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THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND THE "DEBITUM PECCATI." A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONSPECTUS*

It is quite generally assumed that Pope Pius IX settled once and for all the question of Mary's Immaculate Conception. This is only partially true. The Pope did define as an article of faith that, in the first instant of her conception, Our Lady was preserved immune from every stain of original sin in view of the foreseen merits of the Savior (*Denz.* 1641). But even after the papal pronouncement theologians continued to ask whether Mary had been preserved from a sin she *should* have contracted, or rather from a sin she *would* (or could, or might) have contracted.

This question obviously coincides with the centuries-old dispute concerning the so-called "debt of sin" (*debitum peccati*) in Our Lady. Nor is it merely a peripheral and unimportant point. It makes all the difference in the world from the perspective of Mary's singular role in the over-all economy of

* Abbreviations more frequently used: *AFH*—Archivum Franciscanum Historicum; *Ant*—Antonianum; *ASC*—Alma Socia Christi; *AOC*—Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum; *ATG*—Archivo Teológico Granadino; *Carm*—Carmelus; *CD*—Ciudad de Dios; *EF*—Estudios Franciscanos; *EtF*—Etudes Franciscaines; *EM*—Estudios Marianos; *EphM*—Ephemerides Mariologicae; *ER*—Ecclesiastical Review; *FS*—Franciscan Studies; *FzS*—Franziskanische Studien; *HR*—Homiletic Review; *IER*—Irish Ecclesiastical Record; *MF*—Miscellanea Francescana; *MS*—Marian Studies; *Pareri*—Pareri dell'Episcopato Cattolico... sulla definizione dogmatica dell'Immacolato Concepimento della B.V.M., 10 vols. (Roma, 1851-1854); *Sardi*—V. Sardi, La solenne definizione del dogma dell'Immacolato Concepimento di Maria Santissima. Atti e documenti, 2 vols. (Roma, 1904-1905); *RET*—Revista Española de Teología; *RUO*—Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa; *Salm*—Salmanticensis; *SF*—Studi Francescani; *Vgl*—Virgo Immaculata; *VyV*—Verdad y Vida.

creation and salvation. In fact, some theologians correctly assess this question as pertaining to the very essence of Mary's Immaculate Conception.¹

Be that as it may, it is well known to students of theology that the age-old controversy which for centuries engaged Catholic scholars—sometimes with unedifying fervor—still preserves much of its verve.

The present paper does not attempt a systematic treatment of this complex subject. It merely wishes to provide a comprehensive bibliography calculated to assist—and hopefully to stimulate—those of our readers, especially here in the United States, who may be inclined to pursue research along these lines. But before we proceed to the bibliographical conspectus itself, it may be helpful to orient the uninitiated, and to refresh the memory of others, by recalling briefly the meaning and the main divisions of the debt of sin.

I.—In general, the *debitum peccati* is the universal necessity to contract original sin. This necessity is said to arise from two factors: (a) being conceived according to the normal laws of propagation; and (b) being included, by divine disposition, in the act of disobedience by which Adam lost the grace of God for all his descendants. The former factor is supposed to induce a remote necessity (*debitum remotum*) to incur original sin; while the latter factor gives rise to a proximate necessity (*debitum proximum*) to contract it. As regards Our Lady, theologians may be roughly categorized as follows:

(A) Some say that, since Mary was conceived by way of ordinary generation, and since she was included in the will of Adam as the moral representative of the race, she *should* have contracted original sin, although, in fact, God suspended the application of the law in her case (here is the *dibitum proximum*).

(B) Others claim that, owing to her normal generation, Mary

¹ B. H. Merkelbach, O.P., *Mariologia* (Parisiis, 1939) 131.

should have been included in the sinful will of Adam, but God exempted her from this, and hence from actually contracting original sin (*debitum remotum*).

(C) A third group contends that God preserved Mary from every necessity (proximate or remote) to contract original sin.²

Many outstanding theologians, both past and present, sincerely believe that the third opinion is untenable for the following reasons: (a) it does not take sufficient account of the fact that Mary was a true child of Adam by way of seminal generation; and (b) it withholds her from the influence of Christ's redemption. To which the adherents of the third theory reply:

(a) Seminal generation does not, of itself, create in the offspring a *necessity* to contract original sin; it merely gives rise to a *possibility* of contracting it.³ For a person to be affected by Adam's sin, a second factor is strictly necessary, namely, a decree of God withdrawing His grace from that individual whose solidarity with Adam in the *supernatural* order has been foreseen. Briefly, a true debt of sin presupposes that a person depends on the physical *and moral* headship of Adam. Now, Mary did not depend on Adam for her grace. It was the other way around.⁴

(b) To say that Mary was immune from all debt of sin does not imply that she was not redeemed. On the contrary, it affirms

² Cf. J. B. Carol, O.F.M., *Our Lady's Immunity from the Debt of Sin*, in MS 6 (1955) 164-168; Id., *Fundamentals of Mariology* (New York, 1956) 113-119.

³ Actually, many of the old defenders of the *debitum remotum* explained it as a *potentia naturalis* to contract original sin. Obviously, this is a *debitum* only in name. In any case, it now seems to be generally admitted that the mere fact of seminal generation does not constitute a cause, but only a *conditio sine qua non* to incur original sin. Cf. J. F. Sagüéz, S.J., *De Deo creante et elevante* (ed. 4, Matriti, 1964) 996ff.

⁴ Many of the theologians of this group base their theory on Mary's predestination *ante praevisum lapsum*. But others, notably Salazar and some of his followers, based it on strictly Thomistic principles. See, for example, Basilio de S. Pablo, C.P., *Impresiones de un independiente sobre la cuestión del débito*, in EphM 5 (1955) 9-32. A remarkable article.

that she is all the more indebted to the redemption. The efficacy of the Savior's redemptive grace was so overwhelming in her case, that it not only preserved her from the actual contraction of sin, but even placed her *beyond any possible reach* of the universal law of sin.⁶ Thus Mary was "redeemed in a more sublime way";⁷ she was "redeemed in a most perfect manner."⁸

The defenders of the *debitum*, while stressing the need of a strict redemption for Mary, insist that the *debitum* in no way diminishes her singular sinlessness. But this seems to involve a contradiction. Either the *debitum* presupposes a moral disorder in Our Lady or it does not. If it does, then we are departing from the official teaching of *Ineffabilis Deus*. If it does not, then from what precisely was Mary redeemed?⁹ To answer that she was redeemed from the *debitum* does not solve the problem, for once again we could pose the question: Either the *debitum* presupposes a moral disorder or it does not. If it does, we are no longer on orthodox ground. If it does not, then the word "redemption" has clearly been emptied of its strict meaning. And we may note, incidentally, that the defenders of the *debitum* are using the selfsame argument which was used for centuries against the Immaculate Conception. It proved inconclusive before, and it is still inconclusive.

The advocates of the third theory point out further: If God had from all eternity subjected Mary to the law of sin (and that is precisely what a true *debitum* implies), and then, in the first instant of her conception, decided to suspend the applica-

⁶ For one of the explanations of how this was possible, cf. Carol, *op. cit.*, 117; Alejandro de Villalmonste, O.F.M. Cap., *Maria Inmaculada, exenta del débito del pecado original*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 131; Pedro de Alcántara Martínez, O.F.M., *La redención de María y los méritos de Cristo*, in *EF* 55 (1954) 195-253.

⁷ Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus*, in *Acta et decreta sacrorum conciliorum recentiorum. Collectio Lacensis*, VI, 839.

⁸ Pius XII, *Fulgens corona*, in *AAS* 45 (1953) 591.

⁹ Cf. J. M. Alonso, C.M.F., *De recta methodo statuenda in quaestione de debito peccati in Maria*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 466.

tion of the law, He would have thereby reversed or annulled His previous decree. This is, of course, impossible because of His utter immutability.⁹

For the theologians of the third group, therefore, the Immaculate Conception means that Our Lady was preserved (in view of the redemptive merits of Christ), not from a sin she *should* have contracted, but rather from a sin she *could* or *might* have contracted, *if* God had so decided.¹⁰ The fact is, however, that God decided the very opposite. Hence, Mary's involvement in the universal law of sin ought to be relegated to the realm of purely unrealized hypotheses, concerning which revelation is silent.¹¹

II.—Having summarized the *status quaestionis*, let us now proceed to a chronological bird's-eye view of the extant literature on the subject. In order to simplify matters, at the end of each bibliographical reference, we shall add one of the following

⁹ Cf. Martínez, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 477.

¹⁰ The conditional form ("*would* have contracted...*if*..."), used by quite a few authors, is frequently interpreted as implying a *debitum conditionatum*; but it need not be so. Some of those who used it (e.g., Balić) explicitly reject *all* debt of sin in Our Lady. However, if the conditional form "*should* have contracted...*unless*" is used, then we do have a true *debitum conditionatum*, such as defended by Garrigou-Lagrange in 1954 (cf. *Vgl* 11 [1957] 458).—On the *debitum conditionatum* (*hypotheticum*), see the accurate remarks of G. M. Roschini, O.S.M., *Il problema del "debitum peccati" in Maria Santissima*, in *Vgl* 11 (1947) 349.

¹¹ In our opinion, what Our Blessed Lady *should* have at her conception is grace, not original sin. Not that *she* had a right to it, of course; rather, since God had predestined her to the ineffable dignity of the divine motherhood (either *ante* or *post praevisum lapsum*, it matters not), *He owed it to Himself* to grant her this unique privilege. This is what St. Pius X seems to be telling us when he writes in his encyclical *Ad diem illum* (*ASS* 36 [1904] 456): "Cur ita vero, nisi quod peccatum et Deus per infinitam oppositionem separantur? Hinc sane catholicae ubique gentes persuasum habuere Dei Filium...*DEBUISSE*... ab omni originalis culpa labe praeservare immunem Virginem Matrem." If God *should* have preserved Mary from original sin, as the Pope states, then God *should* have filled her with grace at the very first instant of her conception.

abbreviations to indicate which kind of *debitum* (if any) the author in question defends:²²

CF—*Conditional Form* (i.e., Mary *would* have contracted, if not preserved).

DC—*Debitum conditionatum*, or hypothetical (cf. footnote 10).

DExt—*Debitum extrinsecum* (i.e., the necessity was not in Mary herself, but in Adam to reach Mary).

DM—*Debitum materiale* (this amounts to the *debitum remotum*).

DP—*Debitum proximum* (some call it *personale*, others *intrinsicum*).

DR—*Debitum remotum* (some call it *radicale*, *naturale*; others *extrinsecum*).

DS—*Debitum simpliciter* (i.e., the author in question affirms a *debitum* in Mary without specifying its kind).

DV—*Debitum virtuale* (seems to be about the same as PN; cf. below).

ND—*Nullum debitum* (i.e., the author excludes *all* true debt from Mary).

NDimpl.—*Nullum debitum implicite* (i.e., the author says that Mary was not under the moral headship of Adam; that she was predestined *ante praevisum lapsum*; that she had nothing to do with Adam's fall, or the equivalent).

NDS—*Negat debitum simpliciter* (i.e., the author denies that Mary had a *debitum*, without specifying further).

PN—*Potentia naturalis* (i.e., the author admits that there was in Mary the *possibility* (or an *aptitudo*) to contract original sin on account of her natural descent from Adam. This amounts to the denial of a *true* debt).

²² Here is a list of the various divisions of the *debitum* used in the past: Passivum-activum; absolutum-conditionatum; simpliciter-secundum quid; formale-materiale; morale-physicum; mediatum-immediatum; personale-naturale; intrinsicum-extrinsicum; objectivum-subjectivum; positivum-negativum; actuale-virtuale; reale-conditionatum; exercitum-signatum; proximum-remotum. All the above, however, may be roughly reduced to the divisions we indicate in our bibliography.

Our bibliography will be divided into four sections as follows: (I) From the 12th to the 17th century; (II) The Seventeenth century; (III) The 18th and 19th centuries; and (IV) The Twentieth century.

SECTION I

FROM THE 12TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY

The question of Mary's incurring or not incurring the debt of original sin was not treated *ex professo* and systematically until about the time of the Council of Trent. Hence our judgment concerning many of the authors of this period is only an approximation based on their teaching on Mary's relationship to the law of sin, as adapted to later terminology. Some of these authors clearly imply some debt of sin in Our Lady; others are not so easily categorized. Which explains the divergence of opinion among modern interpreters of their thought.¹⁸

¹⁸ Unable to consult personally all the authors mentioned in our conspectus, we are heavily indebted to the research done by others, especially: O. Casado, C.M.F., *Mariologia clásica española* I (Madrid, 1958); J.-F. Bonnefoy, O.F.M., *Maria indemne de toute tache du péché originel*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 1-62; Id., *La negación del "debitum peccati" en Maria*, in *Vgl* 12 (1954) 102-171; Id., *Quelques théories modernes du "debitum peccati"* (Rome, 1954), which appeared also in *EphM* 4 (1954) 269-331; C. Balié, O.F.M., *De debito peccati originalis in B. Virgine Maria investigationes de doctrina quam tenuit Joannes Duns Scotus* (Romae, 1941); J. Alfaro, S.J., *La fórmula definitiva de la Inmaculada Concepción*, in *Vgl* 2 (1956) 201-275; L. Macali, O.F.M. Conv., *La dottrina dell'Immacolata nei grandi scotisti O.F.M. Conv. dei secoli XVI-XIX*, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 44-98; C. Catena, O.Carm., *La dottrina immacolista negli autori carmelitani*, in *Carm* 2 (1955) 132-215; E. D. Carretero, O.S.A., *Tradición immaculista agustiniana a través de Egidio de la Presentación*, in *CD* 166 (1954) 343-386; Valentino di S. Maria, O.C.D., *L'Immacolata e la Congregazione dei Carmelitani Scalzi*, in *De Immaculata B.V.M. Conceptione apud Carmeli Teresiani Ordinem* (Romae, Ephem. Carmeliticae, 1956) 3-120; S. Doimi, O.F.M. Conv., *I Predicatori O.F.M. Conv. e l'Immacolata nei secoli XVI-XIX*, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 295-335.—We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to those who graciously supplied us with photostats of material needed for our conspectus, especially: Fr. Peter D. Fehlner, O.F.M. Conv., Fr. John Bresnahan, O.S.A., Fr. Franz-B. Lichteig, O.Carm., Fr. Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M. and Fr. John F. Craghan, C.S.S.R.

- EADMERUS CANTUARIENSIS, O.S.B. (d.c. 1141), *Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, ed. Thurston-Slater (Friburgi Brigoviae, 1904) 10, 12-13. Cf. B. del Marmol, O.S.B., in *Vgl* 5 (1955) 194-201. NDimpl.
- ROBERTUS GROSSETETE (1168-1253), Sermon on the *Tota pulchra* (Ms. Royal VII. F.2, f.48c-49c), ed. by E. Longpré, O.F.M., in *AFH* 26 (1933) 551. CF.
- ANONYMUS, O.F.M. (between 1294-1296) (Ms. D.6. 359, Bibl. Nat. Flor.); text quoted by V. Doucet, O.F.M., *P. J. Olivi et l'Immaculée Conception*, in *AFH* 26 (1933) 562, n.2. DS.
- GULIELMUS GUARRA [William of Ware], O.F.M. (d. 1298), *Quaestio: Utrum B. V. concepta fuerit in originali peccato*; in *G. Guarrae, J. D. Scoti, Petri Aureoli, Quaestiones disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis* (Ad Claras Aquas, 1904) 10. CF.
- PETRUS PASCASIUS, S., O. de M. (d. 1300), *Obras...*, ed. A. Valenzuela, I (Roma, 1906) 24. Cf. A. Pérez, in *ASC* 7 (1952) 11-12. NDimpl.
- SCOTUS, JOANNES DUNS, O.F.M. (d.1308), *Opus Oxoniense*, lib. III, d.3, q. 1; ed. C. Balić, O.F.M., *J. D. Scoti Theologiae Marianae elementa* (Sibenici, 1933) 35-36, 42. CF.¹⁴
- JOANNES DE BASSOLIS, O.F.M. (c.1313), *In III Sent. opus*, d.3, q.1, a.3 (Parisiis, 1517) f.28ra-b. DV.
- AUREOLUS, PETRUS, O.F.M. (1314), *Tractatus de conceptione Immaculatae Virginis*; in *Guarrae, Scoti, Aureoli, Quaestiones disputatae* (ed. cit.) 48, 90. (B.V. peccavit de jure).¹⁵
- PETRUS THOMAS, O.F.M. (fl.1316), *De conceptione B.V.*

¹⁴ On Scotus, cf. Balić, *op. cit.*; and P. Hug, O.F.M., *The Modern Challenge against the Franciscan Tradition as Having Taught an Immaculate Conception Incompatible with the Redemption*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 365-413. Further bibliography in Casado, *op. cit.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX.

¹⁵ Cf. S. Manelli, O.F.M. Conv., *Pietro Aureoli, O.Min. (d. 1322) e la questione del "debitum peccati" in Maria* (Roma, 1961).

- Mariae*, I, pars 2, c.4: ed. P. de Alva et Astorga, O.F.M., *Monumenta antiqua seraphica*... (Lovanii, 1665) 212-274, esp. 260. DC.
- MAYRONIS, FRANCISCUS DE, O.F.M. (d.1330), *In III Sent.*, d.3, a.5 (ed. Venetiis, 1519) f.172ra. DS.
- RUBIO, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M. (fl.1334), *In III Sent.*, d.3, q.1 (ed. Parisiis, 1518) f.19ra. DV.
- BACO [Baconthorpe], JOANNES, O.Carm. (d.1346), *In IV Sent.*, d.3, a.3 (ed. Venetiis, 1526), f.94v. DS.¹⁶
- DE MARCHIA, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M. (fl.1344), *De conceptione B.V. Mariae*; ed. A. Emmen, in *FzS* 39 (1957) 217. PN.
- THOMAS AB ARGENTINA, O.S.A. (d.1357), *In III Sent.*, d.3, q.1, a. 1 et 4 (ed. Venetiis, 1564). PN.¹⁷
- SCILDIS, HERMANUS DE, O.E.S.A. (d.1357), *Tractatus de conceptione gloriosae Virginis* (Bibl. Nac. Paris, Ms. lat. 2922, f.285v). DR.¹⁸
- ANDREAS, ANTONIUS, O.F.M. (d.1350), *In III Sent.*, d.3, q.1 (ed. Venetiis, 1578) f.93v. CF.
- CARACCILO, LANDULPHUS, O.F.M. (d.1351), *In III Sent.* (Ms. Bibl. Naz. Napoli, VII, C.49) ed. D. Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., in *SF* 28 (1931) 44-69; cf. 57, 63, 67. NDimpl.
- VITALIS [Vidal], JOANNES, O.F.M. (fl.1384), *Defensorium B. V. Mariae*, lib. 2, q.4; ed. P. de Alva et Astorga, O.F.M. *Monumenta antiqua seraphica*... (Lovanii, 1665) 110-11. ND.
- THEOPHANES NICAENUS (d.1381), *Sermo in SS. Deiparam*, 4; ed. M. Jugie, A.A., *Lateranum* 1 (1935) 18-20. ND.¹⁹

¹⁶ On Baconthorpe, cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, in *Carm* 2 (1955) 166-167.

¹⁷ Cf. Carretero, *art. cit.*, 353.

¹⁸ Cf. Carretero, *art. cit.*, 361. There is a new edition by A. Zumkeller, O.S.A. (Würzburg, 1970) xxi-182 pp.

¹⁹ On Theophanes, cf. H. Pinna, O.F.M., *De praedestinatione Christi et Deiparas secundum Theophanem Nicaenum* (Calari, 1948). Actually, this booklet is only one chapter of Pinna's doctoral dissertation (No. 49) defended in 1948 at the Athenaeum Antonianum in Rome. Chapter 3,

- CABASILAS, NICOLAUS (d.c.1396), *Hom. in Annunt.*, 3 (PO 19, 486); *Hom. in Nativ.* (PO 19, 473). ND.²⁰
- HILTALTINGER, JOANNES, O.E.S.A. (d. 1392), *Responsiones* . . (Bibl. Monac., Ms. lat. Clm. 26711, f.215va). DR.²¹
- PS-LULIUS, RAYMUNDUS (c.1394), *Liber de conceptu virginali*; ed. P. de Alva et Astorga, O.F.M., *Monumenta antiqua seraphica* . . (Lovanii, 1665) 441-463, DR.²²
- LAURENTII OPIMI BONONIENSIS, O.S.M. (d.c.1395), *Quaestio de Conceptione*; in *Super quatuor libros Sent. lectura* (Parisiis, 1532); ed. G. Roschini, O.S.M., *I Servi di Maria e l'Immacolata* (Roma, 1955) 126. DP.
- BREMER, JOANNES, O.F.M. (fl.1424), *In III Sent.*, d.3., q.1; ed. L. Meyer, O.F.M., in *Ant* 5 (1930) 79 ND.
- AIGUANI, MICHAEL, O.Carm. (d.c. 1400), *Dictionary*, in *AOC* 7 (1930-1931) 272-273. ND.
- MARTI, FRANCISCUS, O.Carm. (d.c.1400), *Compendium veritatis Immaculatae Conceptionis*; ed. P. de Alva et Astorga (Lovanii, 1665) 94-96. PN.
- PORQUERI, PETRUS, O.F.M. (1439); in Joannes a Montenegro, O.P., *Relatio de conceptione Virginis* (Codex Vat. lat. 232, f.64r). DS.
- SEGOVIA, JOANNES DE (1439), *Septem allegationes et totidem avisamenta* . . ; ed. P. de Alva et Astorga (Bruxellis, 1644) 221, 232-244. ND.²³

which treats of Mary's predestination and its consequences, is still unpublished, as far as we know.

²⁰ On Cabasilas, cf. E. M. Toniolo, O.S.M., *La mariologia di N. Cabasilas* (Vicenza, 1955); M. Gordillo, S.J., in *Vgl* 4 (1955) 180.

²¹ Cf. Carretero, *art. cit.*, 363.

²² On Bl. Raymond Lull, cf. M. Caldentey, T.O.R., *Nuestra Sra. S. Maria ¿fue madre por causa del pecado?*, in *EM* 8 (1949) 363-381; A. de Palma de Mallorca, T.O.R., *La Inmaculada en la escuela lulista*, in *EF* 55 (1954) 171-194. On Ps-Lull, cf. Martínez in *EM* 16 (1955) 125-127.

²³ On Segovia, cf. H. Ameri, O.F.M., *De debito peccati originalis in B. V. Maria deque ejusdem redemptione apud theologos Concilii Basiliensis*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 189-195; P. de Alcántara Martínez, O.F.M., *La reden-*

- HIMMEL, JOANNES (1439), *Sermo de Immaculata Conceptione B. Virginis*; ed. I. L. Schönleben, *Orbis universi votorum pro definitione piaae et verae sententiae de Immaculata Conceptione Deiparae*, IV (Clagenfurti, 1659) 34. DS.
- PALOMAR, JOANNES DE (1439), *Libellus de procuranda decisione piaae sententiae asserentis B. Virginem conceptam sine macula*; ed Schönleben, *op. cit.*, 28f. DS.
- SPIERA, AMBROSIUS, O.S.M. (d.1455), *Quadragesimale de floribus sapientiae* (ed. Venezia, 1746). Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 134. DC.
- SCHOLARIOS, GEORGIUS (1464), *Hom. in Dorm.*, 8; *Oeuvres complètes*, I (Paris, 1928) 203. DR.
- DE CUSA, Card. NICOLAUS (1464), *Serm. 16*; *Opera omnia* (Parisiis, 1514) f.153. NDimpl.
- CARLERII, AEGIDIUS, O.F.M. (d.1472), *Utrum B. Virgo fuerit immunis ab originali peccato...*; ed. V. Doucet, in *Ant* 5 (1930) 436. CF.
- PÉREZ DE VALENCIA, JACOBUS, O.E.S.A. (d.1492), *Doctissimae et plane divinae explanationes in 150 psalmos davidicos...* (Venetiis, 1568) 363, 1103, 1105-6-7. PN.
- CARACCILO, ROBERTUS, O.F.M., *De conceptione intemeratae Mariae Virginis sermo*; in *Sermones* (ed. Lugduni, 1491) c. 1. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.* 224. PN.
- DE MEPPIS [Schiphower], JOANNES, O.E.S.A. (d.c.1521), *Tractatus de Immaculata Conceptione*; ed. P. de Alva et Astorga (Lovanii, 1664) 44. ND.²⁴
- VORRILONG, GULIELMUS DE, O.F.M. (1496), *In III Sent.*, d.3, q.1 (Venetiis, 1496) f.167vb. CF.

ción y el débito de María según Juan de Segovia y Juan de Torquemada, in *RET* 16 (1956) 3-51; Id., *Relaciones entre Corredención y débito según los teólogos salmantinos*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 206-231, 239-244.

²⁴ On this author cf. A. Kunzelmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, 5 (Würzburg, 1974) 253-254; J. Lanteri, *Postrema saecula sex Religionis Augustinianae*, 2 (Tolentini, 1839) 97-98. Courtesy of John E. Bresnahan, O.S.A., Washington, D.C.

- BUSTIS, BERNARDINUS DE, O.F.M. (d.c.1513), *Mariale* Argentinae, 1498) 6, 11. PN.²⁵
- MARSILIUS DE INGHEN, *In II Sent.*, q.20, a.2 (Argentinae, 1501) f. 317v. ND.
- THEMESVAR, PELBARTUS, O.F.M., *Promerium sermonum de B. Virgine*, pars 1, a.2; pars 2, a.2 (Haganaw, 1504). PN.
- HERVEUS, BRITO, *In III Sent.*, d.3, q.1 (Venetiis, 1505) f.4av. DS.
- CUCCARO, ANTONIUS DE, O.F.M. Conv. (d. 1510), *Elucidarius Virginis*...; ed. P. de Alva et Astorga (Lovanii, 1655) 777, 993. Cf. Macali, in *Vgl* 7/2, (1957) 51. P.N.
- CLICTOVEUS, JUDOCUS, *De puritate conceptionis B. V. Mariae* (Parisiis, 1513) 32. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 145-147, 228. ND.
- GALATINUS, PETRUS, O.F.M., *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*, lib. 3, c.2 (Ortona al Mare, 1518) 488. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 247-248. NDimpl.
- CATHARINUS, AMBROSIUS, O.P. (d.1552), *Disput. pro veritate Immaculatae Conceptionis B. V. Mariae*... (Romae, 1551) 14. ND.²⁶
- GARCIA, MARTIN (d. 1521), *Sermones* (Zaragoza, 1520), *serm.* 39. Cf. S. Girac, in *Congreso Mariano Nacional de Zaragoza*, 1954 (Zaragoza, 1955) 683, 687. ND.
- MUSSO, CORNELIUS, O.F.M. Conv. (d.1574), *Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos* (ed. Venetiis, 1588) 255a. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 251. ND.

²⁵ Cf. Alfaro, *art. cit.*, in *Vgl* 2 (1956) 205-206.

²⁶ On Catharinus, cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 176-180, 231-234; D. Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., *Le idee scottiste di un gran teologo domenicano del 500: Ambrogio Catarino*, in *SF* 4 (1932) 296-319; 5 (1933) 197-217. On Catharinus' adversary, Card. Cajetan, O.P. (d. 1534), see his *De Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis ad Leonem X, Pontificem Maximum*; ed. *Opuscula omnia*, 2 (Venetiis, 1596) 138b where he admits the possibility of an Immaculate Conception with a *debitum*, but personally prefers to hold that Mary was conceived in original sin. Cf. G. Bosco, O.P., *L'Immacolata Concezione nel pensiero del Gastano e del Caterino* (Firenze, 1950) 40.

- CARVAJAL, LUDOVICUS DE, O.F.M., *Declamatio expostulatoria pro Immaculata Conceptione Genitricis Dei Mariae* (Parisiis, 1541); ed. Alva et Astorga, *Monumenta antiqua seraphica* (Lovanii, 1665) 481. DN.
- BÁÑEZ, DOMINICUS, O.P. (1528-1604), *In I-II*, q.81, a.3; ed. Heredia, *Comentarios inéditos a la Prima Secundae de Santo Tomás* (Salamanca, 1944) II, 260-261. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 243. DRimpl.
- LAÍNEZ, DIDACUS, S.J. (d.1565). According to G. Albornoz, *Apuntamientos . . .* (ed. J. A. de Aldama, in *ATG* 17 [1954] 174), Laínez shared Salmerón's views on Mary's immunity from the *debitum*.
- PERETTI, FELICE, O.F.M. Conv. (later Sixtus V), *Predica della purissima concezzione de la gloriosa Madre di Dio . . .* (Napoli, 1554) 20. Cf. Doimi, *art. cit.*, 317-318. PN.
- CÓRDOBA, ANTONIUS DE, O.F.M. (d.1578), *Opera*, I (Venetiis, 1569), *Quaestionarium theologicum*, 2. 44, f.354b. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 240. DP.
- PRIORINI, ARCHANGELUS, O.S.M. (d.1573), *Sermo pro Conceptione B.V.M.*, in *Conciones* (Bibl. Nat. Flor., Ms. conventi A. 5. 1670; IV, fasc. 7, f.29v133v.). Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 137. NDimpl.
- RIGHINI, AUGUSTINUS, O.F.M. Conv., *De Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis*, in *Sermones per totam Quadragesimam . . .* (Patavii, 1574) 46. CF.
- ESTELLA, DIDACUS DE, O.F.M. (fl.1575), *In s. Jesuchristi evangelium secundum Lucam* (ed. Moguntiae, 1680) 184ab. Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *VyV* 12 (1954) 117. NDS.
- VICEDOMINI, FRANCISCHINUS, O.F.M. Conv., *In sacrosancta de Adventu et de Quadragesima evangelia . . . homiliae* (Venetiis, 1576) 24. DRimpl.
- MALDONATUS, JOANNES, S.J. (1579), *Adnotationes de Conceptione* (Ms. Vat. lat. 6433, f.31v-32r). Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 241-242. DP.
- MEDINA, BARTHOLOMAEUS DE, O.P. (d.1580), *In 3 Part.*

- Summae*, q.27, a.2 (Salmanticae, 1578) 592a. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 243. DP.
- TURRIANUS [DE TORRES], FRANCISCUS, S.J., *Epistola de definitione propria peccati originalis... et de conceptione Virginis Matris Dei...* (Florentiae, 1581) 32-34. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 366-368. ND.
- PAGANI A VENETIIS, VEN. ANTONIUS, O.F.M. (d.1589), *Corollarium [de Imm. Conc.]* (Venetiis, c.1582); ed. C. Romeri, O.F.M., in *Ant.* 15 (1930) 342. PN.
- MORENO, CRISTOBAL, O.S.F., *Libro intitulado Limpieza de la Virgen y Madre de Dios* (Valencia, 1582) 326. PN.
- ANGLES, JOSEPH, O.F.M. (d.1587), *In III Sent.*, pars 2, d.31, q.1, appendix 6 (Matriti, 1586). Cf. Ocerinjáuregui, in *VyV* 5 (1947) 430. ND.
- PÉREZ DE VALDIVIA, DIEGO (d.1589), *Tratado de la singular y purísima Concepción de la Madre de Dios* (Barcelona, 1600) f.10v, 12, 34v, 36, 72. Cf. J. Esquerda, in *EphM* 14 (1964) 250ff. ND.
- LUYSII LEGIONENSIS [Luis de León], O.S.A. (d.1591), *Opera*, IV: *De Incarnatione*, q.3 (Salmanticae, 1893) 106. Cf. Carretero, *art. cit.* 384-385. DP.
- SALMERÓN, ALPHONSUS, S.J. (d.1595), *Comment. in omnes epist. Pauli et canonicas*, 13 (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1604) 444. ND.
- SUÁREZ, FRANCISCUS, S.J. (d.1617), *De vitiis et peccatis*, tr. 5, d.IX, sect. 4 (ed. Vivès, Parisiis, 1656) IV, 615-623. DP.²⁷
- BELLARMINUS, S. ROBERTUS, S.J. (d.1621), *De controversiis christianae fidei*, lib. 4, c.16 (Ingolstadii, 1593) col. 190. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 243. DS.

²⁷ Cf. J. M. Bover, S.J., *Posición de Suárez en la controversia concepcionista*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 268-284, esp. 283; J. A. de Aldama, S.J., *Ibid.*, 296-298; M. Liaño, S.J., *La redención pasiva de María según el P. Suárez*, in *ATG* 11 (1948) 195-223.

- VALENTIA, GREGORIUS DE, S.J. (d.1603), *Comment. theologicorum*, t.2, d.6, q.11 (Venetiis, 1593) 729ab. DS.
- PALLANTIERI, JOANNES P., O.F.M. Conv., *Lectura in 4 libr. Sent.* (Regii, 1594) III, 45-47. Cf. L. Macali, *art. cit.*, 57. PN.
- SÁNCHEZ DE LA CÁMARA, DIEGO, O.C.D., Transl. of Cesar Calderari's *Conceptos escriturales sobre el Miserere mei...* (Alcalá de Henares, 1594) f.105. PN.
- ZUMEL, FRANCISCUS, O. de M., *In Primam Secundae*, I, q.81, a.3, disp. unica (Salmanticae, 1594) 548. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 244. DS.
- OVANDO, JOANNES, O.F.M., *Comment. in III Sent. subtilissimi doctoris J. D. Scoti* (Valentiae, 1597) 124b-127a. DP.
- OCAÑA, FRANCISCUS DE, O.F.M. Thesis against the *debitum* defended in Alcalá sometime before 1597, according to Alborno, *Apuntamientos...* (Bibl. Nac. Madrid, Ms. 4011, f.201v.). ND.

SECTION II

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- AZOR, JOANNES, S.J., *Institutionum moralium tomus I* (Romae, 1600) col. 397-398. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 245. DS.
- NICOLAUS NIGIDUS, *Summa Sacrae Mariologiae* (Panhormi, 1602) 242-244. ND.
- PASSERO DA NOLA, BONAVENTURA, O.F.M. Conv., *Predica dell'Immacolata Concettione di Maria*, in *Prediche...* (Napoli, 1605) 254, 256. Cf. Doimi, *art. cit.*, 318. CF.
- SUÁREZ, JOANNES, O.F.M., *Conciones vigintitres; In festo Conceptionis B. Mariae sermo* (Lugduni, 1605) 647, 658-659. ND.
- BARRADAS, SEBASTIANUS, S.J. (d.1615), *Comment. in concordiam et historiam evangelicam*, I (Moguntiae, 1610) 263, col. 2. Cf. A. Barreira, in *ATG* 17 (1954) 141. DP.
- MÉNDEZ, ESTEBAN, O.P., *Doce libros de la dignidad de la*

- Virgen* (Barcelona, 1604) 145va, 148ab, 150ra. DRimpl.
- ONÁ, PEDRO DE, O. de M., *Primera parte de las postrimerías del hombre* (Pamplona, 1608) 963. Cf. R. Rosca, in *ASC* 7 (Romae, 1952) 143. ND.
- MAGALIANUS, COSMAS, S.J., *Operis hierarchici sive de eccles. principatu libri tres...* (Lugduni, 1609) 276. Cf. Casado, 259. ND.
- SALAS, JOANNES, S.J., *In I-II*, 2 (Barcinonae, 1609) tr.13, d.11, sect.5, q.11. Cf. Casado, 354. DP.
- DIEZ, FILIPPO, O.F.M., *Mariale della Sacratissima Vergine Maria*, tr. from Spanish (Venetia, 1610) 7a, 8ab. ND.
- GAÇO, JOANNES, O.F.M., *Institutiones sacras evangélicas y morales...*, I (Barcelona, 1610) 2922. Cf. W. Sebastian, O.F.M., *De B. V. Maria universali gratiarum Mediatrice...* (Romae, 1952) 43. NDimpl.
- HERRERA, FRANCISCUS DE, O.F.M., *Manuale theol. in IV Sent.* (Romae, 1610) 146f. ND.
- MURILLO, DIEGO, O.F.M. (1610), *Vida y excelencias de la Madre de Dios*, I (ed. Lérida, 1916) 50-59. ND.
- CARTHAGENA, JOANNES DE, O.F.M., *Homiliae catholicae...*, II (Romae, 1611) 12b, 22b. Cf. Casado, 262. ND.²⁸
- PONCIUS [Ponce de León], BASILIUS, O.E.S.A., *Variarum disputationum ex utraque theol. schol. et expositiva*, pars 1 (Salmanticae, 1611) 546-547. Cf. Casado, 263. ND.
- JUSTINIANUS, BENEDICTUS, S.J., *In omnes B. Pauli epistolas* (Lugduni, 1612) 453. Cf. Casado, 264. PN.
- VÁZQUEZ, GABRIEL, S.J. (d.1604), *In Tertiam Partem Sti. Thomae*, II (Ingolstadii, 1612) d. 116, c.5, nn.52-59. DP.
- DE PITIGIANIS [Arretinus], FRANCISCUS, O.F.M., *Summa theol. spec. et mor. necnon comment. in III lib. Sent. Doctoris Subtilis Joannis D. Scoti*, d. III, q.1 (Venetiis, 1613) 144. Cf. Balić, *De debito*, 41-42. DP.

²⁸ Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 262; Martínez, *La Inmaculada Concepción según las doctrinas de Juan de Cartagena y Juan Serrano*, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 209-241, esp. 217-220 where some contradictory texts are given.

- FABER [Fabri de Brighisella], PHILIPPUS, O.F.M. Conv. (d. 1630), *Disputationes theol. in III Sent...* (ed. 4, Venetiis, 1629) 56. Cf. Macali *art. cit.*, 59. DR.
- SPINELLO, PETRUS A., S.J. (d.1615), *Thronus Dei, Maria Deipara...* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1669) 97. CF.
- MORALES, PETRUS, S.J., *In caput primum Matthaei libri quinque* (ed. Parisiis, 1769) 194. DP.
- NUÑEZ NAVARRO, FRANCISCO, *Sermón de la Purísima Concepción* (Sevilla, 1615) 9-12, esp. 4v. Cf. Casado, 267. ND.
- PIZAÑO DE PALACIOS, ALVARO, *Discurso primero en confirmación de la Purísima Concepción de la Virgen María...* (Sevilla, 1615) 13r. Cf. Bonnefoy, *La negación...* 122-125. ND.
- FRANCISCANS OF TOLEDO. In late 1615 JUAN DE SORIA and FRANCISCO FRESNO announce public defense of a thesis against the *debitum*.⁸⁰
- [ALBORNOZ, GONZALO DE, S.J.], *Apuntamientos de la probabilidad y verdad, importancia y necesidad de la opinión que la Santísima Virgen no contrajo en su propia persona el débito de incurrir el pecado original* (Ms. Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, Armario Jesuítico, tom. 23, f.33r-36v); ed. J. A. de Aldama, S.J., in *ATG* 17 (1954) 172-179. ND.⁸⁰
- ENRIQUEZ DE VILLEGAS, ANDREAS (1615), *Disputatio theologica: Utrum Maria Sacratissima Dei Mater ex peccato*

⁸⁰ They were reported by the Dominicans to the Toledo Inquisition which in turn referred the matter to the Supreme Tribunal in Madrid. The thesis was officially approved as probable on January 22, 1616. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 275-306 where further literature on the controversy will be found.

⁸⁰ Cf. J. A. de Aldama, S.J., *El P. Gonzalo Fontes de Albornoz y el problema del débito del pecado original en la Santísima Virgen*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 285-298, with further bibliography on the subject. Albornoz also wrote *Carta a un teólogo de Sevilla*, ed. by Aldama in *ATG* 17 (1954) 167-171. Aldama, however, interprets Albornoz as favoring a *debitum remotum*.

- Adae contraxerit debitum originalis peccati* (Bibl. Nac. Madrid, Ms. 469, f.4v, 86v). Cf. Casado, 333. ND.
- VELASCO, ANTONIO DE, O.F.M. Defended thesis against *debitum* in Alcalá. Cf. Casado, 301-333; Bonnefoy, *La negación*, 134-136. ND.
- ROJAS SANDOVAL, BERNARDO (Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo and Supreme Inquisitor), applauded Franciscans' victory (Jan. 22, 1616) in their defense of Mary's immunity from the *debitum*. Cf. Casado, 282. ND.
- DE LA CERDA, MEXIAS, *Oratio pro Immaculata* (Salman-ticae, 1623); in Francisco de Sosa, O.F.M., *Tratados . . .*, 109. Cf. Casado, 314. ND.
- FRANCIS DE SALES, ST. (d. 1622), *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, II, c.6 (ed. Lyon, 1627) 88-90. ND.
- LEZANA, JOANNES B., O.Carm., *Liber apologeticus pro Immaculata Deiparae Virginis Mariae Conceptione ubi non modo caruisse peccato originali sed neque in Adamo peccasse nec debitum proximum originalis habuisse defenditur* (Matriti, 1616) 141-195. PN.
- LOAYSA, BARTOLOMÉ DE, O.Carm., *Triunfo de la Reina de los Angeles . . .* (Sevilla, 1616) 31-39. PN.
- TOLEDO, ALFONSO DE, O.Minim., *Sermón de la Inmaculada Concepción de la SS. Virgen María* (Sevilla, 1616) f.6, f.15r. Cf. Bonnefoy, *La negación*, 131-132. ND.
- AEGIDIUS A PRAESENTATIONE, O.S.A., *De Immaculata B. Virginis Conceptione . . .* (Conimbricae, 1617) 75b, 133b. DExtr.³¹

³¹ On the confused and seemingly contradictory statements of this author, cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 30; Martínez, *Le redención y el débito de María. Siglos XVII-XVIII*, in *VyV* 12 (1954) 6ff; J. Saraiva Martins, C.M.F., *A redenção passiva de Maria segundo Egidio da Apresentação*, in *EphM* 11 (1961) 313-342. Id., *O. "debitum peccati" em Maria segundo Egidio de Apresentação*, *ibid.* 9 (1959) 377-437; Id., *Valor teológico da doutrina de Egidio da Apresentação sobre a Imaculada*, *ibid.* 12 (1962) 59-106.

- GRANADO, DIDACUS, S.J., *De Immaculata B. V. Dei Genitricis Mariae Conceptione*... (Hispani, 1617) 90-94. DR.²²
- PINEDA, JUAN DE, S.J., *Advertencias al privilegio onzeno ... en favor de la fiesta y misterio de la concepción de la B. V. María sin mancha de pecado original* (Sevilla, 1617). Cf. Casado, 353. ND.
- SÁNCHEZ LUCERO, GONZALO, *Dos discursos teológicos en defensa de la Immaculada Concepción ... Segunda parte* (Sevilla, 1617) 27. Cf. Martínez, in EF 55 (1954) 207-208; Casado, 268-270. ND.
- GUTIÉRREZ, LORENZO, O.P., *Sermón predicado a la Majestad del Rey Católico Don Felipe III, N.S., en la solemne fiesta de la Encarnación* (Madrid, 1618). Cf. Bonnefoy, art. cit., 141. DR.
- SALAZAR, FERDINANDUS CHIRINUS DE, S.J. (d.1646), *Pro Immaculata Deiparae Virginis Conceptione defensio* (Compluti, 1618) 170-180. ND.²³
- LAURENTIUS A BRUNDUSIO, S., O.F.M.Cap. (d.1619), *Mariale* (ed. Patavii, 1928) 494-498. DR.²⁴
- BOUCHER, PÈRE, Cordellier, *Les magnificences divines chantées par la Vierge*... (Paris, 1620) 190-191. NDimpl.
- MONTESINOS, LUDOVICUS, *Comment. in I-II Divi Thomae*, II, q.81, d.11 (Compluti, 1622) 312b. Cf. Casado, 303. DP.
- ROA DAVILA, JOANNES, C.R.S.A., *Apologia pro B. M. Virginis Conceptione Immaculata* (Bracciani, 1624) 71, 96, 172. ND.
- DE LA CUEVA, FRANCISCO, *Información en derecho civil y humano* (Madrid, 1625) 17-19. Cf. Casado, 303. ND.
- MIRANDA, LUDOVICUS DE, O.F.M., *Defensio pro Immacu-*

²² According to A. Pérez, O. de M., in ASC 7 (1952) 32, Granado rejects all true debt of sin in Mary.

²³ For an exhaustive treatment of Salazar's views, cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, esp. 184-187, 355-357, 369-383.

²⁴ Cf. Clemente da S. Maria in Punta, O.F.M. Cap., *S. Lorenzo da Brindisi, teologo dell'Immacolata*, in Vgl 7/2 (1957) 27.

- lata Sacrae Deiparae Virginis Conceptione ab omni prorsus originali labe* (Salmanticae, 1626) 147. DR.⁸⁵
- POZA, JOANNES B., S.J., *Elucidarium Deiparae* (Compluti, 1626). Cf. R. Rosca, in *ASC* 7 (1952) 152. ND.
- FRANCISCANS OF TOLEDO. In 1628 announce public defense of a thesis to prove that Mary's immunity from the debitum had been "canonized" by the Church. Text in Casado, 279, n.17. ND.⁸⁶
- AVENDAÑO, CRISTOBAL DE, O.Carm., *Marial de las fiestas ordinarias y extraordinarias de la Madre de Dios...* (Valladolid, 1629) 6. ND.
- PERLINUS, JOANNES, S.J., *Apologia scholastica sive controversia theologica pro magnae Matris ab originali debito immunitate* (Lugduni, 1630) 117-120. ND.
- PORTILLO, RODRIGO DE, O.F.M., *Libro de los tratados de Cristo S.N. y de su SS. Madre...* 2 (Toro, 1630) 20, 59-60. ND.
- NOVARINUS, A., C.L.R., *Electa sacra... Virginea umbra...* (Lugduni, 1633) 65-67. ND.
- HURTADO DE MENDOZA, PETRUS, S.J., *Disp. de Deo Homine...* (Antverpiae, 1634) 145ff. NDimpl.
- SERRANO, JOANNES, O.F.M., *De Immaculata prorsusque pura SSmae. semperque Virginis Genitricis Dei Mariae conceptione*, lib.4, c.6 (Neapoli, 1635) 459. ND.⁸⁷
- SHERLOGUS [Shirley], PAULUS, S.J., *In Cant. Canticorum*

⁸⁵ According to A. M. Blasucci, O.F.M. Conv., *La dottrina scottistica della predestinazione assoluta di Maria e il dogma dell'Immacolata Concezione*, in *Vgl* 9 (1957) 148, Miranda rejects all debt of sin in Our Lady. Cf. also B. Prada, C.M.F., *Las disputas de Toledo y Alcalá y el decreto de la Inquisición española sobre el débito*, in *EphM* 3 (1954) 285. B. Aperribay, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 175-176 interprets Miranda as teaching a *debitum intermedium*, between the proximate and the remote.

⁸⁶ The thesis was censured by Inquisitor J. Bartholomew de la Fuente on August 22, 1628.

⁸⁷ Cf. Martínez, *La Inmaculada Concepción según las doctrinas de Juan de Cartagena y Juan Serrano* (s. XVII), in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 209-241

- comment. 2 (Lugduni, 1635) f.347, n.34. Cf. C. Vega, *Theologia Mariana*, I (Neapoli, 1866) 208. ND.
- GALITTUS, MARCUS A., O.F.M. Cap., *Novum de Immaculata Virginis Conceptione encomium* (Venetiis, 1636) c. 20. ND.
- CENTINI, MAURITIUS, O.F.M., *De Incarnatione dominica disput. theol. ad mentem Scoti* (Messanae, 1637) 69, n. 114. ND.
- POIRE, FRANÇOIS, S.J. (d.1637), *La triple couronne de la bienheureuse Vierge, Mère de Dieu*, I (ed. Le Mans, 1849) 211-226. ND.
- DE BIVERO, P., S.J., *De sacris privilegiis ac festis magnae Filiae, Sponsae et Matris Dei...* (Antverpiae, 1638) 104-105. Cf. Delgado Varela, in *EphM* 1 (1951) 513. DP.
- BERNAL, AUGUSTINUS, S.J., *Disputationes de divini Verbi Incarnatione* (Caesaraugustae, 1639) 79-80, 556. Cf. Martínez, in *VyV* 9 (1951) 78-80. NDS.
- NOVATI, JOANNES B., C.I.R. (d.1648), *De eminentia Dei-parae Virginis Mariae*, I (ed. 2, Bononiae, 1639) 28. DP.
- ZAMORO, JOANNES M., O.F.M. Cap., *Supplex libellus EE. DD. Cardinalibus S. Congregationis Indicis 1639 exhibitus*; ed. Archangelus a Roc, O.F.M. Cap., in *Collectanea Franciscana* 19 (1949) 203, 216-223. ND.^{ss}
- AVERSA A SANSEVERINO, RAPHAEL, C.I.R.Min., *Sacrae Theologiae tertia pars in qua de Deo Incarnato... accurate disseritur*, q.27, sect.16 (Genuae, 1640) 482-490. ND.
- CASTILLO VELASCO, F. DEL, O.F.M., *Subtilissimi Scoti Doctoris super III Sent. librum*, t. I: *De Incarn. Verbi div. et praeservatione Virginis Mariae ab originali*, d.3, q.1 (Antverpiae, 1640) 528a. ND.

^{ss} Cf. also his work *De eminentissima Dei-parae Virginis perfectione* (Venetiis, 1629) c. 27, n. 2 (Casado, *op. cit.*, 327). According to Archangelus a Roc, *Il Dottore dell'Immacolata*, in *Regina Immacolata* (Romae, 1955) 192, Zamoro's *debitum remotum* is not a true debt. Cf. also Carmelus a S. Joanne in Galdo, O.F.M. Cap., *Synopsis doctrinae Joannis M. Zamoro...*, *ibid.*, 482.

- SIMANCAS, PETRUS DE, O.E.S.A., *Locus litteralis pro immunitate B. Virginis Genitricis Dei Mariae a peccato originali et a debito illud contrahendi* (Maria, 1640). Cf. Bonnefoy, *La negación*, 142. ND.
- DE LOS RIOS, BATHOLOMAEUS, O.E.S.A. (d. 1652), *De Hierarchia Mariana libri sex* (Antverpiae, 1641) 520-521. Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, 143. ND.
- PINTO RAMÍREZ, A., S.J., *Deipara ab originis peccato praeservata* (Lugduni, 1642) 70b. ND.
- NUÑEZ DE CASTRO, PEDRO, O.F.M., *Discursos predicables para los domingos de Adviento y principales fiestas* (Valladolid, 1643) 123c. Cf. Sebastian, *op. cit.*, 43. NDimpl.
- BELLUTUS, BONAVENTURA, O.F.M. Conv. (d. 1676), *Disp. de Incarn. dominica ad mentem Doctoris Subtilis* (Catanae, 1646) 274, 275, 278. Cf. Macali, *art. cit.*, 65-69. ND.
- FELIX, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M., *Tentativae compulutenses*, tr. 2, c. 11, diff. 5, n. 14 (Compluti, 1645) 554. ND.
- DE LUGO, JOANNES, S.J. (1646), *Disput. schol. et morales. De mysterio Incarn.*, II, d. 7, s. 3 (ed. Parisiis, 1768) 401-402. DRad.³⁹
- BERNARDUS R. A CRYPTA MINERVAE, O.F.M. Cap., *Itinerarium animae ad palmam virginem...* (Neapoli, 1647) 20. ND.
- VULPES [Volpi], ANGELUS, O.F.M. Conv. (d. 1647), *Sacrae theol. summa Joannis D. Scoti...* t. 3, pars 4, disp 80, a. 3 (Neapoli, 1647) 454. ND.⁴⁰
- FRANCISCO DE JESÚS, O.C.D. (1647), *Epopeya mariano-concepcionista*, canto 11 (ed. Burgos, 1954) n. 32. Cf. Ismael de S. Teresita, O.C.D., in *EM* 17 (1956) 190-191. ND.

³⁹ Martínez, in *La redención de María y los méritos de Cristo*, in *EP* 55 (1954) 216-218, believes that de Lugo actually favored a *debitum proximum*. Cf. Casado, *op. cit.*, 360.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. M. Di Monda, O.F.M. Conv., *L'Immacolata nell'opera mariologica dello scotista Angelo Volpi*, O.F.M. Conv. (d. 1647), in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 269-270; Blasucci, *art. cit.*, 149-151.

- LAINERO, ANTONIUS, O.F.M. Conv. Sermon on the Immaculate Conception preached on Dec. 8, 1649. Cf. C. Piana, O.F.M., in *Vgl* 7/3 (1957) 25-26. ND.⁴¹
- BALDI DELLA GHERARDESCA, GERARDO, O.S.M. (d. 1660), *Catholica monarchia Christi* (Lucae, 1650) 151-154. Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 26. DR.
- PEÑALOSA, AMBROSIUS, S.J., *Vindiciae Deiparae Virginis de peccato originali et debito illius contrahendi rigore theologico praestructae et a nemine hactenus ex professo discussae* (Antverpiae, 1650) 286. ND.
- CIPRIANUS DE S. MARIA, T.O.R., *Diligens compendium quo motiva, rationes et fundamenta quibus efficaciter persuaderi posse videtur proxime definibilem esse Immaculatam Conceptionem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae explanantur expendunturque* (Granatae, 1651). Cf. G. Andreozzi, in *Vgl* 7/3 (1957) 165. ND.
- CHRYSOGONUS, LAURENTIUS, S.J., *Mundus marianus, hoc est, Maria speculum mundi caelestis* (Patavii, 1651) 399-400. PN.
- DE LA ZERDA, JOSEPH, O.S.B. (d.1645), *Maria effigies revelatioque Trinitatis et attributorum Dei...*, acad. IV, n.26 (Lugduni, 1651) 84-85. ND.
- SEBASTIANUS A MATRE DEI, O.C.D. (fl.1652), *Situlae symbolicae e puteo aquarum viventium* (Ms. Arch. Gen. O.C.D., 432b; situla 42, p. 34-35. Cf. Valentino di S. Maria, *art. cit.*, 50. DS.

⁴¹ Contents of Lainero's sermon are found in a Ms. Modena, Arch. di Stato, Inquisizione, Processi a. 1648-1650. That same year (1649) Anthony Bohordo, O.F.M., and Francis Castelvì, O. de M. were denounced to the University of Salamanca and to the Inquisition, respectively, for rejecting all debt of sin in Our Lady. Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 31. According to T. Strozzi, S.J., *Controversia della Concezione della Beata Vergine Maria descritta istoricamente* (ed. 2, Palermo, 1703) 537-538, Juan de Villamar, O.F.M. defended the following thesis in 1649: "La concezione di Maria in grazia inferisce la liberazione di lei dal debito di contrarre la macchia originale."

- QUIROGA, JOSÉ DE JESÚS MARÍA, O.C.D. (d.1629), *Historia de la Virgen María Nuestra Señora* (ed. Amberes, 1652) 39. Cf. Ismael de S. Teresita, in *EM* 17 (1956) 176. ND.
- ALDERETE, BERNARDUS, S.J., *Comment. ac disput. in III Partem Sti. Thomae. De mysterio Incarnationis Verbi Dei*, disp. 22, s.5, n.1 (Lugduni, 1652) 240. ND.
- BURGHABER, ADAM, S.J., *Immunitas B. V. Mariae ab ipso etiam originalis labis contrahendae debito* (Vindobonae [?], 1652). Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *EphM* 4 (1954) 294. PN.
- BAUMGARTNER, DOMINICUS, O.F.M. Conv. Thesis publicly defended in Lucerne in 1652: *Maria Virgo ante omnes creaturas ab aeterno ordinata et sine omni originalis labis debito concepta*. Cf. Bonnefoy, *ibid.* ND.
- MACINAGHI, LUDOVICUS, O.F.M. Conv. (d.1661), *Theoscholium* (Mediolani, 1653) 68. Cf. Macali, *art. cit.*, 60. DP.
- VELÁZQUEZ, ANTONIUS, S.J. (d.1669), *Dissertationes et adnotationes de Maria immaculate concepta* (Lugduni, 1653) 32. ND.
- ARRIAGA, RODERICUS, S.J., *Cursus theologicus*, t. 6: *Disput. theol. in III Partem D. Thomae de Incarn. divini Verbi* (Lugduni, 1654) 179-185. DR.
- EUGENIO DI S. GIUSEPPE, O.C.D. (fl.1654), *Discorso 6 nella natività della Vergine*, in *Discorsi...* (Napoli, 1668-70) 128-129. Cf. Valentino di S. Maria, *art. cit.*, 37-38. NDimpl.
- PETRUS POSNARIENSIS, O.F.M., *Comment. in II Sent. F. J. Duns Scoti, Doctoris Subtilis*, pars 2, d. 30, q.1, disp.2 (Antverpiae, 1654). Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 30. ND.
- PRUDENCIO, JOANNES, O.de M. (d.1657), *Comment. super viginti quatuor primas quaestiones III Partis SS. Thomae*, I, tr.2, disp. 1, dub 4 (Lugduni, 1654) 312-314. ND.⁴²

⁴² Cf. A. Pérez, O. de M., *Exención del débito según Prudencio*, in *La Inmaculada y la Merced*, I (Roma, 1935) 53-65; Delgado Varela, *art. cit.*, in *EphM* 1 (1951) 509, 518-520.

- SGHEMMA, CASPAR, O.F.M. Conv., *Manuale scoticum*... (Panormi, 1638) 209-210. Id., *De Deo Uno et Trino scotica opuscula*..., II (Panormi, 1652) 486-487. Cf. Macali, *art. cit.*, 60-63; Doimi, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 318. ND.
- AMOLAZ, FRANCISCO DE, *Concepción Inmaculada de María*, dis. 2 (Barcelona, 1655) 55-80. DR.
- CONVELT, MARTINUS PHILIPPUS DE, S.J. (d.1658), *Theatrum excellentiarum SS. Deiparae ex consociatione excellentiarum sui Filii*, 2 (Antverpiae, 1655) 1200-1212. ND.
- SAAVEDRA, SYLVESTER DE, O. de M. (d.1643), *Sacra Deipara, seu de eminentissima dignitate Dei Genitricis immaculatissimae* (Lugduni, 1655) 398-399. ND.⁴³
- DE LA SERNA, BENITO, O.S.B., *Triunfo de María Santísima* (Sevilla, 1655); cf. M. Garrido, O.S.B., in *EM* 16 (1955) 32. ND.
- WADDING, LUCAS, O.F.M. (d.1657), *De redemptione Beatae Mariae Virginis* (Romae, 1656) 194-195. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 42. DS.
- CATALANO, MICHELANGELO, O.F.M. Conv., *L'Iride, discorso panegirico sopra l'Immacolata Concettione di Maria Vergine*, in *Discorsi panegirici*... (Venezia, 1656) 83. Cf. Doimi, *art. cit.*, 318. DR.
- CARRIÈRE, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M. Conv. (d.1665), *Fidei catholicae digestum singula ejus dogmata... exacte declarans* (Lugduni, 1657) 312-313. Cf. Macali, *art. cit.*, 64. DP.
- DE LA CRUZ, FRANCISCUS, O.P., *Beatissimae Virgini Genitrici Dei Mariae puritatem sui conceptionis manifestam*... (Lima, 1657) 27-28, 33, 54, 59, 75-76. Cf. Martínez, in *VyV* 12 (1954) 43-46. DP.
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⁴³ Cf. R. Rosca, O. de M., *La exención de todo débito según Silvestre de Saavedra*, in *La Inmaculada y la Merced*, I (Roma, 1955) 67-89; Delgado Varela, *art. cit.*, in *EphM* 1 (1951) 521-525.

- IV (ed. Venetiis, 1678) 492-578; cf. esp. dub.6, n. 210-217, p. 562-564. DP.⁴⁴
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- URRUTIGOYTI, THOMAS F., O.F.M. (d.1682), *Certamen scholasticum expositivum argumentum pro Deipara ejusdem Immaculata Conceptione*, sect. IX (Lugduni, 1660) 67-91; sect. xvi, 140-144. ND.⁴⁶
- XARAVA DEL CASTILLO, DIEGO, *Triunfos gozosos de María Sacratísima concebida santa, pura, limpia y sin mancha de pecado original* (Madrid, 1660) 2, 29-30, 69, 80-81. ND.
- VAN DER VEKEN, FRANCIS, *Votum addressed to Alexander VII (1661) favoring the Immaculate Conception*. Cf. Alfaro, in *Vgl* 2 (1956) 210. DExtr.
- CELADA, DIDACUS DE, S.J. (d.1661), *Tractatus de Judith praefigurata...*, cap. 13; in *Judith illustris perpetuo commentario litterali et morali...* (Lugduni, 1664) 692. ND.
- AVENDAÑO, DIDACUS DE, S.J., *Problemata theologica*, II (Antverpiae, 1662) 19. NDS.
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- APOLINAR, FRANCISCO, C.R.M., *Sermones panegíricos en alabanza de María Señora Nuestra, Madre de Dios, concebida*

⁴⁴ Cf. Melchiorre di S. Maria, O.C.D., *I Salmanticensi e l'Immacolata* in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 254-266; Enrique del Sdo. Corazón, O.C.D., *Los Salmanticensi y la Inmaculada: su tesis sobre la redención y el débito de la Virgen*, in *Salm* 2 (1955) 256-298; cf. *ibid.* 6 (1959) 273-321.

⁴⁵ On Nieremberg, cf. V. Sörs, *Das Debitum der Erbsünde in der Gottesgebärerin bei J. Nieremberg, S.J. (1593-1638)* (Rome, 1948); Martínez, *art. cit.*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 247-253; Casado, *op. cit.*, 333-335, 377-378.

⁴⁶ Cf. Martínez, *La redención de María según el P. Tomás Francisco de Urrutigoiti*, in *Vgl* 9 (1951) 47-84. See also J. Pijoan, O.F.M., *La Inmaculada Concepción en Francisco Guerra y Tomás Francisco Urrutigoiti*, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 201-208.

- sin mancha ni deuda de pecado original* (Madrid, 1663) 25-27, 50-51, 53. ND.
- BONAESPEI, FRANCISCUS, O.Carm., *Magni Prophetæ Eliae S. Ordinis Carmelitarum Fundatoris visio de Immaculata B. V. Conceptione* (Antverpiae, 1665) 733-734. Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 177. ND.
- LANTERIUS, CAROLUS, O.F.M. (d.1667), *Tract. de SS. Incarnationis mysterio*; disp. 6: *De peccato originali in ordine ad Virginem* (Neapoli, 1665) 263. ND.
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- CESARIO, ARNOLDUS, O.F.M., *Meditationes de vita sanctae Mariae Virginis...*; med. 12 (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1666) 42. ND.
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- FRANCESCHI, GIROLAMO, O.F.M. Conv., *Avvento con la novena per l'aspettazione del parto della Vergine* (Firenze, 1667) 42f. Cf. Doimi, 319-320. ND.
- XIMENEZ DE SAMANIEGO, J., O.F.M., *Notas a la obra de Sor M. de Jesús Agreda, Mística Ciudad de Dios...*, nota 23 a la primera parte, par. 10 (Madrid, 1668) 86. PN.
- KOCHANOWSKI, D., O.F.M., *Novus asserendae Immaculatae Conceptionis Deiparae modus* (Casimiriae ad Cracoviam, 1669) 16-19. ND.
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- riana, pal. 5; I (ed. Neapoli, 1866) 202-225. NDS.
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- MASTRIUS, BARTHOLOMAEUS, O.F.M. Conv. (d.1673), *Disputationes theologiae in II Sent.* (Venetiis, 1675). Cf. Martínez, in *EF* 55 (1954) 237ff. ND.
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- KIRCHHUEBER, BARNABAS, O.F.M. (d.1709), *Praerogativae Deiparae Virginis Mariae ad mentem J. Duns Scoti...* (Ingolstadii, 1674) 20-26. ND.
- PETRUS A S. JOANNE, O.C.D., *Maria stellis coronata* (Ms. with imprimatur of 1675), Vol. 1, p. 967f; cf. Ismael de S. Teresita, in *EM* 17 (1956) 193. ND.
- LAO, ANDREAS, O.Carm. (d.1675) [later became ANDREAS A CRUCE, O.C.D.], *De Immaculata Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis* (Bibl. Vat. Ms. Chig. 80, f.44v-45rv). Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 174-175. DR.
- DE RHODES, GEORGIUS, S.J., *Disput. theologiae scholasticae*, II (Lugduni, 1676) 240-242. DR.
- BLASIUS A PURIFICATIONE, O.C.D. (d.1705), *Tractatus de adoratione* (Romae, 1678) 93-94. Cf. Valentino di S. Maria, *art. cit.*, 20. DS.
- GUERRA, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M. (d.1657), *Majestas gratiarum ac virtutum omnium Deiparae Virginis Mariae*, I (Hispani, 1679) 415, 545, 548. PN.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Cf. Pijoan, *art. cit.*, 195-197. The *debitum remotum* mentioned by Guerra (p. 545) turns out to be a mere possibility of incurring original sin, which of course is not a *debitum* at all, by definition.

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- GONZÁLEZ DE SANTALLA, TIRSUS, S.J., *Selectarum disputationum ex universa theologia scholastica*, 3 (Salmanticae, 1680) 86-87, 103-104. Cf. Martínez, in *EF* 55 (1954) 220-224. ND.
- D'ARGENTAN, LOUIS FRANÇOIS, O.F.M. Cap. (d.1680), *Conférences théologiques et spirituelles sur les grandeurs de la Sainte Vierge Marie, Mère de Dieu*, I (ed. Paris. 1868) 104-108. ND.
- SANNIG, BERNARDUS, O.F.M., *Schola theologia scotistarum* . . . ; *De Incarnat. Verbi divini*, disp. XVI (Vetero-Pragae, 1681) 189. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 42-43. DS.
- ONORIO DELL'ASSUNTA, O.C.D. (d.1716), *Le novene per apparecchio dell'anima divota alle principali feste di Nostro Signore, di Nostra Signora* (Bergamo, 1683) 348-349. Cf. Valentino di S. Maria, *art. cit.*, 75-76. ND.
- ISIDORUS A S. AEGIDIO, O.Carm., *Corona stellarum duodecim* . . . (Antverpiae, 1685) 13, 81-92. Cf. Ismael de S. Teresa, in *EM* 17 (1956) 188. ND.
- BARTHOLOMAEUS DE BARBERIIS, O.F.M. Cap., *Cursus theol. ad mentem seraphici Doctoris S. Bonaventurae*, pars 1, disp. 20, q.4 (Lugduni, 1687) I, 446-448. ND.⁴⁸
- MUNIESSA, THOMAS, S.J., *Disput. scholasticae de mysterio Incarnat. et Eucharistiae* (Barcinonae, 1689) 174. Cf. Martínez, in *EF* 55 (1954) 227. ND.
- BOYVIN, JOANNES G., O.F.M., *Theologia Scoti a prolixitate, et subtilitas ejus ab obscuritate libera et vindicata; De Verbi Dei Incarnatione* (Venetiis, 1690) 200. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 42. DP.

⁴⁸ The debitum defended by the author is merely hypothetical. Cf. E. Longpré, O.F.M., *L'Assomption et l'école franciscaine*, in *Vers le dogme de l'Assomption* (Montréal, 1948) 209, n. 34.

- CASTILLO, MARTINUS DE, O.F.M., *Tractatus panegyricus de Sanctissima Maria Domina Nostra* .. (Genuae, 1690) 25a. Cf. W. Sebastian, *op. cit.*, 44. ND.
- ARANDA, PHILIPPUS, S.J., *De divini Verbi Incarnatione et Redemptione generis humani* (Caesaraugustae, 1691) 339. Cf. Martínez, in *VyV* 12 (1954) 47-48. ND.
- BARZIA Y ZAMBRANA, JOSE, *Despertador cristiano. Marial de varios sermones de Maria Santissima* ... (Madrid, 1692) 81, 88, 93. ND.
- GAVELLI, ANTONIUS, O.F.M., *Breviarium univ. theologiae, nempe speculativae, dogmaticae ac moralis* ... (Bononiae, 1692) 949. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 42. DS.
- SFONDRATI, Card. CELESTINUS, O.S.B. (d.1696), *De gloriosa Virgine Maria orationes; orat. prima: de Immaculata Conceptione*; ed. Bourassé, *Summa Aurea de laudibus B. V. Mariae*, 4 (Parisiis, 1862) 1100-1101. NDimpl.
- EUSTACHIUS A CONCEPTIONE, O.C.D. (fl.1697), *Jus principii theologiae positivae* (Avenione, 1697) 658-659. Cf. Valentino di S. Maria, 21-22. DS.

SECTION III

THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

- OXOVIENSIS, ISAAC, O.F.M. Cap., *Elogia Mariana* ... (Augustae Vindelicorum, 1700) 58-59. NDimpl.
- PINAMONTI, J. B., S.J., *Il Sacro Cuore di Maria Vergine* (Padova, 1700) 23. ND.
- VILLARROEL, MANUEL DE, O.S.B. (d.1731), *In sacras theologias cum illustrationibus panegyricis, anagogicis, tropologicis et politicis commentarium litterarium*, VII (Matriiti, 1703) 69, 608. Cf. Garrido, in *EM* 25 (1954) 213. ND.
- BERNARDEZ, MANOEL (Oratorian), *Meditações sobre os principais mysterios da Virgem Santissima* ... (Lisboa, 1706) 31-32. NDimpl.
- DUPASQUIER, SEBASTIANUS, O.F.M. Conv., *Summa theo-*

- logiae scotisticae*, 3 (Patavii, 1706) 251. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 42. DP.
- GORMAZ, JOANNES B., S.J., *Tract. de justitia et jure, de SS. Incarnationis mysterio* ... (Augsburgi, 1709). Cf. Bonnefoy, *La negación*, 146. NDS.
- HENNO, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M., *Theologia dogmatica et scholastica de Verbi divini Incarnatione* (Duaci, 1711) 438. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 42. DP.
- DE ARANAZ, JACINTO, O.C.D., *Sermones varios*; primera parte (Pamplona, 1712) 141. Cf. Otilio del Niño Jesús, O.C.D., in *La Inmaculada y el Carmelo* (Vitoria, 1955) 185-186. ND.
- CAMPO VERDE, JOANNES DE, S.J., *Tractatus de Incarnatione Verbi divini divisus in tres tomos*, 2 (Compluti, 1712) 286-293, 303. Cf. Martínez, in *EF* 55 (1954) 227-228. DR.
- CALABER, PETRUS, *Sacer fasciculus ad commodiorem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum agnitionem theosophis cunctis elaboratus* (Mantuae, 1717). Cf. Bonnefoy, in *VyV* 12 (1954) 146. ND.
- DURANTE, VINCENZO, dei Min. degli Infermi, *Vita di V.D.* (Palermo, 1718) 82. Cf. F. M. Risi, *Sul motivo primario dell'Incarnazione del Verbo*, I (Brescia, 1898) 220. ND.
- THOMASUS, GULIELMUS, O.F.M. (d.1720), *Maria a culpa originaria et illius debitis libera* ... (Salisburgi, 1718) 251-253. ND.
- OLIVIERI DA NOVE, O.F.M. Cap., *Alfabeto di vera sapienza sopra le grandezze di Maria Vergine, Madre di Dio, Immacolata*, II (Genova, 1719) 240. ND.
- SERA, FRANCISCUS, O.F.M., *Libanus Marianus ... ad laudem Deiparae Mariae absque noxae originalis debito concepta* ... (ed. 2, Matriti, 1722). Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, 145. ND.
- ALESSIO DI S. MARIA, O.C.D. (d.1723), *Le grandezze di Maria nel privilegio della sua Immacolata Concezione* (Torino, 1716) 14-15, 35. Cf. Valentino di S. Maria, *art. cit.*, 77. NDimpl.

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⁴⁹ Cf. Rainerio de la Nava, O.F.M. Cap., *La redención de María según el P. Montalbán*, in EF 55 (1954) 255-279. See especially Martínez, in VgV 12 (1954) 445-480.

⁵⁰ Cf. I. de Guerra Lazpiur, O.F.M., *El débito de pecado y la redención de la Virgen Inmaculada en la Mariología de Carlos del Moral*, in Vgl 11 (1957) 137-188.

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⁵¹ Cf. G. Caggiano, O.F.M., *La questione del "debitum peccati" in Gholamo de Montefortino*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 299-314. Pacificus Hug, O.F.M. (*ibid.*, 398) erroneously lists Montefortino among those who defend a *debitum proximum*.

⁵² Struggl himself admits that the *debitum remotum* which he holds is not a true *debitum*.

- TAUSES, ELZEARIUS, O.F.M., *Corona stellarum XII*... (Zagabriae, 1748). Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, 147. ND.
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- GIACOBONI, GIUSEPPE, O.F.M. Conv., *Sommario in favore dell'Immacolata Concezione* (Senigallia, 1825) 43-46. DRimpl.
- AMBROSIJ, F., *Discorsi teologico-morali in lode di Maria Vergine*, I (Ascoli, 1843) 131. DS.
- DIEZ DE SOLLANO, J. M., *Theologica de Immaculata Conceptione B. Virginis Mariae dissertatio* (Mexici, 1848); in *Pareri*, 6 (Roma, 1852) 276. DS.

Between 1844 and 1854 Pius IX received several *vota* (Petitions) relative to the proposed definition of the Immaculate Conception, many of them from consultors appointed by himself. Most of these petitions are found in Sardi's already-mentioned work. Not having Sardi at hand, we will mention, in alphabetical order, the names of the petitioners and their views concerning the *debitum*, indicating our second-

hand source. The *vota* which we have been able to consult personally are mentioned separately.

ANGELINI, DOMENICO (1848); Sardi, I, 22-32; Alfaro, 221-222. DR.

AUDISIO, G. (1851); Sardi, I, 750; Prada, EM 17 (1956) 541. CF.

BENSI, G. M., O.S.M. (1853); Roschini, *op. cit.*, 41. DS.

BIZZARRI, A. (1848); Sardi, I, 87, 94-95, 99, 101, 103; Alfaro, 224. DR.

CANNELLA, J. B. (1853); Sardi, I, 611; Prada, 545. Favorable to ND.

CAPALTI, A. (1848); Sardi, I, 74; Prada, 541. DC.

CATERINI, PROSPERO ((1848); Sardi, I, 37; Prada, 543. DC.

FANIA DA RIGNANO, A., O.F.M. Cap. (1852); Sardi, I, 772; Prada, 542. DR.

GIUSTO DA CAMERINO, O.F.M. Cap. (1848); Sardi, I, 160; Prada, 541. DR.

MACIOTTI, A. (1850); Sardi, I, 672-675; Alfaro, 236. ND.

PALERMO, J., O.S.A. (1848); Sardi, II, 392; Prada, 541. DR.

PAOLO DI S. GIUSEPPE, O.C.D. (1848); Sardi, I, 203; Alfaro, 226. DC.

PATRIZI, Card. (1854); Sardi, II, 405; Alfaro, 255. ND?

TOGNI, L. (1844); Sardi, I, 216, 221, 229; Alfaro, 226. DC.

TONINI, G., O.F.M. Conv. (1853); Sardi, I, 187; Prada, 545. ND.

TOSTI, L., O.S.B. (1853); Sardi, I, 926-938; Alfaro, 240. ND.

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ORATORIAN PRIEST, *Dissertazione . . . nella quale . . . studi-asi di dimostrare che [Maria] sia stata preservata . . . da ogni debito* (Venezia, 1849); *Pareri*, 5, 666, 671. ND.

- PARISIS, PIERRE-L. (Bishop of Langres), *Instruction pastorale*, 1849; *Pareri*, 7, 261, 265, 294-295. ND.
- CERRI, DOMINICUS, *Enchiridium super duodecim momenta fundatum ex quibus exurgit triumphus B. Mariae Virginis Matris Dei in originale peccatum* (Taurini, 1851); *Pareri*, 6, 90. DS.
- GUÉRANGER, PROSPERUS, O.S.B., Project of the schema *Quemadmodum* for the definition of the Immaculate Conception (1851). Text in G. Frénaud, O.S.B., in *Vgl* 2 (Romae, 1956) 385; cf. also p.354. NDimpl.
- CAPUCHIN FATHERS OF ISERNIA. Letter to Pius IX; *Pareri*, IV, 16. ND. (Signed by 9 theologians.)
- BIANCHERI, PETRUS, C.M., *Voto in forma di dissertazione sulla definizione dogmatica dell'Immacolato Concepimento della Beata Vergine Maria*; in *Pareri*, V, 543. ND.⁵³
- LEO (Archbishop of Sorrento), *De Immaculata a primo instanti Beatae Mariae semper Virginis Conceptione*; in *Pareri*, III, 402-403. ND.
- CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (Editors of), in *Pareri*, appendix II to vol. IX, 245. NDimpl.
- GUAL, PIETRO, O.F.M., *Della definibilità della Concezione Immacolata di Maria*; in *Pareri*, VIII, 10, 18, 24-25, 37. ND.
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- BORSARELLI, RUDOLFO, O.F.M. Conv., *Sull'Immacolata Concezione della Madre di Dio . . .* (ed. 2, Firenze, 1849) 11. Cf. Doimi, 319. ND.
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⁵³ See Alfaro, *art. cit.*, in *Vgl* 2 (1956) 229-232 for contradictory texts. Perhaps Biancheri, like so many before him, was simply making a verbal concession to the adversaries.

- rracon. Soc. Jesu); excerpts in Francisco de Paula Solá, S.J., in *Vgl* 11 (Romae, 1957) 315-332. ND.
- PACIFICO, AGOSTINO, O.F.M., *La Chiesa Cattolica nel fatto dell'Immacolatissimo e santissimo Concepimento della gran Madre di Dio Maria contro tutte l'eresie*, 2 vols. (Napoli, 1852), cf. index, 146. Cf. Bonnefoy, *La negación*, 156. ND.
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⁸⁴ Cf. Feliciano de Ventosa, O.F.M. Cap., *El Rdo. P. Jacinto de Peña-cerrada y la Inmaculada*, in *VyV* 12 (1954) 231-245.

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SECTION IV

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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⁵⁵ C. Feckes, *Quid Scheeben de B. V. Mariae debito contrahendi maculam senserit*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 333-342. DM.

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⁸⁶ According to Lottini, if Mary be considered as a child of Adam, she had a *debitum*; if she be considered as destined to be the Mother of God, she did not have a *debitum*. Which consideration prevailed? The author does not tell us.

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⁵⁷ On this author, cf. the pointed observations of Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *EphM* 4 (1954) 272-276.

⁵⁸ Like Pohle (l.c.), Salvador explains the *debitum remotum* as the mere material fact of membership in Adam's family.

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⁶⁹ A whole book against Lumbreras' first article was written by H. Stoff, O.F.M., *The Immaculate Conception* (San Francisco, Calif., 1925).

⁶⁹ See the severe critique by Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, 291-299.

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⁶¹ On pp. 20 and 53 the author says that Mary was not included in the universal law of sin; she had no "solidarity" with Adam as far as original sin was concerned. Yet on p. 55 he writes: "Because she came into existence by the ordinary way of human generation, Mary was naturally included in the universal *anathema*" (1). Strange language for a Franciscan, but logical for one who defends the *debitum remotum*.

⁶² As the author puts it, because of her natural descent from Adam, Mary had a "disposizione al peccato" (p. 41).

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⁶³ On p. 8 of this article the author says that we should not speak of a *debitum* in Mary (either proximate or remote), but of a "*necessitas contrahendi peccatum originale*," adding that this necessity intrinsically affects her person by the fact that she shares Adam's fallen nature. On p. 11 he says that if Christ had been conceived by way of ordinary generation, He would have assume that same *necessitas contrahendi peccatum* (!).

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⁶⁴ On this author, see Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, 282-289.

⁶⁵ On p. 76 the author says that Mary *was* under the law of sin; on the next page he says that she *was not* under the law of sin.—Take your pick.

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⁶⁷ On Feckes' views, cf. the remarks of N. García Garcés, C.M.F., in his art. *¿Debió tener la Santísima Virgen el pecado original?*, in EphM 5 (1955) 99.

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- RIGAUX, BEDE, O.F.M., *Marie Immaculée dans sa conception*, in *Actes du Congrès Marial de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1955) 47-48, 53. ND.
- SÁNCHEZ CÉSPEDES, P., S.J., *El misterio de María. Mariología Bíblica* (Santander, 1955) 29. ND.
- SAURAS, EMILIO, O.P., *Contenido doctrinal del misterio de la Inmaculada*, in *EM* 15 (1955) 9-52.
- Id., *La Asunción de la Santísima Virgen* (Valencia, 1950) 130-154. DPers-extr.
- TOMÁS, TOMÁS, O. de M., *Los méritos de Cristo y la exención del débito*, in *La Inmaculada y la Merced*, 1 (Roma, 1955) 91-134. ND.
- VALENTINUS A WESTENDE, O.F.M. Cap., *De relationibus*

- inter Immaculatam Beatae Mariae Virginis Conceptionem et dona justitiae originalis*, in *Regina Immaculata* (Romae, 1955) 263. ND. Same art. in *Vgl* 9 (1957) 71-89; cf. 81-82. ND.
- AMORÓS, LEÓN, O.F.M., *La significación de Juan Duns Escoto en la historia del dogma de la Inmaculada Concepción* (Madrid, 1956) 36. PN. Same art. appeared in *VyV* 14 (1956) 265-378. Cf. 268, 296.
- ANZALONE, V., O.M.I., *Clavis ad quaestionem de B. M. Virginis debito solvendam*, in *Divus Thomas* (Pl.) 59 (1956) 170-180. DExtr.
- BERTETTO, DOMENICO, S.D.B., *Maria nel dogma cattolico* (ed. 2, Torino, 1956) 464. PN.⁶⁸
- BRAJCIC, RUDOLPHUS, S.J., *Immaculata-Corredemptrix*, in *Marianum* 16 (1956) 177-195. DS.
- DIEKHANS, M., O.F.M., *Die Mutter Gottes und das Debitum peccati originalis*, in *FzS* 38 (1956) 399-403. ND. Id., *O "debitum peccati originalis" em Maria Santissima*, in *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 17 (1957) 331-340. ND.
- FRANCISCUS X. AB ABÁRZUZA, O.F.M. Cap., *Manuale theologiae dogmaticae*, 3 (ed. 2, Madrid, 1956) 218. DS.
- GARRIDO, MANUEL, O.S.B., *La realeza de María en las liturgias orientales*, in *EM* 17 (1956) 105. Favorable to ND.
- GUTIÉRREZ, SALVADOR, O.S.A., *La Mariología de Santo Tomás de Villanueva y sus principios fundamentales*, in *EM* 17 (1956) 482. ND.
- HENRY, JEAN, *Comment l'Immaculée Conception peut-elle être dite "parfaitement rachetée" par la mort du Christ?*, in *Nouvelle Revue Mariale* 3 (1956) 37-49. DM⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 477-489, the author explains the theory denying *all* debt of sin, hardly concealing his favorable reaction. Three years earlier, in his book *Maria Immacolata* (Torino, 1953) 240-241, Bertetto had defended a *debitum proximum*.

⁶⁹ According to the author, Mary did not depend on Adam *in ordine ad gratiam*, nevertheless, she sinned in Adam *materialiter*.

- ISMAEL DE S. TERESITA, O.C.D., *La realeza de María en los autores Carmelitas de los siglos XVI y XVII*, in *EM* 17 (1956) 190. ND.
- PRADA, BENITO, C.M.F., *La redención y el débito de María en la "Ineffabilis," en sus esquemas y en los votos de los teólogos*, in *EM* 17 (1956) 501-551. DR. Id., *Las disputas de Toledo y Alcalá y el decreto de la Inquisición española sobre el débito*, in *EphM* 3 (1954) 281-304.
- ALDAMA, J. A. de, S.J. (in 1954), *El P. Gozalo Fontes de Albornoz y el problema del débito del pecado original en la Santísima Virgen*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 285-298. *Debitum remotum*.
- Id., (in 1954), *Boletín mariológico en torno a la redención preservativa*, in *Salm* 1 (1954) 764-777; cf. 771. *Debitum hypotheticum*.
- Id., (in 1954), [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione de debito peccati*]..., in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 476-477. *Debitum extrinsecum*.
- Id., (in 1956), *Mariologia*, in *Sacrae Theol. Summa a PP. Soc. Jesu in Hispania edita*, 3 (ed. 3, Matriti, 1956) 360-361. *Debitum proximum*.
- AMERI, H., O.F.M., *De debito peccati originalis in B. V. Maria deque ejusdem redemptione apud theologos Concilii Basileensis*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 189-195. Cf. his allocution *ibid.* 482-484. ND.
- ARCHANGELUS A ROC, O.F.M. Cap., *Il Dottore dell'Immacolata*, in *Regina Immacolata* (Romae, 1955) 192-204. ND. Cf. his allocution in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 493-497.
- ASSOUAD, N., O.F.M., *La plus grande débitrice*, in *Marianum* 16 (1954) 113-124.
- Id., *Lacune en Mariologie*, in *Marianum* 19 (1957) 147-152. ND.
- BLASUCCI, A. M., O.F.M., Conv., *La dottrina scotistica della predestinazione assoluta di Maria e il dogma dell'Immacolata Concezione*, in *Vgl* 9 (1957) 124-163. ND.

- BOVER, JOSÉ M., S.J., *Posición de Suárez en la controversia concepcionista*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 268-284, esp. 283. DR.
- BOYER, CAROLUS, S.J., [*Allocutiones in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]. . . , in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 456-458, 481, 499. CF.⁷⁰
- BROSCH, HERMANNUS J., *De debito B. V. Mariae contrahendi peccatum originale quomodo cum praedestinatione et redemptione cohaereat*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 356-364, esp. 360. DC.
- BROWNE, MICHAEL, O.P., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]. . . , in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 478. DR.
- CABODEVILLA, JOSÉ M., *Nuestra Señora. El misterio del hombre a la luz del misterio de María* (Madrid, 1957) 27. DS.
- DUBOIS, MARCEL-MARIE, Archbishop of Besançon, *Petite Somme Mariale* (Paris, 1957) 249-251. ND.
- CAGGIANO, G., O.F.M., *La questione del "debitum peccati" in Girolamo da Montefortino*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 299-314. ND.
- CAMPANALE, ANGELUS, C.M., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]. . . , in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 474-475. ND.
- CASADO, OVIDIO, C.M.F., *La Inmaculada Concepción y su problemática lapsaria en la Mariología española de 1600 a 1655*, in *EphM* 7 (1957) 5-96. ND. Id., *Mariología clásica española, I: La Inmaculada Concepción en su problemática teológica* (Madrid, 1958) *passim*, esp. 386-412. ND.
- CIAPPI, ALOISIUS, O.P., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]. . . , in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 497-498. DC vel ND.⁷¹

⁷⁰ In his *De Deo creante et elevante* (ed. 4, Romae, 1948) 415, Boyer had defended the *debitum proximum*.

⁷¹ In his *De privilegio Immaculatae Conceptionis ac de praedestinatione Matris Dei Salvatoris juxta doctrinam S. Thomae de motivo Incarnationis*, in *Vgl* 6 (1955) 10, he frankly admits that his *debitum conditionatum* is "objective nihil . . . cum fundetur in conditione quae actu non existit."

- COCCIA, ANTONIUS, O.F.M. Conv., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 487-488. ND.
- CUERVO, MANUEL, O.P., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 489-490. DP.
- DI MONDA, ANTONIO M., O.F.M. Conv., *L'Immacolata nell'opera mariologica dello scotista Angelo Volpi, O.F.M. Conv., (d.1647)*, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 269-270. ND.
- DORONZO, EMMANUEL, O.M.I., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 467-469. ND.
- GAGNEBET, R., O.P., *L'Immaculée Conception de la Très-Sainte Vierge et sa mort*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 191-202. Cf. *Vgl* 11 (1957) 476. DR.
- GALLUS, TIBURTIUS, S.J., *Ratio quae intercedit inter dogmata Immaculatae Conceptionis et Assumptionis corporalis B. M. Virginis*, in *Vgl* 10 (1957) 80-91, esp. 81. Cf. *Vgl* 11 (1957) 469-470. ND.⁷²
- GALOT, JEAN, S.J., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 466-467. ND. Id., *L'Immaculée Conception*, in *Maria. Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge* (ed. H. du Manoir), 7 (Paris, 1964) 9-116; cf. esp. 103-106. ND.
- GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, R., O.P., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 458-460. DC.⁷³
- GILBERT, MAURICE, O.M.I., *Immaculée Conception et justice originelle*, in *Vgl* 9 (1957) 60-70; cf. 66. DR.

⁷² On Gallus, cf. the remarks of García Garcés, *art. cit.*, 98.

⁷³ In his *Mariologie. La Mère du Sauveur et notre vie intérieure* (Paris, 1948) 38, he had not used the conditional form, but the imperfect indicative ("devait encourir"), which he repeated in his *De perfectissima redemptione B. V. Mariae secundum tria principia a S. Thoma admissa*, in *Vgl* 6 (1955) 111 ("debebat incurrere"). This is quite different from his statement at the Intern. Mariol. Congress in Rome; cf. *Vgl* 11 (1957) 458.

- GORDILLO, MAURITIUS, S.J., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 481-482. DR.
- GUERRA LAZPIUR, ISIDRO, O.F.M., *El débito de pecado y la redención de la Virgen Inmaculada en la mariología de Carlos del Moral*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 137-188. Same art. in *VyV* 15 (1957) 399-443. ND.
- HUG, PACIFICUS, O.F.M., *The Modern Challenge Against the Franciscan Tradition as Having Taught an Immaculate Conception Incompatible with Redemption*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 365-413; cf. 406-411. ND.
- KOSTER, MANNES DOMINICUS, O.P., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 488-489. PN?⁷⁴
- LENNERZ, HENRICUS, S.J., *De beata Virgine* (Romae, 1957) 77-83. DP.
- NICOLAS, J.-H., O.P., *L'innocence originelle de la nouvelle Eve*, in *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Etudes Mariologiques* 1957 (Paris, 1958) 15-35. DR.
- ROSCINI, GABRIELE M., O.S.M., *Il problema del "debitum peccati" in Maria Santissima*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 343-355; *ibid.* 484-485. DR. Id., *Mariologia*, II/2 (ed. 2, Romae, 1948) 88-96, esp. 95. DR.⁷⁵
- ROSINI, ROGERIUS, O.F.M., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 473-474. ND.
- SAKAĆ, STEPHANUS, S.J., *Doctrina Laurentii Chrysogoni, S.J., de Immaculata Conceptione Virginis Deiparae*, in *Vgl* 14 (1957) 157. PN.

⁷⁴ Koster pointed out that the *terminus a quo* of Mary's redemption was at least the *possibility* of incurring original sin. This would be, he said, the most perfect redemption. Cf. Delgado Varela, *art. cit.* in *EphM* 5 (1955) 203.

⁷⁵ The observations made by Bonnefoy on Roschini's views are well worth reading, though rather severe in tone. Cf. *art. cit.*, in *EphM* 4 (1954) 300-331, esp. 322-323.

- SCHILLEBEECKX, HENRICUS, O.P., *Mutua correlatio inter redemptionem objectivam eamque subjectivam B. M. Virginis in ordine ad ejus maternitatem erga Christum et nos, ut principium fundamentale Mariologiae*, in *Vgl* 9 (1957) 305-321, esp. 308. DM.
- STEINHEIMER, MAURITIUS, O.F.M., *De Immaculata Conceptione juxta theologos franciscanos Provinciae Bavariae*, in *Vgl* 7/2 (1957) 274-294. ND.
- STRAETER, CAROLUS, S.J., [*Allocutio in sollemni disputatione circa debitum peccati*]... in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 490-491. DP.
- XIBERTA, BARTHOLOMAEUS M., O.Carm., *De excedendis rationibus convenientiae et de necessariis inducendis in quaestione de Immaculata Mariae Conceptione*, in *Vgl* 9 (1957) 286-304. DR.⁷⁶
- ALFARO, JOANNES, S.J., *Adnotationes in tractatum de Beata Virgine Maria, ad usum privatum alumnorum* (Romae, 1958) 111, 114-117. DExtr.⁷⁷
- ESTEBAN DE SAN MARTÍN, O.R.S.A., *Posición singular de Martín de Esparza en la controversia de débito en la Virgen María*, in *EM* 19 (1958) 243-255. *Debitum hypotheticum*.
- DIDIER DE CRÉ, O.F.M. Cap., *Notre-Dame de la Trinité. Méditations théologiques*, III (Blois, 1959) 7. ND.
- GREMIGNI, G. V., (Archbishop of Novara), *La Madonna* (Novara, 1959) 17. NDimpl.
- ROSATO, LEO, O.F.M., *Doctrina de Immaculata B. V. M. Conceptione secundum Petrum Aureoli* (Romae, 1959) 131-132. ND.

⁷⁶ Cf. also his *De causa B. V. Mariam a peccato originali eximente*, in *Doctor Communis* 7 (1954) 211-215. On Xiberta's views, see the interesting observations made by Fábrega, *EphM* 5 (1955) 227-234.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 89, he says that a "possibility" of incurring original sin is the minimum required by *Ineffabilis Deus*. The same thing in his art. *La fórmula definitoria*..., in *Vgl* 2 (1956) 273. Cf. likewise his observations at the Int. Mariol. Congress of Rome, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 470-473.

- BRETON, VALENTIN-M., O.F.M., *Franciscan Spirituality* (Rome, 1960) 14, 26. ND. Cf. E. Longpré, *L'Assomption et l'école franciscaine*, in *Vers le dogme de l'Assomption* (Montréal, 1948) 209, n. 34.
- ESCOBAR, CLODULFO, O.F.M., *Utrum Virgo Deipara contraxerit debitum incurrendi peccatum originale*, in *VyV* 18 (1960) 323-334 *passim*. ND.
- PUJOL, AUGUSTINE, O.F.M., *The Blessed Virgin Mary and the Universal Necessity of Contracting Original Sin*, in *Interest* I, No. 1 (1960) 11-16. ND.
- BARTOLOMEI, T. M., O.S.M., *La Vergine Immacolata esenta dalla concupiscenza e impeccabile*, in *EphM* 11 (1961) 437-470. DR.
- MANELLI, STEFANO, O.F.M. Conv., *Pietro Aureoli, O. Min. (d.1322) e la questione del "debitum peccati" in Maria* (Napoli, 1961) 116. ND.
- RODRÍGUEZ CARRAJO, MANUEL, O. de M., *Los débitos y la redención de María según Silvestre de Saavedra*, in *Estudios* 17 (1961) 59-81. ND.
- SARAIVA MARTINS, J., C.M.F., *Valor teológico da doutrina de Egidio da Apresentação sobre a Imaculada*, in *EphM* 12 (1962) 59-106. Cf. 106. ND.
- SZABÓ, T., O.F.M., *De Virgine Immaculata vere propriisque redempta seu de "quaestione debiti" catholice solvenda*, in *Ant* 36 (1961) 199-224. ND.⁷⁸
- VILLARROEL, ANDRÉS, O.P., *El débito del pecado original y la redención preservativa de la Virgen Inmaculada*, in *Studium* 1-2 (1961-1962) 271-303. DR.
- WILWERS, NICHOLAS M., S.A.C., *Mary's Predestination Before Adam*, in *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 62 (1961) 239-244. ND.
- PARENTE, PIETRO, Arciv. tit. di Tolem., *Elevazioni teologiche*

⁷⁸ The author denies all personal debt in Mary, whether proximate or remote; the only *debitum* he admits is a "*debitum sociale*," whatever that is.

SYNOPSIS (A)

	DP	DR	DS	DM	DV	DExt	DC	CF	NDS	PN	NDimpl	ND
From the 12th to the 17th Century ..	7	5	11		2		2	7	1	12	6	18
The Seventeenth Century	15	14	8			2		2	4	7	6	91
The 18th and 19th Centuries	9	17	8	1			8	3	3	1	16	58
The Twentieth Century	24	28	16	3		4	5	4		7	16	113
Total	55	64	43	4	2	6	15	16	8	27	44	280

SYNOPSIS (B)

	DP	DR	DS	DM	DV	DExt	DC	CF	NDS	PN	NDimpl	ND	Total
Augustinians	1	3				1	1			2		5	13
Benedictines	1	1					1		1		4	7	15
Carmelites	6	2	5			1	1		1	4	4	12	36
Claretians		1										7	8
Dominicans	8	9	4	1			1			2	2	2	29
Franciscans	12	8	10		2		4	9	1	12	10	144	212
Jesuits	14	14	7			1		2	4	5	5	31	83
Mercedarians			1								1	13	15
Servites	1	5	2				1				2	1	12
Others	12	21	14	3		3	6	5	1	2	16	58	141

N.B.—For additional entries see the two appendices below.

- sulla Madre di Dio e degli uomini* (Milano, 1963) 66. ND.
 In his *De Verbo Incarnato* (ed. 2, Romae, 1946) 282, the author had defended a *debitum remotum*.
- [SEBASTIÁN AGUILAR, F., C.M.F.], Review of Schillebeeckx's book, *Marie, Mère de la Rédemption*, in *EphM* 14 (1964) 136-137. ND.
- RYDER, JOHN H., S.J., *Our Lady of Eden?*, in *MS* 25 (1974) 76 ff. ND.
- PUECH, LÉONARD M., O.F.M., *La parfaite rédemption de Marie*, in *EphM* 26 (1976) 193-199. ND.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the above *Synopsis* (A), we may be allowed the following conclusions:

- 1) Our bibliographical conspectus lists only 564 authors. This is, admittedly, a small number, considering the countless treatises on Our Blessed Lady written between the second half of the 12th century and the present time. But of the innumerable books which we have consulted, only the ones listed touch on our subject one way or the other. We are reasonably certain that there are many other authors (unknown to us) who either favor or reject the debt of sin in Our Lady. It is to be hoped that those who have access to the better-equipped libraries will endeavor to pursue and complete our investigation.
- 2) The defenders of the *debitum proximum*, who were always outnumbered in times past, made a surprising comeback in the first decades of this century. Note, however, that they represent, for the most part, authors of theology "manuals" who do not treat the matter *ex professo* but only in passing, and who seem to be merely quoting one another more or less mechanically. To our knowledge, there are very few left at this writing. The vigorous "antidebitist" revival begun in the early '50s seems to have dealt a fatal blow to this extreme position.

- 3) The theory of the *debitum remotum* continues to claim a large number of adherents, even though the basis of their reasoning (namely, that seminal generation induces a *necessity* to incur original sin) has always been exposed as highly vulnerable.⁷⁹ Aware that their theory seems to bring Our Blessed Lady (however remotely) under the general anathema, not a few of these authors endeavor to attenuate the reality of their *debitum* by all sorts of modifications, clarifications, ifs and buts—to the point of reducing it to a mere conjecture or hypothesis.
- 4) The majority by far since the 15th century, but especially at the present time, favors Mary's immunity from *every* debt of sin as being more consonant with the ineffable dignity of her divine motherhood and her utterly sublime purity.⁸⁰ If we group under this category (as we should), not only those who reject the *debitum* explicitly, but also those who do so implicitly or equivalently, then the advocates of this theory reach an impressive total of 359, not counting the 17 authors who use the "conditional form." Most of these latter may be presumed to be against the *debitum*.⁸¹

However, the fact that the thesis which we champion has won the largest number of adherents (according to our conspectus), does not necessarily mean that *causa finita est*. And that for two reasons: (A) It is possible (though not probable) that a more exhaustive investigation eventually undertaken by someone else may disclose that the number of those who favor the *debitum*

⁷⁹ Long ago the *Salmanticenses* showed that the *debitum remotum* is nothing but a fiction. Cf. *Cursus theologicus; de vitis et peccatis*, disp. 15, n. 75, 77-78, 92-94. Cf. also Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *RphM* 4 (1954) *passim*, esp. 320-323.

⁸⁰ Cf. Bonnefoy, *art. cit.*, in *Vgl* 11 (1957) 35-56, where he endeavors to show that the Magisterium (both ordinary and extraordinary) definitively favors the exclusion of *all* debt of sin from Our Lady.

⁸¹ Cf. footnote 10 above. Obviously, to say, for example: "If the grace of God had not prevented it, St. Pius X *would* have died in mortal sin and *would* have gone to Hell," is not the same as saying: "If the grace of God had not prevented it, St. Pius X *should* have died in mortal sin and *should* have gone to Hell."

is actually greater than those who reject it.⁸² And (B) The truth of a theological opinion is not necessarily measured in terms of "numbers." It is a well-known historical fact that for a long time those who denied the Immaculate Conception far outnumbered those who defended it. In any event, we leave the final word to the Vicar of Christ, to whose decision we must humbly submit.

5) Concerning our *Synopsis* (B) we would like to make the following observation. It has been said more than once that the denial of *all* debt of sin in Our Blessed Lady is a "logical" stand for the followers of the Franciscan School of theology, the implication being that it is not logical for others.⁸³ Our conspectus, however, clearly shows: (a) that some of the staunchest Scotists have at times favored a debt of sin in Our Lady; and (b) that, while the Franciscans, in general, do exclude all debt of sin in Mary, they have no monopoly in this crusade, since not a few Jesuits, Carmelites, Augustinians and Claretians (who are faithful followers of St. Thomas) reject the "debitist" theory as vigorously as the disciples of the Subtle Doctor.⁸⁴

⁸² We say this is *not probable*, because those who have done extensive research in this field in the best libraries and archives of Europe (e.g., Casado and Bonnefoy) have found that the anti-debitist thesis is favored by most of the authors consulted by them. Casado (*op. cit.*, 308) claims that in the 17th century alone more than 300 authors rejected *all* debt of sin in Mary. Bonnefoy, too, assures us that he could mention them by the hundreds. Cf. *art. cit.*, in *VyV* 12 (1934) 140. Unfortunately, it has been impossible for us to have access to their personal files.

⁸³ Cf. among others, Roschini, *Mariologia*, II/2 (ed. 2, Romae, 1948) 92. The author accuses of "error in the faith" those who reject all debt of sin in Mary. According to this, there are more "heretics" in the Church than we suspected. And to think that some of them are Doctors of the Church!

⁸⁴ Thus J. M. Fábrega, C.M.F., in his article *Elementos doctrinales en la controversia de la Concepción Inmaculada*, in *EphM* 3 (1955) 232-233, writes: "Ni se objete que para salvar la exención de débito tiene que acudirse a la famosa teoría de Escoto sobre el motivo de la Encarnación, la cual, siendo a lo más probable, no podrá dar certeza a la conclusión

We may fittingly close these brief remarks by applying to Our Immaculate Mother the lofty sentiments penned long ago by Blessed John Duns Scotus (d.1308) in reference to Christ: "When it comes to the glories of [Mary], I would rather overdo it than fall short of the praise due to [her], if owing to my ignorance I should have to succumb to either extreme."⁸⁸

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APPENDIX

Some of the authors listed below were inadvertently omitted from our conspectus, while others came to our attention at the last minute.

ALVA ET ASTORGA, PETRUS DE, O.F.M., *Sol veritatis cum ventilabro seraphico pro candida aurora Maria in suo conceptionis ortu sancta, pura, immaculata* . . . (Matriiti, 1660) 117. ND. On p. 126 the author says that in his book *Militia universalis pro Immaculata Conceptione* (Lovanii, 1663) he mentions over 300 authors who exempt Our Lady from the *debitum peccati*. We have been unable to consult the latter work.

sobre la inmunidad del débito. Precisamente hemos observado que casi todos los modernos defensores de la absoluta limpieza de María en cuanto a mácula y débito de pecado rehuyen el fundarse en la débil base de la teoría escolástica."

⁸⁸ "In commendando enim Christum malo excedere quam deficere a laude sibi debita si propter ignorantiam oporteat in alterutrum incidere." Cf. *Ordinatio*, III, d. 13, q. 4; ed. Vivès, XIV, 463. Substantially the same principle was formulated by William of Ware, O.F.M. (d. 1298): "... si debeam deficere . . . , magis volo deficere per superabundantiam dando Mariae aliquam praerogativam, quam per defectum, diminuendo vel subtrahendo ab ea aliquam praerogativam quam habuit." Cf. *In III Sent.*, q. 25; in *Fr. Gulielmi Guarras, Fr. Joannis Duns Scoti, Fr. Petri Aureoli, Quaestiones disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione B.V.M.* (ed. Ad Claras Aquas, 1904) 4.

- AMBROSIUS A SPIRITU SANCTO, O.Carm., *Zodiacus Elianus, idest Elias... illibatae conceptionis... propugnator* (Budae, 1748) 329. Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 180. PN.
- ASCENSI, TIMOTHEUS, O.Carm., *Liber secundus nonnullarum sententiarum* (Asculi, 1769); Roma, Ms. Arch. Ordin. I, Pers. 68. Cf. Catena, *l.c.* PN.
- BURÓN ÁLVAREZ, C., O.E.S.A., *Causalidad de María en nuestra predestinación según el P. Bartolomé de los Ríos, O.E.S.A.*, in *EM* 1 (1942) 307, approvingly refers to de los Ríos' rejection of the *debitum*.
- CATENA, CLAUDIO, O.Carm., *La dottrina immacolista negli autori carmelitani*, in *Carm* 2 (1955) 185. PN.
- CORNEJO, PETRUS, O.Carm., (d.1618), *Tract. de Conceptione B. V. Mariae*; in *Opera theol.* II, tr. 3 (Pinciae, 1629) 232-233, 248. Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 170-171. DPers.
- COUTINHO, EMMANUEL, O.Carm., *De peccato originali et immunitate Deiparae a debito illud contrahendi* (Conimbricae, 1767). Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 180. ND.
- EGGER, F., *Enchiridion theologiae dogmaticae specialis* (Brixinae, 1899) 445. Cf. Balić, *op. cit.*, 21. DR.
- FORNARI, GIUSEPPE, O.Carm., *Trattato sopra la purità originale dell Beatissima Vergine Maria...*; in *Anno memorabile dei Carmelitani*, II (Milano, 1690) 626-658. Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 180. PN.
- GALLI, HIERONYMUS, O.F.M., *In III Sent.*, d.3, q.1, 12 (Mediolani, 1645) 115-124. Cf. L. Bello, *De B. Maria Virgine omnium gratiarum Mediatrix* (Romae, 1938) 77. ND.
- KLOPPENBURG, BONAVENTURA, O.F.M., *De relatione inter peccatum et mortem* (Romae, 1951) 170. CF. (seems to reject all *debitum*).
- LARDITO, JOANNES, O.S.B., *Comment. in S. Anselmum, De conceptu virginali* (Salmanticae, 1703). Cf. Garrido, in *EM* 16 (1955) 33. PN.
- LLAÑO, M., S.J., *La redención pasiva de María según el P. Suárez*, in *ATG* 11 (1948) 195-223. Cf. 217. DP.

- MAESTU, LUIS M., O.F.M., *La Asunción de la Santísima Virgen en los principios marianos, especialmente en el principio escotista*, in *Actas del Congreso Asuncionista Franciscano de América Latina*, 1948 (Buenos Aires, 1950) 252-253. NDimpl.
- MAGNASCO, SALVATORE (Archbishop of Genoa), *Lettera al suo clero*, 20 dic., 1882, in *La Settimana Religiosa* (Genova, 31 dic., 1882) No. 53, 623-627. Cf. G. Ameri, O.F.M., *Domenico Arnaldi. Appunti bio-bibliografici*, in *Atti del Congresso Nazionale Mariano dei Frati Minori d'Italia*, 1947 (Roma, 1948) 399. ND.
- MANNENS, P., *Theologiae specialis pars prior* (Ruraemundae, 1913) 184. DR.
- MASTELLONI, ANDREA, O.Carm., (d.1723), *Il Cantico della Vergine* (Napoli, 1695) part. I, 50. Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 180. PN.
- MONTARGON, ROBERT F. DE (d.1770), *Dictionnaire Apostolique* (Paris, 1755), ad vocem: *Conception* (de Marie). ND. Cf. D. Cerri, *Enchiridion...*, in *Pareri* 6 (Roma, 1852) 86-88.
- MOST, WILLIAM G., *The Debate on Whether or Not Mary Should Have Been Conceived in Original Sin*, in *Immaculata* Dec. '76, 12. ND.
- MÜCKSHOFF, MEINOLF, O.F.M.Cap., *Die mariologische Prädestination im Denken der franziskanischen Theologie*, in *FzS* 39 (1957) 288-502; *passim*, e.g., 494. ND.
- ORLANDI, MATTHAEUS, O.Carm. (d 1695), *De conceptione Beatissimae V. Mariae*; in *Cursus theol. in III Partem D. Thomae*, tr.5, disp.2, q.3 (Romae, 1653) 285-305. Cf. Catena, *art. cit.*, 174. PN.
- OSBORNE, KENAN B., O.F.M., *The Predestined Queen*, in *Priestly Studies* 22 (1954) 65-88. NDimpl.
- PALOMINO, PEDRO, O.S.B., *Sermones varios para las diferentes festividades* (Madrid, 1679) 76-90. Cf. Garrido, in *EM* 16 (1955) 32. ND.

- PANGER, M., O.F.M., *Theologiae scholasticae moralis-polemicae lib. II Sent. juxta verum sensum et mentem Doctoris Subtilis, J. D. Scoti*, lib.2, disp.3, q.11 (Augustae Vindelicorum, 1732) 376-379. Cf. Longpré, *art. cit.*, 254. ND.
- PIANA, CELESTINO, O.F.M., *L'Assomption et l'école franciscaine du XV^e siècle*, in *Congrès Marial du Puy-en-Velay*, 1949 (Paris, 1950) 70. NDimpl.
- SCHMAUS, MICHAEL, *Katholische Dogmatik, V: Mariologie* (München, 1955) 193. DRimpl.
- SERAFIN DE AUSEJO, O.F.M.Cap., *Presentación*, in *VyV* 12 (1954) VIII. NDimpl.
- SMUTKO, GREGORY F., O.F.M.Cap., *The Absolute Primacy of Christ and Mary*, in *Round Table of Franciscan Research* 24, No. 1 (1959) 4-12. NDimpl.
- TORMEY, MICHAEL, *The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God* (Dublin, 1855) 105, 109. ND.
- WIEDERKEHR, K., *Die leibliche Aufnahme der allerseligsten Jungfrau Maria in den Himmel* (Einsiedeln, 1927) 189. *Debitum reale*.
- WUENSCHEL, EDUARDUS, C.SS.R., *De Immaculata Conceptione ejusdem relatione ad Mariae mortem et Assumptionem in doctrina S. Alphonsi*, in *Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris* 3 (1955) 9-27, esp. 22, 24. ND.

The eight following authors are some of the sixty-two listed by S. Montalbanus, O.F.M.Cap., in his *Opus theologicum tribus distinctum tomis* . . . (Panormi, 1723) as sharing his views on the rejection of the *debitum*. Most of the others already appear in our conspectus and came to our knowledge through other sources.

- BURGIS, PETRUS DE, S.J., *De Incarnatione*, lib. 4, cap. 6-7. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 73. ND.
- CREJO, GUTTERIUS, O.F.M., *Paradisus deliciarum Pauli Apostoli*; in Cap. 5 ad Rom. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 76. NDimpl.

- FRANCISCUS AB ANGELIS, O.C.D., *Considerationes in 'Tota pulchra es, Maria'*; consid. 52, par. 2-3. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 74. ND.
- HERMAN, AMANDUS, O.F.M., *In III Sent.*, tr.2, disp.1, q.12. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 73. ND.
- LEANDER A MURCIA, O.F.M.Cap., *Commentaria ad litteram et moralia in Esther*, cap. 5, par. 18. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 74. ND.
- PONCIUS, JOANNES, O.F.M., *Cursus theol. ad mentem Scoti*, disp.38, q.6 (Parisiis, 1652). Cf. Montalbanus, II, 74. ND.
- SYLVEIRA, JOANNES DE, O.Carm. (d.1687), *In Evangelia* t.1, lib.1, cap.3, n.31; cap.7, n.6. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 73. ND.
- TREJO, ANTONIUS DE, O.F.M., *Oratio 8 ad Paulum V*, par. 3. Cf. Montalbanus, II, 76. ND.

APPENDIX II

The following references came to our attention while this dossier was already *sub praelo*:

- AGREDA, Ven. MARIA DE JESUS DE (d. 1665), *Mística Ciudad de Dios*, I, lib. 1, cap. 4. Cf. N. del Prado, *Divus Thomas et Bulla dogmatica Ineffabilis Deus* (Friburgi Helv., 1919) 157-160. NDimpl.
- ALUJAS BROS, MOISÉS, *Santo Tomás de Aquino y la Immaculada Concepción de la Virgen María* (Barcelona, 1909) 70-71. DR.
- ANONYMOUS, *Ragionamento dedicato all'Immacolata Concezione di Maria Vergine* (Torino, 1851). In *Pareri V*, 760. ND.
- ANONYMOUS, Art. in *La Liberté* (Fribourg), Dec. 7. 1916. Cf. N. del Prado, *op. cit.*, 161. ND.
- ARREDONDO, FRANCISCO M., *Carta al Obispo de Yucatán* (1849). In *Pareri*, IV, 175-176. NDS.

- BARROZO DE BASTOS, Canon LUIZ (with Canons BACHAREL GASPAR DE SEQUEIRA and ELIAS XAVIER DE GOUVEA), Letter to the Cathedral Chapter of Pará (1849). In *Pareri*, IV, 226. NDimpl.
- BORDONUS, FRANCISCUS, T.O.R. (d.1671), *Titulus Immaculatae debitus Conceptioni B.M. semper Virginis ostenditur* (1652-3). Ms. 2893 Bibl. Nac. Madrid, cap. V, n.91, f.69v. Cf. R. Pazzelli, T.O.R., *L'Immacolata Concezione di Maria in P. Francesco Bordoni* (Roma, 1951) 69. DS.
- CAPPONI A PORRECTA, SERAPHINUS, O.P. (d.1614), *Elucidationes formales in III Partem Summae D. Thomae*, q.27, a.2 (Patavii, 1698) IV, 217. Cf. J. Perrone, *De Immaculato B.V. Mariae conceptu* (Romae, 1847) 114. DS.
- CASTELLANO, JOSÉ M., *Carta al Obispo de Yucatán*. In *Pareri*, IV, 201. NDimpl.
- CLARET, SAN ANTONIO M. (d.1870), Arzobispo de Santiago de Cuba, *L'Immacolata* [Past. Letter of 1855, tr. from Spanish], (Milano, 1943) 51, 63. NDS.
- CLARI, MICHAEL B., Archiep. Barenensis, *An sententia de Immaculata B.V. Conceptione in fidei dogma evehi possit*. In *Pareri*, IX, app. 2, 103-104. DR.
- CLEMENS A SAVONA, O.F.M.Cap., *Pio IX P.M. pro Beata Virgine Maria absque ullo originalis culpae inquinamento concepta...* In *Pareri*, IV, 278. NDS.
- DA SILVA DOS SANTOS PEREIRA, FIDELIS H., *These em que se sustenta e prova... a pureza da Immaculada Conceição...* In *Pareri*, VIII, 585. NDS.
- DE MARINIS, DOMINICUS, O.P. (d.1669), In I-II D. Thomae, q.81, a.3. Cf. M. Spada, O.P., *Esame critico sulla dottrina del Angelico Dottore S. Tommaso di Aquino circa il peccato originale relativamente alla Beatissima Vergine Maria*. In *Pareri*, V, 653. DS.
- FILOGRASSI, GIUSEPPE, S.J., *La Madonna nel dogma*. In *Mater Christi. Collezione di studi mariani...* (Roma, 1957) 36, 38. DC.

- FONDORA, CESARE, *Cenni sulla Immacolata Concezione di Maria Vergine* ... In *Pareri*, V, 715. ND.
- GAUDE, Card. Francesco, O.P. (d.1860), *Sullo Immacolato Concepimento della Madre di Dio* ... (Roma, 1856) 93, 121. DS.
- JOANNES A SANCTO THOMA, O.P. (d.1644), *Cursus theologicus; tract. de approbatione et auctoritate doctrinae angelicae D. Thomae*, disp.2, a.2 (Lugduni, 1663) I, 161. Cf. J. Perrone, *op. cit.*, 114. Cf. R. Masson, in *Angelicum* 32 (1955) 54. DS.
- JORGE DE BARCELONA, O.F.M.Cap., *Predestinación de María y su santidad inmaculada*. Lecture given at the Franciscan Mariol. Congress in Madrid, Nov. 3-8, 1953. Cf. *VyV* 12 (1954) 273. ND.
- LAMBRUSCHINI, Card. LUIGI, *Sull'Immacolato Concepimento di Maria*. In *Pareri*, V, 129. NDS.
- LARNICOL, CORENTINUS, C.S.SP., *De Verbo Incarnato et de B.V. Maria* (Romae, 1948) 196. DC.
- LUCARINI, REGINALDUS, O.P. (d.1671), *Ep. Civ. Plebis, Manuale thomisticarum controversiarum* ... (Romae, 1666), pars I, concl.24, n.243. Cf. M. Spada, *op. cit.*, 654. ND.
- LUDOVICUS, Episc. Carthaginensis, *Litterae ad Clementem XI* (1714). In *Pareri*, VIII, 523, 525. ND.
- MAGNI, JOANNES, Min. Gen. O.F.M.Conv., *Votum ad Pium IX* (1847). In *Pareri*, IX, 258. ND.
- MAYR, ANTONIUS, S.J. (d.1749), *Theologia scholastica*, tract. 5, d.2, q.2, a.4 (Ingolstadii, 1742). Cf. B. Otten, *Instit. Dogm.*, 3 (Chicago, 1922) 401. DR.
- NATALIS ALEXANDER, O.P. (d.1724), *Theologia dogmatico-moralis*, lib.3, tr.1; de peccatis, cap.1, n.11. Cf. Spada, *op. cit.*, 654. DS.
- PISCHEDDA, GAVINUS, *Litterae ad Pium IX*. In *Pareri*, IV, 83. DS.
- RICALDE, LUIS, *Carta al Obispo de Yucatán* (1849). In *Pareri*, IV, 204. NDS.

- SHEA, GEORGE W., *The Immaculate Conception*. In *St. John's University Studies. Theological Series*, I (Jamaica, N.Y., 1959) 33-52. DP.
- SMETANA, RUDOLPHUS, Vic. Gen. Cong. SS. Red., *Litterae ad Pium IX* (1853). In *Pareri*, append. to vol. IX, 76. ND.
- SPADA, MARIANO, O.P., *Esame critico sulla dottrina del Angelico dottore S. Tommaso di Aquino circa il peccato originale relativamente alla Beatissima Vergine Maria*. In *Pareri*, V, 596. PN.
- VAN ROSSUM, Card. G. M., C.Ss.R., *Sanctus Alphonsus M. de Liguori et Immaculata Conceptio B. Mariae Virginis* (Romae, 1904) 10. Cf. N. del Prado, *op. cit.*, 148-149. ND.

Additional names of Bishops who, in their letters to Pope Pius IX concerning the Immaculatae Conception, touch on our subject:

- ALOISIUS, Ep. Isclanus. *Pareri*, IX, 227-228. DP.
- ANTONIUS, Ep. Mazzariensis. *Pareri*, II, 52. DR.
- CAROLUS AUGUSTUS, Archiep. Monacen. *Pareri*, II, 416. DS.
- DA FONSECA MONIZ, ANTONIUS, Ep. Algarbiensis. *Pareri*, I, 511. ND.
- DE PRADO, MANUEL A., Ep. de S. Cruce. *Pareri*, III, 341, 343. ND.
- DEFLECHES, JOSEPH, Ep. Sinitensis. *Pareri*, III, 410. NDimpl.
- FERNÁNDEZ, LAURENTIUS, Vic. Ap. de Uruguay. *Pareri*, II, 23. NDimpl.
- FRANCISCUS, Ep. Sarzanae. *Pareri*, I, 304. ND.
- GALLIGARI, JOSEPH M., Ep. Narniensis. *Pareri*, II, 315. ND.
- GIAMPORCARO, Ep. Monopolitanus. *Pareri*, I, 76. DS.
- MENDOZA, EUGENIUS, Ep. Cuzquensis. *Pareri*, III, 396. ND.

- NURRA, EMMANUEL MARONGIO, Archiep. Calarit. *Pareri*, II, 278-279. ND.
 PARLADORE, LIVIUS, Ep. Sti. Marci. *Pareri*, VII, lxxi, lxxiii, lxxvi, lxiv. ND.
 RAPHAEL, Ep. Bovensis. *Pareri*, VII, cxxxi. ND.
 SAGGESE, JOSSUE M., Archiep. teatinus. *Pareri*, VII, xxxvi. NDS.
 SALVINI, FELICISSIMUS, Archiep. Camertium. *Pareri*, II, 182, 185, 189. ND.
 SOLDATI, SEBASTIANO, Ep. Tarvisinus. *Pareri*, V, 108. ND.
 THOMAS, Vic. Ap. Sti. Salvatoris. *Pareri*, app. to vol. IX, 14. NDimpl.
 TURCHI, LITERIUS, Ep. Nursinus. *Pareri*, II, 112. DS.

SYNOPSIS (C)

(93 authors mentioned in the Appendices)

DP	5	NDS	7
DR	7	PN	8
DS	10	NDimpl	15
DC	2	ND	38
CF	1		

SYNOPSIS (D)

(Distribution of the 657 authors listed in our conspectus)

DP	60	DC	17
DR	71	CF	17
DS	53	NDS	15
DM	4	PN	35
DV	2	NDimpl	59
DExt	6	ND	318

This brings to 427 the number of those who exempt Our Blessed Lady from the debt of original sin, as against 213 who subject her to

that debt. The list does not include the 17 authors who use the conditional or hypothetical form (CF), as stated earlier in our conclusion.

In view of the above, some readers will be surprised to note Father Sauras' claim that, at the present time, theologians are "unanimous" (!) in affirming the debt of sin in Our Lady.⁸⁶ Elsewhere, and with similar aplomb, the same author informs us that those who declare Our Blessed Lady immune from all debt of sin are a few "innovators," who could be counted with the fingers of one hand.⁸⁷ We have every reason to believe that Father Sauras—admittedly an honorable man and a widely respected theologian—will report the facts more accurately in his future contributions to the field of Mariology.

REV. J. B. CAROL, O.F.M.

⁸⁶ E. Sauras, O.P., *La Asunción de la Santísima Virgen* (Valencia, 1950) 130: "... hoy los teólogos están unánimes en afirmar [el débito] "

⁸⁷ E. Sauras, O.P., *Contenido doctrinal del misterio de la Inmaculada*, in *EM* 15 (1955) 25: "... innovadores..." [...] "podrían contarse con los dedos de la mano."

The following Mercedarian theologians, who reject all debt of sin in Our Lady, were inadvertently omitted from our conspectus: A. Hurtado, *La Inmaculada en el plan de la redención*, in *La Inmaculada y la Merced* (Roma, 1955) I, 40, 51; M. Ortuzar, *San Pedro Pascual (d.1300) y el dogma de la Inmaculada Concepción*, *ibid.*, 387; A. Sancho Blanco, *Sanctus Petrus Paschasius, episcopus et martyr, Immaculatae Conceptionis defensor*, *ibid.*, II, 24-25, 27, 29; E. Gómez, *La Inmaculada Concepción de María según el Ilmo. Mtro. Fr. Pedro de Oña (1560-1626)*, *ibid.*, II, 97-99; J. B. Herrada, *El Padre Cabrera y la Inmaculada Concepción en Chile*, *ibid.*, II, 332-333; J. León Pérez, *El Rmo. P. Fr. Pedro A. Valenzuela y la Inmaculada Concepción de María*, *ibid.*, II, 369-372.

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1976

BALANCE FORWARDED—January 1st, 1976 \$4,457.30

NOW ACCOUNT \$4,457.30

RECEIPTS—January 1, 1976-December 31st, 1976

Membership Dues	\$1,280.00	
Sales of Marian Studies	895.40	
Interest	162.86	
Convention Registration	304.00	
Donations	120.00	
Total Receipts		\$2,762.26

EXPENSES—January 1, 1976-December 31st, 1976

Printing—Marian Studies	\$1,606.96	
Secretary's Office	1,339.80	
(Honorarium—Postage— Convention—Printing, Etc.)		
President's Office	10.00	
Treasurer's Office	14.30	
Incorp. Fee	10.00	
CLS Newsletter	37.28	
Total Expenses		\$3,043.34

BALANCE FORWARDED January 1st, 1977 \$4,176.22
