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## Restoration or Invention?

### Archbishop Cisneros and the Mozarabic Rite in Toledo

Susan Boynton

In 1086, the year after the Christian capture of Toledo by the Castilian king Alfonso VI, a new cathedral was dedicated in Toledo by Archbishop Bernard of Sahagun, a French cleric.<sup>1</sup> In place of the traditional Visigothic rite, which had originated in early medieval Iberia, the cathedral adopted the Roman rite.<sup>2</sup> Alfonso had introduced the Roman rite in his kingdom beginning in the 1070s at the behest of Pope Gregory VII, who was convinced that the Old Hispanic rite contained heretical texts.<sup>3</sup> Although the Roman rite was established in the cathedral, the Old Hispanic rite continued to be observed by the local Mozarabs, Christians who assimilated many customs of the Arabic-speaking majority in the Muslim-ruled Iberian peninsula.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, the liturgy is also known as the Mozarabic rite.<sup>5</sup>

A number of efforts to renew the Mozarabic rite in the high and late Middle Ages suggest that it was already on the wane at that time. Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel, who was the archbishop of Toledo from 1280 to 1299, himself a Mozarab, undertook a renewal of the city's Mozarabic parishes with the help of the archdeacon, Joffré de Loaysa. This initiative included the education of clerics to perform the rite, and the production of new liturgical books.<sup>6</sup> By the fifteenth

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<sup>1</sup> For a synthesis of the role of French clergymen in the Iberian peninsula in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Patrick Henriot, "Un bouleversement culturel: Rôle et sens de la présence cléricale française dans la Péninsule ibérique (XIe–XIIe siècles)," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 90 (2004): 65–80.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, "La introducción del rito romano en la Iglesia de Toledo," *Toletana* 10 (2004): 151–77.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Deswarte, "Une Chrétienté hérétique? La réécriture de l'histoire de l'Espagne par Grégoire VII," in *Le passé à l'épreuve du présent: Appropriations et usages du passé au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Pierre Chastang (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 2008), 169–90; Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape: L'Espagne et Rome (586–1085)*, Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale 1 (Paris: Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2010), 403–20; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León–Castile," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León–Castile in 1080*, ed. B. F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 101–20; Ludwig Vones, "The Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite in the Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula," in *Hispania Vetusta*, ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 2007), 43–59.

<sup>4</sup> Ramón González Ruiz, "The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after A.D. 1080," in Reilly, ed., *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, 157–85. See Anscari Mundó, "La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos," *Hispania Sacra* 38 (1965): 1–25.

<sup>5</sup> On the early history of the Old Hispanic rite and its manuscripts, see most recently Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge, Conn.: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 1–14. For a brief summary of the Mozarabic rite's history in Toledo, including a comparison to the Roman rite, see Lynette Bosch, *Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance Toledo* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 55–65.

<sup>6</sup> González, "The Persistence," 178–79; Francisco J. Hernández and Peter Linehan, *The Mozarabic Cardinal: The Life and Times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004).

century the Mozarabic community seems to have been greatly diminished and its group identity was constituted primarily by the celebration of its distinctive rite, which was increasingly rare. Several prelates outside Toledo attempted to establish regular celebration of the rite. In 1436 Juan Vázquez de Cepeda, bishop of Segovia, founded a college of regular clergy who celebrated the rite from 1436 to 1441, and in 1517 the bishop of Salamanca, Rodrigo Aries Maldonado de Talavera, endowed a chapel in his cathedral where the Mozarabic Mass would be celebrated once a month and on some feast days.<sup>7</sup> In 1480 Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón confirmed the privileges of the Mozarabic clergy in Toledo and mandated the appropriate distribution of funds designated for Mozarabic parishes. In the same year, Alonso Carrillo de Acuña (archbishop of Toledo from 1446 to 1482) forbade the distribution of benefices to clerics who could not perform the rite. In order to secure the future of the rite, Cardinal Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza (archbishop of Toledo from 1482 to 1495) sought to consolidate the Mozarabic parishes as autonomous areas by preventing Mozarabs from moving out of them, while discouraging others from moving into them.<sup>8</sup> In the end, the rite survived largely through the initiative of one man, Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo from 1495 to 1517.

It was Cisneros who seized on the idea of perpetuating the Mozarabic rite by commissioning new editions and endowing its observance. According to early accounts, he happened on the Mozarabic liturgical books in Visigothic script and wished to forestall the disappearance of the rite. Cisneros appointed a commission under the direction of Alfonso Ortiz, a canon of Toledo Cathedral, to prepare editions of the Mozarabic missal (1500) and breviary (1502).<sup>9</sup> In 1501 Cisneros founded a Mozarabic Chapel in his cathedral (in the existing Corpus Christi Chapel) with 13 chaplains to celebrate the Mass and Office according to the Mozarabic rite.<sup>10</sup> A bull of Pope Julius II (1508) approved the use of the rite in this chapel; Julius issued another bull in 1512 to confirm the foundation's endowments.<sup>11</sup> Creating new service books for the celebration of the Mozarabic rite was an important part of the archbishop's initiative to restore its observance.

Cisneros's patronage had far broader implications than the survival of the rite in Toledo. Over the course of the early modern period, the memory of the medieval rite was gradually transformed, through revision, publication, practice, and historical discourse, from the local observance of a medieval community into an early modern symbol of the Spanish nation. Thus

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<sup>7</sup> See Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vol. 3 (Madrid: A. Marin et al., 1748), 336–37.

<sup>8</sup> Bosch, *Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance Toledo*, 61–64; Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Press, 2007), 33–34.

<sup>9</sup> *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1500); *Breviarium secundum regulam Beati Isidori* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1502).

<sup>10</sup> On the history of the chapel, see Mario Arellano Garcia, *La Capilla Mozárabe o del Corpus Christi* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigóticos–Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1980).

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed account of the foundation with supporting documents, see Juan Meseguer Fernández, “El Cardenal Jiménez de Cisneros, fundador de la Capilla Mozárabe,” in *Historia mozárabe: Ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1975), 149–245.

the performance of the liturgy in the Mozarabic Chapel and the diffusion of the editions to a broad readership can be interpreted as a process of inventing a tradition in the sense used by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger to describe a custom that accrues venerability through repetition and ritual use.<sup>12</sup> In this way the celebration of the neo-Mozarabic rite fostered an imagined community in which the Mozarabs represented the preeminence of Christianity in Iberia.<sup>13</sup> The transformation of a ritual community into a national symbol is an instructive demonstration that liturgy, although often overlooked by historians, can be an important factor in the formation of national identity.<sup>14</sup> So potent was the image of the Mozarabic rite that in 1770, the archbishop of Mexico (and future archbishop of Toledo), Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1722–1804), published an edition of the Mozarabic Mass for Saint James (Santiago) in Puebla.<sup>15</sup>

### Restoration

While it was unprecedented to bring the Mozarabic rite to a city of the Spanish Empire, it was not the first time that the Mozarabic liturgy had been linked to Spain's imperial aspirations outside Europe. Cisneros, whose promotion of the rite inspired Lorenzana's, commissioned a program of decoration for the Mozarabic Chapel that included a depiction of the Spanish conquest of Oran, in modern Algeria, in 1509.<sup>16</sup> Cisneros participated in this expedition as part of an initiative extending the medieval notions of reconquest and crusade to north Africa.<sup>17</sup> Oran was part of a new crusade to north Africa encouraged by the Catholic monarchs as an extension of the idea of Christian reconquest. The idea of the *reconquista* has been revised by historians of the Iberian peninsula, who distance themselves from uses of the term that cast what were in fact diverse and sporadic endeavors as a single, coherent movement lasting for centuries.<sup>18</sup> Writers of history in the Middle Ages and early modern period used not the later term "reconquest" but rather a Latin or Romance equivalent of the word "restoration" to characterize conquests by

<sup>12</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.

<sup>13</sup> For the idea of the nation as an imagined community, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991), 7.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Xavier Bisaro, *Une Nation de fidèles – L'Église et la liturgie parisienne au XVIIIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Susan Boynton, "Writing History with Liturgy," in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 187–200.

<sup>15</sup> *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica, et Officium itidèm Gothicum, diligentèr ac dilucidè explanata ad usum percelebris Mozarabum Sacelli Toleti à munificentissimo Cardinali Ximeno erecti* (Angelopoli: Typis Seminarii Palafoxiani, 1770). He was assisted by a canon of Toledo Cathedral, Francisco Fabián y Fuero (1719–1801).

<sup>16</sup> On this program of decoration, see Erika Dolphin, "Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and the Decoration of the Chapter Room and Mozarabic Chapel in Toledo Cathedral" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2008), 259–73.

<sup>17</sup> Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Cisneros y la conquista española del norte de África: Cruzada, política y arte de la Guerra* (Madrid: Ministerio de defensa, 2005). On the role of Cisneros after the conquest, see José Martínez Millán, "El cardinal Cisneros, un gran patrón cortesano," in *Orán: Historia de la Corte Chica*, ed. Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2011), 83–117.

<sup>18</sup> See Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

Christians of places under Muslim rule.<sup>19</sup> Cisneros's foundation of the neo-Mozarabic rite, often called a restoration of the medieval rite, is congruent with the ideology of restoration embedded in the notion of the reconquista. In both contexts the aim is to create an impression of continuity – in the case of the reconquista, continuity between the Visigoths and medieval Castilians, and in the case of the Cisneros project, continuity from the medieval Mozarabs of Toledo (who were understood to be descendents of the city's Visigothic population) to the early modern community. The composition of the medieval Toledan Mozarabic population has long been debated, however, and a significant number of the Mozarabs in Toledo in the decades after the Christian conquest of 1085 could have originated in al-Andalus.<sup>20</sup> Aaron Moreno is the most recent historian to assert that Andalusian Mozarabs in Toledo were responsible for the continuity of the rite in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Noting that there is no evidence for any Mozarabic church in Toledo before 1156, he argues furthermore that the strict separation of Roman and Mozarabic liturgies may not have been absolute until priests arrived in the 1140s, seeking refuge in Toledo after fleeing the Muwahhid invasion of al-Andalus.<sup>21</sup>

The chapel's program of decoration, reflecting the archbishop's diverse actions, reminds us that Cisneros participated in the military campaign to conquer Oran and convert its Muslims just a year after he obtained papal approval for the celebration of the Mozarabic rite in his chapel; the juxtaposition suggests a link between "reconquest" or "restoration" and the genesis of Cisneros's liturgical project, which is explicitly presented as a restoration. The conquest of Oran became conjoined with the founding of the chapel itself in the account by Eugenio de Robles. The heading for chapter 22 of his *Compendio* reads, "On the foundation of the unique and singular Chapel of Corpus Christi, which they call [that] of the Mozarabs, of the holy church of Toledo: and the conquest of the city of Oran by our most illustrious cardinal."<sup>22</sup> The combination of these two events in one chapter is a direct consequence of the decision to represent the conquest of Oran in the chapel. In addition to coloring subsequent perception of the rite, the visual evocation of Oran in the Mozarabic Chapel could have reflected a preexistent alignment of the conquest of Oran with Cisneros's intention to restore the liturgy practiced by the earliest Christians of Hispania before 711.

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<sup>19</sup> Martín Ríos Saloma, "De la Restauración a la Reconquista: La construcción de un mito nacional (Una revisión historiográfica. Siglos XVI–XIX)," *En la España Medieval* 28 (2005): 379–414; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista: Génesis y desarrollo de una construcción historiográfica (s. XVI–XIX)* (Madrid: Marcial-Pons–UNAM, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> For a recent synthesis of the historiography and the documentary corpus for Toledo, see Diego Olstein, "The Mozarabs of Toledo (12th –13th Centuries) in Historiography, Sources, and History," in *Die Mozaraber: Definitionen und Perspektiven der Forschung*, ed. Matthias Maser and Klaus Herbers (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011), 151–86. On the Mozarabs of Iberia in general, see Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IXe–XIIe siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010).

<sup>21</sup> Aaron Moreno, "Arabicizing, Privileges, and Liturgy in Medieval Castilian Toledo: The Problems and Mutations of Mozarab Identification (1085–1436)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 2012), 160–71.

<sup>22</sup> Eugenio de Robles, *Compendio de la vida y hazañas del Cardenal don fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros y del Oficio y Missa muzarabe* (Toledo, 1604), 232: "De la fundacion de la unica y singular Capilla de Corpus Christi, que llaman de los Muzarabes de la santa yglesia de Toledo; y conquista de la ciudad de Oran, por nuestro Illustrissimo Cardenal."

## Renewal

In the years around 1500, then, the Mozarabic rite served both as a reminder of the ruptures in Spain's distant past and as an emblem of its present triumph. The context for this heightened importance of liturgy was an increased reliance on religious writing for historical argument, as witnessed by the use of hagiography as a historical source in the early modern period. The historiographical application of texts originally crafted for the cult of the saints expanded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Simon Ditchfield has shown for Italy, and Katie Harris, Erin Rowe, and Katrina Olds have demonstrated recently for Habsburg Spain.<sup>23</sup>

The prefaces to the Ortiz editions of 1500 and 1502, and their nearly identical colophons, are the earliest narrative sources on the "restoration" of the Mozarabic chant under Cisneros. (For complete Latin texts and translations, see Appendix 1.) Ortiz makes no reference at all to the music of the chant. Instead, the prefaces bespeak a philological project in a humanist vein. Ortiz dwells on the composition of the textual edition, the need to decipher, to recover, and above all to improve and rearrange, and even to rewrite the texts so as to make them accessible and legible. In the preface to the missal he states that the manuscripts had "long been worn out by neglect and old age and sprinkled with a cloud of errors, so that a skillful reader could scarcely uncover a pleasing sentence in the course of examining many volumes." They had "long been abandoned on account of the rusticity of the letters." Ortiz states that he was charged by Cisneros to "restore" (*reficere*) the texts without changing them too radically, and refers to certain elements that Cisneros ordered him keep intact on account of their antiquity. The result was an improved version in which incoherence was remedied by organization and emendation: "Once the dispersed things were brought into order, the errors corrected, and the doubts illuminated by the truth [I had] extracted, as if repairing many things that had been destroyed, at your order I made everything as clear as I was able." In the spirit of classical philology, Ortiz acknowledges his own agency in the genesis of the final product, but also asserts the necessity of altering the contents in order to improve them. As José Janini has demonstrated, for 25 of the Mass formularies in the *Missale mixtum* Ortiz compiled and partly recomposed texts from various sources; for seven further Masses he adapted existing texts to create entirely new formularies.<sup>24</sup>

In the Mozarabic breviary of 1502, according to Ortiz's preface, even more extensive reworking was necessary to extract a readable and coherent text from the muddled contents of

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<sup>23</sup> Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ditchfield, "'Historia Magistra Sanctitatis'? The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1564–1742 ca)," in *Nunc Alia Tempora, Alii Mores: Storici e storia in età posttridentina*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2005), 3–23; Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Katrina Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012): 135–84; Erin Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011). I am grateful to Simon Ditchfield and Katrina Olds for sending me their publications.

<sup>24</sup> José Janini, "Misas mozárabes recompuestas por Ortiz," *Hispania Sacra* 34 (1982): 153–63.

the medieval manuscripts. In addition to reorganizing, reordering, and even rewriting some texts, Ortiz introduced new elements to ensure that the breviary would contain all the requisite liturgical items for the Divine Office. Some of these intentional anachronisms include the formularies for feasts introduced after the suppression of the Old Hispanic rite. Rather than being critical editions in the modern sense, the Ortiz editions are a *reformed* Office in every sense of the word – the texts are reshaped and improved to present an updated and revised version of the rite. Texts in the breviary were “corrected” to suit Renaissance philological standards. The text of the colophon, in both the missal and the breviary, describes the liturgical content as “corrected (or emended)” (*emendatum*) by Ortiz. Finally, he interpolated newly written passages of prose into existing prayers, and adapted some prayer formularies for use on feasts to which they were not originally assigned.<sup>25</sup> Such extensive editorial intervention effectively rendered the breviary more of an artifact or confection than a usable liturgical book.

Nonetheless, the Ortiz editions were understood in some sense to be witnesses to an authentic tradition, for the preface to the missal lists the clergy of the Mozarabic parishes who were involved in the preparation of the edition (Antonio Rodríguez of Santa Justa, Alonso Martínez de Yepes of Santa Eulalia, and Geronimo Gutierrez of San Lucas).<sup>26</sup> Eugenio de Robles, in his biography of Cisneros, states that these men were “instructed in the ceremonies and ancient manner of praying and singing according to this Mozarabic rite” (*instructos en las ceremonias y antiguo modo de rezar, y cantar, segun este orden Muzarabe*).<sup>27</sup> The emphasis on the edition and the texts behind it (rather than on its status as a record of a community’s living liturgical tradition) should not come as a surprise in a commission from Cisneros, whose scholarly initiatives yielded the polyglot Bible and other editions.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the earliest known biography of Cisneros, written between 1524 and 1541, places the bishop’s liturgical reform in the context of these other publications, closing with a reference to his “affection and love for letters”—his philology.<sup>29</sup> The editions reflect a humanist approach to the liturgy as an object of study; ultimately, their principal function was to give access to the texts, even more effectively than they encouraged performance of the rite. It would be no exaggeration to call the Ortiz editions the beginning of modern liturgical erudition.

An equally important and lasting effect of the editions was to stamp the early modern rite with the name of Cisneros. The title pages of the Mozarabic breviary and missal depict Cisneros being blessed by the Virgin Mary, an image that is surrounded by elements of Cisneros’s heraldry (his cardinal’s hat on top and his Franciscan tassels on both sides). A three-dimensional

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<sup>25</sup> *Liber mysticus de cuaresma (Cod. Toled. 35.2, hoy en Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 10.110)*, ed. José Janini (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1979), xxxi–xliii.

<sup>26</sup> The preface to the *Missale mixtum* provides the names in Latin; the vernacular equivalents cited here and in my translation of the preface are taken from Robles, *Compendio*, 236.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>28</sup> A survey of Cisneros’s career can be found in Dolphin, “Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros,” 12–51.

<sup>29</sup> “Hizo otrosy reformar el oficio divino deste arzobispado de toledo, que estava en letra y canto muy destruydo”; Lynn H. Nelson and Arnold H. Weiss, “An Early Life of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros,” *Franciscan Studies* 42 (1982): 156–65 (quotation on 165).

visual commemoration of Cisneros, similarly marked by the sign of the cardinal's hat, is described by Alvar Gómez de Castro, one of the earliest biographers of Cisneros.<sup>30</sup> (For the complete text and translation of the relevant chapter, see Appendix 2.) In Gómez de Castro's account, the liturgical project of Cisneros serves effectively as a frame for a capsule history of the Visigoths, of Toledo, and of the Mozarabic rite. The opening sentence mentions the archbishop's discovery of manuscripts in Visigothic script, but most of the chapter recounts the history of the Visigoths and their liturgy, the persistence of the rite in the Mozarabic parishes after 711, and its gradual loss after the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085. Gómez de Castro includes the widespread story of the duel between two knights representing the Mozarabic and Roman rites, and the trial by fire to which books of the two liturgies were subjected, according to the same legend.<sup>31</sup> A brief description of the Visigothic script leads back to Cisneros's perusal of the ancient service books, his realization that the ancient rite was on the verge of disappearance, his decision to have the editions published in an ordinary typeface, and his founding of the Mozarabic Chapel.

After the editions were published, Cisneros commissioned the production of manuscript *cantorales* (choirbooks) for the use of the singers in the Mozarabic Chapel.<sup>32</sup> These books, which contain about four hundred chants for all the feasts of the church year, provide unparalleled information on the music of the early-modern rite. The melodies bear little or no resemblance to those with the same texts in the Old Hispanic manuscripts.<sup>33</sup> Some of the melodies are evidently in the style of Gregorian chant, while others appear to be newly composed.<sup>34</sup> The Old Hispanic chant was never copied in a more legible form of notation, so its melodies, written in Visigothic

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<sup>30</sup> Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximeno Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano* (Alcalá, 1569), f. 42r.

<sup>31</sup> Two useful overviews of the historiography are Thomas Deswarte, "Justifier l'injustifiable? La suppression du rit hispanique dans la littérature (XIIe–milieu XIIIe siècles)," in *Convaincre et persuader: Communication et propagande aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, ed. Martin Aurell, *Civilisation Médiévale* 18 (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 2007), 533–44; and Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, "El cambio de rito en Castilla: Su *iter* historiográfico en los siglos XII y XIII," *Hispania Sacra* 58 (2006): 9–35.

<sup>32</sup> For a facsimile edition see *Los Cantorales Mozárabes de Cisneros*, ed. Fernández Collado, Alfredo Rodríguez González, and Isidoro Castañeda Tordera, 2 vols. (Toledo: Cabildo de la Catedral Primada de Toledo, 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Herminio González Barrionuevo, "La música litúrgica de los mozárabes," in *Los mozárabes: Una minoría olvidada*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez and Juan del Río Martín (Seville: Fundación "El Monte," 1998): 182–85; Vito Imbasciani, "Cisneros and the Restoration of the Mozarabic Rite" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1979), 12; Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios, "La ornamentación del canto llano, el canto eugeniano y las melodías 'mozárabes' de los cantorales de Cisneros," *Revista de musicología* 28 (2005): 80; Casiano Rojo and Germán Prado, *El canto mozárabe; estudio histórico-crítico de su antigüedad y estado actual* (Barcelona: Diputación provincial, 1929): 103–07.

<sup>34</sup> See Angel Fernández Collado, "Los cantorales mozárabes de Cisneros," *Toletana: Cuestiones de Teología e historia, Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, Toledo* 2 (2000): 145–68; María Concepción Peñas García, "De los cantorales de Cisneros y las melodías de tradición mozárabe," *Nassarre: Revista aragonesa de musicología* 12 (1996): 413–34; María Concepción Peñas García with María Carmen Casas Gras, "Los cantorales de Cisneros: Estudio y presentación del Cantoral I," *Nassarre: Revista aragonesa de musicología* 20 (2004): 261–402.



neumes, are indecipherable.<sup>35</sup> Most melodies of the medieval Mozarabic tradition were probably lost by the end of the fifteenth century; they had never been recorded in a readable form of musical notation and the oral tradition appears to have waned considerably or entirely disappeared.<sup>36</sup> The compilation of the cantorales thus posed the problem of supplying music for a large repertory of chant texts. Vito Imbasciani, in his analysis of the cantorales, presents a hypothetical scenario for the creation of this repertory. Gregorian melodies could be fitted to those chant texts that were also sung in the Roman rite. Chants could also be borrowed from the Roman rite for services that did not exist in the Old Hispanic rite. He suggests that the melodies for chants that were not part of the Roman rite were composed soon before the compilation of the choirbooks, and in some cases might have been partly based on the configurations of neumes in the medieval manuscripts of Toledo Cathedral.<sup>37</sup> Imbasciani notes that the structure of the neo-Mozarabic Mass and Office in the cantorales corresponds to that of the medieval rite, and the basic form of the chants follows those of the Mozarabic ones. However, the ordering of the books does not correspond to that of the medieval manuscripts. The Office and Mass chants are copied separately, whereas medieval Mozarabic manuscripts combine the Office and Mass for each feast. The cantorales retain certain distinctive features of the Mozarabic calendar, but the sanctorale is essentially Gregorian with a few of the major Mozarabic saints (such as Leocadia and Eulalia).<sup>38</sup> Thus, the Ortiz editions and the Mozarabic cantorales can appropriately be termed “neo-Mozarabic.”<sup>39</sup>

Juan de Vallejo, a secretary to Cisneros, wrote in the early sixteenth century that the archbishop decided that the Mozarabic rite should be “sung and celebrated” (*que se cantase y celebrase*) as it had been at the time of Isidore of Seville and Ildefonsus of Toledo, but he does not cite any contemporary practice of the tradition.<sup>40</sup> Like Ortiz in his prefaces to the printed

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<sup>35</sup> The Aquitanian style of notation that became the new standard in the Iberian peninsula after the liturgical reform was diastematic and thus clearly indicated the intervals between notes. Except for 20 melodies that were written in Aquitanian-style neumes, the Mozarabic chant was never recorded in this kind of notation. On chant notation in the Iberian peninsula, see Susana Zapke, “Notation Systems in the Iberian Peninsula: From Spanish Notations to Aquitanian Notation (9th–12th Centuries),” in *Hispania Vetus*, 189–243.

<sup>36</sup> The discovery of a fourteenth-century fragment containing a Mozarabic chant melody suggests the existence of other late medieval sources, now lost. See David Catalunya and Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, “Mozarabic *preces* in Ars Nova Notation: A New Fourteenth-Century Fragment Discovered in Spain,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 22 (2013): 153–68. In addition to the *preces*, hymn melodies offer further examples of Old Hispanic melodies that appear to have survived in later sources; see Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, “Melodías del canto hispánico en el repertorio litúrgico poético de la Edad Media y el Renacimiento,” in *El canto mozárabe y su entorno: Estudios sobre la música de la liturgia viejo hispánica*, ed. Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, Rosario Álvarez Martínez, and Ana Llorens Martín (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2013), 547–75.

<sup>37</sup> In support of the argument that the melodies in the cantorales are elaborated versions of Old Hispanic ones, see Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, “A la búsqueda de las melodías del canto viejo-hispánico: los libros corales mozárabes de 1500,” in *El canto mozárabe y su entorno*, 593–646.

<sup>38</sup> Imbasciani, “Cisneros,” 138–42.

<sup>39</sup> Imbasciani, “Cisneros,” 17, uses the term “neo-Mozarabic” to refer only to the cantorales or their music; I apply it instead to the entire enterprise represented by the Ortiz editions and the Cisneros “restoration” of the rite.

<sup>40</sup> Juan de Vallejo, *Memorial de la Vida de Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro (Madrid: Impr. Bailly-Baillièere, 1913), 57.

Mozarabic missal and breviary, Vallejo describes Cisneros as discovering the medieval Mozarabic rite when he came across some inscrutable liturgical books in Visigothic script in the library of Toledo Cathedral. All the early accounts, including Vallejo's, refer to the recovery of the texts from manuscripts by dint of patient deciphering of the script and painstaking collation of the witnesses. Only a few phrases in the *De rebus gestis* of Gómez de Castro suggest that the rite was not entirely dead: "finally it happened that the rite was not celebrated in those churches except on a few occasions and feast days" and that the ceremonies "had fallen into such desuetude that they seemed about to disappear at any moment."<sup>41</sup>

According to Eugenio de Robles, Cisneros saw that not only the practice of the rite, but even the memory of it was going to be lost because too few clergy knew the rite, and the books containing it were in Visigothic script. Moreover, some of the ancient service books were lying unbound in Toledo's shops, where their pages were being used to wrap merchandise.<sup>42</sup> Although these texts may exaggerate the dire state of the Mozarabic liturgy so as to magnify the archbishop's heroism in rescuing it, they give the impression that the oral tradition provided little if any insight into the contents of the medieval Mozarabic liturgical manuscripts.

The Ortiz editions became the best-known version of the Mozarabic rite and furnished the basis for subsequent editions, including the eighteenth-century ones that remain widely consulted today because of their inclusion in the *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>43</sup> Since the twentieth century the differences between the medieval manuscripts and the Ortiz editions have been studied in ever greater detail,<sup>44</sup> but most scholars in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries thought the editions represented faithful publications of the medieval books. A notable exception appears in a little-known treatise published in 1593 by the Mozarabic chaplain Francisco de Pisa, who pointed out that the printed editions contained numerous mistakes and elements extraneous to the Mozarabic rite.<sup>45</sup> In his voluminous history of Toledo published twelve years later, he presented the initiatives of Cisneros as driven by his curiosity about the rite and his wish to see it survive.<sup>46</sup> For centuries thereafter, the long shadow of Cisneros's reputation hindered objective criticism of the editions and maintained their association with his persona. Since most scholars could not

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<sup>41</sup> Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis*, 121: Tandem ergo factum est, vt non nisi paucis quibusdam statis, festisque diebus, eo ritu in illis sacrificaretur.

<sup>42</sup> Robles, *Compendio*, 235–36.

<sup>43</sup> *Breviarium gothicum secundum regulam Beatissimi Isidori* (Madrid, 1775); *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes* (Rome: Monaldini, 1755). The *Breviarium Gothicum* was reprinted in *Liturgiae Mozarabicae tomus posterior*, *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 86 (Paris: Migne, 1850).

<sup>44</sup> Louis Brou, "Etudes sur le Missel et le Bréviaire 'mozarabes' imprimés," *Hispania Sacra* 11 (1958): 349–98; José María Martín Patino, "El Breviarium Mozárabe de Ortiz: Su valor documental para la historia del oficio catedralicio hispánico," *Miscelánea Comillas* 50 (1963): 207–97.

<sup>45</sup> Francisco de Pisa, *Tablas en declaracion del ufficio Mozarabe, de su antiguedad, y autoridad, ritos, y ceremonias* (Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1593).

<sup>46</sup> Francisco de Pisa, *Descripcion de la imperial ciudad de Toledo y historia de sus antiguedades, y grandeza, y cosas memorable que en ella han acontecido, de los Reyes que la han señoreado, y gouernado en sucession de tiempos: Y de los Arçobispos de Toledo, principalmente los mas celebrados* (Toledo, 1605), book 5, chap. 8, f. 234v.

read the Visigothic script, and access to the manuscripts was in any case limited, few realized that the early modern rite differed from the medieval manuscripts.

### Reinvention

Characterizing the promotion of the Mozarabic rite under Cisneros as a restoration or renewal obfuscates the fact that it was necessary to reinvent some aspects of the tradition and to interpolate a considerable number of new elements. The resulting combination of old and new is a hybrid that sits uneasily with liturgical tradition; it is neither the medieval Mozarabic rite nor the Toledan Roman rite, but a confection of the two that does not directly reflect practice. The editions constructed a new ritual community that was largely coterminous with the Mozarabic chaplains in the cathedral and that effectively absorbed whatever remained of the Mozarabic community in Toledo. Gómez de Castro describes the liturgical duties of the college of chaplains (“the continual care of the Holy Hours, to celebrate Mass with that rite every day, and to sing the Office festively”) and states that the newly founded Mozarabic clergy included the rectors of the six Mozarabic parish churches. Alonso Martínez de Yepes, rector of the Mozarabic parish of Santa Eulalia, became one of the first chaplains of the Mozarabic Chapel.<sup>47</sup>

By establishing his cathedral as the effective center of the Mozarabic rite, Cisneros effectively reversed the exclusion of the rite from Toledo’s principal church that had occurred so many centuries earlier with the introduction of the Roman rite in 1086. Over the course of the sixteenth century, however, the Mozarabs’ standing changed, as the requirement of purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) and increasing suspicion of converts brought the ancestry of Spanish Christians under closer scrutiny. In the context of heightened anxiety about religious identity, the Mozarabs of Toledo were perceived as tainted by assimilation of Arab customs that had given the community its common name.<sup>48</sup> They were also marked by their long use of the Arabic language, which by the sixteenth century was associated predominantly with Muslims and Moriscos (Muslim converts to Christianity).<sup>49</sup> In the same period, the discovery of previously unknown (and evidently forged) accounts of the medieval history of Toledan Mozarabs included one of the pseudo-historical texts known as the false chronicles.<sup>50</sup> The forger of the chronicle, Jeronimo Roman de la Higuera, used the chronicle (which he attributed to a twelfth-century Mozarab) to assert his own Mozarab lineage. Higuera’s family may have had converso origins,

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<sup>47</sup> José Carlos Gómez-Menor Fuentes, “El apellido Yepes y su diffusion en el antiguo reino de Toledo,” *Toletum* series 2, 30 (1994): 224.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 109–27.

<sup>49</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal, “The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada,” *Arabica* 56 (2009) 495–528; and Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

<sup>50</sup> Katrina Olds, “‘The False Chronicles’ in Early Modern Spain: Forgery, Tradition, and the Invention of Texts and Relics, 1595–c. 1670” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2008); Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming). I am grateful to Katrina Olds for allowing me to consult her book manuscript before its publication.

and at a time when anything besides complete “purity of blood” was suspect, it was tempting to forge a Mozarabic identity.<sup>51</sup>

The histories of Toledo from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries all invoke the Mozarabs’ presence in Toledo throughout the centuries, and recount the change to the Roman rite after the Christian conquest of the city, but subtle condemnations of the Mozarabs appear in these texts as well. At least since the thirteenth century, they had constituted a distinct group of non-noble knights (*caballeros*) granted tax exemptions that were equal to those of the other groups of caballeros in Toledo with whom they competed for privileges.<sup>52</sup> Ironically, then, even as contemporary Toledan Mozarabs were resented for their tax exemptions and viewed as potentially suspect because of their earlier cohabitation with Muslims, the Mozarabic liturgy (parts of which had once been judged heretical) was extolled as an authentic relic of the earliest peninsular Christianity.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, the liturgy was frequently invoked in the early modern debates about venerable ecclesiastical traditions of Spain, including the Jacobean legends that had given rise to the claim of primacy by the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

By the eighteenth century the Mozarabic liturgy was hardly practiced at all but seems to have been considered something of a national treasure. In 1749, the Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel argued that a new edition of the Mozarabic rite for parish use should be adopted not only in Toledo and in Salamanca and Palencia (where chapels for the performance of the rite had been founded earlier) but also in “another chapel of this rite that the king, if only for the curiosity of natives and foreigners who come here, should establish in the court.”<sup>54</sup> The restored rite established by Cisneros was now a museum piece. Burriel also pointed out a divergence between the prestige of the rite and the perception of the Mozarabs as a group; he stated that in Toledo there were attempts to “do away with the foundations of Ximénez and to invalidate the concessions given to the Mozarabs, when they only needed to correct the abuses that there were: and moreover all should agree to maintain that which I judge to be the greatest and most solid glory of the nation.”<sup>55</sup> In eighteenth-century Toledo, the juridical status of the Mozarabs was subject to debate.<sup>56</sup> The foremost defender of their exemptions was a Mozarabic clergyman of Toledo Cathedral, Pedro Camino y Velasco, who in 1740 published the *Noticia historico-chronologica de los privilegios de las nobles familias de los mozarabes de la imperial ciudad de Toledo*, an annotated historical compilation of documents that appeared soon after Philip V

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<sup>51</sup> Olds, *Forging the Past*, chap. 1. The term “converso” typically refers to Jewish converts to Christianity.

<sup>52</sup> Moreno, “Arabicizing,” 81–82.

<sup>53</sup> On Gregory VII’s assertion that the Old Hispanic liturgy was heretical or that the only way for Hispania to achieve orthodoxy was to replace the Old Hispanic rite with the Roman rite, see Deswarte, “Une Chrétienté Hérétique,” and Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape*, 376–77.

<sup>54</sup> Alfonso Echánove Tuero, *La preparación intelectual del P. Andrés Marcos Burriel, S.J. (1731–1750)* (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1971), 270–71.

<sup>55</sup> Andrés Marcos Burriel, “Apuntamientos,” in Echánove Tuero, *La preparación intelectual*, 270.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 81–83.

confirmed the privileges and exemptions of the community.<sup>57</sup> The *Noticia* is dedicated to the infante Luis Antonio Jaime de Borbón e Farnesio, who was titular archbishop of Toledo from 1735 to 1754. Camino also wrote a detailed defense of the Mozarabs' privileges in 1744.<sup>58</sup> A few years later, sometime during the reign of Ferdinand VI (1747–59), the clergy of the six Mozarabic parishes petitioned Ferdinand VI for royal patronage (*patronato real*) and an income to support their performance of the traditional rite. Citing Philip V's attendance at Mass in the Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral in 1723, they invited Ferdinand to Toledo to hear the rite, which they called "the most glorious crest and shield that could be made for Spain . . . the envy of foreign nations."<sup>59</sup> The petition mentions the numerous court cases since 1500 challenging the Mozarabic parishes' rights to their traditional tithes. According to the petition, the priests and prebendaries charged with observing the rite could not keep up with rising costs,

nor maintain themselves with the decency owed to their character and ministries, given the extreme scantiness to which their income is reduced, which is notorious. They see themselves obliged (although with the greatest pain) to abandon the said churches, leaving the holy and most ancient Mozarabic rite exposed to total extinction.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the measures taken earlier by Cisneros to endow the Mozarabic Chapel in Toledo Cathedral and its chaplaincies, the parishes evidently found it difficult to sustain the performance of the rite. On the other hand, perhaps the living Mozarabs were no longer crucial to the meaning of the rite, which could function more broadly as a symbol of Spain and its religious traditions. The print medium had freed the rite from the constraints of performance. Known principally through critical editions published by French, Italian, and English scholars in the centuries after Ortiz, the Mozarabic rite had become a form of supranational intellectual property; like the Roman rite, it signaled a broad institutional affiliation but was not really bound to any one place.

When Lorenzana, as archbishop of Mexico, published his first edition of the Mozarabic rite in 1770, the early modern rite had come a long way since its initial appearance in print. Cisneros had brought its texts to a wider audience of historians, making possible the cultural interpretations that would gradually accumulate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By establishing the Mozarabic Chapel in his cathedral and endowing the perpetual celebration of the

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<sup>57</sup> Pedro Camino y Velasco, *Noticia historico-chronologica de los privilegios de las nobles familias de los mozarabes de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (Toledo, 1740). On opposition to the renewal of the Mozarabs' privileges, see Richard Hitchcock, "An Examination of the Use of the Term 'Mozarab' in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Spain" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1971), 126–27. I am grateful to the author for sending me part of his unpublished dissertation.

<sup>58</sup> Pedro Camino y Velasco, *Defensa de los privilegios de los nobles mozarabes de Toledo contra el escrito de D. Juan de Huarte, Abogado de los Reales Consejos*, Madrid, BN 13059, ff. 208–223v.

<sup>59</sup> Madrid, BN 13059, f. 204r: "tymbre y blazon el mas glorioso, que pudo hacer a España, son embidia de las Naciones estrangeras."

<sup>60</sup> Madrid, BN 13059, ff. 204v–205r: "ni mantenerse con la decencia debida a su character y Ministerios, a vista de la suma cortedad a que estan reducidas sus rentas, que es notoria; se veran precisados (aunque con gravissimo dolor suyo) a desamparar dichas Iglesias, y dejar expuesto el sagrado antiquissimo rito mozarabe a una total extincion."

Mozarabic rite there, Cisneros had created a lasting association with the primatial see of Spain for a liturgy that the Mozarabic community had observed only outside the cathedral. Lorenzana took this process one step further, perpetuating the legendary and broadly Toledan character of the Mozarabic rite in his editions.<sup>61</sup> The preface to the *Missæ Gothica* edition recounts the stories of the duel and the trial by fire (also mentioned by Gómez de Castro) that had come to represent the contest between the old and new traditions in Castile; two engravings in the volume depict these events. Significantly, it is only through this illustration of the medieval legend that the Mozarabs of Toledo appear in Lorenzana's edition at all. In the preface to the missal of 1500, members of the Mozarabic community are credited with assisting in the preparation of the Ortiz editions, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, new editions of the rite were based almost entirely on existing publications. After Lorenzana returned to Spain as archbishop of Toledo in 1772, he published two more editions of the neo-Mozarabic rite, both of which paid direct tribute to Cisneros by only slightly modifying the Ortiz editions.<sup>62</sup>

As the prefaces to these editions state, it was the humanist bent of Cisneros and his patronage that restored the medieval rite to legibility; what he invented, through his actions and legacy, was the early modern rite. The longstanding conviction that the two rites are one and the same informs the presentation of the Cisneros cantorales in the recent facsimile edition, where the reproduction of each choirbook is framed by greatly enlarged details from the medieval Toledan liturgical manuscripts in Visigothic script.<sup>63</sup> By enclosing the neo-Mozarabic chant repertory within these evocations of medieval flyleaves, the facsimile volumes implicitly assert the continuity of tradition. Such a subtle rewriting of the past has shaped the historiography of the rite since the establishment of the Mozarabic chapel.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Although the publication of the editions has led many to consider Lorenzana one of the foremost scholars of the Mozarabic rite, his scholarly contribution pales beside that of Burriel, who had worked for years on the manuscripts in Toledo Cathedral but died in 1762 without publishing most of his findings. On Burriel, see Susan Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also Boynton, "Burriel, Palomares y el estudio del rito hispánico en el siglo XVIII," in *El canto mozárabe y su entorno*, 647–68.

<sup>62</sup> *Breviarium gothicum . . . Ad usum sacelli Mozarabum* (Madrid, 1775); *Missale Gothicum secundum regulam Beati Isidori hispalensis episcopi jussu cardinalis Francisci Ximenii de Cisneros in usum Mozarabum prius editum* (Rome, 1804).

<sup>63</sup> *Los Cantorales Mozárabes de Cisneros*, ed. Fernández Collado, Alfredo Rodríguez González, and Isidoro Castañeda Tordera, 2 vols. (Toledo: Cabildo de la Catedral Primada de Toledo, 2011), 1: xii, 1, 376–77, 628; 2: 639–40, 847–88.

<sup>64</sup> This article was first written in 2011 for an issue of the *Yale Institute of Sacred Music Colloquium Journal* that was never published. The article was revised and expanded in 2014 for the *Yale Journal of Music and Religion*.

## Appendix 1

A. Preface to the *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1500); translation by Susan Boynton.

Ad reverendissimum in Christo Patrem et dominum D. praestantissimum Franciscum Ximenum, archiepiscopum Toletanum, Alfonsi Ortis, divini et humani juris doctoris, et canonici Toletani, praefatio incipit.

Immortales tibi, antistes celeberrime, referant gratias saeculi nostri homines oportet, cum vetera et quasi obsoleta nostrae religionis arcana tanto studio renovare institueris, ut incipiant nostrates majorum suorum monimenta incultis characteribus hactenus obstrusa ingenii tui igniculo respicere ac propius intueri. Beatissimi Isidori nostri ecclesiastica Officia, quae in urbe regia Toletana, cui tu praees archiepiscopus, quondam Maurorum irruptione, cunctis absorptis simul cum Christianis, ceu captiva superfuerant, nostra aetate propriis sumptibus restaurare ac in lucem promere decreveras.

Ac non immerito quidem, ne tam illustria fidei nostrae mysteria abdita jam penitus interirent, quaeque adeo situ et vetustate fuerant exesa, et errorum caligine respersa, ut vix callidus lector congruas sententias multorum librorum indagare rimari potuerit.

To the most reverend father and lord in Christ, most excellent lord Francisco Ximenez, archbishop of Toledo, from Alfonso Ortiz, doctor of divine and human law, and canon of Toledo, begins the preface.

Most honored bishop, the men of our age should be eternally grateful to you, since you have undertaken with such great assiduousness to renew the ancient and almost obsolete secrets of our religion, so that by the spark of your genius the people of our country may begin to look upon and more closely contemplate the monuments concealed until now by uncultivated letters. At your own expense, you decided to restore to our age and to bring forth into the light the ecclesiastical Offices of our blessed Isidore, which had remained like captives in the royal city of Toledo (over which you preside as archbishop), having all, along with the Christians, been engulfed by the invasion of the Moors.

And deservedly, lest such illustrious mysteries of our faith, once hidden, perish utterly; they all had long been worn out by neglect and old age and sprinkled with a cloud of errors, so that a skillful reader could scarcely uncover a pleasing sentence in the course of examining many volumes.

Quam profecto durissimam provinciam mihi servorum tuorum minimo mandare non dubitasti, quatenus summa cum diligentia missarum in primis solemnia recenserem, ac vigili lucubratione quae a vero characterum ruditate dimissa jam diu fuerant styli non mutato ductu reficerem, servataque verborum dignitate, antiquorum majestatem custodirem. Nam quae prae se antiquitatem ferebant intacta esse jusseras, et tandem sic actum est. Nam dispersis in ordinem redactis, vitiis abrais, dubiisque enucleata veritate lustratis, et ceu abolita multa resarciens, tuo jussu, ut valui, omnia illustravi.

Unde conflatus liber iste fuit, praebentibus ad id opem mihi venerabilibus presbyteris ejusdem officii peritioribus Antonio Roderico, Alfonso Martino, ac Hieronymo Guterio, beatarum Justae et Eulaliae, ac beati Lucae evangelistae ecclesiarum rectoribus, quorum basilicae inter pressuras Christianorum Toleti fluctuaverant, cum Hispania pene omnis Arabum inundatione tabesceret. Quo fit ut habitantibus Christianis Toleti inter Arabes ejus urbis imperio potitos nomen Mozarabes inductum hucusque permanserit, ut opinor dicti sunt Mozarabes, hoc est inter Arabes degentes. Ut autem ecclesiastica eorum officia memoratu digna neminem de caetero laterent, litteris Latinis, expolis Gothicis,

You did not hesitate to order me, the least of your servants, to take on a very arduous duty, that with the greatest diligence I should first review the solemnities of the Mass, and that with vigilant nocturnal study I should restore those things that had long been abandoned on account of the rusticity of the letters; and that I should conserve the majesty of the ancients without changing the style and preserving the dignity of the words. For you ordered some things to be kept intact on account of their antiquity, and thus it was done. Once the dispersed things were brought into order, the errors corrected, and the doubts illuminated by the truth [I had] extracted, as if repairing many things that had been destroyed, at your order I made everything as clear as I was able.

And thus this book was produced with the help offered me for this purpose by venerable priests more instructed [than I] in that rite: Antonio Rodríguez, Alfonso Martínez, Geronimo Gutierrez, rectors of the churches of saints Justa and Eulalia, and of Saint Luke the Evangelist, whose basilicas had swelled with the throngs of the Christians of Toledo when nearly all of Hispania was wasting away in the flood of Arabs. For this reason the name of Mozarabs (which was applied to the Christians of Toledo living among the Arabs who had acquired power over the same city) still persists; I believe they were called Mozarabs, meaning those living among Arabs. But so that their ecclesiastical Offices, worthy of mention, would lie hidden from no one, you have allowed them to be printed with Latin letters (the Gothic ones having been rejected)



imprimenda nobili viro Melchiori Gorricio  
Novariensi tribuisti. Cujus opera et impensis  
ars impressoria in ea urbe valde illustrata est.

Adsit huc igitur lector, qui fidei Christianae  
mirifica nosse cupit sacramenta, ubi etiam  
sanctorum pro fide certantium et martyrum  
gesta praeclara intueri licebit, cum nullibi  
profecto copiosus ac praeclarius reperire  
queat, dummodo singula propensius  
perlustret, qui si fidem mihi praebere  
recusaverit, credat Isidoro clarissimo auctori.

Tu quoque testis locupletissimus adsis,  
reverendissime pater, cujus lumini pervigili  
admota sunt omnia quae probata statuisti  
omnibus doctis communia reddere, cum  
imprimi solertius ea jusseris.

Sis felix oro atque diu superstes,  
magnificentissime domine.

by the noble man Melchior Gorricio of Novara,  
whose care and precious skill in printing is very  
well known in this city.

Therefore, let the reader who wishes to know the  
wondrous sacraments of the Christian faith turn to  
this book, in which one may contemplate the  
illustrious deeds of the saints and martyrs  
struggling for the faith, for certainly nothing more  
abundant or nobler can be found, provided that he  
willingly surveys the single things. If anyone  
refuses to lend me credence, let him believe the  
most glorious author Isidore.

You, too, are a reliable witness, most reverend  
father, to whose attentive eye were directed all the  
things (once they were approved) you decreed to  
deliver as common property to all the learned,  
when you ordered them to be rather expertly  
printed.

I pray that you may be happy and long-lived, most  
magnificent lord.

B. Preface to the *Breviarium secundum regulam Beati Isidori* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1502); translation by Susan Boynton.

Reuerendissime in christo pater et domine prestantissime beati hysidori ecclesiastica officia nocturna pariterque diurna, dignitate quidem egregia, cognitione autem et castigatione difficilia tuo iussu aggressus sum reformanda operosum profecto studium, quae diu multumque recognita illustriora me reddidisse tuae diligentiae et sollicitudini clerici annuerunt.

Antea namque confusa pene omnia in libris veteribus, atque hactenus incognita jacuisse penes eruditos palam est. Nunc vero suis locis quaeque reposita officia, aptaque reperia: characteribus atque periodis distincta, verbis atque sententiis dilucida.

Nempe in primis dominicalia atque quadragesimalia officia ordine priora sese offerunt, subsequenter psalterium, cum defunctorum celebri officio atque commune, postremoque sanctorum legende occurrentes, quibus peractis tandem ad calcem optatum peruentum fuit non sine labore Alfonsi serui tui vehementissimo.

Tuis igitur industria et impensis diu senio periclitata officia Isidoriana legentur. Quae in omnium notitiam peruentura apud posteros, charitatis tuae studia, et meos labores recensebunt.

Most reverend father in Christ, and most excellent sir, at your order I undertook the laborious endeavor to reform the ecclesiastical Offices of blessed Isidore, both the nocturnal ones and the diurnal ones, outstanding in their venerability, but difficult to acquire knowledge of and to correct. The clergy should attribute to your diligence and solicitude the fact that I have restored these Offices long recognized as very illustrious.

For it is clear that, earlier, everything was profoundly disordered in the ancient books, and until now remained unknown even among learned people. Now, however, you will find all the suitable Offices restored in their [proper] places, distinct in their letters and periods, and clear in their words and meanings.

The Sunday and Lenten Offices are presented first in order, then there follows the Psalter with the renowned Office of the dead and the common of saints, and finally come the saints' Offices. Once these things were accomplished, the wished-for finish line was finally reached, not without the very strenuous labor of your servant Alfonso.

Therefore, by your industry and at your expense the Isidorian Offices, far too long threatened by desuetude, can be read. These Offices, which will be known to posterity, will manifest your generosity and my labors.

Videbitur insuper diligentia nobilis viri  
Melchioris Goricii Novariensis: cuius opera  
exactissima hoc opus laboriosum est impressum  
in urbe regia Toletana, vale et gaude quod  
annositate delecta sanctorum officia tuo munere  
renouata fuerint, atque sine difficultate legenda  
nostris seculis tradideris. Iterumque, vale.

This shows above all the diligence of the noble man  
Melchior Gorizio of Novara, by whose very  
punctilious efforts this difficult work has been  
printed in the royal city of Toledo. Hail and rejoice  
that in the fullness of years the Offices of the saints  
have been restored by your gift, and you deliver  
them to our times to be read without difficulty. And  
again, farewell.

C. Colophon of the *Missale mixtum*; translation by Susan Boynton.

Ad laudem omnipotentis Dei necnon virginis  
marie matris eius, omnium sanctorum  
sanctarumque, expletum est missale mixtum  
secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum  
Mozarabes, maxima cum diligentia perlectum  
et emendatum per Reuerendum in utroque iure  
doctorem dominum Alfonsum Ortiz,  
Canonicum Toletanum. Impressum in regali  
ciuitate Toleti, iussu Reuerendissimi in Christo  
patris Domini Don Francisci Ximenes, eiusdem  
ciuitatis Archiepiscopi, impensis nobilis  
melchioris goricii Novariensis, per magistrum  
Petrum Hagembach, Alemanum, anno salutis  
nostre millesimo quingentesimo die uero nona  
mensis Ianuarii.

In praise of the omnipotent God and His mother  
the Virgin Mary, and of all the saints (both male  
and female), [herewith is] completed the Mixed  
Missal according to the rule of blessed Isidore,  
called of the Mozarabs, read through and corrected  
with the greatest care by the Lord Reverend  
Alfonso Ortiz, doctor in both Roman and canon  
law, and canon of Toledo. Printed in the royal city  
of Toledo at the order of the most reverend in  
Christ of the father Lord Francisco Ximenes,  
archbishop of the same city, at the expense of the  
noble Melchior Goricio of Novara, by master Peter  
Hagembach, a German, in the year of our salvation  
1500, on the ninth day of the month of January.

## Appendix 2

Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano* (Alcalá, 1569), ff. 40v–42r; translation by Susan Boynton.

Sed ad templi Toletani bibliothecam, quo illum venisse dixeramus, redeo: vbi cum singulos libros diligenter excuteret, de omnibusque certior fieri vellet, vt si quando vsus exposceret, haud eorum codicum inopia laboraret, forte ad quaedam vetusta volumina in membranibus Gothicis characteribus scripta peruenit.

I return to the library of Toledo Cathedral, where we had said that he had gone, where, while he examined each book carefully, and he wished to be sure of the whereabouts of all of them, so that if, when he wanted to use them, he would not be troubled by the scarcity of their codices, by chance he came to certain ancient parchment volumes written in [Visi]gothic letters.

Sed antequam ad ea quę circa haec volumina Ximenius gessit, dicenda accedo, pauca mihi de Gothicis sacris narranda sunt. Gens Visigothica (hoc est) qui occidentales dicebantur Gotthi, quo tempore Hispaniam pene vniuersam Honorij imperatoris permissu occupauit, cum esset Arrianae impietatis dogmate infecta, tantam catholicis eius prouincię ecclesijs perturbationem inuexit, vt cultus diuini in varios ritus ceremoniasque diuisi fuerint: & neque inter orthodoxos quidem ipsos, vna vel sacrificandi vel orarias preces (quę canonicę dicuntur) psallendi consuetudo esset.

Before I recount what Jiménez did with these volumes, I should relate a few things about the holy Visigoths. The Visigothic people—that is, who were called the western Goths, at the time when they occupied nearly all of Hispania with the permission of the Emperor Honorius, since [this people] was infected with the dogma of Arian impiety, introduced such confusion in the Catholic churches of this province that the divine cult was divided into various rites and ceremonies, and not even among the Catholics themselves existed a single custom either in the sacrifice [of the Mass] or in the hourly prayers of psalmody (which are called canonical).

Sed postquam vniuersa Gotthorum gens Leandri, & Fulgentij studio, post annum centesimum circiter quadragesimum ex quo in Hispaniam venerat, antiqua impietate abdicata, orthodoxam fidem vna cum suo rege Reccaredo cupidissime accepisset:

After the entire Gothic people, by the efforts of Leander and Fulgentius, around one hundred forty years after they had come to Hispania, renounced their ancient impiety, they most eagerly accepted the orthodox faith together with their king Reccared:

pace ecclesijs restituta, de sacris communi consilio constituendis agitari coeptum est: idque potissimum in vrbe regia, sic enim Toletum post aduentum Gotthorum, qui sedem regni illuc transtulerunt, cognominabant, cum antea (vt Rodericus Toletanus pont. rerum Gotthicarum diligens scriptor tradit) a Vandalis, & Selingis Germianiae gentibus qui vna in Hispaniam commigrarunt, Hispalis vrbs regia, & vocata & habita fuerit.

Toleti igitur conuentu episcoporum indicto (quod concilium quartum Toletanum fuisse ferunt) patrum decreto sancitum est, vt in vniuersis Hispaniae ecclesijs, preces priuatę missarum oblationes, & omnes publicae psalmodiae, vnico & eodem exemplo a sacerdotibus celebrarentur. Cura hunc ordinem instituendi Isidoro pontifici Hispalensi, summa tunc sanctimonia, & doctrina claro, demandata fuit. Quanquam in hoc authores variant: nonnulli enim Leandrum Hispalensis ecclesię antiquiorem antistitem ei muneri praefectum aserunt, cui Isidorus comes datus fuerit. sed illud constat, ab Isidoro eum ritum Isidorianum officium fuisse nuncupatum.

Perseueravit in Hispanis ecclesijs haec sacrorum religio, quandiu res Gotthorum in ea floruerunt: hoc est, centum viginti circiter annos, usque ad miserandam illam calamitatem, cum per Mauros Arabesque

peace having been restored to the churches, they began to deliberate about the rites that were to be established by general council, and that especially in the royal city, for thus they named Toledo after the arrival of the Goths, who had transferred the seat of their kingdom there, when before (as reported by Rodrigo of Toledo's punctilious history of the Goths) Seville had been both called and inhabited as the royal city by the Vandals and the Seling people of Germany who had migrated together into Hispania.

Therefore, when the assembly of bishops was convened in Toledo (which they call the Fourth Council of Toledo), it was established by the decree of the fathers that in all the churches of Hispania, private prayers, the offerings of the Mass, and all public psalmody should be celebrated by priests using one and the same formula. The task of establishing this rite was entrusted to Isidore, bishop of Seville, of the highest sanctity and famous for his learning. Writers disagree on this point, however, for many assert that the charge was given to Leander, an earlier bishop of the church of Seville, and that Isidore was given to him as a companion. But it is clear that the rite was called the Isidorian Office after Isidore.

This observance of the rites persisted in the Hispanic churches as long as the Goths flourished there; that is, for around one hundred twenty years, until that lamentable calamity, when nearly the entire region came into the hands of barbarians, destroyed by death and conflagrations by the Moors and the Arabs,

vniuersa pene regio caede incendijsque vastata, fuis, fugatisque Hispanorum copijs, in barbarorum ditionem venit. Cum autem in publica clade, vrbs quoque ipsa regia in hostium potestatem, idque ea conditione venisset, vt oppidanis liceret Christiano ritu, legibus, moribusque in ea viuere: quanuis pleraque ciuium multitudo spontaneum exilium Arabicę praetulit seruituti, nonnulli tamen quibus patrij domesticique lares cariores libertate fuerunt, conditione accepta, sub Arabum & Maurorum imperio sacris suis retentis, in vrbe manserunt. Ergo eiusmodi homines quod arabibus permisti uiuerent, Mistarabes appellati sunt, & illorum ecclesiasticus ritus, officium Mistarabum.

Quae vox cum temporis diuturnitate, tum barbarorum lingua est corrupta, & in Mozarabum degenerauit, qua nunc vulgus vititur. Igitur ijs qui sic inter Arabes Toleti manserunt, sex ecclesiae in quibus rem diuinam facerent a Mauris permissae sunt, diuorum Marci, Lucae, Sebastiani, Torquati, Eulaliae, & Iustae numinibus dedicatae: in quibus ritum illum Isidorianum, qui incolumi florentique ciuitate in templis omnibus canebatur, captiua etiam quadringentos ferme annos conseruauerunt, quod Toletanum officium appellabatur.

At vero vrbe ipsa diuina tandem benignitate, Alfonsique regis Ferdinandi magni F. felicibus auspicijs recuperata, cum de sacris in ea instaurandis restituendisque ageretur, rex

after the majority of the Spaniards had been put to flight. Although in the course of this national defeat the royal city itself had also come into the power of the enemy, they came to an agreement that would permit the inhabitants of the town to live there with the Christian rite, laws, and customs. Although a great many of the citizens preferred voluntary exile to servitude, nevertheless many for whom the ancestors and household gods were dearer than freedom remained in the city, having accepted the terms, and retaining their rites under the rule of Arabs and Moors. Therefore, men of this kind, who lived mixed with Arabs, are called “Mistarabes,” and their ecclesiastical rite is called the Office of the Mistarabs.

This word, with the long passage of time, then was corrupted by the language of the barbarians, and degenerated into “Mozarab,” which now is widely used. Therefore those who remained thus among the Arabs in Toledo were conceded six churches in which they might perform the Holy Office—the churches dedicated to Saints Mark, Luke, Sebastian, Torquatus, Eulalia, and Justa, in which that Isidorian rite, which they call the Toledan Office, which was sung in all the churches in that celebrated and verdant city, they preserved in captivity for nearly four hundred years.

But when that same city was finally recuperated by grace of God and by the good auspices of King Alfonso, son of the great Ferdinand, when it was time to introduce and restore the liturgy there, the king,

Ricardi Massiliensis abbatis suasu, & Constantię reginae vxoris assidua instigatione, ritum sacrorum a diuo Gregorio olim institutum Toletano prętulit, quanuis populis clamantibus, vsum suorum sacrorum tot seculis inter medios barbaros conseruatum, per summam iniuriam aboleri. Quae vero de singulari militum certamine, altero pro Gotthicis sacris, altero pro Gregorianis dimicantium, deque pyra in medio foro Toleti incensa dicuntur, in quam sacri vtriusque officij codices coniecti sunt, apud alios authores qui de ea re scripserunt explicatius, & vberius, legi poterunt.

Sed tamen vt rex animos turbarum leniret, adhuc sacra sua auferrē frementium, cum in vrbe nuper recuperata inter varias basilicarum fanorum, ědiumque sacrarum dedicationes, paroeciales in primis (quas vulgo parrochiales vocant) ecclesiae regionatim constituerentur, ad quas populus rei diuinę cause conueniret, suique limites per vicos domosque singulis definirentur, solis illis sex ecclesijs, in quibus Isidorianus ritus, vel inter hostes per tot annos durauerat, fines nulli pręscripti sunt, sed sui cuique Mozarabes, illorumque posterī, vbi vbi illos intra extraue vrbe in agro Toletano morari contingeret, immunitatibus, & priuilegijs non vulgaribus concessis pro parrochianis & tribulibus assignati fuerunt. Quandiu ergo illi Mozarabes eorumque posterī floruerunt, suam quisque ecclesiam, sacraque gentilitia frequentarunt.

persuaded by Richard of Marseille, and at the constant instigation of his wife Constance, preferred the liturgy established of old by Saint Gregory to the Toledan one, even though the populace exclaimed that it was the gravest injustice to abolish the liturgy preserved for so many centuries among the barbarians. In the works of other authors who have written in more detail and more extensively on the subject, one can read about the remarkable combat of knights, one fighting for the Visigothic liturgy, the other for the Gregorian, and about the pyre that they say was ignited in the middle of the main square of Toledo, into which fire the holy books of each liturgy were thrown.

Nevertheless, to appease the souls of the multitudes protesting the removal of its rites, when in the recently restored city among the various dedications of the sanctuaries of churches and of holy buildings, parish churches (which in the vernacular they call *parrochiales*) where the population could gather for worship were established according to the districts, To define the limits by the streets and houses individually, no boundaries were prescribed just for those six churches in which the Isidorian rite had endured among enemies for so many years; instead, the Mozarabs and their descendents, wherever they lived within or outside the city in the region of Toledo, were assigned to each of the churches as if they were parishioners, with the concession of immunities and uncommon privileges. Therefore, as long as those Mozarabs and their descendents flourished, they observed their national rite, each in his own church.

Sed paulatim familiis deficientibus, ritus etiam ille deficere, & Gregorianus sensim in sex etiam illas ecclesias introduci coepit. Tandem ergo factum est, vt non nisi paucis quibusdam statis, festisque diebus, eo ritu in illis sacrificaretur.

Literarum vero Gotthicarum characteres latinis nostris non multum sunt absimiles: nonnulli enim eadem sunt forma, alij vero dissimili: quos per Gudillam quendam Episcopum, vna cum fidei nostrę rudimentis, genti Gotthorum traditos ferunt: qui primum Gotthici, deinde Toletani, postremo Mozarabum appellati sunt. Ferunt etiam veteris ac noui testamenti libros, in vulgarem Gotthorum linguam per hunc Gudillam translatos fuisse.

Igitur cum ad ea volumina Ximenius venisset, de re tota (vt supra narratum est) edoctus, indignum esse & graue iudicauit, sanctissimas priscorum Hispanorum caeremonias a viris preclaris institutas, & miraculorum testimonijs comprobatas, in tantam desuetudinem venisse, vt iamiam interiturę esse viderentur. Coepit rem altius considerare: & vt erat priscarum caeremoniarum studiosissimus, Mozarabum ritus instaurandi curam suscepit: adhibitisque viris quotquot extabant eius rei peritis, primum libros omnes quibus sacra illa continerentur, Gotthicis characteribus conscriptos, in vulgaris literaturę formam redigendos, impressorijsque formis excudendos curauit. Quibus non sine magna impensa in exempla innumera vulgatis.

But as the families diminished little by little, that rite also began to disappear, and the Gregorian rite gradually began to be introduced into those six churches. Therefore, finally it happened that the rite was not celebrated in those churches except on a few occasions and feast days.

The letters of the Goths are not very different from our own, for many of them are in the same shape, while others are in a different shape. They say that these were taught to the Gothic people by a certain Bishop Gudila along with the rudiments of our faith. These letters were first called Gothic, then Toledan, finally Mozarabic. They also say that the books of the Old and New Testaments were translated into the vernacular language of the Goths by this Gudila.

Therefore, when Ximenes came upon these volumes, having been instructed about the entire matter (as related earlier), he judged it a terrible shame that the most holy ceremonies of the ancient Spaniards established by great men and demonstrated by the testimony of miracles had fallen into such desuetude that they seemed about to disappear at any moment. He reflected deeply on the problem and, as he was a great student of the ancient ceremonies, he saw to it that the rite of the Mozarabs would be restored. Having convened all the men who were knowledgeable in this matter, he arranged that all the books written in [Visi]gothic letters in which those holy things were contained would be brought into the form of ordinary letters and printed in printing presses. These were distributed in innumerable copies at great expense.



Ad extremam templi partem, occidentem versus, in aedicula quę corporis Christi dicebatur, sacellum eleganti structura aedificauit, in quo tredecim sacerdotum collegium, adiunctis tribus ministris, instituit, quos Mozarabes sodales appellauit. Hoc collegium idoneis prouentibus annuis instructum sub capituli Toletani patrocínio constituit. Ipsi porro sacerdotibus perpetuam horum sacrorum curationem demandauit: vt eo ritu singulis diebus sacrificare, horariasque preces concinere solenne esset.

Ad quos & sex Mozarabum ecclesiarum sacerdotia pertinere voluit: quę quoties vacua esse contingeret, ipsi optare possent sacerdotes, quibus illa Archiepiscopus conferret: aliasque leges addidit, quas non est operae pretium referre. Sic ergo sacra illa per Ximenium restituta, & ab interitu vindicata sunt: in cuius restitutionis memoriam cenotaphium reparatori in medio sacello honorifice erectum cernitur, impendente desuper coccíneo galero, Cardinalitii honoris insigni.

At the west end of the church, in the chapel that used to be called “of Corpus Christi,” he built a chapel of elegant structure, in which he established a college of 13 chaplains (with three additional prelates) that he named the Mozarabic confraternity. He endowed this college with appropriate yearly revenues and placed it under the authority of the chapter of Toledo. He required of those same priests the continual care of the Holy Hours, to celebrate Mass with that rite every day, and to sing the Hours of prayer together festively.

He also wanted the rectorships of the six Mozarabic churches to belong to this college; whenever these posts should fall vacant, those same priests to whom the archbishop gave their benefices would have the option of assuming them. He also provided other rules that it is not worth recounting here. And thus those rites were restored by Jiménez and rescued from destruction. In memory of this restoration, a cenotaph was erected in honor of the restorer in the middle of the chapel; hanging over it is the scarlet hat that is the sign of the rank of cardinal.

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