

## **LEX ORANDI EST LEX CREDENDI:**

*The Influence of the Laity and the Liturgy on the Doctrinal Debates of the Immaculate Conception*

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is still a widely misunderstood and controversial subject that sparked one of the largest theological debates of the Middle Ages. The Immaculate Conception, often confused with the doctrine of the Virginal Conception of Jesus, refers to the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in her mother's womb and teaches that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without original sin. The teaching resonated well with the Marian devotions of the laity and even some of the clergy during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but generated backlash from many of the great Catholic intellectuals of the later Middle Ages. In this article, I shall begin by outlining the historical roots of the celebration of the feast of Mary's Conception to show that the celebration had an upward development from the liturgical life of the Church to doctrinal debates among the hierarchy of the Church. One might assume that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was imposed top-down on the laity, when in reality, the Immaculate Conception began as a liturgical celebration fueled by the devotion of the laity. After establishing the historical context and addressing some early responses to the doctrine, I shall examine the central theological battle, the great climax of this controversy which took place at the close of the thirteenth century within the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), who vehemently argued against the possibility of Mary's Immaculate Conception, and Bl. John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who wrote in defense of the liturgical celebration and the doctrine. Aquinas and Scotus are undoubtedly two of the greatest and most influential theologians in the Church's history and thus, their differing so extremely on the issue is an opportunity to see a theological issue expertly debated. Finally, I shall conclude by examining the question of what led the Church to side with Scotus on this matter rather than with Aquinas, whose works for quite some time had an authority second only to Scripture and

the magisterium, as well as what that decision says about the character of the Church, even through to the present day. In short, I have found that the Church, acting as Mother of the Faithful, operates on the principle of "*lex orandi est lex credendi*," a phrase that means that the law of prayer is the law of faith. Because the faithful already celebrated the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Scotus believed it was imprudent to tell them that they were praying incorrectly unless it were absolutely necessary to do so. This desire led him to become a kind of theological champion of the people, defending the devotion of the laity and their liturgical celebrations. Because of his parental care for his spiritual children, Scotus' approach to the doctrine was much closer to the spirit of Mother Church, whereas Aquinas' view was eventually judged as theologically incorrect and perhaps as a bit too dismissive of laical devotions. Thus, the Church's assent to Scotus' Mariological arguments reveals that "*lex orandi est lex credendi*" is a powerful guiding principle of the Church who acts as a mother to her children.

The earliest components, both theological and liturgical, of the feast of Mary's Conception existed well before the later Middle Ages and developed mainly through late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The earliest celebrations of this feast arose in the Byzantine East and were observed with the purpose of honoring Mary's "prepurification," her cleansing from all stain of sin in the womb. The earliest major theological writer to bring attention to this notion is St. Gregory of Nazianzus.<sup>1</sup> Gregory lived in the fourth century and was a prominent Byzantine theologian and formulator of Christian doctrine.<sup>2</sup> His influence, the popular motifs of Mary as the new Eve, and the general fascination of theologians with the figure of the Blessed Mother, spurred the Eastern churches to incorporate into the liturgical calendar a number of new Marian feasts in succeeding centuries. Until the time of the Council of Ephesus in 431, at which Mary declared *Theotokos*, there had only been a single feast day honoring Mary, similar to most other saints in the liturgical calendar. However, during the early sixth century, the feasts of the Annunciation, the Nativity of Mary, and the Dormition were introduced into the liturgical calendars of the East. Finally, in the seventh century, there arose the first instance

of a liturgical celebration of the Conception of Mary in the womb of her mother, St. Anne.<sup>3</sup> Curiosity about the Blessed Virgin's life was present even in the early Church; the Protoevangelium of James, an apocryphal document dating from the middle of the second century. This narrative provides an account of the nativities of both Mary and Jesus, and demonstrates early Christian's interest in the details of the life of Mary and the other parts of the Gospels that provide very little information. However, by the seventh century, the focus on providing a narrative was eschewed in favor of theological work investigating how Mary relates to salvation history.<sup>4</sup> The fervent interest in the figure of the Blessed Virgin, seen in popular works such as the Protoevangelium, fueled the increase in doctrinal speculation about Mary over the following centuries and contributed to the development of diverse and new liturgical practices, most especially the Feast of Mary's Conception.

Initially, during the seventh and eighth centuries, the feast of the Conception appears to have been restricted to monasteries, as evidenced by the surviving liturgical documents such as the canon written for the celebration by St. Andrew of Crete (d. 712). St. Andrew's canon illustrates the Christological focus of this feast: "Today it is announced to us that the treasures of joy will be opened... in the holy Conception of the Mother of God... Her who will open the gate of grace of Paradise."<sup>5</sup> Another enlightening source for understanding the feast's position in the eighth century is the exhortation of the Syrian monk John of Euboea (c. 744) in which he urges that the feast be made a general one celebrated by all.<sup>6</sup> The celebration and the liturgical texts used in the East make clear the Christ-focused attitude behind their celebration with no hint of the theological problems that would eventually arise in the West four centuries later. The Feast of Mary's Conception, as well as those others that arose by the seventh century, indicate the immediacy with which Marian devotion directed believers to turn their thoughts to Christ. Rather than any prolonged focus on Mary's own virtues, the emphasis was on the role of Mary in the drama of salvation. These new feasts gave rise to a great deal of theological speculation through the eighth to eleventh centuries about Mary's role in salvation history and discussions of Mary's "prepurification," the acknowledgement that in some way, God cleansed her of sin in

the womb.

In the West, the first example of a celebration of Mary's Conception emerges in Anglo-Saxon England in 1060, prior to the Norman Conquest. This sudden appearance in the far West raises the question of how a Byzantine tradition reemerged in England. The feast came to be celebrated Europe through the travels of pilgrims who brought back the practices and devotions that they had observed in the Greek monasteries of Italy. These monasteries were filled with monks who brought with them the custom of a Feast honoring Mary's Conception; thus, "by way of southern Italy the Greek feast of the Conception and the idea it stood for came to the Latin West."<sup>7</sup> The *Minaeon* for December, an eleventh-century manuscript in use in the Greek monasteries of Italy, details the celebrations observed by the strongly orthodox monks, including the Feast of the Conception.<sup>8</sup> It is this document that shows the Feast to be "already received and established as traditional" among the Greek monks in Italy during the early eleventh century.<sup>9</sup> This feast was then disseminated by the ecclesiastical connections between Italy and England during the mid-eleventh century as well as by pilgrims from England who brought this new devotion back with them.<sup>10</sup> Shortly after the introduction of the Feast of Mary's Conception in 1060, St. Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), wrote in favor of the doctrine of Mary's purification in the womb in his position as the Archbishop of Canterbury, but did not necessarily assert the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception that would develop over the following century.<sup>11</sup> It was his close friend and biographer, Eadmer of Canterbury (d. 1128), who would first formulate the concept of the Immaculate Conception to clarify the devotions of the laity in celebrating the Feast of Mary's Conception; he understood that to celebrate Mary's Conception was to believe her to be holy, even though this is not explicitly stated in the liturgical texts.<sup>12</sup>

A distinction should be made between the English Feast of the Conception of the late eleventh century and the Norman Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the early twelfth century. While the English Feast acknowledges the immense graces and purification received by the Blessed Virgin, it does not necessarily teach this reception to have taken place at the moment of

conception as does the Norman Feast. It was the Feast of the Conception that was initially quite widespread in England, as evidenced by the liturgical documents in use during the final years before the Norman Conquest that detail various blessings for the celebration and the information recorded in English calendars of the mid-eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> Then, following the victory of William the Conqueror, this celebration fell largely out of use in England; nonetheless, by the beginning of the twelfth century, the Feast of Mary's Conception was being celebrated in certain regions of Normandy.<sup>14</sup> This appearance in Normandy followed the Council of London in 1129, at which the feast was reintroduced in England. Norman pilgrims were thus able to partake in its celebration and take the idea for a new liturgical feast back to Normandy when they returned.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the Feast of Mary's Conception spread from England into Normandy, and in turn dispersed throughout all of France due to the relatively close proximity of England to Normandy and the influence of the pilgrims who travelled to England. The stages of the feast's migration, namely, its appearance in Italian monasteries when Greek monks moved from their homes, its arrival in England due to the efforts of pilgrims and liturgists, and its eventual journey across the English Channel all demonstrate the major influence that the laity and the liturgy have on the life of the Church. Without the laity's interest and desire to participate in new customs, the Feast of Mary's Conception would have possibly been limited in the West to only a number of monasteries.

When the Feast of Mary's Conception became prevalent in Normandy and disseminated throughout all of France, those celebrating it began to clearly express a belief in the concept of the Immaculate Conception; the unstated belief began to become unofficial doctrine. The laity and their pastors developed a link between the moment of her conception and her sanctification, believing the two to have occurred simultaneously, meaning that Mary never suffered the stain of original sin.<sup>16</sup> The celebration of the feast and the idea of the Immaculate Conception provoked a harsh rebuke from St. Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153). Writing furiously to the Canons of Lyon for presuming to introduce a novel feast that in his mind detracted from Mary's honor, namely, the

honor of being the only woman to conceive a sinless person.<sup>17</sup> The doctrine was greeted with skepticism from St. Bonaventure (d. 1274), who recognized that it sprang from love for Jesus and Mary, but ultimately sided with Bernard, deciding that it was “more fitting, more reasonable, and safer” not to give assent to this doctrine.<sup>18</sup> These theologians, Sts. Bernard and Bonaventure, were unwilling even to consider the doctrine because it seemed to run contrary to Catholic teaching and, due to their being largely unfamiliar with the theological developments in the East, it appeared to be utterly novel.

Though the theologians were opposed, a number of literary sources reveal how widespread devotion to the Blessed Virgin’s Immaculate Conception had become by the thirteenth century. Jacobus de Voragine’s *The Golden Legend* [compiled c. 1260] is an encyclopedic work, collecting all the pious traditions surrounding various saints. This work was an enormous influence on the artists of the Middle Ages and had an incalculable impact on iconography and how the laity learned about the Catholic faith visually.<sup>19</sup> The section on Mary’s Nativity, like the speculations of the Greek Church Fathers, drew heavily from the Protoevangelium of James, filling in the gaps of the Gospel narrative. The laity felt a natural curiosity about these gaps; these apocryphal sources provided grounds on which to hypothesize and in which Voragine attempted to provide answers. In the sections relating to Mary, Voragine writes that Mary “had been made perfectly clean and holy in her mother’s womb. Indeed, she was made so completely glorious and holy in the maternal womb... that no slightest inclination to sin remained in her.”<sup>20</sup> Such a statement from a work that influenced so much of medieval devotion speaks volumes about the extent of the doctrine’s appeal to and acceptance among the laity.

Likewise, another significant medieval text, the “*Cantigas de Santa Maria*” (completed c. 1270), testify to the spread of the Immaculate Conception. The “*Cantigas*,” written by King Alfonso X of Castile, were heavily influenced by the Scholasticism of the thirteenth century.<sup>21</sup> His works were an immense visual, literary, and musical influence on the courtiers and artists who heard them.<sup>22</sup> Alfonso writes of Mary that “She was always sanctified from

the moment Her father made Her in the body of Her mother.”<sup>23</sup> Alfonso’s highly influential works inspired his court and many of his subjects because the “Cantigas” received much public attention and numerous dramatized readings; much of Alfonso’s kingdom became familiar with his songs honoring the Blessed Virgin.<sup>24</sup> This widespread belief in the doctrine, of which The Golden Legend and the Cantigas are prime examples, and the consequent liturgical practices provoked the intense theological debate between two intellectual giants, namely, Aquinas and Scotus.

In the mid-thirteenth century, St. Thomas Aquinas, one of the most prominent thinkers of the medieval Church, commented on the Immaculate Conception in his *Summa Theologiæ*. Aquinas was born in southern Italy, near Naples, around 1225 and began his studies at the monastery of Monte Cassino, the community established by St. Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century.<sup>25</sup> After many years of struggle with his family due to their opposition to his pursuing a religious vocation, including a year of being captive up at his family’s estate, Thomas was finally able to join the Dominican order and was eventually studied at the University of Paris.<sup>26</sup> Growing up in Italy, Thomas did not celebrate the Feast of the Immaculate Conception; in Italy, the feast was kept only in the Greek monasteries of the south.<sup>27</sup> The feast had spread from Normandy to the rest of France and was both celebrated in Paris by the laity in the parishes and, yet, hotly debated by the theologians at the University. Thus, when faced with this new liturgical celebration while in Paris and having no personal connection to it, Thomas strongly opposed the feast and the doctrine contained therein.

In the third part of his *Summa*, Aquinas posits a number of forceful objections, both theological and biological, to the doctrine. He argues from a biological perspective that purification from sin at the moment of conception would be utterly impossible. He also put forth the theological objection that, in his view, if Mary were free from all sin, it would detract from Christ’s glory as universal savior. Working from an understanding of the soul that was heavily influenced by the corpus of Aristotle, he believed Aristotle’s claim that the body was formed at the moment of conception, but that the soul did not exist until later. Thus, in his works, Aquinas

examines the possibility that sanctifying grace might be applied at conception; he observes that the rational soul must come from God.<sup>28</sup> Aquinas then aligns his ideas with the Aristotelian view that the rational, human soul develops out of a sensitive, animal soul, similar to the development of a seed into a flower.<sup>29</sup> Aquinas ultimately rejects this seed-like view of the soul, but nonetheless accepts the view of delayed hominization, the idea that the rational soul is infused only into a fully formed human sometime after conception.<sup>30</sup> This view plays an important role in his objections to the Immaculate Conception. In Aquinas' mind, the notion of Mary's purification from sin occurring at conception is an impossibility because sanctifying grace can only be applied to a rational soul. If Mary had no rational soul until sometime after her conception, it would be impossible for her soul to be purified at the moment of conception.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, Aquinas argues that the Immaculate Conception detracts from Christ's glory as the Redeemer; this objection is far more critical than the mere fact that it was impossible. In Aquinas' mind, while believing in something that could not have happened may be foolish, it is downright dangerous to believe something that seems to blaspheme against God. To teach that Mary was free of all sin was to say that Christ is not the universal Savior of all, thus threatening to lessen His dignity as such.<sup>32</sup> This implication is intolerable to Aquinas because it implies some imperfection in the universality of the salvation offered by Christ. Furthermore, to say that Mary was free from all sin is to imply that she was beyond the need for salvation. If Christ's Passion was unnecessary for any human being, it was potentially unnecessary for all. In this view, it is essential that Mary contracted original sin, even if only for a moment, so that Christ could be her savior, which she acknowledges in the Magnificat.<sup>33</sup> This assumption of her even momentary sinfulness satisfies the perceived demands of the theology of salvation. In short, Aquinas argues that Mary could not have been purified of sin prior to animation, or the infusing of her rational soul, because it is neither possible nor fitting. Thus, those who celebrated the feast were incorrect and were inadvertently damaging their understanding of Jesus and of salvation.

Shortly after the death of St. Thomas Aquinas, Blessed John Duns Scotus became the chief defender of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, developing into a theological champion of the people and their liturgical love for their Blessed Mother. Little is known of Scotus' early life beyond that he was born during the late 1260s in the Scottish village of Duns, joined the Franciscans, and was ordained into the priesthood in the early 1290s.<sup>34</sup> Growing up in the British Isles, Scotus would have been accustomed to observe the Feast of Mary's Conception as it was universally celebrated among those parishes following the Council of London in 1129. The effect of this celebration is clearly evident in the Mariological focus found in certain of his works. He was educated at Oxford and eventually became a teacher at the University of Paris, where Thomas Aquinas had also taught. Though the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated in Paris, the masters of theology and intellectuals at the University criticized it harshly.<sup>35</sup> The controversy and the theological debate reached a climax when Scotus and some of his colleagues began to question the common academic attitude of derision towards the Feast and the doctrine it celebrates. Scotus challenged the position put forth in the writings of Aquinas, and even some of his own Franciscan confreres, and ultimately defended the liturgical devotion to the Blessed Virgin of the celebration of her Conception. As Scotus, unlike Aquinas, had grown up with the feast he was therefore more likely to have a personal reason to protect its celebration. His attempts flew in the face of those who sought to suppress or downplay the feast even though the Church, as Aquinas notes, "tolerates the custom of certain churches that do keep that feast, wherefore this is not to be entirely reprobated."<sup>36</sup> Aquinas clearly held an opinion opposed to the celebration of the Immaculate Conception, but he did not take the extreme position that the feast must be entirely and forcefully suppressed; other theologians did take this stance and created an atmosphere in which Scotus found it necessary to state his case in defense of the Immaculate Conception. In taking on this defense, Scotus had two major obstacles to overcome before his opponents could ever give consideration to the doctrine. Namely, he had to contend with the views of Aquinas that sanctification prior to animation is impossible

and that no conception, as a result, can ever be truly immaculate. Likewise, he had to take on the even more daunting claim that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception detracts from Christ's dignity as universal savior.

In his reply to the first objection, Scotus argued that sanctifying grace can be applied to the soul prior to animation, the infusion of the rational soul into the body, and that likewise, God could purify the flesh before or during the moment of animation. The possibility of this method of sanctification derives directly out of Scotus' negative view of original sin, a view that sees original sin not as something acquired, but as a lack of something that should be present in the human person. Following St. Anselm, Scotus identifies original sin as the absence of original justice, writing that "every child of Adam begotten in a natural way is a debtor to original justice."<sup>37</sup> This way of seeing original sin clarifies that sin cannot exist in the same way as virtue, for sin is the absence of goodness just as darkness is only the absence of light. Thus, Scotus removes Thomas' first objection, showing that God may fill a deficiency and give a being what it should naturally possess. Scotus writes, quite movingly, that "in the instance of the conception [of Mary]... there was sanctification, not from guilt that was present there, but from guilt that would have been there if grace had not been infused into the soul at that moment."<sup>38</sup> God was capable of applying grace to the rational soul prior to uniting it to the body and likewise purifying the body. However, it was not a spiritual surgery excising an infection, but a nurturing act of love, supplying what should naturally be present. There was no necessary moment in which original sin must be present. Instead, the void of original sin was filled up with original justice by grace. Scotus saw that Mary was preserved from original sin rather than saved from it in the usual sense. She was saved in an extraordinary manner, being safeguarded from any stain of original sin.

Having countered the first argument, Scotus faced the second and far more intimidating issue, that of whether the notion of the Immaculate Conception diminished Christ's role as the "Savior of all."<sup>39</sup> The fear expressed by the opponents of the doctrine was that in some way, Mary did not require a savior. On

the contrary, Scotus argues, Mary needed a savior more than anyone else, for her salvation was achieved in an extraordinary manner. If someone is granted salvation by a singular grace, “this is not something the person has of [themselves], but only by the merit of another,” for “it was because of another’s merits that grace was conferred on this person.”<sup>40</sup> Scotus argues that it was through no merit of Mary’s that she received such an incredible privilege, but because of the merits of Christ and the saving power of His Passion. Furthermore, Scotus shows that rather than detracting from Christ, Mary’s Immaculate Conception reveals even further His excellence as Savior of the world. Scotus shows Christ to be a most perfect mediator between God and man, reconciling mankind with the Father. Because Christ is a most perfect mediator, He performs a most perfect act of mediation while it is good to save someone who has fallen into a pit, it is better to prevent him from ever falling into the pit in the first place.<sup>41</sup> Scotus also illustrates this idea with the story of a king against whom someone commits a grave offense and, as a result of this offense, is continually offended by his children. A mediator does a good service to the king and, because of the mediator’s good deed, reconciles the children to the king. Nonetheless, if this mediator is able to serve the king most perfectly and intercede for one of the children, he would most perfectly do so by assuring that the king never is offended by the child and thus does not need to be reconciled after an offense.<sup>42</sup> Through these examples Scotus shows the majesty of Christ’s salvific power as a most perfect mediator capable of intervening even prior to the calamity of original sin. In showing that Mary still needed Christ as a Savior and that Mary’s being preserved from all stain of sin actually glorifies Him, Scotus removes the final barrier, showing that the objections posited by Thomas Aquinas do not hold, leaving no obstacle to celebrating the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

In the aftermath of this intense theological debate, the feast continued to grow in popularity, finally being introduced into most churches during the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.<sup>43</sup> Many Franciscans, such as Raymund Lull, who was the first author to use the phrase “Immaculate Conception” to denote the doctrine, adamantly promoted Scotus’ arguments and the celebration of the

Virgin's Immaculate Conception amongst the laity and engaged in vigorous debate with the Dominicans who promoted Aquinas' scholastic theology and who were opposed to the Immaculate Conception.<sup>44</sup> Finally, in the late fifteenth century, the papacy, having remained largely silent on the issue, responded to the laity's celebration of the feast. In 1476, Pope Sixtus IV issued the apostolic constitution, *Cum praeexcelsa*, giving full and official support to the celebration of the feast. Sixtus writes that after:

thoroughly investigating the distinguished marks of merit, by which the Queen of Heaven, the glorious Virgin Mother of God, is preferred to all in the heavenly courts, just as among the stars the morning star foretells the dawn, we consider it just, even a duty, that all the faithful of Christ for the miraculous conception of this immaculate Virgin, give praise and thanks to Almighty God

and "that they say Masses and other divine offices" fitting to the feast.<sup>45</sup> This document is a bold statement on the part of the Pope because it pits the Church's official stance against that of St. Thomas Aquinas, a man whose works were incredibly authoritative in the centuries following his death.<sup>46</sup> The ultimate statement on the Immaculate Conception came about in 1854, after the doctrine had come to be widely accepted, when Bl. Pope Pius IX issued the apostolic constitution, *Ineffabilis Deus*, declared the Immaculate Conception a dogma of the Church. The Holy Father solemnly declared, invoking the power of papal infallibility, that:

the doctrine which holds that the most Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instance of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege granted by Almighty God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race, was preserved free from all stain of original sin, is a doctrine revealed by God.<sup>47</sup>

Thus, the Church, after numerous centuries of reflection and liturgical celebration, developed a fully formed theology of the Immaculate Conception.

The primary question to consider about the Church's decision is what prompted her to side with Scotus and his defense of the Immaculate Conception. The Church, from the time of St.

Athanasius' defense of the Trinity at the First Council of Nicaea in 325, has approached such conflicts with the principle of "*lex orandi est lex credendi*." This principle demonstrates that the way in which the laity pray and worship is a guiding standard for theological investigation and reflection because the Church's first concern is for her children. The Catechism of the Catholic Church makes this abundantly clear, stating, "The law of prayer is the law of faith: the Church believes as she prays. Liturgy is a constitutive element of the holy and living Tradition."<sup>48</sup> In this statement, the Church acknowledges the essential role that her children play in her developing appreciation for the contents of the *depositum fidei*, the one deposit of faith given to her by Christ. The laity's embracing of the Immaculate Conception moved the Church to thoroughly examine this doctrine, new but not novel, and understand more fully the Blessed Virgin's significance in salvation history. The Church acts as a mother, similarly to the Blessed Virgin, guiding her children as they grow and not reprimanding them unnecessarily, lovingly listening to their devotions and not merely dismissing their practices. Scotus approached his theology with this principle in mind. This attitude of Scotus' placed him in accordance with the character of holy Mother Church, guiding his spiritual children. Thus the study of this theological controversy, its historical development, and the Church's response to it reveals the fundamental character of the medieval Church's motherhood of the faithful and her likeness to the Blessed Mother, Immaculate Mary.

## NOTES

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8. Ibid.
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- 41.** *Ibid.*, 39.
- 42.** *Ibid.*, 40.
- 43.** Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 53.
- 44.** Luigi Gambero, *Mary in the Middle Ages: The Blessed Virgin Mary in the Thought of Medieval Latin Theologians* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), 258.
- 45.** *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, ed. Heinrich Denzinger and Adolf Schönmetzer, 36th ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 1976), no. 1400.
- 46.** *Aquinas as Authority: A Collection of Studies Presented at the Second Conference of the Thomas Instituut Te Utrecht, December 14-16, 2000*, ed. Paul van Geest, Harm Goris, and Carlo Leget (Utrecht: Peeters Publishers, 2002), vii.
- 47.** Bl. Pope Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus*, 1854.

**48.** *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1993), 1124.