

‘Our Lady’ and the graces of the Fourth Week

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WHAT HAPPENS TO JESUS between his death on Calvary and his resurrection appearances? On this question, the Gospels maintain a reserved silence. Ignatius, by contrast, fills in the story:

. . . after Christ expired on the Cross, and the body, still united with the divinity, remained separated from the soul, the blessed soul, likewise united with the divinity, went down to Hell, and taking from there the just souls, and coming to the sepulchre and being risen, he appeared to his blessed mother in body and in soul. (Exx 219.2)

For Ignatius, the appearance of the Risen Christ to Mary is part of salvation history.¹ He had been to the place where it happened: during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the party had been shown a place ‘where Our Lord appeared to Our Lady, there as the first after his resurrection’.² Ignatius sees the resurrection appearance to Mary as a fact, and uses it to illustrate the general pattern of prayer in the Fourth Week.

Ignatius was not, however, simply drawing on his experience. The literary sources he used in composing the book we call the *Spiritual Exercises*, such as Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*, and the *Golden Legend* of Jacopo di Voragine, recounted the Risen Lord’s appearance to Mary, and offered a variety of explanations for why the Gospels omitted the incident. In the first place, Ludolph invoked the idea of fittingness, or appropriateness:

. . . it was fitting that he came to the Mother before everyone else, and through his resurrection first brought to joy her who, more than anyone else, loved him, was more filled with yearning for his love, had been more pained by his death, and, more weakened by pain, awaited his resurrection. Even if this is passed over in silence by the evangelists, it is nevertheless a devout belief.

Ludolph supplemented this appeal to theological fittingness and decorum with some historical and hermeneutical considerations. The Church confirms the tradition, in that it celebrates the Roman pontifical

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liturgy on Easter Sunday in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in memory of the first resurrection appearance; there are signs which Jesus did that are not recounted in the Gospels (Jn 20:30); had Jesus' mother borne witness to his resurrection, she would have been disbelieved like Mary Magdalen, and thereby dishonoured; a narrative account of the appearance to Mary would be misleading, in that it would imply that her relationship to her risen Son was in need of confirmation by an appearance, whereas 'his Spirit rested fully and perfectly on her, and disclosed to her his reality and all his works more clearly than light'; Mary Magdalen is described by the Gospels as the first resurrection witness in a qualified sense, namely as the first of those to whom Jesus needed to *prove* his resurrection.³

Interestingly, however, neither Ignatius nor the Jesuits who followed him seem to have taken up such quasi-historical arguments. However he might have understood the matter earlier in his career, the Ignatius who wrote the book of the *Exercises* realized that there was a problem here, and reacted with laconic defensiveness. The relevant 'mystery of the life of Christ our Lord' runs as follows:

He appeared to the Virgin Mary. This although it is not said in scripture, is included in saying that he appeared to so many others, because scripture supposes that we have understanding, as is written: 'Are you also without understanding?'⁴

Later, Polanco would insert into the Vulgate text a qualification within the contemplation itself, reminding the reader that the apparition could be 'piously and probably believed'.⁵

Ignatius, then, quotes a rebuke of Jesus to disciples who have failed to grasp the point, but does not tell us how the 'understanding' in question might work. Many Jesuit successors have brushed the issue aside: 'it is only natural that Christ should appear to Mary first out of love, because he is her son'.⁶ One critic of the first version of the *Official Directory* found Polanco's addition to the Vulgate superfluous: 'the doctrine of the Church, common to all, makes this not something probable but certain'.⁷ Others simply cite ancient and medieval texts supporting the tradition,⁸ while Rahner and von Balthasar have drawn on contemporary theological speculation linking Mary with the mystery of the Church:

From henceforth the Church is what has been founded at the Cross: the community of believers around those officially endowed, with Mary in

their centre. To her, as the heart (*Kern*) of the Church, the Son without doubt appeared first.⁹

The practical problem remains: some good people making the Exercises cannot work with a key contemplation requiring us to supply for a supposed lack in the Gospels, and many others are puzzled by it. Clearly we cannot revert to the pre-critical approach to history adopted by Ludolph, while the alternative approaches offered by the Jesuit tradition seem, frankly, lame. This essay attempts to interpret and ground the Ignatian contemplation by a different strategy. Ignatius uses his account of the first resurrection appearance to set out the pattern of prayer for the Fourth Week as a whole; I want to suggest that this may be no coincidence. There may be some deep connections between Ignatius' particular recommendations as to how we should let the resurrection message work in our lives and the role of Mary, 'Our Lady', in the Exercises as a whole.

In the so-called Application of the Senses, Ignatius invites us to consider what the characters in the gospel scene 'might be saying' (Exx 123). Contemporary biblical scholarship shows us that a similar process underlies the canonical resurrection narratives, all of which are shaped by the theological visions characteristic of each Gospel. The early Christians were led by accumulated experiences of the Risen Christ to express their understanding of the event generating such experiences in ever new ways, and consequently, by a process of retrojection, to develop the allusive, subversive biblical texts we now have.¹⁰ The Ignatius who committed himself to paper was aware that it was problematic to use a non-biblical tradition, but persisted in doing so. In the light of what we now know about the gospel narratives, we can justify this option in a way that he never could. Perhaps the graces Ignatius seems to expect from the Fourth Week at least allow, and might even require, retrojective expression in terms of a resurrection appearance to Christ's mother.

The graces of the Fourth Week

If this case is to be made, we need to begin by considering Ignatius' hints as to the fruit he expects from Fourth Week contemplation. The first three points in the prayer of the Fourth Week follow the pattern established in the Second: we consider how the characters look, what they are saying, and what they are doing. Then Ignatius names a reality more particular to this Fourth Week:

... to consider how the divinity, which seemed to hide itself in the passion, now appears and shows itself so wondrously (*miraculosamente*) in the most holy resurrection by its true and most holy effects. (Exx 223)

This recommendation clearly balances a similar one in the Third Week contemplations:

... to consider how the divinity hides itself, that is, how it could destroy its enemies and does not do it, and how it leaves the most sacred humanity to suffer very cruelly. (Exx 196)

Ignatius is not here saying that Christ's divinity is absent from the passion, nor that his risen life somehow excludes his humanity. Quite apart from the christological heresy such claims would imply, the first prelude to the Fourth Week contemplation makes it clear that the divinity remains united to both Christ's body and soul even when these are apart from each other.¹¹ The contrast turns rather on how *apparent* the divinity is. The implicit anthropology is of a fragile, mortal self, subject (even in Christ's case) to the sin and brokenness of the cosmos, yet mysteriously united to a divine reality that cannot be destroyed and which becomes most fully manifest once the fragile self has been shattered (*quebrantado* – Exx 203). Most importantly, this resurrection reality has 'effects' – effects which Ignatius seems to wish us to discover for ourselves.

What Ignatius is hinting at here seems hardly to have been taken up by interpreters. Ignatius may have seen the prayer of the Third and Fourth Weeks as deriving much of its force from its placing within the full Exercises, and from the fact that the exercitant spends several days on each in a way that cannot be paralleled in ordinary Christian devotion. Contemporary retreat-givers note difficulties of tiredness and deflation that arise; perhaps the full dynamic requires a level of spiritual stamina that is unrealistic.¹² The early Jesuit tradition seems systematically to have tamed the Fourth Week. The Autograph refers to the divinity's effects, presumably in the lives of the witnesses. The Vulgate subtly begins to remove this from normal Christian experience by speaking of how the divinity 'shines forth through so many miracles' (*tot miraculis . . . elucescat*); the texts written in preparation for the official *Directory* hardly mention the Fourth Week at all; the *Directory* itself centres the Fourth Week, not on the effects of Christ's resurrection, but on a future eternity. The resurrection appearances

are theologically secondary, and references to them syntactically subordinate:

The Fourth Week appears to correspond to the unitive way, for it is wholly concerned with love for God and longing for eternity, the exemplar of which is set forth in the resurrection of Christ and the joys which have followed upon it even in this world. Other meditations may be added here on the glory of paradise and on the future happiness of the just, the pledge of which we have received in this mystery of Christ's resurrection . . .¹³

One can only speculate on the reasons for the shifts in emphasis. There was certainly nervousness in Catholic circles about so-called mystical prayer; the kinds of experience that Ignatius was trying to foster perhaps do not lend themselves to public description; perhaps, too, the transformation indicated in Ignatius' Spanish text requires a level of psychological development beyond that of the young novices who would have been the typical exercitants in the decades following Ignatius' death. Whatever the reason, there is a sense of reciprocity, of transformative interchange, in the Autograph formulations that even the Vulgate loses. In the Vulgate text, the third prelude (Exx 221), articulating the petition characteristic of Fourth Week contemplation, runs:

The third prelude will contain the grace to be sought: i.e. that we might participate in the immense joy of Christ and his Mother (*immensum Christi ac Matris gaudium participemus*).

This marks a significant change in emphasis from Ignatius' Spanish, which speaks of something rather different from our sharing in a common joy:

The third, to ask for what I want, and it will be here to ask for grace to rejoice and be glad intensely at so great glory and joy of Christ our Lord.

Retreat givers have standardly pointed to the selflessness of this petition. But the point here may be mystical rather than ascetical – to use standard, if easily misleading, terms. Perhaps Ignatius' concern here is less that we should make a heroic effort to be unselfishly joyful than that we should allow joy to flow from a presence of God in the self not normally accessible to our immediate experience, and eluding the

ego's control or striving.¹⁴ After the experience of shatteredness in the Third Week, culminating in death, we experience in the Risen Christ the 'effects' of a God whose power continues beyond the failure of our projects. Moreover, the grace of the Fourth Week is not one of fusion, but of interchange. We are invited to orientate ourselves to a joy outside us, not simply to be engulfed by it.

The fifth point of Fourth Week contemplation (Exx 224), that in which we are invited to ponder the Risen Christ as consoler, again appears in the Autograph and the Vulgate in significantly different forms:

Autograph

The fifth is to look at the office of consoling which Christ our Lord bears, and to compare how friends are accustomed to console each other.

Vulgate

To reckon how prompt and abundant was the service which the Lord performed of consoling his own, applying the analogy of the consolation given by any best friend.¹⁵

Clearly, it would be possible to read the Vulgate as simply clarifying the Autograph. But an alternative reading is also possible. 'Applying the analogy of the consolation given by any best friend' suggests a clear understanding of the experience envisaged. For Ignatius, however, 'consolation', for all its importance, is a polyvalent word; he simply lists instances of what he calls consolation, rather than offering an exhaustive definition (Exx 316). Modern commentators differ as to how far 'spiritual consolation' in the Ignatian sense is necessarily an emotionally pleasant experience.¹⁶ Moreover, whatever 'consolation' actually means generally, the consolation brought by the Risen Christ may or may not be different. The Autograph text here in the Fourth Week simply invites us to make comparisons between what the Risen Christ brings and what friends bring to each other, thereby leaving room for a wide range of possibilities excluded by the Vulgate: disbelief, struggle, ambivalence, fear, as well as joy and gratitude. Another significant change is that the Vulgate presents the comfort of the resurrection as a past event for us to 'reckon' (*aestimare*), whereas the Autograph speaks in the present tense of something which we can 'look at' or 'consider', even 'wonder at' (*mirar*).

It is possible to read the Autograph text as far less prescriptive than the Vulgate one, in ways that contemporary experiences of the Fourth Week seem to confirm. The Spanish text invites us to consider the effects of the resurrection, to make comparisons between this kind of consolation and other forms of human happiness, and to make

colloquies. Fourth Week contemplation is not indoctrinating us into resurrection belief, but rather encouraging us to work experientially with the Easter gospel, and to move forward with our reactions, whatever these may be. Above all, there is a conviction that the reality of resurrection might actually subvert our present existence; by contrast, the Vulgate and the Directories use language more expressive of a past miraculous event that pledges a future glory.

John of the Cross and Teresa of Avila speak of a point in the spiritual life when activity and discursive meditation cease to satisfy.¹⁷ This marks the beginning of the 'dark night', a purgative process of decentring, of detachment even from one's own sense of virtue and holiness, of confrontation with spiritual weaknesses hitherto unconscious.¹⁸ But the pain issues ultimately in a transformative union between the soul and God. Perhaps the Ignatian Third and Fourth Weeks foster a similar process; perhaps, too, there are connections between the conventional belief that Ignatian meditation is only for beginners and the neglect in even the earliest commentaries of the Third and Fourth Weeks. Whereas the great Carmelite writers express the passivity and God-centredness of the experience by a variety of literary means, Ignatius honours these aspects of the reality by simply refusing to say much more than 'pray the gospel traditions recounting the passion and resurrection, and see what happens'. The grace of the Third Week involves the death of a sense of self centred on the ego, even as manifest in good and salutary life-projects; the grace of the Fourth involves the finding of God's abiding presence through and beyond searing loss.

'Our Lady'

How might an appearance to Mary somehow cohere with or express this particular spirituality of resurrection? In what follows I want to suggest that the spirituality implied at least in the Autograph text finds a natural narrative expression in the traditions Ignatius inherited about the Risen Christ appearing to Mary. Consciously or not, Ignatius therefore retained a contemplation based on such an apparition, even when the lack of explicit scriptural foundation became more obviously an issue. Our starting point can be another strikingly distinctive Marian feature of the Exercises: the mediation of 'Our Lady' in the Triple Colloquies.

In both the First and the Second Weeks, Ignatius introduces a more solemn, formal style of colloquy once the process is already developed. He directs us to pray first to Mary, then to the Son, and then to the

Father. In the First Week, this colloquy begins with the third exercise, the 'repetition' or 're-seeking' that focuses on where more consolation or desolation has been felt. And the focus of the prayer changes. No longer is Ignatius preoccupied simply with 'a great and intense sorrow and tears for my sins' (Exx 55.4); the concern here is with a more inward knowledge of one's sinfulness, and with the acquisition of insight into its characteristic, often hidden, dynamics. Our Lady is to be asked to obtain grace from 'her Son and Lord for three things':

... first, that I may feel an interior knowledge of my sins, and hatred of them; second, that I may feel the disorder of my actions, in order that, in abhorrence, I may correct myself and put myself in order; third, to ask for knowledge of the world, in order that, in abhorrence, I may put away from me worldly and vain things. (Exx 63)

Similarly, in the Second Week, the Triple Colloquy is introduced at a later stage, in a prayer concerned less with the following of Christ as such, and more with the ways in which generosity can be misdirected through 'the deceits of the bad chief' (Exx 139.1). The Triple Colloquy is part of a prayer for poverty, both spiritual and actual, aimed at counteracting such temptations. Ignatius formally invokes Mary's intercession in a special and distinctive way when he is seeking to move us beyond a conventional religious awareness, and encouraging us to attend to hitherto unacknowledged, or even unconscious, spiritual realities. He seems to believe that prayer to Mary is uniquely capable of catalysing delicate spiritual insight.

If this interpretation of Mary's active role in the one receiving the First and Second Week Exercises is correct, it seems natural to suppose that the process continues more intensively as we pray our way slowly through the experience of the passion, death and resurrection of the Lord in the Third and Fourth Weeks. Moreover, if we accept that there is some parallel between this latter experience and the purgative processes more fully evoked by Teresa of Jesus and John of the Cross, then a Jungian interpretation is at least very suggestive, if not indeed attractive. What the Carmelites express as the shift from 'meditation' to 'contemplation', the point when 'the soul's noble project' falls apart, when 'the vision blurs, and the tongue goes quiet', finds parallels in Jungian life-cycle theory. John Welch has provocatively developed the point:

For Jung, the first half of life is necessarily a one-sided journey. As ego emerges it struggles against the primordial chaos of the unconscious and through consciousness establishes order and control in the personality. In terms of the polarities of the psyche, one side of a polarity becomes established in the conscious personality; the other side of the polarity remains dormant in the unconscious . . . (W)hen one pole of the personality has reached its maximum development in consciousness, its opposite pole in the unconscious begins to be activated through a reversal of energy which now runs into the neglected pole. When this process happens, and the unconscious life forces itself upon the personality, ego-consciousness experiences a loss of control. The wider life of the psyche, the self, is seeking expression. And this self is so 'other' to ego that it is a dark experience.¹⁹

At the end of his book on Teresa, Welch draws on Jung to write about two dimensions in the 'imitation of Christ', and thereby well clarifies, for readers in the Ignatian tradition, the relationships and differences between devotion to the cross at different stages in the Exercises, between the more 'illuminative' approach of the Second Week, and the 'unitive' vision of the Third and Fourth Weeks:²⁰

The imitation of Christ . . . can become a superficial copying. Jung insists that Christ relates to the outer and inner man (*sic*), but such an understanding has been weakened in the Church, where Christ's relationship to an inner life is often obscured . . . 'The demand made by the *imitatio Christi* – that we should follow the ideal and seek to become like it – ought to have the result of developing and exalting the inner man'.

As long as Christ is functioning only, or primarily, as an example of the ideal, he is external to us; what ultimately matters for Jung is not 'an imitation that leaves a man unchanged . . . but . . . realizing the ideal on one's own account, *Deo concedente*, in one's own individual life'.²¹

It is possible, therefore, to see the graces of the Fourth Week in Jungian terms, as the emergence of the integrated self following the passion of the ego. If this is so, then these graces will find natural narrative expression in terms of a coming together of opposites, of the reclaiming of repressed potentialities, and the withdrawing of projections. In particular, there may be an integration between male and female. The Risen Christ's apparition to Mary, uniting as it does masculine and feminine exemplars of holiness, may make sense as a privileged symbol of such an integration.²²

The kind of basis in reality proposed here for the resurrection appearance to Mary may seem weak. But it is not different in kind from that which grounds the scriptural narratives themselves; these too retell the Easter story in the light of how subsequent generations experienced the grace of the Risen Lord. The Emmaus narrative takes its place within a range of other motifs of reversal and symbolic journeys to and from Jerusalem in Luke-Acts; the Johannine resurrection texts emerge from a community preoccupied with 'signs' and with the tensions manifest in the uneasy relationship between Peter and the beloved disciple. Nothing very different is occurring when the Fourth Week integrative, unitive experience finds expression in terms of an appearance to Mary.

In the Spanish text, Ignatius' predominant title for Mary is 'Our Lady'. This usage is in rhetorical parallelism with his use of 'Our Lord' for Christ, and may also owe something to the idiom of courtly love. Ignatius' use of chivalric imagery arises from an experience of warfare very different from our own: war was waged with decorum and order, its carnage was limited, and mechanized weapons were unknown. Membership of an army was a matter not of conscription but of mutual agreement, deeply respectful of the vassal's freedom.²³ One might almost talk of a non-patriarchal concept of lordship. When Ignatius likens Christ to an earthly king, he is invoking a leader who provides a vision for the follower to reflect and to reflect upon, in ways that release new freedoms and potentials.

In the colloquies, especially the Triple Colloquies, the normative, generative function of Jesus in the Christian life is shared also by Mary. The language of intercession must be understood metaphorically. The literal point is that stories of human achievement under grace 'edify' us; they stimulate or maintain our openness to the similar possibilities which our faith tells us are latent in ourselves, and facilitate creative imitation and continuation. As we remember and pray to Oscar Romero, for example, we are reminding ourselves that even the timid and complacent can be transformed into prophets. In this important sense, he is for us a *mediator* of our own grace and holiness. When, in the Triple Colloquies, we pray through Mary and Jesus to the Father, we are remembering that the new creation is a guaranteed reality, and invoking their 'intercession' in order to stimulate it within ourselves.

For Ignatius, there is an important sense in which Christ's generative role in the life of grace is not his in isolation. Minimally, he is the first-born of many sisters and brothers, living in and through his followers. But when Judas or Peter denies Christ, Christ remains Christ; their

failure to respond does not nullify the invitation he embodies, and the action of God in him. Mary's relationship to Christ is qualitatively different. Had Mary not said her *fiat*, Jesus would not be who he is at all. Jesus' unique role in the economy of grace and salvation presupposes a subordinate, but real, unique role of Mary; to extend a phrase from Ignatius' *Spiritual diary*, she is 'part or portal of the such great grace' we feel in the Spirit, and her flesh is in that of her Son.²⁴ Christ's uniqueness consists, not in the fact that God's grace works in him alone, but rather that in his resurrection we have the definitive signs of a grace present everywhere. Mary is not just another disciple; her free 'yes' under God is an independent, relationally enabling condition for Christ, and the guarantee he embodies, to exist at all. Thus Ignatius can pray that 'Our Lady' should 'put him with her Son'; she has a formative role, in relative distinction from that of Christ, in the believer's life of grace.²⁵ The generative power of Christ's resurrection and the guarantee it embodies can only be understood fully in this relational context. Hence, even given the silence of Scripture, Mary must be understood as in some sense a foundational herald of the Easter gospel.

Implicit in the theology of the Spanish Ignatius, untouched by scruples about Scripture, is an image of redeemed and perfected humanity involving both male and female in relational interdependence. When the Vulgate almost completely abandons the term 'Our Lady', replacing it with 'the Blessed Virgin Mary', it destroys delicate rhetorical and psychological balances.²⁶ In more or less conscious reaction to the Protestant *solus Christus*, the Vulgate makes a terminological retreat. The result is that a Marian text in the Exercises such as the contemplation on Our Lord's appearance to Our Lady comes to appear simply as an expression of devotion to the Virgin, grounded by ultimately unsatisfactory references to 'fittingness'. Once, however, we recognize, even beyond the explicit witness of Scripture, that a consistent doctrine of Christ's unique mediation entails a unique mediation of Mary as well, then we can see a wisdom in Ignatius' earlier usage which the learned culture of the Vulgate obscures. In particular, we can recognize that resurrection hope permits, and may even require, expression through a narrative of mature integration of male and female, of a definitive encounter between Our Lord and Our Lady.

Points for re-seeking (repetition)

The position I have argued may seem over-ingenuous; clearly some of the assumptions on which it rests require further justification. For the

moment, however, we can conclude, in the spirit of Ignatian 'repetition', by simply observing three points where further consideration might yield greater fruit and insight.

Firstly, the account given here of the apparition to Our Lady does not replace other interpretations that have been suggested. The fifth-century Latin Christian poet Sedulius presents the resurrection appearance to Mary as a parallel to her conceiving by the Spirit: 'that she who had been the entrance-door when he was born and came into the world might also be the messenger announcing his coming forth from the nether world'.²⁷ Jean Laplace, developing an idea implicit in Ludolph, accounts for the lack of scriptural attestation by considering how Mary's apprehension of the Risen Christ is uniquely close:

While the other apparitions of Our Lord remain 'outside' and have a kerygmatic purpose, the apparition to Our Lady cannot but be 'within' and wholly gratuitous. The Risen Lord . . . does not remain exterior to her in his apparition, as in the case of the disciples. It is in her that he lives again. Our Lady experiences in a way unique to her this 'Christ indwelling by faith' . . .²⁸

The account of Fourth Week contemplation given here entails only that no single theological speculation of this kind should be privileged. The narrative of the Risen Lord meeting his mother is presented to us as the basis for a plurality of possible interpretations and developments, 'asking according to what I feel in me' (Exx 109.1). Writing more generally of the Easter traditions, Rowan Williams suggests that their pluralism – in particular the interplay between the 'apophatic' emptiness of the tomb and the 'kataphatic' encounters in the apparitions – can serve as an important indicator of the Risen One's 'agency and liberty, over and against the community and its leaders':

Reading the apparition stories and the tomb stories *together* can be one effective way of preserving and highlighting the elements of absence and subversion and allowing them to shape our reading of the apparitions.²⁹

Similarly, Ignatius' option not to say too much theologically, here as elsewhere, and the consequent diversity of ways in which individuals 'discuss and consider for themselves' (Exx 2.2) may serve as a salutary strategy to counteract any illusion that God's action lies within our control.

Secondly, Jungian interpretations of Christian spirituality are notoriously question-begging. Can the action of the Holy Spirit be legitimately understood in terms of Jungian individuation at all, or is this latter merely 'an aesthetically beguiling alternative to Christianity'?³⁰ Even, moreover, if we answer that general question positively, and are happy to read the apparition of Christ to Mary as indicating some climactic point in the individuation process, the issue then arises as to how far Ignatius' text is conditioned by the experience specifically of men, indeed celibate men. Do others who receive the Exercises require the text to be adapted, perhaps radically?³¹ Indeed, how well are even such men served by a religious symbolism in which the feminine appears primarily as a mother figure? Nevertheless, a man's growth in real love requires him 'to learn to distinguish the anima from the complex of emotions centred on his mother',³² and thus a narrative of the healed mother-complex may consequently hold rich significance. Moreover, Jesus later appears to female disciples (Exx 300-1), thus completing the mutuality between masculine and feminine.

Finally, there are questions about the relationship between Ignatius' Exercises and the early modern religious culture from which they emerged. Jean-Claude Guy's 1977 essay on the first contemplation of the Fourth Week, which has served as a major stimulus for this present article, was informed by a conviction that the Vulgate text of the Exercises was normative. Guy quoted a text written in 1534, a lament at how the criticisms of Luther and Erasmus had effectively brought pilgrimages into disrepute. For Guy, the final version of the Spiritual Exercises was quite deliberately recast in order to forestall similar criticisms, and reflected a major shift in the culture of the early Jesuits as they presented themselves for service not in Jerusalem but in Rome. Once they had been forced into that option:

... the Holy Land, which had held up till then so great a place in the imagination of the first companions, disappeared completely from their horizon. In some way, this change marks a passage from the Middle Ages to modernity, a passage that becomes inscribed in the writing of the Exercises.³³

If Guy is right, this editorial strategy can now be seen to have limitations as well as advantages. A preoccupation with the literal text of Scripture led to the undermining in the Vulgate of what had been a delicate, albeit underarticulated, theological balance. Recent cultural

analyses, moreover, might suggest that the kinds of shift exemplified in the differences between the Ignatian texts reflect ethically questionable structures of power and authority. Perhaps the Vulgate embodies cultural biases towards a university, book-based approach to Christianity, biases which we must not suppose to be straightforwardly entailed in the gospel.³⁴ More specifically, the Vulgate subtly, maybe unconsciously, cuts off the range of possible realizations of Fourth Week contemplation. In doing so, it may have allied the Ignatian movement more closely to institutional Catholicism, but it also, arguably, reduced the potential of the Exercises to foster new appropriations of the gospel going beyond the conventional.

A reader sensitive to considerations such as these can see Ignatius' account of 'how Christ Our Lord appeared to Our Lady' as something other than an anomaly requiring justification, or than an assertion about Mary's dignity that no faithful Catholic should question. On the contrary, its presence at a pivotal, perhaps climactic, point of the Exercises can testify that Ignatius' process draws on realities often neglected in modern constructions of Christianity. Both in its content, and in the questions it raises about how theological symbols are legitimated, Ignatius' contemplation on the Risen Christ's appearance to Mary testifies to a power of God within us, 'able to accomplish abundantly far more than we ask or imagine' (Eph 3:20).

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NOTES

1 Jean-Claude Guy, 'L'apparition à Notre Dame', *Christus* 95 (1977), pp 356–362, remarks that in the 1548 Latin Vulgate text Ignatius continues to refer to this prelude simply as a *historia*, whereas preludes explicitly dependent on imagined situations (the Two Standards, and the Three Classes) are *historiae* only in a qualified sense (p 357). Guy's article has recently been reprinted in a supplementary number (n 186) of *Christus*, 'Aimer davantage', pp 236–242.

2 '...wer unnser Herr unnser Frouwen da am ersten erschienen nach syner vrständj'. Two of Ignatius' fellow-pilgrims have left accounts of their journey; this passage comes from that of the Zurich bell-maker, Peter Füessli (*Peter Füesslis Jerusalemfahrt 1523 und Brief über den Fall von Rhodos 1522*, edited by Leza M. Uffer (Zurich: Schulthess, 1981)), p 113. A part of Füessli's

account has been reproduced in modern German as an appendix to Peter Knauer's translation of the *Autobiography* (Leipzig: St-Benno-Verlag, 1990). Guy (p 360), and Michael Karger ("Wie Christus unser Herr erschien unserer Herrin": Zur Entstehung und Deutung der ersten Auferstehungsbetrachtung in den *Geistlichen Übungen* des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola', *Geist und Leben* 61 (1991), pp 106–128, here p 115) both cite parallels from pilgrimage accounts in other years.

3 Cited in Karger, "Wie Christus unser Herr erschien unserer Herrin", pp 110–114; Ludolph cites Anselm and another ancient text which he attributes, falsely, to Ambrose. Original in part II, chapter 70, of Ludolph, *Vita Jesu Christi* (Paris: Palmé, 1870), pp 666–667. Older and oriental witnesses are cited in Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, 'The Easter experience of Our Lady', *CIS* nos 58–59 (1988), pp 145–163. For a recent discussion in English regarding Ignatius and Ludolph, see Paul Shore, 'The *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony and its influence on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola', *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 30/1 (January 1998), pp 1–32.

4 Exx 299.2, referring to 1 Corinthians 15:6, and Matthew 15:16.

5 Guy, 'L'apparition à Notre Dame', pp 358–359.

6 John J. English, *Spiritual freedom: from an experience of the Ignatian Exercises to the art of spiritual guidance*, second edn (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1995 [1973]), p 231.

7 Guy, 'L'apparition à Notre Dame', p 359, referring to MHSJ Dir, pp 766–767 (this material was not included in the collection of Directories translated by Martin Palmer (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996)). The final editors of the *Directory* noted that the qualification was absent from the Autograph, and seem to have felt therefore justified in not addressing the point.

8 Gilles Cusson, *Biblical theology and the Spiritual Exercises: a method toward a personal experience of God as accomplishing within us his plan of salvation*, trans Mary Angela Roduit and George E. Ganss (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1988 [1968]), p 304.

9 Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Texte zum ignatianischen Exerzitienbuch*, selected and ed Jacques Servais (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1993), p 178. Compare Karl Rahner, *Spiritual Exercises*, trans Kenneth Baker (London: Sheed & Ward, 1966 [1954/5]), pp 262–269. This line of thought assimilates Ignatian Fourth Week contemplation to resurrection faith in general; moreover, if the general line of the present article is remotely correct, Ignatius thinks of Mary primarily as sharing in Christ's animating role over against the Church, rather than as simply the most perfect recipient of Christ's grace.

10 For an up-to-date review of the issues here, and for an example of imaginative method in theology going far beyond the scope of this present essay, see Rowan Williams, 'Between the cherubim: the empty tomb and the empty throne' in *On Christian theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 183–196.

11 The issue also arises when Ignatius uses the term *divinidad* in the Application of the Senses (Exx 124.1); for a similar resolution, see my 'The Ignatian prayer of the senses', *Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990), pp 391–418, at pp 399–401, a discussion which is heavily dependent on José Calveras, 'Los cinco sentidos de la imaginación en los Ejercicios de San Ignacio', *Manresa* 20 (1948), pp 47–70, 125–136, especially pp 62–64. René Lafontaine, 'Notre Dame dans les Exercices d'Ignace de Loyola', *Marianum* 46 (1984), pp 302–316 – available also in Spanish (*Manresa* 56 (1984), pp 205–217) – comments acutely on Ignatius' use of scholastic idiom: 'the person of the Word has assumed fully the state of death and even disintegration of his humanity', while the divinity abides in death, united to the separated soul and body (p 313).

12 See the discussion in the recent collaborative project led by Joseph A. Tetlow at the Secretariat for Ignatian Spirituality in Rome, issuing in a series of notes 'for the one giving Exercises' (*Review of Ignatian Spirituality* 94 (Summer 2000), pp 97–98), and also Brian O'Leary, 'The joy of the Risen Christ: the Fourth Week of the Spiritual Exercises', *Review of Ignatian Spirituality* 91 (Summer 1999), pp 41–53.

13 *On giving the Spiritual Exercises: the early Jesuit manuscript Directories and the official Directory of 1599*, trans and ed Martin E. Palmer (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), n 43.253.

14 For a suggestive, slightly different slant on the selflessness of Fourth Week contemplation, see O'Leary, 'The joy of the Risen Christ', pp 46–50.

15

Autograph

. . . mirar el officio de consolar que Xpo.
nuestro Señor trae, y comparando cómo unos
amigos suelen consolar a otros.

Vulgate

. . . aestimare quam prompto copiosoque
functus sit Dominus consolandi suos officio;
adhibita consolationis, quae ab amicissimo
quopiam praestari potest, similitudine.

16 For an illustration of the issues raised by Ignatius' teaching, see Jules J. Toner, *A commentary on Saint Ignatius's Rules for the Discernment of Spirits: a guide to the principles and practice* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1982), pp 283–290, taking issue with an article by Michael Buckley.

17 John of the Cross, *The ascent of Mount Carmel*, II. xiv.

18 John of the Cross, *Living flame of love*, I. 22.

19 John Welch, *When gods die: an introduction to John of the Cross* (New York: Paulist, 1990), pp 102–103.

20 See, for example, the account given in Michael Ivens, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises: text and commentary – a handbook for retreat directors* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998), p 147: '... the exercitant comes to pray the passion in the Third Week having in the First Week contemplated the Cross as the sign of both sin and mercy; having heard the call of the King at the beginning of the Second Week; having in some way chosen for Christ against the plausible values of the world. These insights, conversions and decisions have prepared the way, then, for the particular prayer of the Third Week, and explicitly or implicitly this prayer in turn deepens and confirms them.'

21 John Welch, *Spiritual pilgrims: Carl Jung and Teresa of Avila* (New York: Paulist, 1982), pp 202–203, quoting C. G. Jung, *Collected works*, trans R. F. C. Hull and ed Herbert Read and others, 20 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953–1979), vol 12, p 7.

22 Perhaps, too, following René Girard, we may see the process not only as a coming to terms with unacknowledged material in the psyche, but also as a reconciliation of violence latent in the structures of society and church. See James Alison, *Knowing Jesus* (London: SPCK, 1993).

23 See Ivo Zeiger, 'Gefolgschaft des Herrn: ein rechtsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zu den Exerzitien des hl. Ignatius', *Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik* 17 (1942), pp 1–16; Robert L. Schmitt, 'The Christ-experience and relationship fostered in the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola', *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 6/5 (October 1974), pp 217–255.

24 *Spiritual diary*, nn 31.2–3 (15 February 1544): *parte o puerta de tanta gracia que en espíritu sentía*. For a theological articulation of this point, see two 1954 essays by Karl Rahner: 'The Immaculate Conception' in *Theological investigations*, vol 1, trans Cornelius Ernst (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1961), pp 201–213; and 'The fundamental principle of Marian theology', *Maria* 1 (August 2000), pp 86–102, especially pp 88–96. Rahner's later writings on Mary tended to degenerate into fashionable minimalism.

25 *Autobiography*, n96, compare Exx 147.1.

26 Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, 'Our Lady in the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius', *CIS* 48 (Summer 1985), pp 11–24 – original (worth consulting) repeated in *Fous pour le Christ: Sagesse de Maître Ignace* (Brussels: Éditions Lessius, 1998), pp 92–104. Kolvenbach draws fruitfully on linguistic analysis provided in Lafontaine, 'Notre Dame dans les Exercices'.

27 Quoted by Kolvenbach, 'The Easter experience of Our Lady', p 162.

28 Kolvenbach, 'The Easter experience of Our Lady', p 160 (*Fous pour le Christ*, pp 142–143).

29 Williams, 'Between the cherubim', p 192, emphasis mine.

30 Adrian Cunningham, 'Jungian psychology' in *A new dictionary of Christian theology* (London: SCM, 1983), ed Alan Richardson and John Bowden, pp 312–313.

31 Marie-Eloise Rosenblatt's pioneer article, 'Women in the passion and resurrection narratives' (*The Way Supplement* 74 (Summer 1992), pp 40–53), which discusses the Third and Fourth Weeks

in the light of contemporary feminist approaches to biblical criticism, simply ignores Christ's apparition to Our Lady.

32 Eckhard Frick and Helmut Remmler, 'The priest and the anima', *The Way Supplement* 83 (Summer 1995), pp 64–79, here p 64.

33 Guy, 'L'apparition à Notre Dame', pp 361–362. Before his death in 1986, Guy was responsible for a French translation of the Vulgate, which he referred to as the *texte définitif* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982).

34 A classic article arguing this kind of case in more general terms in John Bossy's piece, 'The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Europe' (1970), now available in *The Counter-Reformation*, ed David M. Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp 86–104.