 183: "With several other exegetes we believe we can exclude all these interpretations (one of which speaks of Mary looking for a miracle). It is more in conformity with the text to say that Mary states simply that there is no more wine; but this at the same time includes a discreet suggestion: Can you do something about this?"

<sup>217</sup> Le Frois, *The Woman Clothed with the Sun*, 262: "To sum up, St. John, under the figure of the Woman in Apoc. 12 portrays Mary as the Church. In his mind they are identified as a totality: an individual which impersonates a collective, and a collective which is embodied in a concrete person. It is not enough to say: The woman is Mary, but portrayed as the Archetype of the Church. Nor is it enough to say: the woman is the Church, but portrayed in the features of Mary. That is not the identification that the Semite has in mind. One must say: St. John under the figure of the Woman depicts Mary as the perfect realization of the Church. The supreme task of the Virgin-Mother is perpetuated in the gigantic work of the Church to regenerate all men in Christ. The Mother of Christ is one. In truth, the relation of Mary and the Church, set forth so frequently in recent years from a number of aspects, has its scriptural basis in the twelfth chap-

Here again, in John as well as in Luke, Mary is inserted into salvation history as the Queen-Mother exercising an influence in the kingdom by responding in her own name and in that of humanity to God's salvific plan and by actively interceding with her Son, the Messiah-King, in behalf of those who are called to belong to His kingdom. In this respect Mary's intercession seems closer to the first (institutional) type of intercession found in the scriptures. She has been given an "office," she is the *gebirah par excellence*.<sup>218</sup>

The implications of these scriptural themes are clear enough for the Catholic exegete and theologian of today who are aided by the experience of the believing, praying community through the centuries; yet the development of an awareness of Mary's intercessory function was not immediate.<sup>219</sup>

ter of the Apocalypse." De la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, Part 4: "Archetype of the Church, Mother and Bride," 230-264.

<sup>218</sup> In his article "Les fondements scripturaires de l'intercession de Marie" (21), A. George chooses to understand Mary's intercession not in the institutional sense but in the more personal sense. However, I believe that the office of *gebirah* (while it is a personal, in fact motherly, reality), which is the foundation for Mary's intercessory role, is fundamentally "institutional" in the sense of salvation history. The two types in the concrete case of Mary are so intimately linked as to be inseparable.

<sup>219</sup> See G. Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:174-199, for reflections upon the statements of Vatican II on the communion of saints. Cf. also M.J. Nicolas, "L'intercession," cols. 1860-1862. This is not to say that all theologians or Scripture scholars agree with regard to these implications. Many non-Catholics see no room for any intercessory activity on Mary's part or for any direct role in salvation history. Cf. S. Benko, *Protestants, Catholics and Mary*, esp. Ch. 4: "Mary and Vatican II" (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1968), 79-92; E.R. Carroll, "Protestant Reaction to the Role of Mary in Vatican II." It is difficult to make a concise statement concerning the position of non-Catholics in regard to the question of Mary's intercession since it is a complex question. Some Protestants are not satisfied with the traditional Protestant approach to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Cf. in this regard, W. Quanbeck, "Le problème de la Mariologie," in *Le dialogue est ouvert, le Concile vu par les observateurs Luthériens* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1965): 175ff. Yet we should note the Protestant position as outlined by Pastor Lods, "L'intercession dans le protestantisme actuel," 21-35. He points to the dangers inherent in the practice of praying for the dead. Such prayer might lead us to pray to the dead as though they could help us. Our prayer for the dead must be conceived solely as a prayer of praise to God who has shown His glories in those whom we honor as saints. We cannot help them; they cannot help us. Christ alone is the intermediary with the Father; He alone can help us by interceding with us; no saint, even the greatest, is in any position to aid us. Even if they could, their activity would be superfluous in respect to that of Christ. I believe that in our dialogue with non-Catholics we must clarify and emphasize the fact that no one, not even Mary, intercedes efficaciously independently of Christ. This question of intercession and the invocation of the saints continues to be discussed in the "round tables" which are sponsored every four years at the international meetings of the Mariological-Marian Congress. The Group of Dombes, an ecumenical discussion group in France, has published its conclusions concerning the place of Mary in the Communion of Saints, and the questions of intercession and invocation are still points of disagreement, though there is some movement towards a greater sensitivity on both

Having been encouraged by Christ's word and example, the early Christian community prayed (interceded) in behalf of both the living and the dead. With regard to those who had preceded them in the faith they began to practice acts of veneration especially toward those who had given the supreme witness to their Christian faith, the martyrs. This coincided with the fact that the early Christians became more and more aware of their own indigence as they perceived the weight of the demands placed upon them by their newly acquired faith.<sup>220</sup> Not surprisingly, the Apostles themselves were the first to receive such homage, particularly from those who were living in the communities established by them. Because of their strong belief in the resurrection of the dead Christians began to express their veneration of the martyrs by cultic acts at their tombs. Gradually, similar honor was shown toward those who during the persecutions had manifested to a supreme degree their faith in Christ even though they had not shed their blood for His name. After the time of the persecutions those who had lived heroic lives of charity were likewise venerated. Concomitantly there developed a "need" for a tangible contact with those who were considered to be saints and thus there arose a veneration of the bodies of the saints, images, places, etc. Christ remained as the focal point of their cult since it fundamentally involved an imitation of His life and virtues. The idea of a "communion" of saints is based upon the realization that holiness is achieved through a union with Christ and consequently through a communion of those who believe in and live the Christian ideal.

It is within this context that we must understand the beginnings and development of a Marian cult, of prayer to Mary, and of the invocation of her assistance.<sup>221</sup> We find traces of devotion to Mary in the art of the catacombs which honors her maternity and her queenship.<sup>222</sup>

sides. This is expressed in terms of the need for a conversion of attitude on the part of Catholics and Protestants. See *Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints*, also, *The One Mediator, the Saints, and Mary*. The same issues were raised and discussed by the participants in this dialogue between Lutherans and Catholics.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. L. Hertling and E. Kirschbaum, *The Roman Catacombs and Their Martyrs* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956); H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des Martyrs* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1933); Molinari, *Saints: Their Place in the Church*, trans. D. Maruca (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965); Lamirande, *The Communion of Saints; The One Mediator, the Saints and Mary; Mary in the Plan of God and in the Communion of Saints*.

<sup>221</sup> E.R. Carroll, "Mary, Blessed Virgin, Devotion to," *NCE*, 9:364-68. Cf. I. Calabuig, "The Liturgical Cult of Mary in the East and West," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, ed. A. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 5:10, 219-297, Ch. 10. Calabuig, contrary to the opinion of scholars who consider the liturgical cult of Mary to have come after that of the martyrs, holds that "if one understands 'liturgical cult' to refer to an act of veneration that arises out of the celebration of the liturgy, of which it forms a harmonious part, the liturgical cult of the Virgin is older than those of the martyrs. Moreover, it is universal. It arises in all the

Mention is made of Mary in a Eucharistic prayer found in Hippolytus' "Apostolic Tradition." This is early in the third century.<sup>223</sup> The earliest prayer addressed to her which we possess is dated by some as early as the fourth century.<sup>224</sup> It was especially after the Council of Ephesus that devotion to Mary increased. Churches were named in her honor and feasts began to be celebrated centering around the mysteries of her (and Christ's) life.<sup>225</sup> Perhaps the original "Memory of Mary," as it was called, dates to the fifth century. This was a commemoration of her entrance into eternal life. By the sixth century we find the feasts of the Annunciation, the Dormition, her Nativity, and the Presentation being celebrated in the East and in the West by the seventh century. Mary's name is present in the "*communicantes*" of the Roman Liturgy in the sixth century. The early devotion to Mary in the Church was Christocentric, based as it was on an awareness of her relationship to Christ.

From about the eighth century on, this devotion centered more around Mary's heavenly role in our salvation. Because of her unique position in the history of salvation she was approached by the faithful with greater confidence and frequency than all the other saints. The community not only recognized her as one who had imitated Christ's virtues to a supreme degree and believed in her exceptional physical (and spiritual) proximity to Christ because of her Assumption, but it also grasped the implications of her motherhood of the Saviour-King. It was this above all which prompted the confident appeal to her intercession. Gradually, as the notions of queenship, spiritual maternity, and assumption came into prominence there was more and more of an appeal to her all-powerful intercession.<sup>226</sup> In the Middle Ages Mary is viewed as the first

regions into which Christianity spread in the era before Nicea" (228). In addition, he believes that a considerable number of Marian texts in the infancy narratives have a liturgical character. The Evangelists, he says, are witnesses to the early Christian community's veneration of Mary; e.g., Lk. 1:39-45, before it was a biblical text, it was a text of liturgical piety (221-222).

<sup>222</sup> Calabuig, "The Liturgical Cult of Mary," 236-237; cf. no. 176 of Ch. 1.

<sup>223</sup> F. Jelly, "Mary and the Eucharistic Liturgy," in *De Primordiis Cultus Mariani*, 2:416-17; Calabuig, "The Liturgical Cult of Mary," 230-31: "This ancient mention of the Virgin does not disappear from the anaphora but remains an element of all Eucharistic prayers and is destined to be increasingly highlighted in further liturgical developments."

<sup>224</sup> A. Malo, "La plus ancienne prière à Notre Dame," in *De Primordiis Cultus Mariani*, 2:475-85; Calabuig, "The Liturgical Cult of Mary," 232: "[The Sub Tuum Praesidium] is noteworthy for a number of reasons: from the perspective of worship because it is a collective invocation, liturgical in origin, that shows us the custom on the part of the Christian community of turning directly to Mary to seek her aid in the hour of trouble...and her merciful, powerful intercession."

<sup>225</sup> Calabuig, "The Liturgical Cult of Mary," 231-32; 238ff.

<sup>226</sup> In speaking of the Middle Ages, Fr. Barré says: "En même temps, et à partir du même donné fondamental, d'autres aspects du mystère se dégagent progressivement. Toujours parce qu'elle est la Mère du Sauveur, Marie est l'Eve véritable, par qui la vie nous a été donné; le

member of the Lord's Church, the Queen of Angels and Saints whose prayer embraces that of all the Church to such an extent that if she were to remain silent no one would have any voice interceding in his behalf.<sup>227</sup>

The Second Vatican Council refers to Mary's "manifold intercession" without giving any explanation as to the meaning of that term.<sup>228</sup> On the other hand, her heavenly activity in our behalf is described as maternal.<sup>229</sup> The Council indicates that her mediating role, which would involve her intercession, is a sharing in that of Christ, the unique Mediator. And it further calls upon the experience of the Christian community as an encouragement for present and future Christians to invoke her aid. The ultimate purpose of her intercession is to unite men and women more intimately to Christ, her Son.

In the theological tradition there have been several attempts to explain more fully the nature of Mary's intercession.<sup>230</sup> There are several questions

*primum et excellentissimum membrum* de l'Église qu'elle 'préfigure' en sa totalité; la Reine et la Souveraine des Anges et des Saints, qui nous régit dans les voies du salut; la Mère de miséricorde, dont la tendresse maternelle nous englobe tous en celui qu'elle a enfanté, notre Médiatrice et notre meilleure avocate auprès de son divin fils" ("L'intercession de la Vierge aux débuts du moyen âge occidental," 88). Cf. C. Colombo, "De fundamentis dogmaticis cultus mariani," in *De Primordiis Cultus Mariani*, 2:183-93. Colombo speaks of the various motives which led to veneration of Mary in the Church: 1) Admiration and gratitude toward God who had raised up Mary in contradistinction to Eve, toward Mary because of her obedient response to God by which Eve's disobedience was counteracted. 2) Trust, confidence, and prayer based upon an initial perception of a role in salvation history. 3) Admiration and veneration based upon her divine maternity, holiness, and virginity. 4) An awareness of her spiritual maternity.

<sup>227</sup> This is the sense of the phrase "Si tu sola silueris, nulla vox erit aliis," taken from the hymn "Salve Regina Omnium." Cf. Barré, "L'intercession de la Vierge aux débuts du moyen âge occidental," 90. The history of this Marian cult is too involved for us to pursue it further here. We shall be satisfied with a reflection upon the statement of the Vatican Council II regarding Mary's intercession.

<sup>228</sup> Philips, *L'Église et son mystère*, 2:263, remarks that the Council did not wish to exclude any other possible form of intervention by Mary even though, in his opinion, it is not easy to imagine what it might be. He admits that our prayers to Mary might take different forms. It may be a formal request on our part for a particular favor; it may be an implicit request stemming from our prayer of praise or thanksgiving to her. Laurentin, *La Vierge au Concile*, makes no comment upon the phrase "manifold intercession." In recent times, however, there has been a growing awareness of Mary's role of "modeling" Christian activity in the world, specifically through her queenly role of service. Cf. E. Touron, "De María Reina a María Liberadora," 465-82; B. Fernandez, "Maria Reina, Perspectiva escatologica," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 46 (1996): 453-63. We shall develop this line of thought later on in the text.

<sup>229</sup> This aspect of Mary's intercession is a frequent theme in the writings of Pope John Paul II; e.g., "Redemptoris Mater," Part III: Maternal Mediation.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Galot, "L'intercession de Marie," 540-49; Bur, "La médiation de Marie," 499-511; M.J. Nicolas, *Theotokos*, 169-84; his "Théologie de l'intercession mariale," *Études Mariiales* 24 (1967): 57-70; and his "Intercession," cols. 1864-69. Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie*, 150-155;

which must be raised in regard to this problem: (1) Does Mary intercede with God directly or with her human Son, Jesus? (2) What is the specific character of her intercession which makes it so unique? (3) What type of influence does Mary exercise when she intercedes? In other words, does she "move" her Son according to a certain moral impulse, or does she also in some (physical) way enter into the "production" (for want of a better word) of the graces which we receive as a result of her intercession? How is her influence upon those for whom she intercedes to be expressed?

Basic to any response to these questions is the fact that ultimately the validity of all intercession (even that of Christ, the God-man) with God depends upon God's free decision. It is within the economy of salvation freely designed by God that certain individuals play a more important part than others in the salvation of men and women. As we have seen repeatedly, Mary's unique significance in salvation history stems from the fact that she, the highly favored one, is Queen-Mother of the Messiah-King.

As such she intercedes with her Son directly. She does not inform Him about something He does not know. She does not command Him in any way. Yet her prayer of petition is partially responsible for the reception of the graces of salvation by those for whom she has prayed. Our prayers to her are taken up, as it were, and given more value by her prayer, just as on the human, secular level, the Queen-Mother's petitions in behalf of the subjects of the king were influential because of the great love which the King had for His mother. We have seen in the Bible at least one instance of a refusal by the king of his mother's request because it was not beneficial to the good of the kingdom as a whole.<sup>231</sup> Such a refusal on the part of Jesus towards his mother is impossible since in her present state she is fully aware of all that would contribute to the growth of the kingdom (as well as of what would be detrimental to it) and her will is perfectly united to that of her Son. Her intercessory prayer with her Son is likewise taken up and made most efficacious by His supremely efficacious intercession with His Father. Her intercessory prayer must be viewed from the perspective of one who has perfectly responded (in grace) to God's salvific will. Her active response initiated at Nazareth and continued on Calvary was at the same time a prayer of petition ("Be it done to me as you will"; in other words, accomplish in me whatsoever you will). Her present petitionary role is of the same nature. Mary does not ask for what is not good for individual

"The Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Icon of the Church, Intercessor: Ecumenical Perspectives," *Marian Studies* 47 (1997).

<sup>231</sup> This is the case of Solomon's refusal of Bathsheba's request that Adonijah be allowed to marry Abishag. Solomon was quite angered by Adonijah's petition since he recognized it as an attempt to gain the throne. I Kings 2:12ff.



members of the kingdom or for the kingdom as a whole. God responds to her prayer primarily because it is for all practical purposes interiorized into Christ's prayer, so intimately one with Him that it cannot go unanswered. It is unfailingly taken up by Christ and presented to the Father by Him because it is the petition of His Mother. When we speak of Mary as His Mother here we mean it not in a sentimental, all-too-human sense, but in the total context of salvation history in which we appreciate the fact and significance of her *fiat*, a consent which uniquely contributed to the foundation of the kingdom of salvation. Mary is not simply one individual among others; she alone made an initial, all-embracing, totally human contribution to our salvation. In a real sense the kingdom exists and flourishes because of her maternal initiative. The subjects of this kingdom are her children. Thus the formality of her queenly-maternal love extends beyond the person of her only-begotten Son to all who in Him become her adopted children.

I do not believe that we should attempt to express her influence in the order of grace by speaking of physical, instrumental causality. Her activity is strictly personal; she is not a sacrament operating in the order of signs. She does not act as a hierarchical minister. She is a mother, a Queen-Mother whose principal function is to exercise a constant, vigilant concern in behalf of those who belong to the kingdom of her Son. I believe that her activity towards men and women, precisely as Queen-Mother, is one of disposing them for salvation. It is upon this dispositive role that we must now reflect.<sup>232</sup>

In response to the exhortation of Pope Paul VI in "Marialis Cultus" regarding the need for theologians to attend to the relationship between Marian theology (doctrine and devotion) and the human sciences, especially anthropology and sociology, several studies have appeared which have contributed to the development of relevant themes.<sup>233</sup> These themes will help us to understand how

<sup>232</sup> It is here that we shall develop some of the more recent insights regarding Mary's queenly mode of service.

<sup>233</sup> See Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation "Marialis Cultus," (Washington, D.C.: U.S.C.C., 1974), 25, #34ff. In regard to women's issues referred to explicitly by the pope, see E. Johnson, "The Marian Tradition and the Reality of Women," 116-135. There are many references to other feminist studies in this article. That particular issue is not my direct concern here. I believe that other studies will prove to be complementary to each other insofar as they will help us to reflect upon Mary living a servant role as Queen-Mother. In this note I simply cite those studies so as to draw a coherent picture of the way in which Mary's service in the kingdom helps to dispose others to a similar role. Cf. Pikaza, "Maria, la persona humana," 107-161; Tournon, "De Maria reina a Maria Liberadora," 465-481; W. Brennan, *Mary: Servant, Mother, Woman* (Italy, Friar Servants of Mary: Città Nuova Press, 1996). See *Marian Library Studies*, n.s. 26 (1998-2000): 267-84 for a briefer version of this booklet. B. Fernandez, "Maria Reina, Perspectiva escatologica," 453-63 and his "La Asunción de Maria como paradigma de escatologia cristiana," *Eph-*

Mary disposes men and women to exercise their proper role in the kingdom of God.

In the liturgy for the feast of Christ the King the preface describes that kingdom as "an eternal and universal kingdom, a kingdom of truth and life, a kingdom of holiness and grace, a kingdom of justice, love and peace."<sup>234</sup> That kingdom has two phases, an earthly one and a heavenly one. The first is an imperfect, though dynamic, participation in the second. Jesus and Mary are personally involved in the establishment and growth of that kingdom which will be perfected when Jesus returns to "hand over his kingdom to his God and Father...so that God may be all in all."<sup>235</sup> The Vatican Council speaks briefly but profoundly of the call given to the men and women of this world to become active members of that kingdom by sharing in the power ("a power of royal freedom") of Jesus to subject all things, especially sin and death, to God. In its document on the laity it speaks of Mary as the perfect example of this spiritual and apostolic life because of her union with Jesus and her altogether special collaboration with him in establishing the kingdom.<sup>236</sup>

Let us approach Mary's role as servant of the kingdom in a gradual way. Xavier Pikaza<sup>237</sup> describes Mary as the perfect human person. His insights in this regard will help us to appreciate her role in what Walter Brennan calls,

*emerides Mariologicae* 50 (2000): 249-71; P. C. Phan, "Current Theology, Contemporary Context and Issues in Eschatology," *Theological Studies* 55 (1994): 507-36; A. Serra, "Regina," in *Nuovo dizionario di mariologia*, 2 vols. (1985-86), cols. 1193ff.; S. De Fiores, cols. 1197-1202; J. Goenaga, "El misterio de la Asuncion y la escatologia cristiana," *Marianum* 42 (1980): 13-63; J.R.G. Murga, "Maria, prototipo y sacramento de la humanidad nueva por su actitud de acogida," *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 49 (1999): 401-435.

<sup>234</sup> Preface for the Feast of Christ the King, *Sacramentary*, 51.

<sup>235</sup> I Cor. 15: 24ff.

<sup>236</sup> See Vatican II's "Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity," no. 4; John Paul II's Apostolic Letter "Christifideles Laici," 1988, no.14: "Because the faithful belong to Christ, Lord and King of the Universe, they share in his *kingly mission* and are called by him to spread that kingdom in history. They exercise their kingship as Christians, above all in the spiritual combat in which they seek to overcome in themselves the kingdom of sin (cf. Rom. 6:12) and then to make a gift of themselves so as to serve, in justice and in charity, Jesus who is himself present in all his brothers and sisters, above all in the very least (cf Mt. 25:40). But in particular the lay faithful are called to restore to creation all its original value. In ordering creation to the authentic well-being of humanity in an activity governed by the life of grace, they share in the exercise of power with which the Risen Christ draws all things to himself and subjects them along with himself to the Father, so that God might be everything to everyone (cf. I Cor. 15:28; Jn. 12:32); cf. #20: "...that what distinguishes persons is not an increase in dignity but a special and complementary capacity for service." Cf. *Origins*, NC Documentary service, Vol. 18, No. 35 (Feb. 9, 1989).

<sup>237</sup> Pikaza, "Maria la persona humana," 107-161.

"the new creation."<sup>238</sup> This in turn will lead us to an even more specific grasp of her role as "model" and "intercessor" within the kingdom.<sup>239</sup> For Pikaza the most fundamental characteristic of Mary as God's "highly favored daughter" is that she is "the first person of humanity."<sup>240</sup> Jesus' love for her brought her into his messianic mission. Every human person must be understood in the light of the distinct Persons of the Trinity who give and receive mutually all that they are and have within the mystery of Trinitarian life. God has introduced His personal mystery into our history in such a way that we are able to share in His journey and in this way become human persons. Because of this dynamic, from a Christian perspective an individual can only become a person through his/her relationship with the Trinity. This relationship is rooted in freedom and it involves a response of faith and trust. All human persons, beginning with Mary, can achieve their human personality only by uniting themselves with Jesus and taking on His journey towards an encounter with His Father. This journey continues into the eschaton. Mary through the grace of God is a person, the first person of humanity, who responds perfectly in faith and love to God's word. She receives within herself the mystery of life who is the Word of the Father and thus becomes the Mother of the Messiah-King. As a Daughter of Israel, journeying towards the future and the fulfillment of the Messianic promises, she brought forth the Messiah himself. She, a believer, thus becomes a sister within the Christian community (Acts 1:14) reaching out to her brothers and sisters. She belongs to the old world and with the resurrection of Jesus she belongs to the new world which has arisen by the power of Jesus' message and presence within the community of believers. Through her assumption into heaven she has reached the culminating point of her creaturely journey.

The Spirit becomes the binding force of love between human persons, a replica of the Spirit's "function" within the Trinity. In the fullness of time the Spirit came upon Mary, enabling her to dialogue with God the Father in the name of the whole of humanity and thus to bring into our history God's Son. On Pentecost, as a member of the believing community, she again receives the Spirit so as to be united with the new people of the glorified Lord.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>238</sup> W. Brennan, "Mary the Servant of God in a Renewed Marian Theology Based on the New Creation," *Marian Library Studies*, n.s. 26 (1998-2000): 267-84.

<sup>239</sup> E. Touron, "De Maria Reina a Maria Liberadora," 465-81; B. Fernandez, "Maria Reina, Perspectiva escatologica," 453-63.

<sup>240</sup> Jesus is the perfect man but he is not a human person. Proceeding from the Father in eternity as the Word, his divine personhood is correlative to the Father and the Spirit. The Three Persons are "constituted" through their eternal, ineffable relationship of love.

<sup>241</sup> Pikaza, "Maria la persona humana," 161: "Ella es el verdadero Israel que ha creído en la palabra de su Dios y le responde de manera libre, realizada, Ella es el alma inspiradora de la comunidad de los creyentes, que se juntan en amor después de pascua. Pero todavía podemos

From this fundamental perspective according to which Mary is the first human person to respond with a total commitment to God in faith, hope, and love, we pass to a more specific consideration of her role as Queen-Mother within the kingdom of her son. John's gospel presents Jesus' ministry in terms of His effecting a new creation.<sup>242</sup> He does this by assuming the role of servant. Mary is portrayed in the two Johannine scenes (Cana and Calvary) as a servant of this new creation. It remains for us to sketch this out as a preparation for our final consideration of Mary as a Servant-Queen.

Mary, "the first human person," is the person closest to Jesus and, as such, a model who shows us what it means to follow Christ (i.e., to be servants of God and of each other.)<sup>243</sup> God has become a servant for us in Jesus who emptied Himself through obedient love and became one of us so as to die (and rise) for us. Mary is the model who follows Jesus perfectly in His role of service. Jesus' service is identified with His revelation of His Father's compassionate love for us.

Salvation history begins with creation as it is presented in the New Testament. There we see Jesus' role as the beginning and end of creation spelled out. This new creation in Jesus sublates the old or first creation at the beginning of the universe as described in the Old Testament. Mary has an intimate role to play in God's plan for this new creation in Jesus. She is the one who "in the fullness of time" brought Jesus into the world to accomplish perfectly God's plan for creation, what scholars call His "justice."

The new creation takes place in and through the resurrection of Jesus; it is through His resurrection that Jesus is able to send His Spirit to vivify, to re-create individuals and the whole community of believers. This re-creation imbues them with a spirit of service, of servanthood. In his prologue John makes it very clear that the Word of God was present at creation; God's creative love was manifested in His sending His Son as servant into our world, to save the world, to reconcile men and women in the world with each other and with God. The way we cooperate to attain the end of creation, God's "justice," is by becoming conformed to Jesus' image as servant. This is the work of the Spirit, the Father's and Jesus' gift to us. Jesus exemplifies His servant-profile when

decir más: en la cumbre del proceso de Israel y en ese encuentro escatológico (en la iglesia) Maria viene a desvelarse como una *persona individual* que ha mantenido (y mantiene) relaciones privilegiadas de amor con el Padre, el Hijo y el Espíritu. Ella pertenece a nuestra misma humanidad, como creatura de este mundo; pero, al mismo tiempo, se realiza de manera radical como persona, dentro del espacio trinitario. Por eso hemos dicho y decimos, de forma conclusiva: Maria es la primera persona de la historia."

<sup>242</sup> See Brennan, "Mary the Servant of God in a Renewed Marian Theology."

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 267.

He washes the feet of His disciples and tells them that He does this so that they too might do the same for their brothers and sisters.

We become Abraham's true children through our baptism which is the beginning of our new creation. Mary has an important role in this new creation. In the first place, according to the Fathers, she is the "virgin earth" out of which this new creation springs. Mary is present at the beginning of this new creation and at the beginning of the Christian community, the Church. She gives a covenantal consent to God's plan for a new creation and she is present in prayer when the community is visited by the Spirit and given its mission. God's plan is actualized in the members of the believing community when they assent, as Mary did, to God's plan. To keep the covenant in the New Testament means to accept the cross as the principle of new life, as a means, through love, to convert the evil of sin and death into the good of our redemption, as Jesus Himself did. At Emmaus Jesus reveals Himself as the Messiah, (the Suffering Servant) in whom all these things had to occur. In Luke's perspective serving the gospel comes through hearing Jesus' word and accepting it, "keeping it in memory, pondering over it."

John rewrites the Genesis story of creation: "In the beginning...." John shows us vividly Mary's involvement in the "hour" of her Son, the moment when He will give to His people the new wine of the Spirit in abundance. It is through her concern that this wine is finally given. Again, she instructs the servants by using a covenant formula: "Do whatever He tells you...." At the cross Mary (the "woman") is given as a gift to the disciples; she becomes their mother; she has an important role in the new eschatological family, in the eschatological kingdom of her Son; she is the *gebirah*, totally involved with concerns about the kingdom. Our role of service must be modeled after that of Mary; by listening to her word, "Do whatever he tells you," we shall learn to love our brothers and sisters in the world so as to bring them into the kingdom, the final destiny of the new creation intended by God.<sup>244</sup> In this way God's justice will have been accomplished.

A more acute awareness of the need for the liberation of individuals and communities through the promotion of justice has come about through the gradual disappearance of absolutist forms of government. The spirit of democracy has contributed much to this development and yet democratic regimes have not fully resolved the problems arising from individual and collective hubris and greed and sensuality. The full liberation of humankind can only come through the power of the gospel. Even with the dissolution of monarchical government and the rise of democracies Jesus remains King; yet

<sup>244</sup> I have drawn heavily from the studies by Walter Brennan on this theme.

His kingship is totally different from that of secular kings. As we have said, His is a kingship of service. Likewise, we retain the title of Queen (Mother) for Mary, understanding it in parallel to Jesus as a role of service for the kingdom. The statement of Vatican II regarding the relationship of Mary's Queenship to her Assumption<sup>245</sup> must not be understood as though one further privilege (queenship) has been added to Mary's crown. The "crowning" is a symbol of the eschatological character of her role as Queen-Mother. Her conformity with her Son is in terms of His being the Lord of lords and the Conqueror of sin and death. As Queen-Mother Mary continues to promote her Son's reign over human hearts and His continued mission to conquer sin and death, those enemies which still threaten the human race.

The standard for inheriting the kingdom is the way one has treated the neediest of society (Mt. 25). That is why Jesus' self-description is so authentic: I have come to serve, not to be served (Mk. 10:45). Mary exercised her service in behalf of Elizabeth (Lk. 1:56) and the Christian community (Acts 1:15). Now, in the kingdom beside her Son, she serves as Queen-Mother. From the beginning of His public ministry Jesus made it clear that He had come to care for the poor and the infirm, for the outcasts of society, that justice was His main concern (Lk. 4:18-19; 7:22-23). No wonder He proclaims blessed the one who is not scandalized by Him, that is, the one who understands and accepts Jesus' unexpected role as servant of the poor.

In her canticle of praise, the Magnificat, Mary mirrors these concerns of Jesus, proclaiming that they will have been attended to by the time of Jesus' eschatological victory. These concerns center around the need for liberation on the part of humanity as a whole. At the cross Mary becomes the mother of Jesus' brothers, the poor, the lowly, the oppressed. The conviction of the Christian community concerning her intervention in their lives is manifested in the prayers addressed to her (e.g., "We fly to your patronage...") in the hymns sung in her honor, in art, pilgrimages, etc. All generations will call her blessed first of all because of her faith and then because she has lived according to the beatitudes, both personally and through the members of the community whom she "personalizes," that is, Israel, her own people, and the Church.

One of the major difficulties we face as we reflect upon the fact and the meaning of Mary's Assumption comes from the fact that the basis for our belief seems to be the "sensus fidelium," the intuition of faith on the part of

<sup>245</sup> "Lumen Gentium," no. 59: "Finally, preserved free from all guilt of original sin, the Immaculate Virgin was taken up body and soul into heavenly glory upon the completion of her earthly sojourn. She was exalted by the Lord as Queen of all, in order that she might be the more thoroughly conformed to her Son, the Lord of lords (cf. Apoc. 19:16) and the Conqueror of sin and death."

generations of believers, rather than any one scriptural passage or combination of scriptural passages. For Catholics, the definition of Pope Pius XII gives us assurance of the validity of that intuition. Yet the danger remains that we so idealize Mary's present situation that it becomes "nothing more" than a privilege, another jewel added to her crown. From another perspective, our world has lost its appreciation for "the future life," so skeptical and secular has our society become. How does one explain the "universal reign" of Jesus in the face of the seemingly endless conflicts, the increasing threat of physical "plagues," the massive indifference towards human life, etc.? A fortiori, what influence does Mary exercise as Queen in our world? Where is there evidence of a liberation of any kind?

There is no answer to these questions outside of faith. We are facing the perennial question concerning "the already" and "the not yet." The salvation promised by God to His people in the Old Testament and offered even more palpably through faith in Jesus, the promised Messiah, is embedded in a history which is not immune to the evils of sin and death, the first due to the continued misuse of human freedom, the second the inevitable outcome of human physical limitations. Hope is rooted in faith; it moves us to "lean upon" God and His promises, as the Israelites did throughout their history and as the Christian community did after Jesus' resurrection. Hope puts us in contact with the end time, with eschatological salvation. It makes it possible for us to find meaning in the present as we head towards a definitive future in which all our aspirations will be fulfilled. The risen Christ is and always will be He who was crucified; the Lord of lords will always be the Suffering Servant of the Lord. In and through His resurrection the end time has begun, though not completed; Mary's Assumption is one source for our convictions that death in all its forms has been conquered, even when in the "not yet" we continue to experience its presence.

The Church has changed the original date for the celebration of the Queenship of Mary to that of the 22nd of August, the octave of the feast of the Assumption, precisely to emphasize the present close union of Mary with her Son in the kingdom and to underline the implications of that intimate union. It is the culmination of their earthly bond, of a Mother with her Son, of a Servant with her Lord. At the same time, Mary is united in the most intimate way possible with all the members of the kingdom and all the disciples of her Son. She continues to be their Mother (Queen), modeling for them, as a prototype, the fullness of salvation towards which they aspire. She continues to urge them to do as her Son tells them, that is, to become involved in the slow but real liberation of humanity from sin and especially those sins which victimize the poor, sins against justice. She invites them to live by the gospel of her Son in

such a way as to meet the needs of His brothers and sisters. Her queenly power is present above all in her witness to the truth.

By her example, above all, and by her encouragement, both of which are conveyed to us through the inspiration of the Spirit (who thus fructifies within them the exemplary initiative of this mother), she opens us for the reception of the Truth which is salvation. Our response is not mere passivity; it is our own active participation in salvation. In this way the reality of Mary as *gebirah* transcends its analogate in Ancient Israel in the sense that all human imperfection (all self interest) is removed and her motherhood is extended to all the members of the kingdom. While she does not exercise any authority over her Son, she does share in a subordinate way in His authority in the kingdom. She never replaces Him since He is never absent; she is not His minister; she does not belong to the hierarchy nor does she act as a delegate of her Son who is always intimately, personally present and active in the kingdom. Yet as Queen-Mother she is herself present and active in the kingdom; she exercises a queenly influence over her children which is expressed by her words at Cana to the servants: "Do whatever he tells you."<sup>246</sup> Her mediating activity is expressed in this same scene.<sup>247</sup> On the one hand, we see the emphasis which John gives to her presence: "and the mother of Jesus was there."<sup>248</sup> She takes the initiative in behalf of the couple because of her concern: "They have no wine." Her fundamental concern is for the kingdom, symbolized by the wedding.<sup>249</sup> She has no doubts as to His response, even though it seemed she had been rejected: "Do whatever he tells you."<sup>250</sup> By these words she disposes the servants to heed Jesus commands. It is He who works the miracle; symbolically, it is He alone who effects salvation by changing the water (symbol of the old dispensation) into the wine (symbol of the new dispensation).<sup>251</sup> He performs the miracle at the request of His mother who is present at the wedding not only as an individual but also as the Daughter of Sion, personification (Archetype) of the Church.<sup>252</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Jn. 2:5.

<sup>247</sup> Her intercessory activity is an aspect of her mediating activity.

<sup>248</sup> Jn. 2:1.

<sup>249</sup> Jn. 2:3.

<sup>250</sup> Jn. 2:5.

<sup>251</sup> Cf., Braun, *La mère des fidèles*, 69-70.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 73: "Que la Mère de Jésus fut appelée à faire sentir son influence à l'intérieur de l'économie nouvelle, saint Jean ne l'affirme pas en termes propres. Mais c'est bien, on le voit, à quoi tend le récit, tant en raison de son caractère figuratif que par la représentation de l'Heure qui paraît régir l'intercession régulière de Marie." Cf. also, A. Feuillet, "La signification fondamentale du premier miracle de Cana," *Revue Thomiste* 65 (1965): 517-35.



## Conclusion

### Mary as the Archetype of the Church in the History of Salvation

In tracing Mary's role in the history of salvation we have seen that God has chosen this Woman from among all others for a twofold task.<sup>253</sup> As an individual she has actively united her will to that of God so that salvation might come into the world in the Person of her Son, the King of kings and the Lord of lords.<sup>254</sup> At the same time she has acted as the representative, the Archetype of redeemed humanity in responding in its name to the presence of salvation, Emmanuel, in its midst. In her, the first and most excellent member of the Church, the whole Church is present and active. This is verified not only in the first phase of her salvific consent but all through the course of her earthly life and especially now in her heavenly existence. She prays unceasingly for the Church; in her the Church is praying. When I as an individual pray to her, my prayer becomes her prayer, not in the sense that she takes my place, but in the sense that my prayer is united to hers and the imperfections inherent in it are removed. This humble Virgin,<sup>255</sup> the Daughter of Sion<sup>256</sup> the mother of Jesus,<sup>257</sup> the Woman<sup>258</sup> has been revealed to us in all her dignity as the Queen-Mother by the words of Elizabeth: "the Mother of my Lord."<sup>259</sup> It is to her that we must turn if we are to become faithful servants of the One who has come to bring light, peace, and salvation to the world by becoming Himself a servant.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Cf., O. Semmelroth, *Mary, Archetype of the Church*, trans. Maria von Eroes and J. Devlin (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963). De la Potterie, *Mary in the Mystery of the Covenant*, 237-264.

<sup>254</sup> Rev. 19:16.

<sup>255</sup> Lk 1:27.

<sup>256</sup> Lk. 1:26ff.

<sup>257</sup> Jn. 2:1; 19:25.

<sup>258</sup> Jn. 2:4; 19:26; Rev. 12.

<sup>259</sup> Lk. 1:43.

<sup>260</sup> Lk. 10:45.

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