Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo

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1. Introduction

For many people, talking about the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy means discussing a curious religious and cultural phenomenon that has been preserved in Toledo. However, as Toledo is the diocese to which the parishes belong whose parishioners enable this liturgy to remain alive (if there were no faithful, this liturgy would be a mere relic of the past, like the liturgy of southern Gaul or the Celtic liturgy; or it would be a matter of 'liturgical customs' typical of a cathedral, as is the case with the Braga liturgy or that of Lyon, in France), this is not a phenomenon exclusive to Toledo, but rather the liturgy of the ancient Hispano-Visigothic Rite, which the Mozarabs also preserved until its gradual absorption into the liturgical practices of the whole of Western Europe (a process whose key milestone was the Council of Burgos in 1080).

To clarify that this liturgy (the sole surviving element of the ancient Hispano-Visigothic Rite) is a heritage of all Spanish Catholics and indeed of all Spaniards (just as other monuments of our historical and cultural heritage are), following the revision of their liturgical books to bring them into line with the general norms of the liturgy established at the Second Vatican Council, the bishops of the Spanish dioceses were granted broad discretion to authorise the celebration of Mass in this liturgical form within their churches, whether on an occasional basis, on certain days of the year, or even on a daily basis, provided there is a stable community of the faithful to ensure participation (particularly if it is a community of the faithful already personally attached to the rite, or a religious community wishing to adopt it as its own).

However, it was deemed appropriate to recognise that the Archbishop of Toledo is the *superior or head* of the rite. This is for two reasons: firstly, because he is the ordinary of the faithful who have historically kept this liturgy alive; and secondly, in recognition of the fact that the Archbishop of Toledo was the superior of the rite to which this liturgy belonged and from which it originated – a reason, incidentally, for which he was granted, as will be recognised later, and still holds, the title of Primate of Spain. This recognition does not imply any conflict with the jurisdiction of each Bishop within his own diocese, but serves as a support and a guarantee so that each Bishop may ensure the

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correct celebration of this liturgy within his diocese, as well as a means of ensuring that someone promotes and safeguards the survival of this common treasure with authority and sound historical arguments. At present, however, an 'ad hoc' commission is working under the supervision of the Holy See to refine and finalise the canonical framework for this venerable liturgy and the respective responsibilities of the Holy See, the Spanish Episcopal Conference, the Archbishop of Toledo and each bishop within his diocese.

In these pages, I would like to offer a brief summary of the link between Toledo and its Archbishops and this liturgy, which we now officially refer to as the Hispanic-Mozarabic liturgy.

2. A Ritual Church or Rite

We often tend to think that the development of the Church in the form of Ritual Churches or Rites is a phenomenon exclusive to the East. But in the West there was a different development in which only one canonical, theological, spiritual and liturgical unity was recognised: the Roman Rite. And all the varieties that exist and existed within this great unity were simply graces, privileges or concessions granted by the Holy See to specific orders, dioceses or groups of dioceses within a region or nation. Yet this assessment clearly runs counter to the reality of historical events.

The first Christian millennium records, broadly speaking, a common development in both the East and the West. In both parts of the Christian world, following the first four centuries of Christian presence amidst persecutions of varying intensity and systematic nature, and with very similar ecclesiastical institutions—those inherited from the 'apostolic' (missionary) period – with the advent of peace and the subsequent social (and even political) predominance of Christianity – there is, amidst the successive major doctrinal controversies, a period marking the culmination of processes of

'inculturation' of the new faith into various ancient cultural contexts, leading, around the most significant sees of each 'nation', to the emergence of distinct traditions or ways of living out Christianity—its doctrine, spirituality, internal laws and liturgy—which we shall refer to as Rites or ritual Churches (and whose principal sees would be known in the East as Patriarchates).

In the West, it is true that during *the first four centuries* of Christianity there existed a fairly extensive cultural unity encompassing Italy, the south of France, the Iberian Peninsula and much of North Africa. However, with the increasingly strong presence of the so-called 'barbarian' peoples (foreign to Rome) and their subsequent settlement in territories of the former Western Roman Empire, a process was set in motion similar to that experienced in the territories

of the East: the gradual development of various ritual Churches. Rome had a small sphere of influence in central and southern Italy (with several minor local communities); *Milan* covered the territories of northern Italy and some neighbouring areas (not without variations, particularly in the Veneto region), where the Ostrogoths settled; *Narbonne* and the whole of southern Gaul, where the Visigoths settled; Lyon and northern Gaul (with many local peculiarities), where the Franks settled; *Toledo*, encompassing Spain and, for a time, extending to Narbonese Gaul and even Portugal, where the Visigoths would come to dominate; *Braga*, in northern Portugal, where the Suevi settled until they were defeated by the Spanish Visigoths; and, to some extent, for a brief period, *Carthage* in North Africa, where the Vandals would arrive and destroy much of these Christian communities; and, finally, the Celtic territories in the British Isles (whose rite, like that of North Africa, was cut short in its development by major historical upheavals linked to the invasions).

This entire Western reality, subsequently reduced – following the Muslim invasions of North Africa – to Europe, was reshaped by Frankish policy, by Charlemagne and his vision of reunifying the West as *the Holy Roman Empire*, thereby abolishing all other ecclesiastical and ritual traditions in this western part of Europe. His desire to adopt and impose the Roman liturgy throughout this new political and cultural reality was, above all, a calculated move intended to help him assume the power of the ancient Roman emperors, which, following the fall of the Western Empire, had been assumed almost exclusively by the Popes of Rome (one need only think of the role of Saint Leo in the face of Attila, King of the Huns). The truth is that the liturgy which emerged from the Carolingian 'workshops' and spread throughout his empire was not the Roman liturgy as it stood, but a form much more closely linked to the cultural and ecclesiastical characteristics of the Franks – a form which scholars have termed *'Roman-Germanic*'. This is the liturgy which, with contributions from the Rule of Saint Benedict (particularly regarding the Divine Office), would be inherited by the monks of Cluny following the break-up of the Frankish Empire, and which they went on to spread extensively throughout the West through their monastic foundations. Furthermore, this is the tradition which, we might say, would largely supplant that of Rome itself when it returned there in the eleventh century through the Gregorian Reform (Gregory VII, a Cluniac), following the terrible tenth century in Rome (*the 'Iron Age'*). This Romano-Germanic liturgy is the one that would essentially be practised, with no small number of local variations or religious orders, until the purification brought about by the popes' restoration work following the Council of Trent; whilst in another part of Europe, dominated by the 'Evangelicals' (Protestants), it would disappear,

give rise to a diverse range of reforms according to the dominant Evangelical groups in each territory (this in the sixteenth century).

Thus, following the Gregorian and Tridentine reforms, although the Carolingian ideal of a single ritual church—the Roman one—persisted in the West, a system emerged that was fairly flexible and respectful of nuances and variety within its essential unity of governance; this, in liturgical terms, would allow for the survival of many liturgical traditions linked to ancient ritual churches (the Ambrosian of Milan, the Patriarchal of Venice, the Lyonese of Lyon, the Mozarabic of Toledo, the Bracarense of Braga, Portugal) and not only these, but others, linked to local or religious customs of the Roman liturgy (with variations ranging from minor to more profound; variations which have always characterised the Roman liturgy throughout the second millennium of its history).

I believe that these clarifications will enable us to better understand what we shall seek to present regarding this particular connection between the liturgy we know today as the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy, the Archdiocese of Toledo and its archbishops.

3. Toledo and the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy.

The origins

Christianity undoubtedly reached Spain in apostolic times. And, with all due respect to our brothers in the East, our oldest sees are no less apostolic than those which have come to be patriarchal sees (it being claimed that all were founded by the Apostles, who were also their first Bishops). But I do not intend to enter into fruitless debates. The truth is that the *apostolic liturgy* reached our lands in the first century, and the sees that emerged – first on our coasts and then along the main Roman roads that crossed Hispania – practised it with fervour, crowned by abundant testimonies of martyrdom and beautiful liturgical or doctrinal literary works.

Toledo preserves the legendary memory of its founder, who was given the name *Eugene I* and is said to have been martyred. In the absence of historical data on the proto-bishop of Toledo, and given that certain relics of a bishop of Toledo named Eugene were enshrined in the Parisian basilica of Saint Denis, the two mysterious evangelisers of Toledo and Paris were associated with one another, making them both disciples of Saint Paul and the fruit of his preaching at the Areopagus in Athens. But the truth is that at the Council of Elvira (near present-day Granada), in the early years of the fourth century, a bishop of Toledo, *Melancius*, is already recorded as having signed the documents. This, together with the martyrdom of a consecrated virgin named *Leocadia* during the persecution of Diocletian, allows us to

state with near certainty that an initial evangelisation of Toledo took place in the first or second century, and that a local Church was established during the second and/or

III. Toledo was not a major city or provincial capital like Tarragona, Seville or Mérida, but it was an important communications hub in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula and a key location for controlling the Carpetani peoples of that central region of Hispania (with its own mint). This is also evidenced, at the ecclesiastical level, by the holding in Toledo (in the year 400) of an early council (the third in Hispania) against Priscillian and his followers.

The Visigothic era.

However, it was only when the Visigoths (who had arrived in the city in the year 467) moved their capital from Toulouse to Toledo (under King Athanagild, 554–567) that Toledo began to gain greater significance, not only politically and culturally, but also religiously. The key moment, however, came in 589, when the Third Council of Toledo marked the official conversion of the Visigothic kingdom to Catholicism (until then they had professed Arianism). At this point, a rapid process began, affecting not only the leadership of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain but also the formation of an authentic *Hispano-Visigothic* liturgical Church. For this reason, the series of councils—from the Third Council of Toledo in 589 to the Eighteenth Council of Toledo in 701—would play a key role. As regards the liturgy specific to this Rite, the contribution of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) was decisive, as was the compositional work of the Fathers of the Hispano-Visigothic Church from the late 6th and 7th centuries right up to Saint Julian, who appears to have been the compiler of the Hispano-Visigothic liturgical books. With him, first the kings and then Rome recognised Toledo as the head of this Church of the Spains (second half of the 7th century). Thanks to this, the rise to power across most of the Iberian Peninsula of the North African Muslims (711–714) encountered a Rite and a liturgy that were fully established and which would survive until 1080, both in the central and southern territories, under Muslim rule, as well as in those of the north, which retained Christian leadership (with the exception of a substantial area north of the Ebro, which soon came under Carolingian influence—the *Marca Hispana* [the Spanish frontier]—and which had abandoned the old rite earlier).

The initial coexistence with the Roman liturgy.

The Council of Burgos was in line with the policy of the kings of Asturias and León to seek support within Christian Europe for their struggle against the Muslim power of Al-Andalus—a policy also adopted by Alfonso VI—and with the Carolingian-Cluniac convictions that dominated the pontificate of

Gregory VII. The king and the Pope—we do not know which of the two had the greater interest—promoted the phasing out of the old Hispano-Visigothic Rite and its distinct liturgy so that Christian Spain could be fully integrated into the religious structures of Western Europe. But on 25 May 1085, Alfonso VI became the ruler of the ancient capital of the entire Visigothic-Catholic Spain and decided – as Rome would later confirm – that the ancient liturgy, specifically the Mass and the Divine Office, should continue to be celebrated in the Mozarabic parishes of Toledo, even after the conquest of the city, albeit now under the umbrella of the new ecclesiastical reality and structure prevailing in Christian Spain and the rest of Western Europe. Following the death in 1080 of Pascual, the last Mozarabic Archbishop of Toledo and head of the Hispano-Visigothic Rite (consecrated in León in 1058), the King had convened the Council of Burgos; now, having conquered the city, he confirmed it as *the Primacy of Spain* and head of the new ecclesiastical order (which was to be ratified by Pope Urban II in 1088), and Alfonso VI wished to appoint a French Cluniac as Archbishop (since his wife was French, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine), Bernardo (Bishop of Toledo 1086–1124).

The Hispano-Visigothic liturgy preserved in Toledo by the Mozarabs (Christians living under Islamic rule) would remain alive in six parishes of the city, and its Mozarabic faithful would be protected by a series of privileges (granted by Alfonso VI in 1101, confirmed by Alfonso VII in 1115, during the reign of Queen Urraca), but the city, like Spain, would gradually come to be dominated by the ritual practice prevalent in Western Europe, the Roman-Germanic rite (which our Mozarabs called the Frankish rite and liturgy).

The French Cluniac Archbishop Bernard succeeded, in the same year of his death in 1124, another French monk, Raymond of Sauvetat (1124–1152). Under his leadership, Alfonso VII also granted jurisdiction to the Franks (who would have their parish near the Alcázar, dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene [patron saint of France]), and in 1142 the King declared himself, in Toledo, protector of the Cistercian Order (founded at Cîteaux, in France, by the monk Robert de Molestes in 1098; a leading figure in this Order was Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, who joined the Cistercian Order in 1112 and played a significant role in the foundation of the Military Order of the Temple, as well as encouraging the Crusades; in Spain, *Saint Raimundo* de Fitero, from Navarre, born near Toulouse, distinguished himself; he was an abbot in Navarre, arrived in Toledo and founded the Military Order of Calatrava in 1158, dying in Ciruelos, Toledo, in 1163). But something seems to have changed in the city and in the wider context when, following the death of Archbishop Raimundo in 1152, *Don Juan de Castellmorum* (1152–1166; some describe him as Mozarabic, whilst others present him as a French Gascon) was elected Archbishop; he appointed a Mozarab

as Archdeacon of the Cathedral, *Nicolás b. 'Abdallah*; upon the latter's death in 1164, he appointed another, Domingo al-Poli-chení; in 1155, King Alfonso VII established the **Liber Iudicorum** or **Fuero Juzgo**, inherited from the Visigoths, for all Christians in Toledo. In this context, which seems to clearly reinforce the ancient roots of Christianity in Toledo, the relic of *the right arm of Saint Eugene* (regarded as the evangeliser and first Bishop of Toledo; the significance of this relic is noteworthy: the arm whose hand baptised the first Christians of Toledo arrived [in a precious silver casket now kept in the cathedral; in the 15th century, the relic was placed in another reliquary, making it easier to display and venerate]).

During the reign of Alfonso VII, *Don Juan* died in Toledo after a 14-year pontificate and was succeeded by another Frank, in this case *Cerebruno de Poitiers* (Archbishop 1166–1180), who was in turn succeeded by a Spanish aristocrat, *Don Pedro de Cardona* (1181–1189), who witnessed the beginning of the reign of Alfonso VIII (1170). He was succeeded by *Don Gonzalo Pérez* (1189–1191), and after him by *Don Martín López de Pisuerga* (1192–1208), who in 1206 was granted by Alfonso VIII the position of Royal Chancellor of the Court, for himself and his successors. Don Martín attracted the attention of the Mozarabic community, both within and outside his diocese. He had as his close collaborator an illustrious Mozarab: Saint Julian ben Tauro, the first Archdeacon of Toledo and the second Bishop of Cuenca. Following Don Martín's death, the great Don *Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (1209–1247) was appointed Archbishop; together with the kings of Aragon, Navarre and Alfonso VIII of Castile, defeated the fanatical *Almohads* who, like the *Almoravids*, had come from North Africa to impose a radical form of Islam on Spain, at the Battle of *Las Navas de Tolosa* (1212, near 'Despeñaperros'). Shortly afterwards, King Alfonso VIII died (1214) and was succeeded by Ferdinand III, 'the Saint'. This King and the Archbishop laid the *foundation stone* of the present-day Gothic-style Toledo Cathedral, which can be seen as an *act of thanksgiving to God* for the victory granted at Las Navas. Finally, Don Rodrigo became renowned as a great historian (author of *Historia rebus Hispaniae*). He died whilst travelling in June 1247 near Vienne, in France (on the banks of the Rhône), after a pontificate of almost 40 years.

He was succeeded, following a curious controversy, by Don Juan de Medina de Pomar (1248), whose pontificate lasted only a few months. It was a brief but fruitful reign. It occurred to him to ask Saint Louis of France, first cousin of our Castilian king Saint Ferdinand (Ferdinand III), for a portion of the relics of the Lord's Passion that the King of France was amassing (a *lignum Crucis*, a thorn from the Holy Crown, a fragment of the *purple tunic* and another

of the Shroud or cloth that wrapped the Redeemer's body in the tomb), and Saint Louis granted his request. Don Juan died and was succeeded by *Don Gutierre Ruiz Dolea* (1249–1250), who accompanied Saint Ferdinand III in the conquest of Seville. This prelate, too, died very young. He was succeeded by the then Archdeacon of Toledo, Don Sancho, Infante of Castile (1251–1261), a young man who, however, lived for only ten years after being appointed Archbishop. It was during Don Sancho's tenure that King Ferdinand III died and Alfonso X, known as 'the Wise' (1252–1284), the prelate's brother, ascended the throne. Alfonso's reign marked a period of peace and splendour for Toledo, which, through its 'School of Translators', became the bridge between the knowledge of the Jews and Arabs of the East and that of the Christian West. In this endeavour, the Mozarabic community played an important role due to its proficiency in both Arabic and Latin. And following the death of a young Archbishop, the Chapter chose one of its most senior and distinguished members, *Don Domingo Pascual* (1261–1265), who had once served as 'chamberlain' and 'bearer of the crucifix' for Archbishop Jiménez de Rada at the Battle of Las Navas. The Chapter could not agree on the election of *Don Domingo's* successor, so Pope Clement IV, at the request of Alfonso X of Castile and Jaime I of Aragon, chose to appoint as 'administrator' (as he was not yet of age to be ordained) to a son of the King of Aragon and brother-in-law of the King of Castile, the Infante *Don Sancho de Aragón* (1266–1275). *Don Sancho* did not come to Toledo until 1267, when he celebrated his first Mass in the Cathedral. He met a violent end after being taken prisoner in Jaén by the King of Morocco and killed on 21 October 1275. His body was recovered and buried in Toledo Cathedral. He was succeeded by *Don Fernando de Covarrubias* (1276–1280), who was never confirmed by Rome and who resigned in May 1280 to resolve the impasse.

Interest in the Venerable Mozarabic Liturgy resurfaced.

The reign of Alfonso X was drawing to a close, marked by a controversy that had prevented the Holy See from confirming the election of Don Fernando as Archbishop. For several years, Alfonso had been seeking election as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, asserting the rights of his mother, Beatriz de Suavia, against the candidate favoured by Rome. Following Don Fernando's resignation, an event took place which attests to the strength and prestige of the Mozarabic community in Toledo during the reign of the Wise King. A Mozarab of distinguished lineage was chosen: the nephew of a renowned 'judge' from the town *of Tente Juanes*, a family with a house near San Nicolás: *Don Gonzalo Pétrez* (García Gudiel; 1280–1299). He had served as Dean of Toledo and Archdeacon, then as Bishop of Cuenca, and, having been chosen as

Archbishop of Toledo, he also held the office of Archbishop of Burgos. He was a wise Archbishop, well-versed in canon law and a patron of the arts. He was deeply involved in politics, particularly in the struggles for the Crown of Castile and the complicated conclusion and succession of the reign of Alfonso X. Don Gonzalo took charge of the clergy and the liturgy. Given the growing Romanisation of the Mozarabic parishes of Toledo, due to a lack of trained clergy, he promoted the training of priests for them, working in collaboration with Archdeacon Joffré de Loaysa; this has been thoroughly studied by Professor and Canon of Toledo, Don Ramón Gonzálvez, and Don Francisco Javier Hernández de Pinto, also a Canon of Toledo. Don Gonzalo preserved the Venerable Liturgy and restored the splendour of this form of worship to the Mozarabs, who, whilst holding social influence, were in danger of losing their principal distinguishing feature: their liturgy. Don Gonzalo found himself at odds with Pope Boniface VIII and was required to travel to Rome to explain himself; he must have done so successfully, for, as Professor Martin Cleto has pointed out, he was created a cardinal on 4 December 1298 and began a brief period of service with the Pope until the latter's death in May 1299. Buried in a magnificent tomb at Santa Maria la Mayor, he has rested in Toledo since 1301.

Don Gonzalo was succeeded by his nephew, also of *Mozarabic* origin, *Don Gonzalo Díaz Palomeque* (Abdelmeleq), who served as Archbishop from 1299 to 1310. Following the two Gonzalos – uncle and nephew – he was succeeded by an Archbishop from a family of Galician-Portuguese origin, though, as Professor Martín Cleto has pointed out, this family had also been linked across several generations to the *Mozarabic* families *of Toledo: Don Gutierre Gómez* (1310–1319). We are now witnessing a third consecutive archbishop of Mozarabic descent. Consequently, the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th were marked by a strong 'Mozarabisation' of the Church of Toledo, which not only upheld the old rite but also conferred prestige upon it. The Mozarabic parishes of the city were largely restructured in every sense during these years, which were, moreover, quite politically complicated. This political turmoil affected Castile from the end of the reign of Alfonso X right through to these years under Alfonso XI and influenced the lives of the clergy, particularly the bishops who were embroiled in these political struggles. Rome sought to appoint the bishops and to implement reform measures. The Toledo Chapter, on the other hand, did not wish to lose its right of election. This is evident from the succession of Don Gutierre and the Chapter's election of the long-serving Master Domingo (1319–1322), which was never confirmed by Rome. Following the death of Don Gutierre, John XXII appointed *Don Juan* (1319–1328), the Infante of Aragon, as Archbishop of Toledo at the age of 18; he had previously served as a canon and archdeacon at Guadalajara Cathedral. The election was highly political, but the young man, as well as being highly gifted

intellectually, was a fervent and charitable prelate and a determined ecclesiastical reformer. In 1326, to avoid conflict and political interference, he left Toledo and retired to Aragon, where he remained until his father's death. With the permission of the Holy See, he 'exchanged' the see of Toledo for that of Tarragona with *Don Jimeno de Luna* (1328), where he died in 1334 and was buried in a beautiful and elegant tomb, a jewel of the Tarragona cathedral.

A century of decline, characterised by other concerns (1328–1446).

From the beginning of the 14th century, the conflict between the papacy and secular power led to a serious crisis within the papacy, which had an impact on the entire Church. Philip IV's rejection of Boniface VIII's bull **Unam sanctam** (which reflected the Pope's desire to exercise control over political power as well) resulted in the Pope's arrest; he died of a broken heart shortly after being released. Clement V, a Frenchman, moved his residence to Avignon, leaving Rome, which placed him and his successors in the hands of the King of France (1309–1377). At that time, the French king forced the Pope to dissolve the Order of the Temple in order to seize its wealth (1312).

When Pope John XXII sought to intervene in the election of the German Emperor and excommunicated Louis IV, the latter appealed to *the General Council* (the schism was imminent). The so-called 'Golden Bull' barred any papal intervention in the election of the Emperor, which was reserved for those who would come to be known as *the seven Electors*.

France was drawn into a war of attrition with England, the so-called Hundred Years' War (1339–1433). Europe was weakened by all these nationalist and power struggles. Like a scourge—which many saw as divine punishment—*the Black Death* swept across Europe (1348–1352). The consequences were terrible, triggering irrational or fanatical phenomena such as new waves *of flagellants* and the massacre of Jews in many places (including Castile, Aragon and Catalonia [1391]).

At the request of Saint Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome, but the powers' desire for pre-eminence and the papacy's lack of prestige paved the way for a schism; upon Gregory XI's death, two opposing groups of cardinal electors formed, and each elected a new Pope, Urban VI and Clement VII, and the whole of Christendom was divided and bewildered; this marked the beginning of *the Great Western Schism* (1378–1415).

All these developments would influence the Church, have far-reaching consequences and absorb the attention of the Archbishops of Toledo during the hundred years under consideration.

Don Jimeno de Luna was also an ecclesiastical reformer. His family gained increasing influence in Castilian society and within the Church, with his nephew, *Don Gil Álvarez de Albornoz*—who was also Archbishop of Toledo (from 1338 to 1350)—playing a prominent role. From 1353 to 1362, Toledo *was once again governed by* an Archbishop of Mozarabic origin, Don Vasco Fernández de Toledo, nephew of Gutierre Gómez. He was another zealous ecclesiastical reformer, beset by political problems and the wanderings of King Pedro I. Don Vasco died in exile in Coimbra with a reputation for holiness. After his death, his remains were returned to his see to be laid to rest in Toledo at the feet of the White Virgin of the Choir.

In 1369, the civil war in Castile came to an end with the triumph of Enrique de Trastámara (Enrique II). Peace allowed normality to return to ecclesiastical life as well, and this was soon reflected in the physical works promoted by another great Archbishop, *Don Pedro Tenorio* (1377–1399); at his request, the 'Archbishop's Bridge' was built (originating in this town near Oropesa) to facilitate pilgrimages to *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, a sanctuary linked to Toledo, whose Virgin would become the principal object of devotion for the Trastámara dynasty; Archbishop Tenorio's other major project was the Lower Cloister of Toledo Cathedral (the foundation stone laid in 1389), featuring this prelate's burial chapel, the Chapel of San Blas, on whose walls one can see the first Renaissance frescoes (as was the custom in Italy) from Castile.

The years of the Western Schism were difficult for the Church. Don Pedro de Luna, nephew of and appointed by the famous Pope Luna (Benedict XIII), arrived in Toledo as Archbishop in 1403. During the years of the Council of Constance (1415), the stubborn Benedict XIII appointed another of his defenders, Don Sancho de Rojas (1415–1422), to succeed his nephew in Toledo; he proved to be a good reforming Archbishop and subsequently very obedient to Pope Martin

V. It is to him that the Chapel of San Pedro in Toledo Cathedral is attributed (an expression of loyalty to the successor of Saint Peter). He was also a great devotee of the Blessed Sacrament and founded the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi in the Chapel of San Ildefonso Cathedral.

This was followed by the pontificates of Don Juan Martínez de Contreras (1423–1434) and *Don Juan de Cerezuela* (1434–1442), years which were not particularly favourable for the Mozarabic liturgy, as attested by Juan Vázquez de Cepeda (1398–1437), who was Bishop of Segovia and renowned for his Mozarabic foundation at Aniago (Valladolid), a sort of collegiate church where the Venerable Mozarabic Liturgy was to be preserved and practised, because, in his view, it was in danger of being lost in Toledo (although it continued in Toledo whilst the project at Aniago lasted only a short while, ceasing to exist a year after the death of its founder and becoming a

Carthusian monastery). This Bishop of Segovia, originally from Tordesillas, had previously been Archdeacon of Seville, where he became acquainted with the ancient liturgy through the works of the holy brothers Leander and Isidore and came to appreciate its great value. More affected by the political intrigues of Castile at that time and by the difficulties faced by the entire Church due to the schismatic Council of Basel was the successor to Don Juan de Cerezuela, *Don Gutierre Álvarez* de Toledo (1442–1446), of the noble lineage of Esteban Illán, a famous Mozarab from Toledo dating back to the time of Alfonso VIII; however, it appears that, despite his Mozarabic lineage, he did not remedy the ills that subsequently afflicted the Mozarabic parishes of Toledo.

Towards a statute to preserve the Venerable Mozarabic Liturgy.

It was the second half of the fifteenth century that would eventually see the definitive solution for preserving, in Toledo and in some other important places in Castile, the ancient liturgy of the Hispano-Visigothic Rite preserved by the Mozarabs.

Two factors would prove fundamental: on *the one hand*, the value that this ancient liturgy represents, as a living heritage and a testimony to a politically and culturally united Spain, which had reached the very highest international standing in its day, namely the Catholic Hispano-Visigothic Kingdom (589–711); this had been the objective sought at many stages of the so-called *Reconquista*, *and now*, at the end of the 15th century, many minds were once again stirred, particularly in Castile. On the other hand, there was an awareness that, in order to save this liturgy, it was necessary to rescue from ruin the *Mozarabic parishes* of Toledo that preserved it. This ruin stemmed from a decline in the number of the faithful and in income, which led to a lack of a select and dedicated clergy capable of training themselves and looking after the liturgical books and chant, as well as everything else necessary for the proper celebration of this liturgy. Those who would defend these ideas, linked to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, particularly Isabella, were the great prelates of Toledo associated with the Queen: *Don Alfonso Carrillo* (1446–1482), *Don Pedro González de Mendoza* (1482–1495) and *Don Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros* (1495–1517). Carrillo and Mendoza both issued regulations to protect and promote the economic and pastoral regeneration of the six Mozarabic parishes of Toledo, but they did not find the final solution that would come at the hands of Cisneros: the foundation of *the Mozarabic Chapel of Corpus Domini in Toledo Cathedral* (October 1502, work began; confirmed by Pope Julius II in September 1508; statutes approved in October 1508). Whilst it is true that the measures taken by Carrillo and Mendoza helped to win back the Mozarabic faithful, Cisneros's foundation ensured the prestige and standing of the priests, as well as the

their training and the ministry of this great body serving the Primatial Cathedral, with the revision of the Missal (1500), the Breviary (1502) and the Cantorals (4 vols., also from the early 16th century). This liturgical work led to the compilation, in the library of Toledo Cathedral, of the finest manuscripts preserved there and, in particular, in the Mozarabic parishes of the city (highlighting those originating from the Sevillian saints, Justa and Rufina). Furthermore, a group of experts was formed under the direction of Canon Ortiz, whose methods for working with the codices had been in use since the time of Archbishop Carrillo to prepare magnificent liturgical editions for the Roman liturgy. It is in this context that we must also place the edition of the Toledo Missal of 1499 and the so-called *'Rico de Cisneros' Missal* (1504–1517). The expertise and handling of sources by these Toledo experts—and by others carrying out similar work in other Spanish dioceses during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs—were in no way inferior to the works produced in Rome that gave rise to the Roman Missal of 1474 and which, a few years later, following the Council of Trent, led to the Tridentine liturgical editions (second half of the 16th century). Of course, the criteria employed by these experts are now largely called into question because they placed too much emphasis on the value attributed to the 'best-preserved' manuscript. In the case of the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy, this favoured the books of Santa Justa and Rufina, apparently of Sevillian origin and somewhat different from those of Toledo. It follows that the *printed tradition* (Cisneros-Lorenzana, known as B) represents this 'Seville school' and that the 'Tarragona-Toledo' *manuscripts*—which were rediscovered in the 19th and 20th centuries—*and* the so-called *manuscript tradition* (or A), constitute two distinct models of the Mozarabic liturgy. When the handwritten sources were rediscovered, it was thought that Cisneros had 'reinvented' the Hispanic liturgy; however, the studies by Martín Patino, S.I., and Professor Jordi Pinell, O.S.B., as early as the second half of the 20th century, had already reaffirmed the equal validity and legitimacy of the two Hispanic traditions, now preserved in the current Hispano-Mozarabic liturgical books.

Also noteworthy, although it takes us partly outside the Toledo context, is the origin of the Mozarabic Chapel in Salamanca, situated in the oldest chapel of the cloister of its Old Cathedral, the Chapel of El Salvador (or, erroneously, San Salvador; the original Chapter House of this cathedral). In this chapel, built in the Romanesque style with Arabic influences (13th century) and founded by Don *Rodrigo Maldonado* (the Doctor of Talavera: Talavera de la Reina 1456 – Salamanca 1517), the *Mozarabic Chapel* of Salamanca was modelled in 'image and likeness' on that established by Cisneros in Toledo. In this chapel, 50 Masses a year were celebrated according to the Hispano-Mozarabic rite, on the days specified by the founder, as can be seen inscribed on one of its

walls. This Don Rodrigo, a native of Talavera in the Archdiocese of Toledo, was a professor of law at Salamanca, Rector of its University and a member of the Royal Council of Castile under Queen Elizabeth. He was one of the Castilian signatories of *the Treaty of Tordesillas*. He came from a distinguished Talaveran family, and his father had been Mayor of that city. He is also renowned for the construction of the 'Casa de las Conchas' as a family home. In this foundation, we can see the desire for students at the leading university in Castile to become familiar with the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy and to immerse themselves in the spiritual and cultural world that it represents and keeps alive. It is inconceivable that, prior to planning this foundation, Dr Talavera did not share his vision with Cisneros, a vision that is extremely similar to that of the cardinal. It is true that in Toledo two aims were pursued: one pastoral – the survival and pastoral care of the Mozarabic community – and another spiritual, cultural and even political. The latter aim clearly prevails in the foundation at Salamanca.

Subsequent initiatives in support of the Mozarabic liturgy.

Following the efforts of the great archbishops Carrillo, Mendoza and Cisneros in support of the Mozarabic liturgy, as we have seen, the immediately subsequent pontificates reaped the fruits of these prelates' labour.

I would venture to say that towards the end of Emperor Charles's reign and during the long reign of Philip II (king from 1556 to 1598), a series of noteworthy events of interest to us unfolded; I shall take the liberty of highlighting them:

Archbishop *Don Alonso de Fonseca y Acevedo* (1524–1534) ordered, around 1530, the construction and establishment of a 'memorial' in what we know as the *Chapel of the Descent*. Not long before, work on the cathedral's main church had been completed with the closing of the vaults at the base of the north aisle, opposite the present-day 'treasury' door. Consequently, the Royal Chapel was dismantled; it had been the burial place of several kings and queens of the House of Trastámara, who had wished to be buried near the spot where the so-called 'Stone of the Virgin' had been venerated without interruption (it was there that the Lady appeared, in the chancel of the Visigothic Basilica at San Ildefonso, a site also revered as a 'relic' by the Muslims when they built their main mosque by demolishing the Visigothic Cathedral). The great architect Alonso de Covarrubias (1488–1570) played a key role in completing the *Chapel of the New Kings*, to which the remains of the Castilian monarchs were transferred. Don Alonso de Fonseca's desire to ennoble and highlight this site—which links the great Gothic cathedral (13th–

XVI) with the Visigothic cathedral (6th century), leads me to reflect on the conviction held by the 16th-century Church of Toledo regarding the religious and cultural significance of the era of the Visigothic Catholic Kingdom and its greatest living legacy: its liturgy.

In November 1565 (during the pontificate of Archbishop *Don Bartolomé de Carranza* [1558–1576], who was arrested by the Inquisition in 1559 and subjected to a trial in Spain and Rome that lasted 17 years) Philip II had the remains of Saint Eugene – which were still at Saint-Denis in Paris – returned to Toledo (the saint was then believed to be Eugene I, the first Bishop of Toledo [though current historiography maintains that they are the remains of Eugene III, Archbishop of the Visigothic era]). The issue was not only the King's interest in the relics, but also a way of signifying the continuity of the Spanish-Austrian Empire with that Christian Spain of antiquity and its spiritual capital, Toledo. It was at this time that the famous priest, later a Mozarabic beneficiary of the parish of San Marcos de Toledo (1583), Don Alonso de Villegas, published his well-known and widely read *Flos Sanctorum* (1581), in which he recounts the lives of the most important saints and, in particular, the great figures of Toledo during the Visigothic-Mozarabic era. Shortly afterwards, the remains of Saint Leocadia (d. c. 304; brought in April 1587), the most celebrated saint of the Mozarabic liturgy, arrived from an abbey in Hainaut (now Belgium). And in 1594, whilst *Don Gaspar de Quiroga y Vela* (1577–1594) was Archbishop of Toledo, a papal brief had already been obtained requesting that the Church of Zamora return to Toledo the relics of its patron saint, Saint Ildefonso; this restitution was cancelled following Don Gaspar's death that same year and was never carried out. What did occur during Don Gaspar's pontificate was the discovery of the Visigothic stone bearing the inscription marking *the Catholic consecration of the Visigothic basilica-cathedral of Toledo* (year 587; discovered in 1591). Don Gaspar sent it, accompanied by a transcription of the text in more legible characters, and both were set into a column which was placed in the Cloister and which can now be seen next to the Chapel of the Descent. All this underscored the importance attached to the survival and continuity of the religious, political and cultural event embodied in the Mozarabic liturgy. The successor and former close collaborator of Quiroga y Vela was Archbishop *Don García de Loaysa Girón* (1598–1599), a great scholar who had been a tutor to the future Philip III; whilst a professor, he published the *Collectio Conciliorum Hispaniae cum notis et emendationibus*, a monument to the Councils that shaped the ancient Hispano-Visigothic Rite. But it was not only during the reign of Philip II that interest was kept alive in that fundamental period of the nation's history, namely the Visigothic-Catholic Kingdom and its great religious and cultural achievement, the Hispano-Visigothic Rite, the memory of which lives on in the so-called Mozarabic liturgy

Mozarabic liturgy, but also persisted throughout the reign of the House of Austria in Spain. Let us look at some examples:

In this regard, we must mention another *Archbishop, Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval* (1646–1665), who had a long career in Rome before arriving in Toledo. We recall him because it was he who declared the feasts of Saint Leocadia and Saint Ildefonso as public holidays. He also requested to be buried in the Chapel of the Descent, where his remains rest beneath the altar. This is a sign of the value placed on the period during which the treasure of the Mozarabic liturgy was bequeathed to us.

But it was Archbishop *Don Luis Manuel Fernández-Portocarrero* (1677–1709), who had previously served as dean of Toledo Cathedral, who brought this link between the Spanish Habsburg Empire, Toledo and Spain—as symbolised in our Mozarabic liturgy—to its culmination. A key figure in the reign of Charles II and Regent of Spain upon his death without an heir, he is regarded as the pivotal figure in the arrival of the House of Bourbon in Spain, although, being already very old, he did not quite manage to make himself understood by the new king, Philip V. It was during his pontificate that, in 1697, a highly significant visit took place by Charles II and his wife, Doña Mariana of Neuburg, to Toledo, specifically to attend the Mozarabic Chapel of the Cathedral for the Offices according to the Venerable Spanish-Mozarabic Liturgy.

With the arrival of the Bourbons, this belief was not lost. Indeed, just 26 years later, in May 1723, King Philip V visited Toledo to attend the Mozarabic Mass with his wife in the Chapel of Toledo. *The Archbishop* at that time was *Don Diego de Astorga y Céspedes* (1720–1734), famous for having commissioned the altar (designed by Narciso Tomé) known as the 'Transparent Altar', a magnificent celebration of the Eucharist.

But towards the end of the 18th century, an exceptional figure emerged for the Church, Spain and Toledo: Cardinal *Don Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Buitrón* (1772–1800). Born in León, he was a pious, upright man of resolute character and great learning. He arrived in Toledo in 1754 and was soon appointed Vicar General by the Cardinal Infante; subsequently, the Archiepiscopal Count of Teba made him Dean of the Primatial Cathedral. Charles III promoted him to Bishop of Plasencia and later to Bishop of Mexico. A paragon of the enlightened prelate and well aware of the great progress made in the study of 'Christian antiquities', an expert in the Mozarabic liturgy and supported by the learned Jesuit Lesley, he revised the Cisnerian books, promoted a new edition of the Missal and the Breviary, and decided to embellish the Mozarabic Chapel in Toledo with a magnificent neoclassical altarpiece that supported an exquisite Roman mosaic of the Immaculate Conception. The Mozarabic Chapel was to be not only restored, but also presented anew as a jewel of the

Cathedral, in recognition of the value attributed to the liturgy celebrated there. Incidentally, the ship that carried the mosaic from Rome sank; the treasure was recovered from the seabed and restored upon its arrival in Toledo. Lorenzana entrusted this restoration, and the new altarpiece that was to house it, to the great Toledo sculptor Mariano Salvatierra (1752–1808), who was so heavily involved in work on the Cathedral during those years.

The nineteenth century was a time of great upheaval throughout Europe. Culturally speaking, the end of the eighteenth century had already signalled a metamorphosis, with the emergence of a new way of thinking that advocated a severe critique of Christian culture and ushered in an era of secular reason. Everything came to a head with the French Revolution and its far-reaching repercussions: the *Napoleonic Wars*. The subsequent attempt at 'restoration', following Napoleon's military defeat, would prove futile. Spain, like much of Europe – particularly Catholic Europe – would experience the nineteenth century as a permanent 'civil war' within each of the ancient nations. A war that was at times 'cold', at times 'hot'.

Spain would be shaken by the successive wars known as the 'Carlist Wars' and by the strongly secularised and anti-clerical policies of the 'liberal' government. These developments would profoundly affect the Church in this context: the confiscation of its sources of support, which were taken away from religious institutions (and other civil bodies), suddenly causing severe material impoverishment of dioceses and religious orders, as well as immeasurable losses to Spain's cultural heritage – a situation that could scarcely be justified by the very weak and short-term economic results reported to the State and society; on the other hand, an even more directly anticlerical measure: the dissolution and expulsion of religious orders, which constituted serious attacks on religious freedom and inflicted further damage on society, as there was no secular or state alternative to the services they provided directly or indirectly to society. Toledo, like all Spanish dioceses, suffered under these measures. The Mozarabic Chapel, like the cathedral, was deprived of the financial support necessary for its survival. It was a dark period for a city that had thrived for centuries on its cathedral, its churches and its convents. The city's meagre sources of civilian employment and production were unable to replace the old economic engine, which had now been stifled.

As regards the history of our liturgy, periods of social peace signified two important developments: on the one hand, *the Concordat signed during the reign of Isabella II* (1851), which meant that the State intended to replace the financial support of the Church—whose income had been deprived of its assets—with a public contribution; thus, the Mozarabic chaplains of Toledo would receive financial compensation equivalent to that of the canons or beneficiaries of

a cathedral or a suffragan diocese; in this context, Archbishop *Don Juan José Tonel y Orbe* (1849–1857) played an important role, restoring the chapter of the Cathedral Chaplains following the confiscation issues and endowing it with new Constitutions after the Concordat (valid until 1902); on the other hand, the return of religious orders was permitted. And in this chapter it is important to mention the presence, in the Benedictine abbeys of Castile, of a considerable number of French monks who came to assist in the restoration of monastic life, but who also brought with them a scholarly interest in understanding and promoting *Spain's Christian antiquities*.

A French Benedictine monk from the Congregation of Solesmes, Dom Férotin, deserves special attention (in that French abbey in the diocese of Le Mans, its abbot—who restored it after the Revolution, Dom Prosper Guéranger—had instilled in his monks a love of the study of liturgical antiquities and, despite his unquestionable preference for the Roman liturgy, had shown great respect and admiration for the Mozarabic liturgy). Férotin was born in 1855 and died in 1914. He took the Benedictine habit at Solesmes under Dom Guéranger in 1874. When the monks were persecuted in France, they arrived in Spain in 1880 at the Abbey of Saint Dominic in Silos, where he became the monastery's archivist. There he began publishing documents and from there travelled to Madrid, Paris and London, following in the footsteps of others who had left Spain in his time, whom he would also bring to light. The fruit of his labour are his publications: **Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos** (Paris 1897); **Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos** (Paris 1897); **La vierge espagnole Étérie** (Paris 1903); **Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica** (1904); and, most famously, his collection of Mozarabic manuscripts, the **Liber Sacramentorum de Tolède** (Paris 1912). Dom Guéranger and his pupil Dom Mario Férotin were to spark a revival of interest within Catholic academic circles in learning about our ancient liturgy, leading to its rediscovery within our own country. Consequently, the twentieth century was to be the century that reawakened love for and the study of the Venerable Mozarabic Liturgy.

For his part, *Archbishop Don Antolín Monescillo y Viso* (1892–1898) also showed great affection for the Rite during these years, publishing a Mozarabic Devotional with the aim of making the spiritual and theological riches of our liturgy known to a wider audience.

Towards the end of the pontificate of *Don Victoriano Guisasola y Menéndez* (1914–1920), restoration work was undertaken on the Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral; this should be seen as the result of a period of economic recovery for the Cathedral and as an expression of the renewed interest being shown in the Mozarabic liturgy, as

a result of the work of Dom Férotín and other scholars. The neoclassical altarpiece by Cardinal Lorenzana was removed; only its precious mosaic has been preserved. The choir was separated from the rest of the nave by a gate, designed in the Neo-Gothic style by the great Toledo master Don Julio Pascual (1879–1967). Artworks were brought from the ancient synagogue of Samuel Levi (which, following the expulsion of the Jews, was converted into a church belonging to the small Calatrava convent of San Benito that had established itself there, and known as 'Il Transito' of Our Lady [Assumption–Dormition]; subsequently the Convent was confiscated [1835], the whole complex was declared a National Monument [1877] and incorporated into the patronage of the 'Casa de El Greco' museum [1910], when work was undertaken to restore it more fully to its original appearance as a synagogue) Gothic altarpieces, closer in style to the Cisnerian foundation, and their walls were repainted in accordance with the historicist taste of the time. A major effort was made to restore the chapel to its original splendour. This was followed by the brief pontificate of *Don Enrique Almaraz y Santos* (1920–1921) and that of *Don Enrique Reig y Casanova* (1922–1927), the latter, having been sensitive to liturgical matters whilst serving as Bishop of Barcelona (1914–1920), organised a Regional Liturgical Congress at Montserrat; in Toledo, he championed a renewed interest in the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy.

Shortly afterwards, the Republic (1931) was proclaimed in Spain, leading to a head-on clash between the new regime and the then Archbishop of Toledo, *Don Pedro Segura y Sáenz* (1927–1931), who went into exile in May 1931. Cardinal Segura resigned at the Pope's request and *Don Isidoro Gomá y Tomás* (1933–1940) was appointed as his successor. Relations with the Republic were strained, and there was a climate of great political and social tension. All this led to an attempted coup and a brutal civil conflict that lasted from 1936 to 1939. In the Archdiocese of Toledo, 450 clerics were killed, including the most senior member of the Cathedral Chapter and all the Mozarabic chaplains. It was one of the most difficult periods for the survival of the Venerable Mozarabic Liturgy. After the end of the war and with the establishment of the Spanish State, a rigorous restoration of the diocese and the Mozarabic chapel was undertaken. Cardinal Gomá was not to live to see the culmination of this restoration; he died on 20 August, and it was not until December of that same year that the Mozarabic liturgy could be solemnly resumed in Toledo Cathedral, having been suspended since 22 July 1936. On 15 December 1940, the fifth Sunday of Advent according to the Hispanic-Mozarabic liturgy, the Mozarabic Mass was celebrated once more in the Cathedral and the new chaplains began their work: *Father Acacio Marqueño, Father Luis Casañas, Father Santiago González and Father Anastasio Granados* (the future Auxiliary Bishop of Toledo, who would celebrate Mass during the Second Vatican Council

Mozarabic Mass in the Vatican Basilica before the Council Fathers) and the new beneficiaries, *Father Amado Séz de Ibarra and Father José María Mansilla*.

It must be noted that during the subsequent pontificate, that of *Don Enrique Pla y Deniel* (1942–1968), Toledo experienced an intense liturgical revival, establishing the Primatial Archdiocese as one of the centres of the Liturgical Movement in Spain, with particular emphasis on the study and revitalisation of the Mozarabic liturgy. Auxiliary Bishop Miranda Vicente, Canon *Don Casimiro Sánchez Aliseda*, the canon and historian Rivera Recio, the parish priest and Mozarabic chaplain *Don Balbino Gómez Chacón*, and other prominent priests took a keen interest in consolidating the recently restored Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy. The celebration of a Mozarabic Mass during the Council, presided over by Auxiliary Bishop Don Anastasio Granados – due to Cardinal Pla's illness, as we have already noted – was a significant milestone. During those years, too, the Mozarabic Community of Toledo was reorganised around *the Illustrious and Most Ancient Fraternity of the Mozarabic Knights of Our Lady of Hope* (1966), which, amongst its objectives, sought to recover the Mozarabic registers and to regulate the membership or affiliation of the faithful to this liturgical tradition.

The years of the Council and the immediate post-conciliar period were marked, in academic terms, by a dedication to the study of the Hispano-Mozarabic liturgy: with the significant establishment of the Enrique Flórez Institute within the Higher Council for Scientific Research (which would publish numerous Hispanic sources over the course of the 1950s and 1960s), the historical publications of the Spanish National Church of Santiago and Montserrat in Rome, and the attention devoted to our liturgy at the Pontifical University of Salamanca (both at its Salmantina campus, with the leading figure of Professor of Law Don Lamberto de Echevarría [1918–1986], and at its Madrid campus through the Institute of Pastoral Theology), and studies promoted by the Pontifical Liturgical Institute in Rome (founded by Pope John XXIII), through the teaching of the Benedictine monk Dom Jordi Pinell.

This climate encouraged the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Marcelo González Martín (1972–1995), to take an interest in matters concerning the ancient Hispanic Rite and to support the holding of the 'First International Congress of Mozarabic Studies', organised by the Mozarabic Community of Toledo (September 1975; proceedings published in Toledo in 1978) and, at his request, the Institute of Visigothic-Mozarabic Studies of San Eugenio was established (9 June 1977), through which a second Congress was held (May 1979) and, 10 years

later, a major Congress was held (May 1989; proceedings published in Toledo in 1991) to mark the 14th centenary of the Third Council of Toledo.

Don Marcelo, whilst encouraging the Institute's activities and publications during those years, was inspired during a visit to the Abbey of Maria Laag (Germany) by its former Prior, Dom von Severus, decided to establish the 'Commission for the Reform of the Hispano-Mozarabic Liturgical Books' (which continued its work until the death of its founder in 2004), chaired by Dom Pinell, and applied the key principles of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* to the Mozarabic books. The fruit of this endeavour was reflected in the publication, under the auspices of the Archdiocese of Toledo and the Spanish Episcopal Conference, of the two volumes of the Oratory (1991 and 1994) and the two volumes of the Lectionary *or Commicus* (1991 and 1995), *which make up the Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum* (which had received its initial approval from the Holy See in July 1988). In 1991, its Ordinary, the so-called Oferencio or *Liber Oferentium*, was also published separately from the Missal. The celebration of a Mass presided over by Saint John Paul II in St Peter's Basilica, on the Solemnity of the Ascension of the Lord (28 May 1992), accompanied by many cardinals, bishops, priests and a large pilgrimage of the faithful, marked the culmination of this great undertaking. During those years, the
'Commission for the Preservation of the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite', based at the Archbishop's Palace in Toledo, and the annual celebration of the Hispano-Mozarabic Mass in all the parishes of the Archdiocese on the Solemnity of Saint Mary (18 December) was promoted.

Don Francisco Álvarez Martínez succeeded Don Marcelo in the pastoral governance of the Archdiocese (1995–2002). Endowed with a keen practical sense and wishing to safeguard the great work of his predecessor in this field, Father Francisco decided to appoint most of the active Mozarabic chaplains (six in particular) as canons to ensure the protection and care of the Chapel by the Cathedral Chapter (as the Chapel had no income of its own). Thus, the role of canon was created; according to his 'proper office', he is a Mozarabic chaplain and fulfils his choir duty in that Chapel (decree of 18 October 2001).

Work was soon carried out to refurbish the Chapel, which was fitted with a new floor and a new altar. During his tenure, Don Francisco not only continued to encourage the celebration throughout the Archdiocese of the Hispanic feast day on 18 December, but also called for the same to be done on the feast day of the patron saint, Saint Ildefonso (23 January), as he himself would do in the Cathedral from the year 2000 onwards. In that year of the Great Jubilee convened by Saint John Paul II, the intention is – as during the Council – to celebrate all the liturgies of the Catholic Church throughout the year at St

Peter's, all the liturgies of the Catholic Church. Don Francisco was also invited to do so in the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite; and so, accompanied by a large group of priests and faithful from Toledo, he presided at the Altar of the Chair in the Vatican Basilica for the Mass of Saint Mary on 16 December 2000 and for the Mass on the Fifth Sunday of Advent in the Spanish National Church of Santiago and Montserrat (17 December), where the celebration continues to take place every year.

Following the acceptance of Don Francisco's resignation on grounds of age—two years after he had submitted it—*Don Antonio Cañizares Llovera* arrived in the Archdiocese of Toledo as Archbishop (2002–2008). He embraced the legacy of his predecessors at the Primatial See with a sense of responsibility and interest, and emphasised its implementation by highlighting the cultural and religious significance of the origins of our faith and the importance of the Visigothic-Catholic Kingdom in shaping Spanish identity: in 2003–04, he promoted the celebration of the 1,700th anniversary of the martyrdom of Saint Leocadia (303–2003) with a jubilee year and a major exhibition entitled, *'In the Image and Likeness*: 1,700 Years of Holiness'; and he dedicated his inaugural address as a Full Member of the Royal Academy of History (2008) to the contemporary relevance of the legacy of the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo.

When Don Antonio was called to Rome to take up the post of Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (9 December 2008), he was succeeded in Toledo by *Don Braulio Rodríguez Plaza* (2009–), the current Archbishop of Toledo. Don Braulio, originally from the clergy of Madrid, expressed an interest in the Mozarabic liturgy whilst still a young man. During his time as Bishop of Salamanca (1995–2002), he revitalised the celebration of the Rite in his cathedral by introducing the practice of celebrating the Easter Triduum according to the Mozarabic liturgy. Upon his arrival in Toledo, he not only maintained throughout the Archdiocese the custom of celebrating the feasts of Saint Mary and Saint Ildefonso using this liturgy, but also introduced something as significant as celebrating Mass on the Solemnity of Corpus Christi according to the Venerable Mozarabic Liturgy (on Thursday), followed by a grand procession. On the following Sunday, in accordance with the decisions of the Spanish Episcopal Conference, this same Solemnity is celebrated in the Roman Rite, and a Eucharistic procession takes place through the nave of the Cathedral.

During his pontificate, Don Braulio established the Episcopal Delegation for the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite, appointing Monsignor Juan-Manuel Sierra – a doctor of liturgy and former official of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments – as its delegate. He has promoted the revitalisation of pastoral life in *the two parishes which today bring together* the city's six original Mozarabic parishes. He has not neglected to refurbish the

liturgical spaces of the Cisnerian Chapel and is promoting, in close collaboration with the Holy See, the completion of the work begun by Father Marcelo for the renewal of the Mozarabic liturgical books.