

* THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD *

Liturgy of Empire

*Reading the Mozarabic Rite in
Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*

Susan Leslie Boynton



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BRILL

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The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

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Contents

Preface	VII
Acknowledgments	XI
List of Figures	XIII
Abbreviations	XIV
1 Reconstructing the Rite	1
1 From Decline to Reconstruction	2
2 Philology and Liturgy	13
3 Remaking the Rite	17
4 Imprint and Image	20
5 Relocating the Rite	28
Appendix A: Prefaces and Colophon of the Mozarabic Editions	36
2 Defining the Mozarabs	48
1 Mozarabic Origins	50
2 The Mozarabs and Arabic	58
3 The Mozarabs as the Tenth Nation	61
4 Definitions of the Mozarabs after 1492	68
5 The “Mozarabic Question”	81
Appendix B: Timeline and Summary of Mozarabic Definitions	84
3 Remembering the Rite	88
1 Textual Accounts of the Campaign	92
2 Oran and Cisneros	97
3 Oran and the Mozarabic Rite	103
4 Framing History	110
5 The Rite in the Eighteenth Century	122
Appendix C: Petition from the Clergy of the Mozarabic Parishes in Toledo	131
4 Collecting the Rite	136
1 Sixteenth-Century Owners	137
2 Seventeenth-Century Owners	145
3 Eighteenth-Century Owners	155
4 French Collections in the Eighteenth Century	162
5 Modern Collections	168
6 A Mozarabic Missal as Microcosm	173

5	Understanding the Rite	179
1	Annotations as a Sign of Use	181
2	Case Study: The Hymn for Saint Thyrsus	187
3	A Failed Experiment: Spain in Pierre Le Brun's Liturgical Survey	194
4	Pinius's Research in Toledo	203
5	Jesuit Historians of the Rite: Lesley and Burriel	210
6	Lorenzana and the Republication of the Rite	215
7	Faustino Arévalo: The End of an Era	217
	Conclusion	223
	Appendix 1: Exchange of Letters between Blas Jover y Alcázar and Gregorio Mayans y Siscar	227
	Appendix 2: Copies of the Ortiz Editions and Their Provenance	230
	Bibliography	239
	Index	275

Preface

The early medieval Christian liturgy of the Iberian peninsula, usually called the Old Hispanic rite, was first published in Toledo in 1500 (Missal) and 1502 (Breviary).¹ The rite published in these editions was at the time considered Visigothic (after the Visigothic kingdom in which it was first written) and Mozarabic (after the Arabizing Christians who had celebrated the Latin liturgy during the centuries of Muslim rule in the Iberian peninsula).² Over the course of the three centuries that followed its initial printing, the Mozarabic rite was gradually transformed—through revision, publication, practice, and historical discourse—from the local observance of a medieval community into a symbol of the Spanish nation.³ *Liturgy of Empire* tells the story of that transformation. At a time of territorial expansion by the Hispanic monarchy, which was imperial in all but name, the rite took on new meaning thanks in part to an updated form created at the initiative of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo from 1495 to 1517. With the political framing established under his patronage, the rite accrued heightened symbolism concomitantly with the emergence of the polycentric Spanish Empire. Early modern accounts of the Mozarabic rite associated it closely with the history of Toledo, the Habsburg capital under Charles v that was called an imperial city long after the court moved to Madrid. For this reason, too, the neo-Mozarabic rite established in Toledo by Cisneros can be called a liturgy of empire.

This book grew out of an earlier project. In 2011 I published *Silent Music*, which focused on the Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel (1719–62), director of the Royal Commission on the Archives in support of Spanish royal diplomacy

1 Recent summaries of the early history of the Old Hispanic rite are Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy, *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and the Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 2–5; and Emma Hornby, Kati Ihnat, Rebecca Maloy, and Raquel Rojo Carrillo, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office: Texts, Melodies, and Devotion in Early Medieval Iberia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 1–29.

2 The adjective “Visigothic” refers to the state of the rite before 711, and “Mozarabic” properly refers to the liturgical practice of Arabized Christians after 711. The designation “Old Hispanic” is geographically and chronologically more appropriate to the medieval Iberian peninsula (which the ancient Romans called “Hispania”). See most recently Hornby, Ihnat, Maloy, and Rojo Carrillo, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, xxx.

3 Pilar Ramos López, “El sentido de la restauración mozárabe en la época del arzobispo Jiménez de Cisneros,” *Revista de musicología* 44, no. 2 (2021): 473–90, points out that in the sixteenth century the celebration of the Mozarabic rite was viewed as a local tradition.

from 1749 to 1755. While studying Burriel's research on the Mozarabic rite, I came across a surprising exchange of letters. The correspondents were two men who had been producing documents to justify the Crown's universal *patronato real*.⁴ Now, a seemingly tangential interest arose. In one of the letters, from May 1746, the Spanish jurist Blas Jover Alcázar (1689–1754) asked the historian Gregorio Mayans y Siscar to help the Maréchal de Noailles (Adrien-Maurice de Noailles, 1678–1766) gain access to manuscripts of the medieval Mozarabic rite in Toledo.⁵ The maréchal was in Madrid that spring, rebuilding the Franco-Spanish alliance during the War of Austrian Succession.⁶ He wanted to see texts of the rite preceding the editions that had been published at the turn of the sixteenth century. It is striking that a layperson on a diplomatic mission at the Spanish court knew of the medieval liturgical books that were essentially off limits to anyone outside Toledo Cathedral. Mayans's lengthy response to the brief query from Jover underlined just how inaccessible the manuscripts were, and gave the reasons why. In addition to providing detailed instructions for how such a delicate project might be accomplished, Mayans invoked the widely shared fear that outsiders would pilfer the treasures of religious institutions in Spain.

For a decade, I remained puzzled by the maréchal's interest in the medieval rite. Then, it occurred to me that he could have seen copies of the Mozarabic editions in Parisian libraries. Such rare and precious volumes, coveted by bibliophiles like himself, would have piqued his curiosity about the earlier books of the rite that had been described by their editor, the Toledan canon Alfonso Ortiz, as "confused" (see chapter 1). Perhaps the answers to my questions about elite knowledge of the rite lay in provenance—who owned the books, where, and when. There were indeed several copies in Paris in the eighteenth century, in the collections of de Noailles's peers. To fill out the picture, over a period of several years I consulted the sixty-seven extant copies (preserved in thirty different libraries). I reconstructed many of their histories through external evidence such as catalogues and by examining material evidence for their use.

The reception of the Mozarabic rite in early modern Europe encompassed both the diffusion of copies of the editions and the means by which people

4 See Manuel Amador González Fuertes, "La Cámara de Castilla y el Real Patronato (1733–1759): De la prepotencia a la impotencia," *Brocar. Cuadernos de investigación histórica* 25 (2001): 75–108, at 89–96, on their collaboration.

5 For the relevant passages from the letters see appendix 1.

6 Matthew Smith Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–48* (London: Longman, 1995), 164.

learned about it—their reading about the ancient liturgy and their study of its texts through the mediation of the editions. In tracing this process I have followed several interrelated threads: the history of the rite in Toledo Cathedral and the role of the Mozarabic editions in print culture (chapter 1); the historical understanding of the Mozarabs as a group (chapter 2); the Mozarabic Chapel as a site of commemoration (chapter 3); the collecting of the Mozarabic editions by individuals and libraries (chapter 4); and the scholarly study of the rite in the early modern period (chapter 5). This book connects all these threads for the first time. It is not a work of descriptive bibliography or a study of the Mozarabic rite *per se*. I do not address the musical legacy of the Old Hispanic chant or the neo-Mozarabic cantorales, which are the subjects of a rich and burgeoning secondary literature. Other scholars have also worked on the relationship between the medieval manuscripts and the editions. While I cite research in these areas, my contribution here is different. This book combines social and intellectual history with provenance studies, which I bring to bear on the largely unexplored trajectory of research about the rite as well as the collecting of the editions. Whereas most accounts of the Mozarabic rite have used the early modern editions of its texts as primary sources, I treat copies of the editions as historical objects with their own stories to tell.

As I showed in *Silent Music*, the study of medieval Hispanic liturgy emerged from the Crown's regalist efforts to reclaim its historic prerogatives over ecclesiastical property. The products of the Royal Commission on the Archives were imbued with the spirit of cultural nationalism. In *Liturgy of Empire*, I extend the scope of inquiry both chronologically and geographically to encompass most of early modern Europe, demonstrating that the written (and particularly the printed) reception of the neo-Mozarabic rite, along with the diverse forms of commentary on its history, were embedded in the political context of Spain's global empire. To cite just one example, one of the earliest known owners of a Mozarabic edition was Adam von Dietrichstein, an Austrian aristocrat serving the Habsburg court of Madrid in the 1560s who, exceptionally among foreigners, acceded to the highest level of privilege that could be attained by Spanish elites.⁷

Some readers of this book might be surprised that diplomats and aristocrats shared with ecclesiastics an interest in something so recondite as the Mozarabic rite, but it is a mistake to assume that religious ritual and ecclesiastical history were cut off from public life. In fact, between 1500 and 1800 the rite was a cultural symbol of interest to men of letters (including the clergy), diplomats,

7 Adam von Dietrichstein is discussed in chapter 4.

and statesmen alike. The letter cited above from Mayans alludes to friendships that open doors and to sociopolitical requirements for gaining access to books.

Indeed, *Liturgy of Empire* is as much about people and their interactions as it is about their relationship to the past and to historical objects. Besides the epistolary exchange just mentioned, the interactions that form a substrate for this book include debates among historians and churchmen in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain; the correspondence between Leibniz and a learned Swedish nobleman; the professional dealings of Parisian booksellers with the bibliophiles of the ancien régime; and the intellectual friendship of an exiled Jesuit with the cardinal who had taken him under his wing in Rome at the end of the eighteenth century. Relations among these diverse actors extend from commerce to friendship to intellectual antagonism, each instance overlaying the Mozarabic rite with additional situated meanings. Beyond the interactions for which we have the most information, there are many other encounters that can be glimpsed only in part, from the evidence of traces such as annotations and notes of possession written in copies of the editions. While distributed widely across time and place, such interventions on the pages of the volumes represent, in the aggregate, the significance that the rite developed cumulatively through its early modern publication and reception.



Some of the material in chapters 1 and 3, reused here with permission, appeared previously in “Cisneros después de Cisneros: la recepción del rito mozárabe en la Edad Moderna,” in *El cardenal Cisneros: Música, mecenazgo cultural y liturgia*, ed. José María Domínguez Rodríguez and Tess Knighton (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2022), 21–48 and “Restoration or Invention? Archbishop Cisneros and the Mozarabic Rite in Toledo,” *Yale Journal of Music and Religion* 1 (2015): 5–30. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Acknowledgments

As stated in the Preface, the catalyst for this book was an unanswered question from my previous monograph, *Silent Music*. But the immediate impetus to pursue the subject of Cisneros and the Mozarabic rite came from a workshop at the University of York in the summer of 2011, where I was invited by Tom Nickson. On that occasion I also met Simon Ditchfield, whose scholarship and collegiality have been inspiring to me as well as to others. Subsequently, the conference “El Cardinal Cisneros y la música” in Toledo (2018) galvanized me to continue the project. For that I will forever be grateful to the conference co-organizers, Tess Knighton and José María Domínguez Rodríguez. Since then, I have presented parts of the book to audiences at the University Seminar on Religion and Writing at Columbia University, Columbia’s Institute for Ideas and Imagination in Paris, the Courtauld Institute of Art, the Universidade NOVA Lisbon, the “Sens des formes” conference organized by the Université de Paris Créteil and La Sorbonne Nouvelle, the Stanford Humanities Center, the University of Valladolid, Vanderbilt University’s History Seminar, and the Weatherhead Institute Seminar on Cultural Politics at Harvard University. My work was supported by Columbia University and by the Institute for Ideas and Imagination in Paris during my year there as Residential Faculty Director.

This project has taken me on a journey far afield from my previous research areas. In traversing much unfamiliar territory I have benefited from the help of many people over the course of several years. I want particularly to thank Michael Agnew, Sonia Agnew, María Soterraña Aguirre Rincon, Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, Constancio del Álamo, David Andrés Fernández, the dear departed Elizabeth A.R. Brown, Alexandra Coutavas, Almudena Cros, Daniel Di Censo, Claire Dwyer, Maia Gahtan, Séverine Delahaye Grelois, Jerrilynn Dodds, Grace Duck, John Glasenapp OSB, Cristina González Rojo, Christine Jeanneret, Seth Kimmel, Boris Liebrechtz, Gary Mayta-Lizarraga, Liam Moore, Michael Noone, Ana Méndez Oliver, Marc Smith, and Jens Ulf-Møller. I am grateful to Matt Shoaf for his thorough and incisive editing, and to Marcella Mulder of Brill for her patience with a thousand questions.

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Finally, I want to thank most of all Tess Knighton, without whose steadfast encouragement and support I would never have written this book. I am just one of many who have experienced her transformative generosity. For decades, Tess has strengthened the international community of scholars in every possible way, with seemingly boundless ingenuity, energy, and patience. She is an example to us all. This book is dedicated to her.

Figures

- 1.1 *Breviarium mozarabicum Officia feriarum in Quadragesima*, Madrid, BNE, MS 10110, fol. iv 10
- 1.2 *Breviarium secundum regulam Isidori*, Toledo, BCT, FM-23, fol. 82r 11
- 1.3 *Missale mixtum*, Madrid, BNE, INC/15, fol. 467r 19
- 1.4 Frontispiece, *Missale mixtum*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 5.E.16 21
- 1.5 Frontispiece, *Breviarium secundum regulam Isidori*, Toledo, BCT, FM-21 22
- 1.6 Portrait medallion of Cisneros, from Alvar Gómez de Castro's *De rebus gestis* 24
- 1.7 Juan de Borgoña, *The Investiture of Saint Ildefonsus*, Dallas, Meadows Museum, Algur H. Meadows Collection, MM.69.03 25
- 1.8 Master of Saint Ildefonso, *St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF1537 26
- 3.1 Juan de Borgoña, central panel of *The Conquest of Oran*, Mozarabic Chapel, Toledo Cathedral 90
- 3.2 Juan de Borgoña, detail of *The Conquest of Oran*, Mozarabic Chapel, Toledo Cathedral 98
- 3.3 Juan de Borgoña, detail of *The Conquest of Oran*, Mozarabic Chapel, Toledo Cathedral 101
- 3.4 José Nava, *The Trial by Fire*, from Lorenzana's *Missa Gothica* 127
- 3.5 José Nava, *The Duel*, from Lorenzana's *Missa Gothica* 128
- 4.1 Frontispiece, *Missale mixtum*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 5.E.16 152
- 4.2 *Missale mixtum*, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 117 159
- 4.3 *Missale mixtum*, Montserrat, Biblioteca de la Abadía Benedictina 4 143 160
- 4.4 Flyleaf, *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I 3710 161
- 4.5 *Missale mixtum*, 1500, Toledo, BCT, FM-10 173
- 5.1 Calendar pages, *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, Madrid, BNE, R/7180 186
- 5.2 *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, 1502, Toledo, BCT, FM-1, fols 343v–344r 192

Abbreviations

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BCT	Biblioteca de la Catedral de Toledo
FM	Fondo mozárabe (in BCT)

Reconstructing the Rite

The negotiation of heritage then may be understood as a deliberate act of transmission between individuals, groups, or institutions, which—at a specific point in time—engage with the past, re-appropriating or reviving certain aspects while rejecting or negating others, using aspects of that past to serve present needs and conditions.¹



This chapter follows the unprecedented trajectory by which Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros brought the Old Hispanic rite celebrated in the Mozarabic parishes of medieval Toledo to publication and regular observance in Toledo Cathedral. The renewal (often called a restoration) of the Mozarabic rite under Cisneros was the precondition for the developments described throughout this book. Borrowing Bruun and Glaser's description of the negotiation of heritage, I characterize his initiative as "a deliberate act of transmission" that employed the medieval Toledan legacy "in order to constitute ideas of legitimacy, authority, or affinity."² Cisneros's decision to reconstitute the rite in the cathedral, and his financial support for its establishment there, had three consequential outcomes: it endowed Toledo Cathedral with a venerable tradition that the institution could not otherwise have claimed; it created a novel form of affinity with the Mozarabic parishes; and it reinforced his own legitimacy as the religious leader of Toledo and its diocese. As we will see, the archbishop's intervention in the written form of the liturgy enhanced its authority, extending it into print form.

Before turning to the history of the Mozarabic rite in Toledo around 1500, let us address some key terms. I use "Mozarab," a word of Arabic origin, as a

1 Mette B. Bruun and Stephanie A. Glaser, "Introduction," in *Negotiating Heritage: Memories of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mette B. Bruun and Stephanie A. Glaser, *Ritus et Artes* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 4–11, at 4.

2 Bruun and Glaser, "Introduction," 2.

descriptor for Arabizing Christians who lived in the Islamicate Iberian peninsula. After Toledo came under Christian rule in 1085, the designation of the community as Mozarabs remained in currency. By 1500, however, the sole remaining characteristic of medieval Mozarabic tradition was the celebration of the Old Hispanic rite, which was approaching desuetude. As explained in the preface, “Old Hispanic” is now the most widely used and most historically applicable term for the liturgy that originated in Visigothic Iberia. Given the delimitation of my subject to the Mozarabic rite of Toledo in its historic reception, these terms are at times used interchangeably in this book. By “rite” I mean the texts and rituals associated with a defined liturgical tradition, in this case the one observed in the Iberian peninsula between the fifth century and the introduction of the Roman rite in the eleventh century.

The Old Hispanic rite has attracted ever more scholarly interest in recent years, but a number of questions remain unanswered. Most important for this book are those concerning the early liturgical books in Visigothic script that Cisneros saw in Toledo at the end of the fifteenth century. There are significant differences of opinion regarding the dating and place of origin for several of these manuscripts.³ They constitute precious witnesses to the ritual life of the city’s Mozarabs in the Middle Ages, but it is not always possible to ascertain how they relate to the community with which the trajectory of the rite is so closely bound. Let us now turn briefly to the history of the Toledan Mozarabs (to be discussed at greater length in chapter 2).

1 From Decline to Reconstruction

In 1086, the year after the conquest of Toledo by King Alfonso VI of Castile, Toledo’s main mosque became its new cathedral. The dedication of the former mosque as the city’s cathedral by the newly installed archbishop, Bernard of Sahagún (who had come from what is now southern France) overlooked the existence of the centuries-old Mozarabic cathedral, Santa Maria de Alfición.⁴ In

3 For an overview and summary see Raquel Rojo Carrillo, “Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a Local or of a Wider Tradition?,” in *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Reconsidering the Canons*, ed. Yasmine Beale-Rivaya and Jason Busic, Brill’s Companions to European History 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 97–139.

4 Jerrilynn Dodds, “A Forma Mesquite in Formam Ecclesiae: Toledo, Between Rodrigo and Ibn Hud,” in *A Plural Peninsula: Studies in Honour of Professor Simon Barton*, ed. Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 239–74; Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2015), 35–39.

place of the Old Hispanic rite, the traditional liturgy of early-medieval Iberia, Toledo Cathedral adopted the Roman rite.⁵ Jerrilyn Dodds characterizes the decision to dedicate a new cathedral as “the *coup de grace* in the toppling of the city’s existing Mozarabic ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the triumph of the Roman church over the city’s substantial and erudite indigenous Christian community.”⁶ 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 texts of the Old Hispanic liturgy contained heretical ideas.⁷ The distinctive theology of the Old Hispanic rite had occasioned periodic accusations of heresy since the Carolingian period.⁸

Although the Roman rite was established in Toledo, as elsewhere in his kingdom, Alfonso VI allowed the Mozarabs of Toledo to observe the Old Hispanic rite in their parish churches.⁹ The size of the community at the time

5 Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, “La introducción del rito romano en la Iglesia de Toledo,” *Toletana* 10 (2004): 151–77; Rubio Sadia, *Las órdenes religiosas y la introducción del rito romano en la iglesia de Toledo: Una aportación desde las fuentes litúrgicas* (Toledo: Instituto Teológico San Ildefonso, 2004).

6 Dodds, “A Forma Mesquite,” 250.

7 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. Bernard F. Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), 101–20; Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, *La recepción del rito francorromano en Castilla, ss. XI–XII: Las tradiciones litúrgicas locales a través del Responsorial del Proprium de tempore*, Monumenta studia instrumenta liturgica 61 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011); Ludwig Vones, “The Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite in the Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula,” in *Hispania vetus*, ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, 2007), 43–59.

8 On the Carolingian controversy see Patrizia Carmassi, “*Quomodo universalis ecclesia per totum mundum communi consuetudine ... dicere solet*. Liturgische Traditionen Spaniens zwischen theologischen Kontroversen und karolingischer Ekklesiologie,” in *Die Mozaraber: Definitionen und Perspektiven der Forschung*, ed. Matthias Maser and Klaus Herbers, Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 7 (Berlin: Lit, 2011), 211–30; and John C. Cavadini, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785–820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

9 See particularly Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, “Los mozárabes frente al rito romano: Balance historiográfico de una relación polémica,” *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 3rd ser., Historia medieval 31 (2018): 619–40. A briefer version of the same article appeared in *Los mozárabes: Historia, cultura y religión de los cristianos de Al Ándalus*, Actas del I congreso internacional (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2018), 439–50. See also Ramón González Ruiz, “The Persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after A.D. 1080,” in Reilly, *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, 157–85.

of the Christian conquest in 1085 is unknown, and a significant number of the Mozarabs in Toledo in the twelfth century may have been recent arrivals from al-Andalus.¹⁰ Noting that the six traditionally Mozarabic parishes are unattested in Toledo before 1156, Aaron Moreno argues 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.¹¹ Moreno posits that Andalusian Mozarabs in Toledo ensured the continuity of the rite in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the centuries after the conquest of Toledo, the Mozarabs gradually became less distinct from the rest of the population.¹² The anti-Muslim polemics written by Mozarabs before the thirteenth century drew on their knowledge of both Christian and Muslim religious texts in Arabic.¹³ However, notarial records of transactions with Mozarabs reveal a gradually diminishing use of Arabic. The documents of the twelfth century are redacted primarily in Arabic (or have Arabic signatures), those from the thirteenth century contain more Latin and Castilian, and by the fourteenth century Arabic no longer appeared in such documents.¹⁴

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- 10 On the history of the Iberian Mozarabs see particularly Cyrille Aillet, *Les mozarabes. Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IXe–XIIe siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010). Among the studies of the documentary corpus are Toledo Diego Olstein, “The Mozarabs of Toledo (12th–13th Centuries) in Historiography, Sources, and History,” in Maser and Herbers, *Die Mozaraber*, 151–86; Olstein, *La era mozárabe: Los mozárabes de Toledo (siglos XII y XIII) en la historiografía, las fuentes y la historia* (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 2006).
 - 11 Aaron Moreno, “Arabicizing, Privileges, and Liturgy in Medieval Castilian Toledo: The Problems and Mutations of Mozarab Identification (1085–1436)” (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2012), 160–71; Miquel S. Gros I Pujol, “Les six paroisses mozarabes de Tolède,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 232 (2015): 387–94.
 - 12 Reyna Pastor Togneri, “Problèmes d’assimilation d’une minorité: Les mozarabes de Tolède (de 1085 à la fin du XIIIe siècle),” *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 25 (1970): 251–90.
 - 13 The classic study on this subject (which lies outside the scope of this book) is Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c.1050–1200* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).
 - 14 Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, “The Written Record as Witness: Language Shift from Arabic to Romance in the Documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *La corónica* 40 (2012): 27–50; Francisco Hernández, “Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo,” *Boletín Burriel* 1 (1989): 29–51; Ruth Miguel-Franco, “La recepción de la documentación árabe en los cartularios del Archivo Capitular de Toledo: Traducciones y adaptaciones de cartas árabes entre el latín y el romance,” *Al-Qanṭara* 43, no. 1 (2022): e10; Moreno, “Arabicizing”; Olstein, “The Mozarabs”; and Olstein, “El péndulo mozárabe,” *Anales toledanos* 39 (2003): 37–77.

At the same time, the widely cited etymology *mixti Arabes* (“mixed with Arabs”) for the word “Mozarab” gave the Toledan Mozarabic community a notional connection with their Arabizing past and their distinct parishes conferred a historically ambiguous alterity with significant implications. Thought to represent continuous Christian observance descended from the Visigoths, the Mozarabs were not a religious or ethnic minority. Nevertheless, their Arabizing, whether past or present, was a durable marker of group identity, at times leading the Mozarabic clergy celebrating the Old Hispanic rite to be distinguished terminologically from the “Latin” clergy, who celebrated the Roman rite.

By the fifteenth century, however, the Mozarabic rite had become the ritual heritage of a dwindling minority. The symbiotic relationship between the Mozarabs and their ancient liturgy made it fragile; as the community diminished, celebration of the rite in Toledo became rare. In the early modern period, membership in the Mozarabic parishes—the other vestige of the community’s medieval roots—provided certain fiscal advantages which were continuously questioned, as we will see in chapters 2 and 3. The parishes enabled the maintenance of the Mozarabs’ status as a distinctive group within Toledan society.

Even though the Mozarabic liturgy, as a parish rite, was a shared inheritance, its survival in the early modern period was due largely to the initiative of one man, Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo from 1495 to 1517. Cisneros was a Franciscan friar and church reformer, a humanist and founder of the University of Alcalá, a royal confessor, an inquisitor, and a two-time regent of Castile.¹⁵ As archbishop, he articulated his manifold identities in a variety of carefully coordinated interventions. Among his most famous projects was his patronage of the Mozarabic rite, which would become a prominent facet of his public identity. He perpetuated the rite by commissioning new editions of it and by endowing its celebration in Toledo Cathedral. In establishing the Mozarabic rite in a chapel of his cathedral, Cisneros effectively created a new tradition, and it was one that would commemorate him in perpetuity.

Cisneros arrived in Toledo in 1497.¹⁶ According to early accounts, he encountered medieval manuscripts of the Mozarabic rite and found them in poor condition and difficult to read; indeed, their Visigothic script would have been inscrutable to most people in the late fifteenth century. The preservation of

15 On the life of Cisneros see particularly José García Oro, *Cisneros: Un cardenal reformista en el trono de España (1436–1517)* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2005).

16 After his appointment by the Catholic Monarchs was announced on 18 June 1495, he remained in residence with the court at Tarazona for two years (García Oro, *Cisneros*, 88).

liturgical manuscripts in the library of Toledo Cathedral (which observed the Roman rite) suggests that they were no longer in use in the Mozarabic parishes. Cisneros must have been struck by these mute witnesses to a Christian tradition that had never been observed in the Gothic cathedral and was charged with the symbolism of Visigothic origins. Yet one must exercise caution in imagining a process of discovery that has become a legendary episode in the life of this singularly erudite and ambitious archbishop.

Efforts to ensure the continuity of the Mozarabic rite did not start with Cisneros, to be sure. Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel, who was archbishop of Toledo from 1280 to 1299—and himself a Mozarab—undertook a renewal of the city's Mozarabic parishes with the help of the archdeacon, Joffré de Loaysa, teaching clerics the services and copying new liturgical books in order to maintain its observance.¹⁷ Prelates outside Toledo also attempted to establish regular celebration of the rite. In 1436, for instance, Juan Vázquez de Cepeda, bishop of Segovia, founded a college of regular clergy who celebrated the rite until 1441.¹⁸ In 1480 Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon confirmed the privileges of the Mozarabic clergy in Toledo and mandated the appropriate distribution of funds designated for Mozarabic parishes. That same year, Alonso Carrillo de Acuña (archbishop of Toledo from 1446 to 1482) forbade the distribution of such benefices to clerics who could not celebrate the Mozarabic rite. Cardinal Pedro González 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 in.¹⁹ According to the 1569 biography of Cisneros by Alvar Gómez de Castro, by the time Cisneros arrived in Toledo as archbishop the rite “was not celebrated in

17 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).

18 On the foundation 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, at 153. The most recent account of the attempts by Cepeda, Carrillo, and González de Mendoza is in Miguel Ángel López Fernández, “*Officium y Sacrificium* neomozárabes: Ejemplos de composición de un repertorio,” in *El cardenal Cisneros: Música, mecenazgo cultural y liturgia*, ed. Tess Knighton and José María Domínguez (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2022), 289–322, at 293–94.

19 Lynette Bosch, *Art, Liturgy, and Legend in Renaissance Toledo* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 61–64; Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross*, 33–34.

those churches except on a few occasions and feast days,” and the ceremonies “had fallen into such desuetude that they seemed about to disappear at any moment.”²⁰

In order to forestall the disappearance of the rite, Cisneros appointed a commission under the direction of Alfonso (or Alonso) Ortiz, a canon of the cathedral, to prepare an edition of the Mozarabic missal and an edition of an accompanying breviary—the latter a new form of book for the Mozarabic rite, as we will see.²¹ A poet and bibliophile trained in law, Ortiz had been a canon of Toledo Cathedral since 1478.²² Among the members of the commission were the clergy of three of the Mozarabic parishes: Antonio Rodríguez of Santa Justa, Alonso Martínez de Yepes of Santa Eulalia, and Geronimo Gutiérrez of San Lucas. 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*).²³ The editions were printed by the German printer Peter Hagembach.²⁴ The preface to the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic missal (henceforth to be capitalized, along with the Breviary assembled by Ortiz) states that Melchior Gorricio, a northern Italian publisher and bookseller, financed the publication of the editions, but Cisneros underwrote the cost while Gorricio acted as his agent.²⁵ The edi-

20 Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximénio Cisnerio archiepiscopo Tolemano* (Complutum: Andrean de Angulo, 1569), fol. 41r: Tandem ergo factum est, vt non nisi paucis quibusdam stasis, festisque diebus, eo ritu in illis sacrificaretur. (For the full account see appendix A in this chapter.)

21 *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1500); *Breviarium secundum regulam Beati Isidori* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1502). The Usuarium database outlines the contents of each (for the Missal: <https://usuarium.elte.hu/book/861/view>; for the Breviary: <https://usuarium.elte.hu/book/873/view>), and includes a conspectus of the elements for certain services.

22 For a biographical summary see Ángel Fernández Collado, “Alonso Ortiz,” in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/7419/alonso-ortiz>.

23 Eugenio de Robles, *Compendio de la vida y hazañas del cardenal [...] F. Ximenez de Cisneros; y del Ofizio y Missa Muzarabe* (Toledo: P. Rodriguez, 1604), 237.

24 Hagembach (also spelled Hagenbach) had arrived in Toledo in 1496 and worked primarily for Cisneros from 1500 until 1502. See Julián Martín Abad, *Los primeros tiempos de la imprenta en España (c.1471–1520)*, Arcadia de las letras 19 (Madrid: Ediciones del Laberinto, 2003), 62–63. Hagembach’s production provides the basis for the biographical summary in Isabel Moyano Andrés, “Pedro Hagenbach,” in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/60493/pedro-hagenbach>.

25 *Missale mixtum*, preface. See appendix A.

tions were major undertakings; copies were printed on parchment as well as on paper.²⁶ In the Missal, musical notation was added by hand, making each copy unique.²⁷

Cisneros's decision to harness the power of print by commissioning an updated and adapted version of a parish rite that was local, poorly preserved, and rarely celebrated may have been inspired by other Iberian bishops who oversaw the publication of liturgical books in the late fifteenth century.²⁸ However, other printed missals and breviaries from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were standard editions of the uses of dioceses or religious orders. The titles of liturgical imprints published in Spain around 1500 typically cite the local form of the Roman rite observed in particular dioceses.²⁹ In the incunable era (through 1500), bishops all over Europe commissioned printed liturgical books of their diocesan use, which, according to Natalia Nowakowska, constituted an assertion of episcopal authority.³⁰

The Mozarabic editions differed from the majority of liturgical imprints, however, for they did not publish a tradition that was in wide use. The title of the Missal links it to the Mozarabic community, and that of the Breviary associates the contents with Isidore of Seville—and, by extension, with the Visigothic Church (“according to the rule of Saint Isidore”). In this way, too,

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- 26 The Missal contains 480 leaves, the Breviary 440 leaves. The dimensions of the page vary by copy today because most copies have been trimmed when rebound at various times. The pages in the Morgan Library's relatively untrimmed copy of the Missal (ChL 1754) measure 338 × 232 mm. The Breviary is somewhat smaller, but still in folio; the pages of the Breviary measure between 270–280 mm × 190–200 mm depending on the copy.
- 27 This feature makes the Mozarabic editions different from the other music prints discussed by Margarita Restrepo, “German-Speaking Printers and the Development of Music Printing in Spain (1485–1505),” in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Elisabeth Giselbrecht, and Grantley McDonald, Music and Material Culture (New York: Routledge, 2018), 46–63.
- 28 See Mercedes Castillo-Ferreira, “Chant, Liturgy, and Reform,” in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, ed. Tess Knighton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 282–322, at 286–89, for a table of the printed liturgical books commissioned by reformist bishops in the late fifteenth century in Spain.
- 29 A listing of some editions published after 1501 appears in Julián Martín Abad, *Post-incunables ibéricos* (Madrid: Ollero and Ramos, 2001), 141–48 (breviaries of dioceses and religious orders) and 373–80 (missals). The Iberian Books database lists fourteen breviaries of diocesan uses printed from 1480 to 1501 (not all printed in the Iberian peninsula) and thirteen missals of diocesan uses, two of the Roman rite, and two for religious orders.
- 30 Natalia Nowakowska, “From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century,” *Past & Present* 213, no. 1 (2011): 3–39. The final seven pages of the article list the liturgical books for diocesan use commissioned by Catholic bishops before 1501.

the editions constitute “a deliberate act of transmission,” appropriating the medieval ritual legacy to establish legitimacy, authority, and an affinity with the Visigothic rite, a historical gesture of great significance in a cathedral of the Roman rite.

Differences between the Mozarabic and the Roman rite exist on multiple levels. Some texts with similar structures and liturgical functions differ in genre and name in the two rites, and not all the elements of worship services correlate precisely.³¹ The structures of their services differ to some extent for the same sacramental functions, such as the administration of the eucharist, baptism, the commemoration of the dead, and so on. A major point of contrast lies in the number of daily offices celebrated outside Mass: twelve hours of the Divine Office in the Old Hispanic rite versus eight in the Roman rite. Another crucial distinction between the rites is that they originated in very different historical contexts. The non-scriptural texts of the Old Hispanic rite are customarily ascribed to early Iberian church fathers such as Leander of Seville (d. 600 or 601), Isidore of Seville (d. 636), and Ildefonsus of Toledo (d. 667). The medieval Roman rite, introduced in Castile in the eleventh century, had emerged in the Carolingian period as an adaptation of the early-medieval Roman liturgy.³²

By the time of Cisneros, the Roman rite had for centuries been established throughout the Iberian kingdoms, and printing the medieval Hispanic rite was akin to archeology. Comparing a medieval Mozarabic manuscript with the Mozarabic Breviary published by Ortiz brings out some of the differences between the medieval rite and the early modern printed edition (Figs 1.1, 1.2). These two books, of roughly comparable size, represent the rite in markedly different ways.³³ The medieval manuscript in figure 1.1, copied in Toledo in the second half of the thirteenth century, belonged to the Mozarabic parish church of Saints Justa and Rufina. It forms part of a local Toledan tradition; its late Visigothic script and its musical notation, with its distinctive writing angle,

31 A full treatment of the Old Hispanic rite lies beyond the purview of this book, which focuses on its reception. For an overview and introduction see Raúl Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 2007), 43–78. On the Old Hispanic office see Hornby, Ihnat, Maloy, and Rojo Carrillo, *Understanding*.

32 See Roger Reynolds, “The Organization, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700–900,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, c.700–c.900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 587–621, at 617–21.

33 The pages of Madrid, BNE, MS 10110 measure 270 × 190 mm, and the pages of the *Breviarium* copy reproduced here measure 275 × 200 mm. The dimensions of the page in the extant copies of the Mozarabic Breviary vary widely because they were often trimmed when rebound. (For instance, the pages measure 280 × 195 mm in New York, Hispanic Society of America, BX 2000 .A2 1502.)

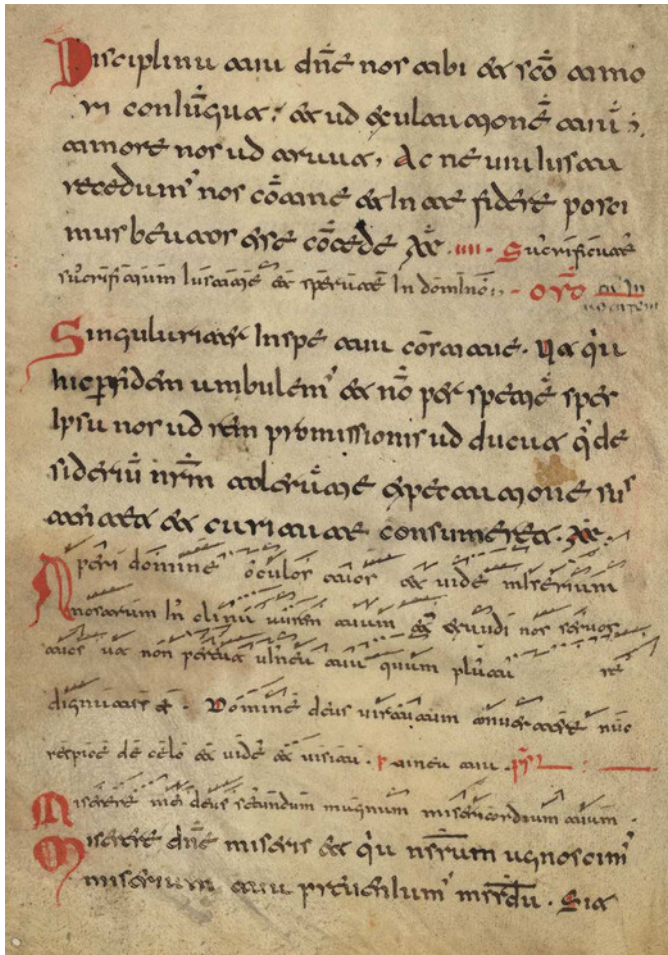
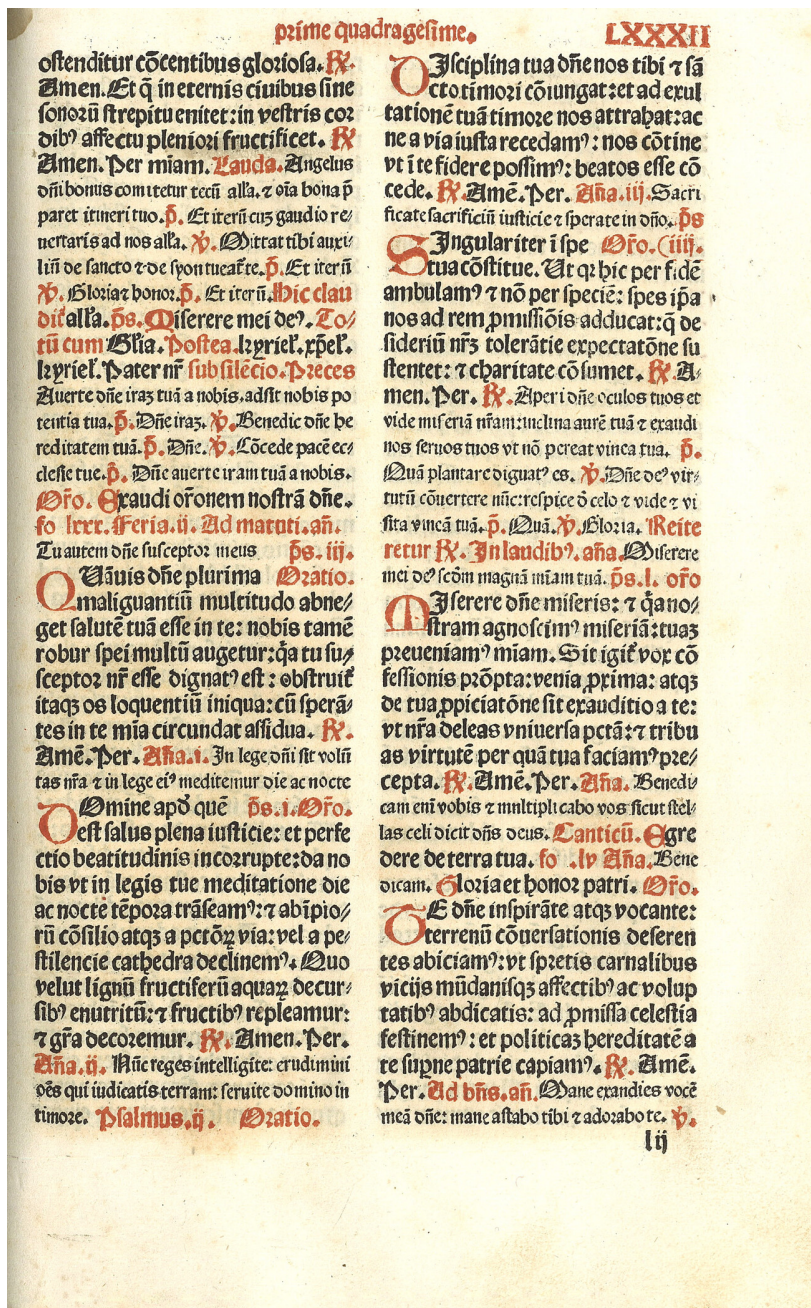


FIGURE 1.1 *Breviarium mozarabicum Officia feriarum in Quadragesima*, thirteenth century, Madrid, BNE, MS 10110, fol. 14v
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA: BIBLIOTECA DIGITAL HISPÁNICA. [HTTPS://BDH-RD.BNE.ES/VIEWER.VM?ID=0000014388&PAGE=1](https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000014388&page=1) [LAST ACCESSED 18 APRIL 2025]

are characteristic of medieval chant manuscripts copied in Toledo.³⁴ Figure 1.2 reproduces a page from the printed Mozarabic Breviary, the right column being the printed version of the text that appears in the medieval manuscript, which

34 On the date and origins of Madrid, BNE, MS 10110 see Emma Hornby, Kati Ihnat, Rebecca Maloy, and Raquel Rojo Carrillo, *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office: Texts, Melodies, and Devotion in Early Medieval Iberia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 355.

FIGURE 1.2 *Breviarium secundum regulam Isidori*, pub. Petrus Hagembach (Toledo),

1502, Toledo, BCT, FM-23, fol. 82r

PHOTO: TOLEDO CATHEDRAL ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

consists of prayers and chants for the office of Matutinum on the first Monday in Lent. In both books, the chant texts are in smaller script than the prayers, and the initial letters as well as the name of liturgical genres are highlighted with red ink.

Transcription of the office for part of the first Monday in Advent from Madrid, BNE, MS 10110, fol. 1v with variations of the *Breviarium secundum regulam Isidori* (fol. 82r, right column)

Note: Text in the *Breviarium secundum regulam Isidori* that differs from or is added to Madrid 10110 appears in square brackets and boldface. Rubrics are in italics. (“Cum inuocarem,” the incipit of Psalm 4, was added in Madrid 10110 by a slightly later hand and appears here in parentheses for that reason; in the printed *Breviarium* only the rubric “ps iiiii” appears.)

Disciplina tua domine nos tibi et sancto timori coniungat, et ad exultationem tuam timore nos adtraat [**attrahat**]. Ac ne [**a**] via iusta recedamus nos contine et [**ut**] in te fidere poscimus [**possimus**] beatos esse concede. [**R.**] Amen. [**Per. Antiphona iii.**] Sacrificate sacrificium iusticie et sperate in domino. [**Ps.**] *iiii* (Cum inuocarem.) *Oratio.* Singulariter in spe tua constitue. Ut quia hic per fidem ambulamus et non per speciem, spes ipsa nos ad rem promissionis adducat quae desiderium nostrum tolerantie expectatione sustentet et c[**h**]aritate consumeret [**consumet**]. [**R.**] Amen. [**Per. R.**] Aperi domine oculos tuos et vide miseriam nostram, inclina aurem tuam et exaudi nos seruos tuos ut non pereat vinea tua. [**p.**] Quam plantare dignatus es. [**v.**] Domine deus virtutum conuertere nunc, respice de celo et vide et visita. *p.* vinea[**m**] tua[**m**]. [**p. Quam. v. Gloria. Reiteretur R. In laudibus antiphona.**] Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. *ps. L.* [**Oratio.**] Miserere domine miseris, et quia nostram agnoscimus misericordiam tuam preueniamus misericordiam tuam preueniamus misericordiam. Sit [...]

The edition’s most obvious departures from the manuscript version are the absence of musical notation and the general appearance of the text, which is printed in two columns in a Gothic typeface used by the German printers working in the Iberian peninsula around 1500.³⁵

35 On the typefaces used in this period see Julián Martín Abad, “Letrерías gólicas, redondas y cursivas en la imprenta hispana (siglos xv y xvi),” in *Cultura manuscrita y cultura impresa en el entorno de Antonio de Nebrija*, ed. Jacobo S. Sanz Hermida and Pedro Martín Baños (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2022), 77–132.

The principal contrast between the text as seen in the manuscript and the edition resides in the insertion of abbreviated rubrics that indicate instructions for the performance of the text.³⁶ However, the repetition of the end of *Aperi domine* (indicated by a *p* before the unnotated phrase “vinea tua”) has been overlooked in the edition, and the phrase integrated into the preceding text. Where entire words differ, it may reflect choices that would have been more familiar to a sixteenth-century reader (*attrahat* instead of *adtraat*), or misreadings of the text, such as the subjunctive *possimus* (“that we may”) where the manuscript has *poscimus* (“we entreat”). The edition’s *consumet* (instead of the manuscript’s *consumeret*) could be a misreading of the original or a conscious choice to make the word resemble the *sustentet* earlier in the same sentence. Although the text in the printed breviary agrees largely with Madrid 10110, in many other instances the Mozarabic editions diverge from the medieval manuscripts.³⁷

A breviary (which contains the readings, prayers, and chants for the Divine Office) was commonly used in the Roman rite. The mise-en-page of the printed Mozarabic Breviary of Ortiz resembles the layout of other breviaries (whether in manuscript or print) around the same time; the dense assemblage of its texts provided a compendium of the services for those who might use such a book to celebrate the Hours of the Divine Office individually. The typology of the Breviary has no exact counterpart among the liturgical books of the Old Hispanic rite, however.³⁸

2 Philology and Liturgy

While nearly everything about the Mozarabic editions seems anomalous in comparison to other publications of medieval rites in the decades around 1500, the Missal and Breviary are in some respects more akin to a different area of contemporary publication: the editing of ancient and Christian Latin texts. Ortiz’s editing represents the intellectual tradition of Renaissance humanism.

36 My transcription is for comparison only; for an edition see *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), 4–5. It is likely that Madrid, BNE, MS 10110 was consulted for the 1502 *Breviarium*.

37 Differences between the medieval Mozarabic manuscripts and the editions were analyzed by scholars in the twentieth century, starting with Louis Brou, “Études sur le Missel et le Bréviaire ‘mozarabes’ imprimés,” *Hispania Sacra* 11 (1958): 349–98. Some of José Janini’s numerous studies on this subject are cited below.

38 The most recent survey of medieval manuscripts of the Old Hispanic rite is Hornby, Ihnat, Maloy, and Rojo Carrillo, *Understanding*, 43–76.

Taking Cicero as the foremost model for prose, and Virgil as the standard for poetry, Latinists of the fifteenth and sixteenth century considered it necessary to modify texts in biblical and medieval Latin so as to bring them into conformity with the stylistic and grammatical conventions of classical Latin literature. Scholars in the circles of Cisneros and of the Catholic Monarchs applied such standards to ecclesiastical Latin.³⁹

A useful context for the Mozarabic editions of Ortiz is an edition of Roman-rite liturgical texts by his better-known contemporary, the Castilian grammarian Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1444–1522, born Antonio Martínez de Cala). Nebrija published an emended edition of the hymns of the Divine Office known at first as the *Recognitio hymnorum* (“Correction of the Hymns”), a collection subsequently printed in combination with preexisting commentary in the *Aurea expositio hymnorum*.⁴⁰ Nebrija’s edition forms part of an emerging genre of early printed hymnals, which, as Ann Moss has pointed out, not only show the application of humanist principles to Latin liturgical texts but also contributed to the formation of national identities that were being articulated at the time in relation to national churches—the kind of contribution the Mozarabic editions themselves would go on to make, as we will see in later chapters of this book.⁴¹ It is possible, too, that Nebrija’s *Recognitio* was available to Ortiz in the decade before the Mozarabic editions’ publication. Even though the earliest copy of the *Recognitio* that is currently known was printed in 1501, Pedro Martín Baños has marshaled evidence that Nebrija’s emendations were published for the first time significantly earlier, probably even before 1487.⁴²

39 On the social context for the heightened study of Latin under the Catholic Monarchs see Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 31–40.

40 Pedro Martín Baños, *Antonio de Nebrija. v Centenario (1522–2022)*, vol. 1, *Nueva caracola del bibliófilo nebrisense. Repertorio bibliográfico de la obra impresa y manuscrita de Antonio de Nebrija siglos xv y xvi*, Serie conmemorativa 8 (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2022), 245–59, lists and describes all the attested editions. The post-incunables are listed by Martín Abad, *Post-incunables ibéricos*, 117–23. Alexander Wilkinson, “The Printed Book on the Iberian Peninsula, 1500–1540,” in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp, Library of the Written Word 15, The Handpress World 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 78–96, at 90 n. 39, states that at least sixteen editions/states/issues of the *Aurea expositio* were published before 1541.

41 Ann Moss, “Latin Liturgical Hymns and Their Early Printing History, 1470–1520,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 36 (1987): 112–37.

42 In his *Introductiones Latinae* (1495), Nebrija referred to his correction of the hymn “Pange lingua” in his *Recognitio hymnorum*. Moreover, Nebrija addresses the preface to the *senatus* of the University of Salamanca as a professor addressing his colleagues, so it must have been written before his departure from the university in 1487. Finally, a 1491 publica-

With that possibility in mind, let us consider Nebrija's approach to the hymns as a potential background for Ortiz's editions of the Mozarabic rite.

Nebrija's preface to the *Recognitio*, which first appears in the edition of 1501, articulates the precepts underlying his emendations based on classical Latin antecedents. The first error (*mendum*) Nebrija cites is in a line from the hymn "Primo dierum omnium," where he emends *liberet* to *liberat* in the phrase "Nos morte uicta liberet." He refers to a verse from Virgil's *Aeneid* to illustrate the contraction of the perfect tense in classical Latin.⁴³ According to Nebrija, the entire passage should read "quod Christus resurgens morte uicta nos liberauit," meaning "because Christ, arising from the dead, having conquered death, has freed us" rather than "quod Christus resurgens morte uicta nos *liberet*" (that Christ*may free us*). In the grammarian's view, the form "liberet" incorrectly implies a petition to Christ rather than proclaiming that the liberation has already occurred (through the Resurrection).⁴⁴ Nebrija's explanation of the emendation demonstrates his brand of Christian humanism, which held that philological judgment should be based as much on a text's theological sense as on linguistic considerations.⁴⁵

In addition to explanations of individual emendations in the body of the *Recognitio*, Nebrija's preface to the work alludes to the grammatical mistakes and muddled syntax in manuscript versions of the texts, which he characterized as "disfigured sometimes by errors and sometimes by the confusion of the poems" (*tum mendis tum carminum confusione deprauatum*). Consequently, he strove "to bring into line with the truth the several errors that are found equally in all books" (*nonnulla errata quae per omnes libros passim reperiuntur ad lineam ueritatis reducere*).⁴⁶ Ortiz's preface to the Mozarabic Missal likewise invokes the need to correct the textual errors so as to reveal the truth they express: "with the errors scraped away, and the doubts illuminated by the truth extracted" (*vitiis abrais, dubiisque enucleata veritate lustratis*). Comparing Nebrija's comments on the grammar of Latin hymns to Ortiz's emendation

tion by a student of Nebrija, Andrés Gutiérrez de Cerezo, includes a hymn collection that closely resembles the corrected hymns in Nebrija's *Recognitio* and thus may be based on an earlier edition that has not survived. Martín Baños also adduces material evidence for earlier editions. Martín Baños, *Antonio de Nebrija*, 1:247.

43 Most medieval manuscripts have *liberet*; see the apparatus of the edition in *Early Latin Hymns*, ed. Arthur S. Walpole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 262.

44 For a transcription of the prefaces see Martín Baños, *Antonio de Nebrija*, 1:254.

45 On this aspect of Nebrija's grammatical teachings see Felipe González Vega, "Iudicium meum semper fuit: Cuestiones de poética en el comentario gramatical de Antonio de Nebrija (1444–1522)," *Revista de poética medieval* 17 (2006): 299–334.

46 González Vega, "Iudicium meum semper fuit."

of the texts of the Visigothic liturgy reveals that the two editors shared a view of the texts as requiring emendation in order to render their doctrinal substance correctly.

Besides providing a context for the method that Ortiz applied in editing the Mozarabic rite, Nebrija's *Recognitio* represents a method that may have informed Cisneros's own view of the rite, which contained scriptural texts as well as late-antique and medieval ones. It is likely that the archbishop knew Nebrija's annotations to and emendations of the Latin Bible; the grammarian undertook extensive study of the text in the 1490s and dedicated publications to Queen Isabella in the same decades that Cisneros served as her confessor and as close advisor to the monarchs.⁴⁷ David Coles has argued, moreover, that Nebrija's research on the text of the Bible influenced Cisneros's most renowned editorial project, the Complutensian Polyglot.⁴⁸ This six-volume work was the first publication to print synoptically, in three columns, the texts of the Greek New Testament, the complete Septuagint, and the translation of the Torah known as the Targum Onkelos.⁴⁹ Nebrija had been on the editorial committee for the Complutensian Polyglot, but his emendations did not appear in the final publication, as the more conservative members of the committee found his proposals too radical.⁵⁰ The Mozarabic editions exemplify Christian humanism in the spirit of the Complutensian Polyglot, albeit different in scope from that later and more ambitious project. Most pertinent for our purpose here is

47 For an overview of Nebrija's annotations see Carlos Del Valle Rodríguez, "Antonio Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship," in *A Companion to Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 57–72.

48 David Coles, "Humanism and the Bible in Renaissance Spain and Italy: Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522)" (PhD diss, Yale University, 1983), 4:1286–95.

49 On the typography of the Complutense Polyglot see Julián Martín Abad, "La *Biblia Políglota Complutense*: El proceso de fabricación y el producto editorial," in *A quinientos años de la Políglota. El proyecto humanístico de Cisneros: Fuentes documentales y líneas de investigación*, ed. Miguel Anxo Pena González and Inmaculada Delgado Jara (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2015), 23–66; Martín Abad, "La impresión y la puesta en venta de la Biblia Políglota Complutense," in *La Biblia Políglota Complutense en su contexto*, ed. Antonio Alvar Ezquerro (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2016), 295–326.

50 Felipe González Vega, "Ex grammatico rhetor: The Biblical Adventures and Rhetorical Maturity of Antonio de Nebrija between the *Apologia* and the *Tertia quinquagena*," in *Humanism and Christian Letters in Early Modern Iberia (1480–1630)*, ed. Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 9–36. In his *Apologia*, first published late in 1507, Nebrija "defended himself against those who accused him of impiety for touching Holy Writ"; see Del Valle Rodríguez, "Antonio Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship," 65.

that Ortiz, like Nebrija, viewed sacred texts as subject to improvement through editorial intervention. The prefaces he wrote for the editions explain the need for the revisions he carried out.

3 Remaking the Rite

Ortiz's prefaces to the Missal and Breviary bespeak a philological project in a humanist vein. (For complete texts and translations of the prefaces see appendix A within the present chapter.) These texts make no reference at all to the music of the chant; rather, they stress 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. The preface to the Missal 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." These elements of the preface's language align with claims in the prefaces to other liturgical books printed elsewhere in Europe in the same period; it was conventional to describe the manuscripts on which they were based as faded with age and disintegrating, their texts corrupted and full of errors.⁵¹ Ortiz claimed that the Visigothic script of the Mozarabic manuscripts had caused them to fall out of use. According to the preface to the *Missale mixtum*, they had "long been abandoned on account of the rusticity of the letters." The difficulty of reading the Visigothic script presumably caused at least some of the numerous errors in the editions, which contain mistakes of transcription noted by their users in the early modern period and by scholars over the course of the last century. We must keep in mind the technical challenges of Ortiz's undertaking, which must have been formidable, as a counterbalance to rhetorical emphasis in his prefaces on the necessity of correcting corrupted texts.

Ortiz states that he was charged by Cisneros to "restore" (*reficere*) the texts without changing them too much, by keeping some elements intact, at Cisneros's request, on account of their antiquity. The result was an improved version in the sense that incoherence in the source material was remedied by organization and emendation:

Once the dispersed things were brought into order, the errors scraped away, and the doubts illuminated by the truth [I had] extracted, as if

⁵¹ Nowakowska, "From Strassburg to Trent," 15.

repairing many things that had been destroyed, at your order I made everything as clear as I was able.⁵²

In the preface, then, Ortiz acknowledged his own agency in the genesis of the final product, asserting the necessity of altering the contents and ordering so as to improve them. He edited the Mozarabic Missal drawing on the framework of the Roman-rite Toledan missal of 1499, which he had likewise edited. For instance, as José Janini has pointed out, Ortiz employed the term “Officium,” in use already for the Introit of the Mass in the Roman rite, and he gave the chant the structure of an Introit, with the repetition of the versicle and the final doxology *Gloria et honor*.⁵³ In this instance, his adjustment enhanced comprehensibility. In other cases, his choices display creativity in furnishing material that was considered wanting. For twenty-five 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.⁵⁴

Another indication of Ortiz's personal touch in the preparation of the *Missale mixtum* is his insertion of a rubric exhorting the reader to pray for him: “Pray for Alfonso Ortiz, doctor and Toledan canon.”⁵⁵ The canon's entreaty appears between the rubric and the text of the Introit chant that opens the votive Mass for the Virgin Mary (Fig. 1.3, right). His self-naming seems also to be a kind of signature, for all the chant and prayer texts in that Mass appear to be his own compositions (in some cases adapted from existing ones).⁵⁶ Closing the volume with Ortiz's newly written tribute to the Virgin is a fitting example of the amalgamation of old and new that he carried out in the edition, in which he drew on both the Old Hispanic and Roman rites and modified them according to pragmatic as well as philological considerations.⁵⁷

52 Preface to the *Missale mixtum*: Nam dispersis in ordinem redactis, vitiis abrais, dubiisque enucleata veritate lustratis, et ceu abolita multa resarciens, tuo jussu, ut valui, omnia illustravi. (For the complete text of the preface see appendix A.)

53 José Janini, “Las misas votivas del ‘Liber Ordinum’ publicadas por Ortiz,” *Anales Valentinus* 10 (1984): 99–111, at 100.

54 José Janini, “Misas mozárabes recompuestas por Ortiz,” *Hispania sacra* 34 (1982): 153–63, and most recently López Fernández, “*Officium* y *Sacrificium* neomozárabes.”

55 *Missale mixtum*, fol. 467r: Orate pro Alfonso Ortiz doctore et canonico Toletano.

56 *Missale mixtum*, fols 467r–469v. Janini, “Misas mozárabes,” 163, states that they were Ortiz's own writings, and they are otherwise unattested.

57 Like Ortiz, Nebrija wrote liturgical texts for the Virgin Mary, but explicitly designated them as his own compositions. His two Marian hymns, which appear in his 1501 *Recognitio hymnorum*, preceded by a dedication naming the author and the poems' quantitative meters, are printed in Martín Baños, *Antonio de Nebrija*, 1:258.

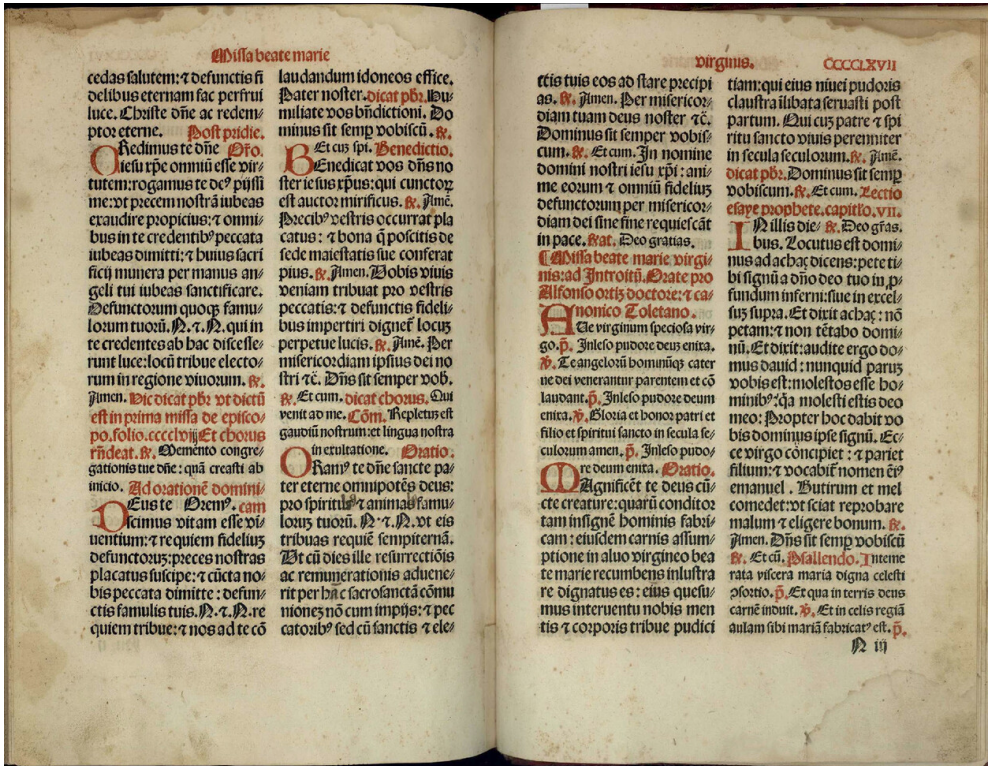
FIGURE 1.3 *Missale mixtum*, 1500, Madrid, BNE, INC/15, fol. 467r

PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA: BIBLIOTECA DIGITAL HISPÁNICA. [HTTP://BDH-RD.BNE.ES/VIEWER.VM?ID=0000176268&PAGE=1](http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000176268&page=1) [LAST ACCESSED 18 APRIL 2025]

While the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic Missal stays relatively close to the texts of the Old Hispanic rite, it includes services from the Roman rite such as the Palm Sunday procession and the Feast of Corpus Christi. The Mozarabic Breviary also incorporates elements from the Roman rite.⁵⁸ Ortiz's preface to the Breviary states that even more extensive reworking was necessary to extract a readable and coherent text from the muddled contents of the medieval manuscripts. In addition to reorganizing, reordering, and rewriting texts, Ortiz introduced novel elements to ensure that the Breviary would contain all the requisite liturgical items for the Divine Office. Some of these anachronisms—which were intended to make the editions more comprehensible to their users—

58 Two examples of collects in the Mozarabic Breviary that appear adapted from the Roman rite for use on feasts of Mozarabic saints are described by Juan Pablo Rubio Sadia, "La incorporación del santoral hispano-mozárabe en la liturgia romana de Toledo," in Knighton and María Domínguez, *El cardenal Cisneros*, 249–72, at 267.

include the formularies for feasts introduced after the suppression of the Old Hispanic rite.⁵⁹

The Ortiz editions, then, are not critical editions in the modern sense; they are a *reformed* Office in every sense of the word—texts reshaped and improved to present an updated and revised version of the rite, one that was more practical as well as more correct from the standpoint of its editor. Ortiz modified texts in the Breviary to suit current philological standards. The colophon printed in both the Missal and the Breviary describes the liturgical content as “corrected” (*emendatum*) by him. 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.⁶⁰ Some changes were made to adjust for the divergences between the Mozarabic rite and the Roman rite. Such editorial intervention—and invention—effectively rendered the Breviary more of a hybrid than an edition of the medieval rite.⁶¹

4 Imprint and Image

In addition to the refashioning of the liturgy with the indispensable aid of Ortiz, Cisneros’s patronage of the Mozarabic rite was a form of self-fashioning as well. The prefaces to the editions were the first texts to memorialize the archbishop’s relationship to the rite, and they served to embed his name indelibly in all subsequent accounts. Such memorialization was not only verbal but also visual, for his sponsorship of the Mozarabic rite undergirded his image as a prelate with the rite’s unmatched venerability. We see this clearly in the frontispieces of the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary, each of which illustrates the symbolic link between Cisneros and his Visigothic predecessor, Saint Ildefonsus (archbishop of Toledo from 657 to 667). While the panel in the frame differs slightly from one frontispiece to the other, their central images are identical representations of the Virgin’s miraculous gift of a chasuble to Ildefonsus (Figs 1.4, 1.5).⁶²

59 On the Mozarabic Breviary as a witness to the Hispanic rite see 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.

60 José Janini, “La peculiar edición del breviario mozárabe de Cisneros,” in *Liber mysticus de cuaresma*, XXXI–XLIII.

61 As we will see in chapter 5, numerous early modern annotations in copies of the Mozarabic Breviary signal users’ recognition of disparities between the edition and the traditions of the Old Hispanic and Roman rites.

62 This legend, celebrated in medieval Latin and vernacular literature, is retold in the Castilian verse miracle collection by Gonzaleo de Berceo as well as in the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. See Joseph T. Snow, “Gonzalo de Berceo and the Miracle of Saint Ildefonso: Portrait of the Medieval Artist at Work,” *Hispania* 65, no. 1 (1982): 1–11.



FIGURE 1.4 Frontispiece, *Missale mixtum*, 1500, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 5.E.16
PHOTO: ÖNB VIENNA

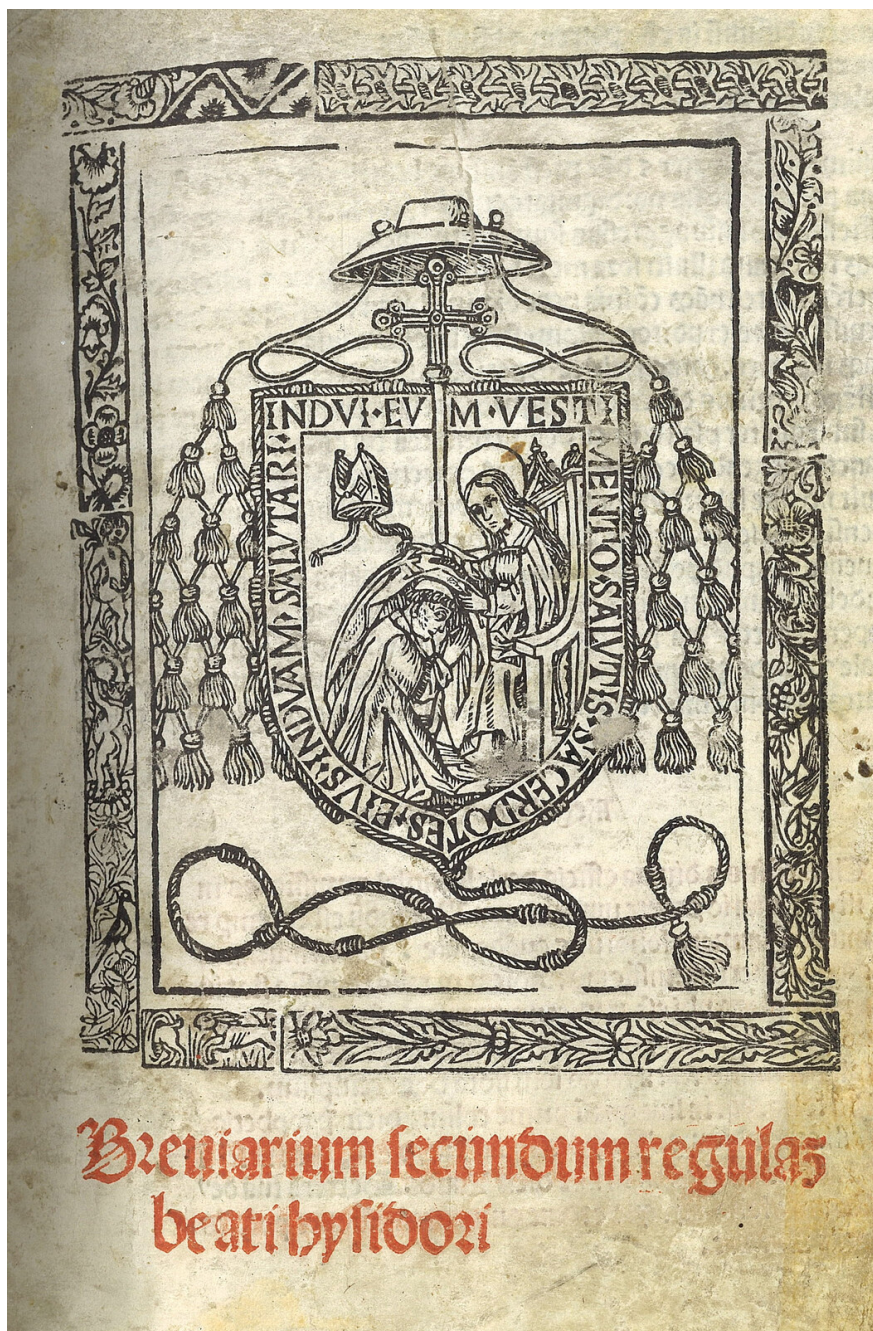


FIGURE 1.5 Frontispiece, *Breviarium secundum regulam Isidori*, 1502, Toledo, BCT, FM-21
 PHOTO: TOLEDO CATHEDRAL ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

According to legend, when Mary descended to earth give him the chasuble, she left her footprints in a place that is now enshrined within the cathedral. An early reference to the relic appears in a description of Toledo Cathedral published in 1549 by Blas Ortiz (1485–1552), a canon there from 1524.⁶³

The Virgin's bestowal of the chasuble on Saint Ildefonsus is depicted in the seals of the archbishop and chapter of Toledo beginning in the thirteenth century as well as on the fourteenth-century portal of Toledo Cathedral known as the Puerta del Perdón.⁶⁴ The composition of the scene in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries differs significantly from earlier examples. Rather than standing majestically to the right of the kneeling Ildefonsus as before, the Virgin now sits enthroned, extending the chasuble protectively over his head.⁶⁵ The frontispiece of the *Missale toletanum* of 1499, which was the first of the three liturgical books that Petrus Hagembach printed in Toledo, is nearly identical to that of the Mozarabic editions (only without a decorative border). The iconography of the Mozarabic editions' frontispieces thus originated in an edition of the Roman-rite liturgy of the Toledo diocese.⁶⁶ The composition came to symbolize Cisneros's patronage, a connection underlined by a medal worn by the archbishop in the frontispiece to the 1569 edition of Alvar Gómez de Castro's biography (Fig. 1.6). There we see, depicted in miniature, the chasuble's bestowal on a genuflecting Ildefonsus.⁶⁷

Cisneros may not have influenced the frontispieces' design, but he would have seen his own image reflected in them. Their depiction of the investiture is closely related to the altarpiece painted by Juan de Borgoña (1470–1535) in 1508–14 for the altar of the chapel of the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso in Alcalá (Fig. 1.7; now in the Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, in Dallas, Texas). In that work, Ildefonsus seems intentionally to resemble Cisneros, whose portrayal in profile was a distinctive characteristic of his personal iconography, a humanist style of image-making likely acquired in Rome.⁶⁸ The

63 Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, 1–2 (and fig. 1), 143.

64 Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral*, 144–45 (and fig. 77), 150 (and fig. 82), 192–96, 115.

65 On the diffusion of this composition in printed books see Johannes Röhl, "The Tomb of Bishop Alonso de Madrigal ('El Tostado') in the Cathedral of Ávila—The Monumentalization of the 'Autorbild,'" in *Artistic Circulation Between Early Modern Spain and Italy*, ed. Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio and Tommaso Mozzati (New York: Routledge, 2019), 38–55.

66 Juan Manuel Sierra López, *El misal toledano de 1499* (Toledo: Instituto Teológico de San Ildefonso, 2005), 63.

67 The composition of the frontispiece has been described as the personal mark of Hagembach, but the symbolism of the Franciscan cord indicates an association with Cisneros.

68 Roberto González Ramos, "Cisneros: Iconografías de prestigio e santidad," in *F. Ximénez de Cisneros. Reforma, conversión y evangelización*, ed. José María Magaz and Juan Miguel



FIGURE 1.6
Portrait medallion of Cisneros, 1569, from Alvar Gómez de Castro's *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximénio Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano*
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN:
BIBLIOTECA DIGITAL UNIVERSIDAD DE ALCALÁ.
[HTTP://HDL.HANDLE.NET/10017/1921](http://hdl.handle.net/10017/1921) [LAST ACCESSED 18 APRIL 2025]

portraits in various media executed during his lifetime, and the subsequent images based on them, always show him in profile, including one executed by Borgoña for the chapter room in Toledo Cathedral commissioned by Cisneros.

The resemblance between the frontispiece and Borgoña's panel painting is all the more striking when compared to another Hispano-Flemish depiction from the end of the fifteenth century (attributed to the Maestro de San Ildefonso), in which Ildefonsus resembles Cisneros and now appears in profile as well (Fig. 1.8).⁶⁹ In the chapel of the Colegio Mayor, then, Cisneros was represented as he was in the frontispieces of the Mozarabic editions—as the Visigothic bishop's successor. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this image contributed to the memorialization of Cisneros as reformer of the rite, an idea transmitted across Europe along with copies of the Ortiz editions, on

Prim, *Presencia y diálogo* 53 (Madrid: Universidad San Dámaso, 2018), 97–158. Juan de Borgoña worked for Cisneros in Toledo starting in 1495, when he executed the decoration of the cloister.

69 Maestro de San Ildefonso, *The Granting of the Chasuble to San Ildefonso*, fifteenth century, Paris, Musée du Louvre, R.F.1537.



FIGURE 1.7 Juan de Borgoña, *The Investiture of Saint Ildefonsus*, tempera and oil on wood, c.1508–14, Dallas, Meadows Museum, Algur H. Meadows Collection, MM.69.03
PHOTO: MICHAEL BODYCOMB

the one hand, and the biography by Gómez de Castro, on the other. The same period thus saw a twofold transmission of engraved portraits of Cisneros, frequently accompanied by panegyrics.⁷⁰ The image of the cardinal was diffused

⁷⁰ Roberto González Ramos, “The Face of the Exemplar Ruler: The Engravings of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros in the Early European Modern Age,” *Liño: Revista anual de historia del arte* 26 (2020): 21–30.



FIGURE 1.8 Master of Saint Ildefonso, *St. Ildefonso Receiving the Chasuble from the Virgin*, oil on wood, late fifteenth century, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF1537

PHOTO: GÉRARD BLOT / RMN-GRAND PALAIS / ART RESOURCE, NY

through print culture, and the book trade inserted him permanently into written accounts of the Mozarabic rite—and bound those accounts to his historical identity.

To shape Cisneros's image, the Missal and Breviary frontispieces deployed more than iconography. The inclusion of a terse textual inscription surrounding the central scene of each sets them apart from the other images discussed so far. A nearly literal translation brings out the repetitive character of the text: "For I shall clothe him in the garment of salvation: his priests shall I dress in a salvific [garment]" (*Induam enim vestimento salutis: Sacerdotes eius induam salutari*). The two halves of the inscription share the word *induo* (to clothe) and each half ends with a word based on the word "salvation" (the substantive *salus* and the adjective *salutaris*). Both phrases allude to scriptural texts that were sung in the medieval liturgy and had theological as well as liturgical resonances.

The first part of the inscription, "*induam enim vestimento salutis*," echoes the phrase *induit me vestimentis salutis* in Isaiah 61:10:

I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, and my soul shall be joyful in my God,
for *he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation*, and with the robe of
justice he hath covered me, as a bridegroom decked with a crown, and as
a bride adorned with her jewels.

Gaudens gaudebo in Domino et exultabit anima mea in Deo meo quia
induit me vestimentis salutis et indumento iustitiae circumdedit me, quasi
sponsum decoratum corona, et quasi sponsam ornatam monilibus suis.⁷¹

A lengthy passage from Isaiah (including 61:10) was sung in the Old Hispanic rite at the Office of Matutinum on feasts of virgin saints as well as on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.⁷² In the chant of the Roman rite, the phrase "*vestmentis salutis*" is much less common. The choice of Latin *vestmentum* clearly refers to the Virgin's miraculous conferral of the chasuble on Ildefonsus. Given that the prophetic verse describes God as clothing the speaker in salvific garments, the phrase "I shall clothe" in the inscription would logically be interpreted as God's own words. In the image, however, it is Mary who clothes

71 Isaiah 61:10 (emphasis added), Douay-Rheims translation and Latin Vulgate, <https://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/27061.htm>.

72 In addition to the common of virgins, this passage was sung on the Feast of Saints Agnes, Columbia, and Eulalia. For its use on the Old Hispanic Feast of the Assumption see <https://musicahispanica.eu/chant/86760>.

Ildefonsus in the chasuble, and that particular raises the possibility that the Virgin herself could be understood by intended viewers to speak, albeit figuratively, through the Isaian text.

The second part of the inscription, “*Sacerdotes eius induam salutari,*” is from Psalm 131:16 (*Sacerdotes eius induam salutari, et sancti eius exsultatione exsultabunt*), which supplied the texts of the Introit and the Gradual at Mass for feasts of confessors in the Roman rite. This psalm verse fittingly encapsulates the metaphor of clothing Saint Ildefonsus with the vestment of salvation in the form of the salvific chasuble and places the saint in the priesthood passed down from the Old Testament. Like the phrase “*induum eius vestimento salutis,*” this one imbues the frontispiece image of Mary’s vesting Ildefonsus with biblical significance.

The two phrases in the inscription are in a contrapuntal relationship. The first half, which evokes a prophetic text, was anchored in the Old Hispanic rite, where it formed part of the liturgical commemoration of holy virgins, including Mary. The second half was often sung in the Roman rite at Mass, in celebration of male saints who were confessors. The shared phrases that make the inscription’s two parts seem to echo each other, the complementarity of their liturgical uses, and the way they seem to describe the scene they frame—as a kind of caption or motto—all these factors lend weight to the interpretation of Cisneros we have already seen at the pictorial level, namely that the man who introduced the Old Hispanic rite into the Roman-rite cathedral was the other face of Ildefonsus and his legitimate successor.

5 Relocating the Rite

If publication of the Mozarabic editions had the ultimate effect of projecting the rite outward, rendering it legible and available to users in Toledo and beyond through the conspicuous agency of Cisneros, the other facet of the archbishop’s initiative was his decision to introduce its non-Roman liturgy into the space of his cathedral, in the Chapel of Corpus Christi. In 1501 he endowed thirteen chaplaincies to celebrate the Mozarabic Mass and Office there in perpetuity.⁷³ Pope Julius II approved the use of the Mozarabic rite

73 On the history of the chapel see Mario Arellano García, *La capilla mozárabe o del Corpus Christi* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigóticos-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1980). Miguel Ángel López Fernández, “Los cantorales de Cisneros: Del canto hispánico al canto neomozárabe” (diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2019), 86–90, offers a summary of the endowment and the earliest chaplains.

in the chapel in 1508 and confirmed its endowments in 1512.⁷⁴ In addition, Cisneros commissioned the decoration of the chapel and of a new chapter room.⁷⁵ In the end, the chapel functioned in part as a tribute to Cisneros, as chapter 3 will show in discussing the chapel's decoration and commemorative function.⁷⁶

For the services in Mozarabic Chapel, a set of manuscript choirbooks (*cantoriales*) was produced containing four hundred chants.⁷⁷ By the end of the fifteenth century, the medieval Mozarabic rite was a waning tradition, as we saw earlier; a complete repertory was needed.⁷⁸ As with the Ortiz editions, the solution was a composite of old, new, and external elements. Chants were borrowed from the Roman rite for services that did not exist in the Old Hispanic

74 On the foundation see Meseguer Fernández, "El cardenal Jiménez de Cisneros."

75 The Chapel of Corpus Christi, which became the site of the Mozarabic Chapel, had taken over the space of the previous chapter room. On the chapter room and Mozarabic Chapel see Erika Dolphin, "Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and the Decoration of the Chapter Room and Mozarabic Chapel in Toledo Cathedral" (PhD diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2008). On Borgoña's decoration of the chapter room see most recently Juan Luis Blanco Mozo, "Juan de Borgoña y los inicios del clasicismo en la catedral de Toledo," *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 7th ser., Historia del arte 11 (2023): 3–31.

76 It was not his only intervention in the vast Gothic building; even before the creation of the Mozarabic Chapel, he had begun changing the fabric of the cathedral by commissioning a new high altar. On this project see most recently Eduardo Carrero Santamaria, "La reforma del altar mayor de la catedral de Toledo: Mendoza, Cisneros y reorganización del espacio litúrgico," in Knighton and María Domínguez, *El cardenal Cisneros*, 213–45.

77 On the Mozarabic *cantoriales* see Ángel Fernández Collado, "Los cantoriales mozárabes de Cisneros," *Toletana: Cuestiones de teología e historia, Estudio teológico de San Ildefonso, Toledo* 2 (2000): 145–68; Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, "Los cantoriales mozárabes de Cisneros: Un ejemplo de construcción de la identidad nacional española," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 49, no. 1 (2019): 185–222, <https://journals.openedition.org/mcv/9834>; López Fernández, "Officium y Sacrificium neomozárabes." The manuscripts have been published in facsimile: *Los cantoriales mozárabes de Cisneros*, ed. Ángel Fernández Collado, Alfredo Rodríguez González, and Isidoro Castañeda Tordera, 2 vols (Toledo: Cabildo de la Catedral Primada de Toledo, 2011).

78 The discovery of a fourteenth-century fragment containing a Mozarabic chant melody suggests the existence of other late medieval manuscript sources, now lost. See David Catalunya and Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, "Mozarabic *preces* in Ars Nova Notation: A New Fourteenth-Century Fragment Discovered in Spain," *Plain-song 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 vieja hispánica*, ed. Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, Rosario Álvarez Martínez, and Ana Llorens Martín (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2013), 547–75.

rite.⁷⁹ Certain of the melodies reflect the configurations of neumes in medieval manuscripts.⁸⁰ Many of the chants in the cantorales appear to have been newly composed.⁸¹ Of the eighteen chants borrowed from the Gregorian repertory, eleven have texts also in the Old Hispanic rite.⁸²

Both the Mozarabic cantorales and the editions are appropriately described as “neo-Mozarabic.”⁸³ Scholars have noted the preservation of some aspects of the medieval rite in the neo-Mozarabic cantorales: the basic forms of the chants follows those of the Mozarabic ones, and the structures of the neo-Mozarabic Mass and Office in the cantorales correspond to those of the medieval rite. Moreover, the cantorales retain certain distinctive features of the Mozarabic calendar, but their sanctorale is essentially Gregorian with the addition of a few Mozarabic saints.⁸⁴

Cisneros’s decision to endow the celebration of the rite in the Mozarabic Chapel rather than enhancing its observance in the Mozarabic parishes effectively appropriated the symbolic capital of the ancient rite for Toledo Cathedral. The rite had never before been celebrated in the cathedral—which had been a mosque until 1086—but by implanting the ancient liturgy there, Cisneros implicitly connected his church to the Visigothic period, when Toledo was the capital of the kingdom. Starting early in the chapel’s history, royalty attended Mass there. One of these was Philip the Fair (1478–1506), who heard

79 Gutiérrez, “Los cantorales mozárabes de Cisneros”; Vito Imbasciani, “Cisneros and the Restoration of the Mozarabic Rite” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1979), 139.

80 Juan Carlos Asensio, “Melodía ‘toledana’ y melodía ‘cisneriana’: A proposito del origen de las melodías de los cantorales mozárabes,” in Knighton and María Domínguez, *El cardenal Cisneros*, 273–288. 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 Fernández de la Cuesta, Álvarez Martínez, and Llorens Martín, *El canto mozárabe y su entorno*, 593–646; María Concepción Peñas García, “De los cantorales de Cisneros y las melodías de tradición mozárabe,” *Nassarre: Revista aragonesa de musicología* 12 (1996): 413–34.

81 Gutiérrez, “Los cantorales mozárabes”; Miguel Ángel López Fernández, “Procedimientos de composición melódica en los officia y sacrificia neomozárabes,” *Revista de musicología* 43 (2020): 501–28; 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.

82 López Fernández, “*Officium y Sacrificium* neomozárabes,” 303.

83 Imbasciani, “Cisneros,” 17, uses the term “neo-Mozarabic” to refer only to the cantorales or their music. López Fernández, “Los cantorales de Cisneros” and idem, “*Officium y Sacrificium* neomozárabes,” uses “neo-Mozarabic” similarly. I apply the term to the Ortiz editions and the Cisneros “restoration” of the rite.

84 Imbasciani, “Cisneros,” 138–42; Gutiérrez, “Los cantorales mozárabes.”

Mass there in 1502, two years before becoming king of Castile and Leon.⁸⁵ As we will see in chapter 2, the visit of kings to the Mozarabic Chapel had great symbolic importance for the Mozarabic community as well. Nathan Chase, describing the observance of the rite in our own times, notes that its political connotations are the logical outcome of Cisneros's original initiative. The Mozarabic Chapel projects "the Mozarab community's identity beyond the community itself. The Mozarabic Chapel is the political or public focus of this Rite, whereas the Mozarabic parishes are the primary location for the celebration of the Rite by the Mozarab community itself."⁸⁶

This is not to say that the Mozarabic parish clergy had no place in the chapel; indeed, they were crucial for the restoration of the rite and its installation in the cathedral, though their role is unevenly acknowledged in the early historiography and became subsumed into the representation of the rite as part of the cathedral's ritual life. The parish priests served in the chapel as beneficed cathedral clergy. Beyond the cathedral, however, matters are less clear. The preface to the Mozarabic Missal names Mozarabic parish clergy skilled in the rite among those who helped Ortiz prepare the edition and evokes the crowds that had filled their churches before 1085, but it does not mention their contemporary parishioners. According to Juan de Vallejo, a secretary to Cisneros, the archbishop decreed 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 this account from the early sixteenth century does not allude to the living tradition in the parishes.⁸⁷ Instead, such references to the Visigothic period reinforce the connection with the early history of the city.

In early modern discourse about the Mozarabic rite, the parishes were effectively relegated to serving as a backdrop for the actions of Cisneros and for the medieval history of Toledo. Cisneros' biographer, Gómez de Castro, frames the rite with a capsule history of the Visigoths and of Toledo. (The complete text and translation of the relevant chapter are at the end of appendix A.) After the opening sentence mentions the archbishop's discovery of manuscripts in Visigothic script, 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

85 Tess Knighton, "Introducción: El proyecto cultural y musical del cardenal Cisneros," in Knighton and María Domínguez, *El cardenal Cisneros*, 7–20, at 8–10.

86 Nathan P. Chase, "Crisis, Liturgy, and Communal Identity: The Celebration of the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite in Toledo, Spain as a Case Study" *Religions* 13, no. 3 (2022): 18, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13030216>.

87 Juan de Vallejo, *Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro (Madrid: Impr. Bailly-Baillière, 1913), 57.

its gradual loss after the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085. Gómez de Castro, in describing the Mozarabs as a group in this period, employs a form of the ancient Roman term *tribulis*, meaning “belonging to the same tribe,” which conveys an idea of inherited status and group identity defined by lineage:

Mozarabs and their descendants, wherever they lived within or outside the city in the region of Toledo, were assigned to each of the churches as parishioners and members of the same *tribulis*, with the concession of immunities and uncommon privileges.⁸⁸

The implication that the Mozarabs were something like a tribe is heightened by Gómez de Castro’s use of another ancient Roman term, *sacra gentilitia*, to refer to the celebration of the rite.⁸⁹ The expression connotes the rites performed by members of an ancient Roman *gens*.⁹⁰ Gómez de Castro’s use of the Latin term, although classicizing, recalls the later Castilian term *gentilicio*, which designates people of the same nation or lineage.

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, but the Mozarabic book was unharmed.⁹¹ A brief description of the Visigothic script leads the biographer 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, and his founding of the Mozarabic Chapel.

88 Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis*, fol. 41r–v: sed sui cuique Mozarabes, illorumque posteri, vbi vbi illos intra extraue vrbem in agro Toletano morari contingeret, immunitatibus, & priuilegijs non vulgaribus concessis pro parrochianis & tribulibus assignati fuerunt.

89 Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis*, fol. 41v: Quandiu ergo illi Mozarabes eorumque posteri floruerunt, suam quisque ecclesiam, sacraque gentilitia frequentarunt (As long as those Mozarabs and their descendants flourished, they observed the sacred rites of their people, each in his own church).

90 *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ed. William Smith (London: John Murray, 1890), 568–69.

91 See below, 44–45. Multiple accounts of these events exist. For a historiographical overview see Thomas Deswarte, “Justifier l’injustifiable? La suppression du rite hispanique dans la littérature (XI^e–milieu XIII^e siècles),” in *Convaincre et persuader: Communication et propagande aux XI^e et XIII^e 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, no. 117 (2006): 9–35. Placing the duel in a wider context is Luis Rojas Donat, “The Duel in Medieval Western Mentality,” in *Ideology in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Amsterdam: ARC/Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 175–202, at 194.

Cisneros's introduction of the rite into the cathedral presumably reinforced the secondary status of the Mozarabic parishes. Permanently marked by his act of patronage, the chapel was more visible than the archbishop himself, who was largely absent from that space. Like most potentates of the church at the time, he was rarely to be found in his seat of ecclesiastical authority, being occupied by other initiatives and obligations both at Alcalá and at court.⁹² Pre-Tridentine bishops, as Emily Michelson notes, "commonly devoted their time to diplomatic, administrative, and scholarly pursuits while enjoying the income from dioceses that vicars or other clerics ran in their absence."⁹³ Cisneros was no exception, as his voluminous correspondence amply demonstrates.⁹⁴

At the same time, the fact that Cisneros's relations with his cathedral chapter had been fraught with conflict from the outset might have overshadowed the rite's celebration.⁹⁵ He had not been the canons' choice, but had been imposed on them by Ferdinand and Isabella without consultation. Cisneros's first action after his election was to undertake sweeping ecclesiastical reforms aimed at both the cathedral chapter and the diocesan clergy; he quickly obtained authorization from the pope for visitation of the diocese.⁹⁶ Soon, the canons rebelled against their new archbishop's stringent measures and sought to organize resistance with other members of the clergy in Castile and elsewhere. They even sent an envoy to the papal court to protest the policies of the Catholic Monarchs. Strongly opposed to Cisneros, the canons tried (and failed) to mount a concerted campaign against him and his intended reform of the chapter.⁹⁷

Against this background of strife and contestation, the archbishop's use of the chapel for the Mozarabic rite—indeed, his whole program of support for the rite—takes on particular meaning as a public statement in furtherance of his own goals and prerogatives. In practice, the chapel did commemorate him. And the rite, through its perpetual celebration there, became meaningfully

92 For a biography organized around his itinerary see José García Oro, *Cisneros: Un cardenal reformista en el trono de España (1436–1517)* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2005).

93 Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*, I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 20.

94 For a recent study of his letters to the cathedral chapter see Juan Carlos Vizuete Mendoza, "Reverendos venerables nuestros amados hermanos': Cartas de Cisneros al cabildo de Toledo (1495–1514)," in *El mundo de las catedrales (España e Hispanoamérica)*, ed. Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Instituto Escripturalense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 2019), 221–52.

95 I am grateful to an anonymous reader for pointing out the importance of this point.

96 García Oro, *Cisneros*, 70–71.

97 García Oro, *Cisneros*, 72–74.

linked to Cisneros in that space. As Gómez de Castro's account demonstrates, the connection between the man and the rite was not left to the imagination: a cenotaph at the chapel's center honored the archbishop's restoration of the rite (see the conclusion of appendix A).

As the archbishop of Toledo in a peninsula now entirely under Christian rule, and seeking to connect the reign of the Catholic Monarchs with the Visigothic period, Cisneros would have considered himself the successor to the Visigothic bishop Ildefonsus of Toledo, who as we have seen was prominently portrayed in the frontispieces to the Mozarabic editions and on the Puerta del Perdón of Toledo Cathedral. As if to underscore that symbolic succession, he took action to eradicate the remains of multiconfessional Iberia. Cisneros's campaign to restore the Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo unfolded in parallel with the campaign to convert the remaining Muslims in Spain after the capitulation of Granada.⁹⁸ In 1499, Cisneros went to Granada to replace Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, for the purpose of Christianizing the city. Talavera had commemorated the fall of Granada by composing a new liturgical office, but the Catholic Monarchs considered the conversion process too slow and replaced Talavera with Cisneros.⁹⁹ In his letters to the cathedral chapter on 23 December 1499, 4 January 1500, and 16 January, Cisneros described the success of the mass baptisms taking place in Granada.¹⁰⁰ As that was happening, on 9 January, Peter Hagembach printed the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic

98 See the chronology in Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and the New Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 119–20.

99 On the office for the Taking of Granada see most recently Jesús R. Folgado García, "Nominatissima urbs Granate: The Cultural Clash between Islam and Christianity after the Capitulation of the Nasrid Kingdom and Its Repercussions on the Arts," *Religions* 14, no. 7 (2023): 873, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14070873>. For the edition of the Talavera's office see Fray Hernando de Talavera, *Oficio de la Toma de Granada*, ed. Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, Pilar Ramos López, Elisa Varela Rodríguez, and Hermenegildo de la Campa (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2003). Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy, and Reform," 306–14, describes several different offices commemorating the Taking of Granada. An office from Santiago de Compostela, based on Talavera's, is edited in Jesús R. Folgado García and Santiago Ruiz Torres, "Un oficio compostelano de la Toma de Granada: *In officium diei festum deditiones Granate*," in *Arte y globalización en el mundo hispánico de los siglos xv al xvii*, ed. Manuel Parada López de Corselas and Laura María Palacios Méndez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2020), 173–93.

100 Juan Meseguer Fernández, "Fernando de Talavera, Cisneros y la Inquisición en Granada," in *La Inquisición española: Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, Symposium internacional sobre la Inquisición española celebrado en Cuenca en septiembre de 1978, ed. J. Pérez Villanueva (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980), 371–400, citing the letter edited in Juan Meseguer Fernández, "Cartas inéditas del cardenal Cisneros al cabildo de la catedral primada," *Anales toledanos* 8 (1973): 3–47, at 25–28.

Missal. To be sure, the proximity of the events does not imply a direct or causal connection between them, but it underlines the fact that both were parts of the concurrent processes led by the archbishop.

Given Cisneros's consequential patronage of philology and publication, it stands out all the more that he worked to eliminate the Arabic written tradition from Granada even as he fostered a new Christian Latin one in Toledo. In October 1501, just months after founding the Mozarabic Chapel, he oversaw a burning of Arabic books in Granada that had been ordered by Queen Isabella.¹⁰¹ Shortly thereafter, in early 1502, the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic Breviary was published. Cisneros's rescue of the Mozarabic rite from imminent desuetude and his commission of its publication to ensure the survival of the Latin liturgy of formerly Arabizing Christians, I am suggesting, was meaningfully related to the eradication of Islam from the peninsula.

Championing the Mozarabic rite by bringing it to print and endowing its celebration in the Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral, Cisneros forged a new and durable tradition out of an old one. His neo-Mozarabic rite can be interpreted as an invented tradition in the sense used by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger to describe a custom that accrues venerability through repetition and ritual use.¹⁰² It was also an example of "restorative nostalgia," which according to Svetlana Boym "manifests itself in total reconstructions of the past."¹⁰³ Both the invention of tradition and restorative nostalgia were cultural tendencies underlying modern appropriations of the Visigothic rite such as that performed by the regime of Francisco Franco in 1939, as Carmen Julia Gutiérrez has shown.¹⁰⁴

Restorative nostalgia may emerge from the perception of a threat to tradition, as was the case with the Mozarabic rite around 1500. According to the biography of Cisneros by Eugenio de Robles, the archbishop feared that not only the practice of the rite but even the memory of it would be lost. Robles illustrated the point by adding an arresting detail: some of the medieval service books had been lying unbound in Toledo's shops, their pages being used

101 On the historiography of the book burning and the role of Cisneros see particularly Nicasio Salvador Miguel, "Cisneros en Granada y la quema de libros islámicos," in Ezquerro, *La Biblia polígota complutense*, 153–84.

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

103 Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 41.

104 Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, "Francisco Franco y los reyes godos: La legitimación del poder usurpado por medio de la ceremonia y la música," *Cuadernos de música iberoamericana* 33 (2020): 161–95.

to wrap merchandise.¹⁰⁵ By commissioning the editions, Cisneros effectively reversed the rite's material disintegration.

Once readers (including those far from Toledo) could read the texts of the Mozarabic rite thanks to the editions, the printed liturgy became an autonomous cultural artifact, as we will see in chapters 4 and 5. The Toledan Mozarabs did not entirely vanish from view, however. Their association with Arabizing habits of the past—which would be evoked time and again in writings throughout the early modern period, including by Alvar Gómez de Castro—is the subject of chapter 2.

Appendix A: Prefaces and Colophon of the Mozarabic Editions

Preface to the Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1500)

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁵ Robles, *Compendio*, 235–36.

captiva superfuera, 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 indagine rimari potuerit. 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 abrasis, 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 ven-

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. 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 scraped away, 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 pur-

erabilibus presbyteris ejusdem officii peritioribus Antonio Roderico, Alfonso Martino, ac Hieronymo Gutério, 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, explosis Gothicis, impri-menda 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 praeclarus reperire queat, dummodo singula propensius perlustret, qui si fidem mihi praebere recusaverit, credat Isidoro clarissimo auctori.

pose by venerable priests quite expert in that rite: Antonio Rodríguez, Alfonso Martínez, and Geronimo Gutiérrez, 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, as 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, in Latin letters (the Gothic ones having been rejected) you gave them over to the noble man Melchior Gorricio of Novara to be printed. Through his work and at his expense, the art of printing in this city is renowned.

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.

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

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

Sis felix oro atque diu superstes, mag-
nificentissime domine.

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

*Preface to the Breviarium secundum regulam Beati Isidori (Toledo:
Petrus Hagembach, 1502)*

Reuerendissime in christo pater et
domine prestantissime beati hys-
dori ecclesiastica officia nocturna
pariterque diurna, dignitate quidem
egregia, cognitione autem et casti-
gatione difficilia tuo iussu aggressus
sum reformanda operosum profecto
studium, quae diu multumque recog-
nita illustriora me reddidisse tuae
diligentiae et sollicitudini clerici
annumerent.

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, outstand-
ing in their venerability, but difficult
to acquire knowledge of and to cor-
rect. The clergy should attribute to
your diligence and solicitude the fact
that I have restored these offices long
recognized as very illustrious.

Antea namque confusa pene omnia
in libris veteribus, atque hactenus
incognita jacuisse penes erudi-
tos palam est. Nunc vero suis locis
quaeque reposita officia, aptaque
reperies: characteribus atque peri-
odis distincta, verbis atque sententiis
dilucida.

For it is clear that, earlier, every-
thing 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, dis-
tinct in their letters and periods, and
clear in their words and meanings.

Nempe in primis dominicalia atque
quadagesimalia officia ordine priora
sese offerunt, subsequenter

The Sunday and Lenten Offices are
presented first in order, then there
follows the Psalter with the renowned

psalterium, cum defunctorum celebri officio atque commune, postremoque sanctorum legende occurrentes, quibus peractis tandem ad calcem optatum perventum fuit non sine labore Alfonsi serui tui vehementissimo.

Tuis igitur industria et impensis diu senio periclitata officia Isidoriana legentur. Que in omnium notitiam perventura apud posteros, charitatis tue studia, et meos labores recensebunt.

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.

Office of the Dead and the common of saints, and finally come the saints' Offices. Once these things were accomplished, the desired finish line was finally reached, not without the very strenuous labor of your servant Alfonso.

Therefore, by the industry of your associates 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.

This shows above all the diligence of the noble man Melchior Goricio 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.

Colophon of the Missale mixtum

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 Tole-

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

tanum. 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 Januarii.

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.

Alvar Gómez de Castro, De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio archiepiscopo Toletano (Complutum: Andream de Angulo, 1569), fols 40v–42r

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 membranis Gotthicis 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 Gotthicis 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

Before I recount what Jiménez did with these volumes, I should relate a few things about the Gothic rites. 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

quidem ipsos, vna vel sacrificandi vel orarias preces (quę canonicę dicuntur) psallendi consuetudo esset.

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 Recaredo cupidissime accepisset: 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 publicę psalmodiæ, vnico & eodem exemplo a sacerdotibus celebrarentur. Cura hunc ordinem instituendi Isidoro pontifici Hispalensi, summa tunc sanctimonia, & doctrina claro,

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).

After the entire Gothic people, by the efforts of Leander and Fulgentius, around 140 years after they had come to Hispania, renounced their ancient impiety, they most eagerly accepted the orthodox faith together with their king Recared: peace having been restored to the churches, they began to deliberate about the rites that were to be established by general council, and 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 Bishop 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

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 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 viuerent, Mistarabes appellati sunt, & illorum ecclesiasticus ritus, officium Mistarabum.

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 120 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, 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.

Quae vox cum temporis diuturnitate, tum barbarorum lingua est corrupta, & in Mozarabum degeneravit, qua nunc vulgus vtitur. 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 Ricardi Massiliensis abbatis suasu, & Constantię reginae vxoris assidua instigatione, ritum sacrorum a diuo Gregorio olim institutum Toletano prētulit, 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 autores qui de ea re scripserunt explicatius, & vberius, legi poterunt.

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, 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.

Sed tamen vt rex animos turbarum leniret, adhuc sacra sua auferri frementium, cum in vrbe nuper recuperata inter varias basilicarum fanorum, ėdiumque 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 p̄scripti sunt, sed sui cuique Mozarabes, illorumque posterī, vbi vbi illos intra extraue urbem 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.

Nevertheless, to appease the souls of the multitudes protesting the removal of their rites, when in the recently restored city among the various dedications of the sanctuaries of churches and of holy buildings, parish churches (which are commonly called *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 descendants, wherever they lived within or outside the city in the region of Toledo, were assigned to each of the churches as parishioners and members of the same *tribulis*, with the concession of immunities and uncommon privileges. Therefore, as long as those Mozarabs and their descendants flourished, they observed the sacred rites of their people, 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 stasis, festisque diebus, eo ritu in illis sacrificaretur.

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.

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 interitę esse viderentur. Coepit rem altius considerare: & vt erat priscarum ceremonies 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 vulgaris.

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 Tolentani patrocinio constituit. Ipsis porro sacerdotibus perpetuam horum sacrorum curationem demandauit: ut 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, imminente desuper coccıneo 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 thirteen 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.

Defining the Mozarabs

For the Christian inhabitants of Toledo among the Arabs [...] the name “Mozarabs” was established and it has endured until now: they are called Mozarabs, that is, living among Arabs.¹

ALONSO ORTIZ, preface to the *Missale mixtum*, 1500



The early modern reception of the Mozarabic rite is closely intertwined with the development of ideas about the history of Christianity in Spain and, in particular, with the shifting perceptions of the Toledan Mozarabs. Ortiz’s statement in the preface to the *Missale mixtum* echoes the commonly held conviction that the Mozarabs of early modern Toledo were the descendants of the Christian community under Muslim rule. As this chapter demonstrates, however, Mozarabic identity was a subject of commentary and even of debate throughout the centuries following the publication of the Missal. At a time when heritage and purity of blood were of the utmost importance to Iberian society, historical writings contained competing and sometimes conflicting etymologies of the word “Mozarab.”

In the early modern period Mozarabs were identified principally by the lineage of their families, which made them members of the Mozarabic parishes, even if they lived in areas outside the parish boundaries. As seen in chapter 1, Alvar Gómez de Castro noted in his 1569 biography of Cisneros that Mozarabs and their descendants were assigned to the Mozarabic parishes of Toledo regardless of where they lived.² As Linda Martz and Julio Porres pointed out, the Toledo population census of 1561 included some Mozarabs listed under the parish where they resided (but not the parishes to which they belonged).

1 [H]abitantibus Christianis Toleti inter Arabes [...] nomen Mozarabes inductus hucusque permanserit: ut opinor, dicti sunt Mozarabes, hoc est, inter Arabes degentes.

2 Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximénio Cisnerio archiepiscopo Toletano* (Complutum: Andrean de Angulo, 1569), fol. 41r–v: sui cuique Mozarabes, illorumque poster, vbi vbi illos intra extraue urbem in agro Toletano morari contingeret, immunitatibus, & priuilegijs non vulgaribus concessis pro parrochianis & tribulibus assignati fuerunt.

Conversely, those Mozarabs who lived outside the city walls were not counted in the census (even though the parishes to which they belonged were inside the city).³ Thus, the alignment between the physical locations of the parishes and the residences of the Mozarabic parishioners appears to have been somewhat fluid. Adding further complexity to the social identity of the Mozarabs was their status as 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.⁴

Certainly by the eighteenth century, Mozarabs living outside Toledo sought to claim the exemptions to which the Toledan Mozarabs were entitled, and the nuances of the disjunction between residence and parish affiliation gave rise to legal disputes. Throughout the eighteenth century, lawsuits brought by the clergy of the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos of Toledo Cathedral and the royal monastery of the Escorial challenged the right of the Mozarabic parishes to receive tithes. The ongoing conflict hinged on two major points of contention: the question of who could claim to be Mozarabic parishioners, and the concomitant need to ascertain which institution should receive their tithes.⁵ According to a statement by the Mozarabic clergy in 1760, the custom of paying tithes to the Mozarabic parishes had been questioned for the first time only in 1498–99.⁶ The Mozarabic claimants reaffirmed both the exemption of Mozarabs living anywhere in the archdiocese from paying *tercias* (the portion of the ecclesiastical tithe that was due to the crown) and their obligation to

3 Linda Martz and Julio Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos en 1561* (Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1974), 49–50. The census identifies as Mozarabs some residents of the parish of San Pedro, which was not Mozarabic; see Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 113.

4 Moreno, “Arabicizing, Privileges, and Liturgy in Medieval Castilian Toledo: The Problems and Mutations of Mozarab Identification (1085–1436)” (PhD diss., UCLA, 2012), 81–82.

5 A review of most of the cases concerning such disputes up to the middle of the eighteenth century was published in the *Memorial ajustado, de el pleyto, que pende en el Real Consejo de la Camara, entre el capellan mayor, y capellanes de la Real Capilla de los Señores Reyes Nuevos de la Ciudad de Toledo y el Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de el Escorial con la capilla de Corpus-Christi [...] sobre observancia de privilegios concedidos a los muzarabes, su impression, y otras cosas* (Toledo: [s.n., 1753]).

6 *Justicia evidente de las Parroquias Muzarabes de Toledo, en el pleyto pendiente en la Camara en grado de Revista, con la Capilla de Señores Reyes Nuevos de la misma Ciudad, sobre la immemorial costumbre de no pagar Tercias, de los Diezmos de sus Feligreses habitantes en qualquier Lugar del Arzobispado* (Toledo: [s.n., 1760]), 2: continuaron, sin que haya cosa en contrario, assi en el uso de sus Ritos diversos, como en la percepcion integra de sus Diezmos. Hasta que en los años de 1498 y 499 se excitaron algunas controversias sobre la pertenencia de los Diezmos Muzarabes (they continued unopposed to observe their various rites, and to receive their full tithes, until in 1498–99 controversies arose concerning the proper recipients of the Mozarabic tithes).

pay tithes (*diezmos*) to the Mozarabic parishes. It was the segregation of the Mozarabs' *diezmos*, in combination with their exemption from the *tercias*, that had elicited opposition from the cathedral. A deposition published in 1748, however, affirms that Cisneros had confirmed the right of the Mozarabic parish of Santa Justa to receive tithes.⁷

The foremost defender of the Mozarabs' privileges and exemptions in the eighteenth century was the Mozarabic chaplain Pedro Camino y Velasco. In his *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, he invoked the recent confirmation of Mozarabic privileges by Philip V and deemed the lawsuits "children of discord."⁸ Camino y Velasco noted that the tithes paid to the Mozarabic parishes were essential for the continued celebration of what he called the "Gothic or Mozarabic" rite. His summary of its history—like all other accounts—pauses to explain the etymology of "Mozarab," favoring "mostarabe," which he explains as "one who, not being a genuine Arab (that is, a native of Arabia) but from another, different Nation, lives among native Arabs, subject to their rule and laws."⁹ Camino y Velasco prefers this definition to the common derivation of "Mozarab" from the Latin *mixtus*, or "mixed" (with Arabs), which as we will see was the most widely cited etymology.

1 Mozarabic Origins

Interpretations of the Mozarabs as an ethno-religious group as much as a social one emerged only in the sixteenth century, in the wake of the conquest of Granada and the forced conversions and expulsions of Jews and Muslims. Later

7 *Alegato presentado en el Real Supremo Consejo de la Cámara, en defensa de la Congregación de curas y Beneficiados de las Parroquiales Muzaraves de la Ciudad de Toledo en el pleyto que contra ellas siguen la Real Capilla de los Señores Reyes nuevos de dicha Ciudad y el Real Monasterio del Escorial [...] sobre si a la dicha Real Capilla tocan y pertenecen los dos Novenos que pretende de los Diezmos que causan los Parroquianos Muzaraves* (Toledo: [s.n., 1748]), 7.

8 Pedro Camino y Velasco, *Noticia historico-chronologica de los privilegios de las nobles familias de los mozarabes de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (Toledo: s.n., 1740), unpaginated. Another text Camino wrote in defense of the Mozarabs' privileges remains unpublished: 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, BNE, MS 13059, fols 208r–223v.

9 Camino y Velasco, *Noticia*, unpaginated: el que no siendo Arabe genuino, esto es natural de la Arabia, sino de otre diferente Nacion, vive entre los Arabes nativos, sugeto a su dominio, y leyes.

in the century, as divisions intensified around the Morisco question and the purity of blood statutes, lengthy explanations of the Mozarabs' name and history were repeated in detail wherever the rite was mentioned. Although the Mozarabs had long since become nearly indistinguishable from other Castilians, their name alone tainted them with an alterity that was never fully articulated, and in the early modern period the question of their origins elicited an ever-increasing excess of explanation.

The hybrid group identity attributed to the Mozarabs subsumed a thousand years of the peninsula's historical vicissitudes. Symbolic and paradoxical, the idea of the Mozarab was fundamentally unclear, and it is a sign of this persistent ambiguity that the early modern historiography of Spain returns to the Gothic (meaning Visigothic) origins of the rite in nearly every passage that refers to the Mozarabs. The very name of the rite illustrates this duality: early modern commentators call it both "Mozarabic" and "Gothic." The widely read chronicle by Juan de Mariana (1535–1624), in a discussion of the sixth-century reign of the Visigothic King Sisenand (631–36), includes an emblematic slippage between the two forms of nomenclature: "the Mozarabic missal and breviary, that is, according to the ancient custom of the Goths" (*missale et breviarium mozarabum, hoc est, ex antiquo Gothorum more*).¹⁰ At the time of King Sisenand there were, of course, no Mozarabs in the strict sense of Christians under Muslim rule. Mariana's formulation attests to the normalizing of the idea that the printed books produced under Archbishop Cisneros in Toledo were faithful records of the ancient Visigothic liturgy, implying the possibility of continuity in religious practice from the early Iberian kingdoms to the early modern period.

Such fictions of continuity were inherent to the neo-Gothic ideology (Castilian *neogoticismo*), the historiographic premise that medieval and early modern Iberian rulers were descended from the Visigothic kings.¹¹ Expressed in influential works such as the chronicle of Spain (subtitled *History of the Goths*) by the archbishop of Toledo (1209–47), Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, neo-Gothicism came to the fore during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile.¹²

10 Juan de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae Libri xx* (Toledo: Typis Petri Roderici, 1592), 247.

11 For a recent survey of neo-Gothicism in medieval texts see Iván Pérez Marinas, "Regnum Gothorum and Regnum Hispaniae in Medieval Spanish Christian Chronicles: Continuation, End, or Translation in Their Accounts of the Arab Conquest," in *Ideology in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Amsterdam: ARC/Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 127–74.

12 Michael Agnew, "Crafting Past and Present: The Figure of the Historian in Fifteenth-

Juan de Mariana continued to call the Old Hispanic rite “Gothic” in recounting the introduction of the Roman rite in Toledo after the conquest of 1085. Here, Mariana mentions the “ancient churches of the city which were commonly called of the Mozarabs” (in antiquis urbis templis que Mozarabum vulgo dicebantur). Despite traditions that assert their origins in the Visigothic period and continuity under Muslim rule, the six Mozarabic parishes of Toledo are not attested by historical sources before the mid-twelfth century, and they may have been founded by Mozarabs arriving from the South.¹³ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the clergy of the parishes were of diverse origins, contradicting later historical constructions of a unitary Mozarabic community.¹⁴

This chapter focuses particularly on the formation of ideas about the Mozarabs in the centuries after 1492, when the symbolism of their association with the rite intensified. In the early modern period, the Mozarabic rite became the means by which the historical identity of the Mozarabs was constructed, and that construction was selective. As Howard Delgin Miller noted, the Mozarabic rite “is the marker of the Mozarab, the single characteristic that distinguishes Mozarabism from Arabism. As a minority, Mozarabs are different not because they adopted Arabic culture, but because they remained Christian after the cultural shift to Arabism.”¹⁵ As a larger field, the medieval history of the Mozarabs has been illuminated by the lasting contributions of Cyrille Aillet (primarily on the early Middle Ages, and throughout the peninsula) and Jean-Pierre Molénat (focusing on Toledo).¹⁶ My frame of inquiry in this book does not encompass the Mozarabs in general, but rather focuses on those of Toledo in relation to

Century Castile” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2000), 12–13, 204, 275; Barbara F. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 97–100.

13 Miquel S. Gros I Pujol, “Les six paroisses mozarabes de Tolède,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 232 (2015): 387–94.

14 On this subject see most recently Christian Saßenscheidt, “Das ‘Mozarabische’ an den mozarabischen Pfarrgemeinden Toledos. Ein prosopographischer Zugriff auf den Toledaner Klerus (12.–13. Jahrhundert),” in *Von Mozarabern zu Mozarabismen: Zur Vielfalt kultureller Ordnungen auf der mittelalterlichen Iberischen Halbinsel*, ed. Matthias Maser, Klaus Herbers, Michele C. Ferrari, and Hartmut Bobzin, *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* 41 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 105–122.

15 Howard Delgin Miller, “The Mozarabs,” in *The Literature of al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells, *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 417–34, at 418.

16 Cyrille Aillet, *Les mozarabes: Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule ibérique (IXe–XIIe siècle)*, Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 45 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010); Jean-Pierre Molénat, *Campagnes et monts de Tolède du XII au XV siècle*, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 63 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1997), 25–53.

their rite. Over the course of the early modern period, the Toledan community and their liturgy gradually came to stand in for an aspect of the history of peninsular Christianity. By the eighteenth century, the Mozarabs and their rite were deployed as symbols of national identity.

Christians lived under Muslim rule in the Iberian peninsula for over three centuries before the first known occurrence of the term “Mozarab” in León in 1024. As Aillet points out, the historical phenomenon of the Mozarabs is a creation of the period often termed the *reconquista* (“reconquest”).¹⁷ Early modern historiography portrayed the medieval Mozarabs of Toledo as key players in the city’s shifting power dynamics after the Christian conquest in 1085, stressing the contest between the Castilians representing the Roman rite and the Mozarabs representing the Hispanic rite in the duel and trial by fire (see chapter 1, Appendix A).

Both the Latin *mozarabes* and the Castilian *muzárabe* are now thought to derive from the Arabic *mustaʿrab* (one who has become Arabicized) or *mustaʿrib* (one who seeks to become Arabicized), but neither Muslims nor Arabic-speaking Christians used the word consistently. Hispano-Arabic writers employed other names (related to religion or law) to designate Christians in the Iberian peninsula.¹⁸ (See the Timeline of Mozarabic Definitions at the end of this chapter.) A common category for non-Muslims was that of *dhimmi* (“protected persons”), meaning non-Muslims living under Islamic rule according to the *dhimma* (“pact of protection”), recognizing the tenet in Islam according to which there should be “no compulsion in religion.”¹⁹

Apparently unaware of the Arabic etymon, medieval and early modern writers asserted that the name of the Mozarabs was derived from *mixtiarabes*.²⁰

17 Cyrille Aillet, “La question ‘mozarabe’: Bilan historiographique et nouvelles approches,” in *Al-Andalus/España. Historiografías en contraste: Siglos XVII–XXI*, ed. Manuela Marín (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009), 295–323, at 298. The term *reconquista* comes from the nineteenth century; see Martín F. Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista: Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI–XIX)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons / Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2011), 30.

18 Aaron Moreno, “Arabicizing,” 3; Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, “The History and Evolution of the Term ‘Mozarab,’” *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* 4 (2010): 55–56.

19 Janina M. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 10; Cyrille Aillet, “La construction des frontières interconfessionnelles: Le cas des chrétiens d’al-Andalus dans les sources juridiques (iie/viii–vie/xie s.),” in *The Legal Status of Dhimīs in the Islamic West: Second/Eighth–Ninth/Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Maribel Fierro and John Tolan, Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 167–98.

20 Dominique Urvoey notes that the etymon *mixtiarabes*, which has several Romance deriva-

The earliest and most influential instance of this etymology occurs in the early thirteenth-century chronicle by Jiménez de Rada: “And they are called Mixti Arabes, because they were living mixed with Arabs [*mixti Arabibus*]; their name persists among us today, and their descent.”²¹ This definition, widely known in the early modern period, cast as the ancestors of thirteenth-century Toledan Mozarabs the Iberian Christians of the early Middle Ages who had “surrendered their towns and cities” (*reddiderunt oppida et presidia ciuitatum*) to the Muslim conquerors. The archbishop’s parsing of *mixti arabes* as describing people who were “living mixed with Arabs” (*arabibus*) rather than as simply *being* in some sense “Arabs” (*arabes*) seems to press the limits of grammatical interpretation. The adjective *mixti*, which modifies the substantive *arabes* (“Arabs”), is the nominative plural form of the past participle from the verb *miscere*, “to mix.” On the face of it, then, the phrase can be taken to describe the Mozarabs themselves, not the historical fact of their coexistence with Arabs. Unsurprisingly, Jiménez de Rada is thought to have invented the etymology himself.²²

Even more consequential than this apparent grammatical sleight of hand was the fact that Jiménez de Rada introduced and then left unresolved the ambiguity implicit in the phrase; indeed, the precise signification of “mixed” in this context remained unexplained, a loose thread for others to pick up. Subsequent commentators evidently perceived a need to refine the meaning of *mixti arabes*. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the biography of Cisneros by Alvar Gómez de Castro (1515–80) echoes the wording of Jiménez de Rada: “Therefore, people of this kind are called Mistarabes because they lived mixed with Arabs, and their ecclesiastical rite is called the Mistarabic office.”²³ By construing the nominative *arabes* as implying that the Mozarabs lived *with* Arabs (*arabibus*), Gómez de Castro upheld the authority of Jiménez de Rada’s interpretation and, perhaps more consequentially, incorporated it into his account of the life and deeds of the man who had done more than anyone else in his-

tives, was not used by Hispano-Arabic writers in Al-Andalus; see Dominique Urvoy, “Les aspects symboliques du vocable ‘mozarabe’: Essai de réinterprétation,” *Studia islamica* 78 (1993): 117–53, at 120–21.

21 *Roderici Ximenii de Rada Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 107: Et isti dicti sunt Mixti Arabes, eo quod mixti Arabibus conuiuebant, quorum hodie apud nos nomen perseuerat et genus.

22 Aillet, *Les mozarabes*, 2.

23 Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio archiepiscopo Tolemano* (Complutum: Alcalá, 1569), fol. 41: Ergo eiusmodi homines quod arabibus permisti viuerent, Mistarabes appellati sunt, & illorum ecclesiasticus ritus, officium Mistarabum. On this biography, see chapters 1 and 3.

tory to promote the Mozarabic rite. The etymological choice made by Gómez de Castro reaffirmed the understanding of the Mozarabs that placed their rite at the center of religious observance in Toledo, in its own chapel and with its own endowed clergy.

While the association between the Mozarabs and their liturgy might appear to be a simple matter of nomenclature, confusion and controversy have long characterized discussions of the common terms for the Mozarabs.²⁴ The designation “Mozarab” is a term whose connotations have for centuries generated far more discussion than consensus. Continued debates regarding its meaning and connotations shed light on larger questions of historiography that persist to this day.²⁵ Early modern writers—including Ortiz in his preface to the Mozarabic Missal—apparently felt a need to define the name, citing or inventing unfounded etymologies.

In the sixteenth century, the meaning of the word “Mozarab” became increasingly unstable. Other Christian groups in the Iberian peninsula after 1492 were designated according to what they were or had been prior to conversion and what they had become afterward; conversos had previously been Jews, and Moriscos had previously been Muslims. The name given to the Muslims who did not convert, the *mudejares*, derives from “those left behind”—those who remained what they had been.²⁶ The Mozarabs, by contrast, were defined in terms of what they were *not*. Their distinctive name was understood to refer to their coexistence with a different group, one to which they did not belong either by ethnicity or by religion. The most durable “definition” of the word “Mozarab”—and the one most often cited as authoritative—was the pseudo-etymology *mixti arabes*, “mixed with Arabs,” which as just seen was often somewhat paradoxically interpreted to mean “living among Arabs” rather than literally mixing or intermarrying with them. The definition given by Ortiz in the preface to the *Missale mixtum*, “living among Arabs” (*inter arabes degentes*), sidestepped any morphological interpretation of the beginning of the word (the particle *moz*).

Over the centuries, explanations proliferated for the juxtaposition or mixing of peoples represented by the Mozarabs’ existence in Muslim Iberia, and the notion of mixture, with all that it implied, was variously dismissed, embraced,

24 For an overview see Beale-Rivaya, “The History and Evolution,” 51–71.

25 See, for example, Cecily Hilsdale, “Towards a Social History of Art: Defining ‘Mozarabic,’” *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 5, no. 3 (1999): 272–89.

26 Mònica Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Christian Iberia: Identity and Religious Authority in Mudejar Islam*, *The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World* 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1–2.

or omitted. In this chapter I demonstrate the gradual shift in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from definitions of the Mozarabs that allowed for the possibility of mixture to others that seemed intentionally to exclude it. More recent accounts take the hybrid identity and multiple cultural affiliations of the Mozarabs as a matter of historical record.²⁷ Some medievalists, such as the influential historian of literature María Rosa Menocal, celebrate the hybridity of Andalusian society as something of a precursor to modern multiculturalism, interpreting the coexistence of the three religions (*convivencia*) as an atmosphere of religious tolerance.²⁸ *Convivencia* was, however, contingent on a collective balancing act in which, in the words of Lucy Pick, “potential cooperation and interdependence in economic, social, cultural, and intellectual spheres coexist with the continual threat of conflict and violence.”²⁹ Brian Catlos has reframed the coexistence of the three Abrahamic religions in medieval Iberia as illustrating the principle of “convenience” (*conveniencia*), a more transactional set of relationships founded on pragmatism and enabled by the mutual intelligibility of cultures.³⁰ Although hybridity has become an accepted, even commonplace category of analysis for describing social groups and individuals, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was deployed in a pejorative manner for the representation of ethno-religious minorities.³¹ The hybrid identity of the Mozarabs was shaped in medieval Toledo, a particular setting that changed dramatically after the turn of the sixteenth century

In early modern historiography, the space between the name of the group and its historical identity—its distinctive place in Iberian society—retrospec-

27 Miller, “The Mozarabs,” 417 and 419, characterizes the identity of the Mozarabs as hybrid and polymorphous.

28 María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002). For reevaluations of Menocal’s legacy in medieval Iberian studies see the articles in “Shards of Memory: Reflections on the Legacy of María Rosa Menocal (1953–2012),” special issue, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5 (2013): 105–44.

29 Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004), 1.

30 Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 522–25.

31 As noted by Barbara Fuchs, “hybridity—a concept developed in postcolonial studies but eminently suited to a wide range of frontier societies—may best describe much of Iberian culture in the later medieval and early modern period.” *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 2. On the representation of hybridity see particularly Ana L. Méndez-Oliver, “Frontier Identities and Migrating Souls: Reconceptualizing New Religious and Cultural Imaginaries in the Iberian Worlds” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2017).

tively became filled with unanswered questions. In what ways were the Mozarabs “Arab”? Did they intermarry with Muslims? What aspects of Christianity did they maintain besides their liturgy? The definition of a Mozarab as one who lives among Arabs, or as an Arabizing or Arabized Christian, created lingering ambiguities that remained unresolved. With a growing temporal distance between the medieval Mozarabs and the modern Castilian population, explanations of the name were repeated, explained, elaborated, and debated, as if to address persistent uncertainties generated by the elusiveness of the group’s historical identity.

From the later Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, the existence of multiple, at times conflicting etymologies of “Mozarab,” conjoined with fanciful accounts of the history of the Mozarabs, suggests that uncertainty gradually gave way to suspicion. Purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*)—the ability to prove that one’s ancestors were born Christian (as opposed to being converts) for multiple generations—became all-important in early modern Spain.³² Statutes requiring candidates for ecclesiastical and civil office to prove their purity of blood were introduced in Toledo in the fifteenth century, generating debates that continued for the next two hundred years.³³ The specific context for the establishment of the statutes in Toledo was contestation of royal taxation. Conversos who were tax collectors were targets of popular violence, and in the belief that the royal officials favored the conversos, the town council approved a decree that barred all those who were of converso lineage from holding public office. King Juan II approved the statute as well, although it was opposed by Pope Nicholas V.³⁴

In the context of heightened concern about *limpieza de sangre*, the *mixti arabes* etymology cast the Mozarabs as a group of questionable descent.³⁵ Still, in the early modern period the principal distinguishing feature of the Mozarabs was the cultural marker of the Mozarabic rite. Besides their liturgy, their most notable difference from other Castilians lay in their past use of Arabic, which had ended by the fourteenth century. Although this association of

32 On *limpieza de sangre* see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 25–87; Albert A. Sicoff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII* (1985; repr. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010).

33 For Toledo see Linda Martz, “Pure Blood Statutes in Sixteenth Century Toledo: Implementation as Opposed to Adoption,” *Sefarad* 54 (1994): 83–107.

34 Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 29–30.

35 Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 118; “Mozarabs and Moriscos: Two Marginalized Communities,” 179.

the Mozarabs with the Arabic language may have been long forgotten by 1500, I address it here before turning to the definitions of the Mozarabs after 1492.

2 The Mozarabs and Arabic

The Toledan Mozarabs celebrated the Old Hispanic rite in Latin, but used Arabic for their administrative documents. However, there are Christian liturgical texts in Arabic from the ninth and tenth centuries, mostly from places further south such as Cordoba.³⁶ While Latin was retained as a liturgical language and functioned as a marker of Christian identity, some Christian texts in Arabic (such as a calendar, the Gospels, and a versified translation of the Psalter) were intended for liturgical use.³⁷ In addition to liturgical texts, Christian apologetics and polemics written in Arabic provide a window onto the intellectual and theological currents of Andalusian Christian communities, including that in Toledo.³⁸

36 Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, ed., *Le psautier de Hafs le Goth* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1994); Philippe Roisse, "Célébraient-on les offices liturgiques en arabe dans l'Occident musulman? Étude, édition et traduction d'un *Capitulare Evangeliorum* arabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238)," in *Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX–XII)*, ed. Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penedas, and Philippe Roisse, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 101 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 211–53.

37 See Cyrille Aillet, "Existe-t-il une liturgie 'mozarabe'?", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 232 (2015): 377–86; Jason Busic, "A Clear Book, كتاب مبین: Translating the Psalms and Christian Identity into the Language of the Qur'an in Ninth-Century Cordoba," in *Iberian Babel: Translation and Multilingualism in the Medieval and the Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. Michelle H. Hamilton and Nuria Silleras-Fernandez, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 15–38; Geoffrey K. Martin, "An Anonymous Mozarab Translator at Work," in *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. Miriam L. Hjälm, Biblia Arabica 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 125–52. On other Christian Arabic texts, see Hanna Kassis, "Arabic Speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (Fifth/Eleventh Century until A.h. 478/A.D. 1085)," *al-Andalus* 15, no. 2 (1994): 401–22; Pieter Sj. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature* (Leiden: New Rhine Publishers, 1977).

38 On the Mozarabs of Toledo in this context see Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c.1050–1200* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994); Jason Busic, "Christian Theology in Arabic and the Mozarabs of Medieval Toledo: Primary Texts, Main Themes, and Potential Problems," in *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Reconsidering the Canons*, ed. Yasmine Beale-Rivaya and Jason Busic, Brill's Com-

The Arabic language is a central component of the primary historical evidence for the Mozarabs of Toledo in the period after the Christian conquest of 1085, which is a substantial corpus of Arabic notarial documents dating from the twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century, including both royal privileges and grants as well as private transactions such as sales, lawsuits, and last wills and testaments. In this period, the Mozarabic communities rubbed shoulders with Christians from Castile, Galicia, and what is now France, as well as with their neighbors, the Jews and Muslims of Toledo. Administrative and legal documents reveal the interactions of Mozarabs with these other groups, particularly in the twelfth century.³⁹

The Arabic documents associated with the Mozarabic community of Toledo have been studied by several generations of historians and philologists, beginning with the Spanish Arabist Angel González Palencia, who transcribed the majority of the notarial documents and published an inventory that has been invaluable to subsequent scholars.⁴⁰ Howard Miller, Diego Olstein, and Aaron Moreno made signal contributions to research on the documentary corpus. Miller demonstrated that Mozarabic documents produced in Toledo after the Christian conquest followed the norms of Muslim-style documents, showing the predominant influence of Islamic notarial traditions for more than two centuries after the conquest.⁴¹ Miller created a list and onomastic index of the names of those who subscribed the Mozarabic documents, along with an onomastic index of those who subscribed in Arabic.⁴² Olstein's statistical analysis also brought out metalinguistic data in the documents, reexamining historiographical debates surrounding the geographical origins of the Toledan Mozarabs.⁴³ Moreno expanded the evidence to include both Latin and

panions to European History 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 140–63; Daniel Potthast, *Christen und Muslime im Andalus: Andalusische Christen und ihre Literatur nach religionspolemischen Texten des zehnten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Diskurse der Arabistik 19 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 470–85.

39 Yasmine Beale-Rivaya, “Shared Legal Spaces in the Arabic Language Notarial Documents of Toledo,” in Beale-Rivaya and Busic, *A Companion to Medieval Toledo*, 221–37; and Patrick Harris, “Prestige to Power: Toledo's Cathedral Chapter and Assimilated Identity,” in Beale-Rivaya and Busic, *A Companion to Medieval Toledo*, 33–58.

40 Angel González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1926–30).

41 Howard Delgin Miller, “According to Christian Sunna: Mozarabic Notarial Culture in Toledo, 1085–1300” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2003).

42 Miller, “According to Christian Sunna,” 118–261.

43 Diego Adrián Olstein, *La era mozárabe: Los mozárabes de Toledo (siglos XII y XIII) en la historiografía, las fuentes y la historia* (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 2006).

Romance documents as well as the Arabic corpus.⁴⁴ His theoretical framework favors terms conveying agency, thus privileging “Arabicizing” as an expression of intent (as opposed to “Arabicized,” which implies a given condition) and “identification” (an active process) over “identity” (understood as a static state). One of Moreno’s most original assertions is that the redaction of subscription of a document in Arabic amounted to “performing Mozarabicity.”

The question of when the Mozarabs of Toledo stopped using Arabic has long been an area of study among historians and philologists. The use of dual names (both an Arabic and a Romance or Latinate name) persisted among Mozarabic Christians in Toledo until at least the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴⁵ According to Moreno, the notarial evidence from Toledo suggests that most Christians there “had little knowledge of Arabic by the mid-thirteenth century” and that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada considered “Christian Arabicity as a historical phenomenon by approximately 1240.”⁴⁶ Further evidence for this linguistic shift has been uncovered by Ruth Miguel-Franco through comparing the translations and summaries of Arabic documents in cartularies from Toledo Cathedral; while some Arabic signatures were copied in a Latin cartulary of 1190, no Arabic appears in a Castilian one from the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁷ By the fourteenth century, Arabic had been replaced by Castilian in the notarial documents of the Toledan Mozarabs.⁴⁸

Given that the Mozarabic rite, not the Arabic language, is the characteristic of Mozarabs most emphasized by early modern writers, one might expect the medieval liturgical manuscripts to constitute another significant body of written evidence for the Mozarabs of Toledo. For a variety of reasons, however, scholarship on the liturgical manuscripts of the Old Hispanic rite that survive

44 Moreno, “Arabicizing.” For the description of Moreno’s corpus see *ibid.*, 12–14.

45 Jean-Pierre Molénat, “L’anthroponymie des chrétiens arabisés de la péninsule Ibérique médiévale: Le double nom des ‘mozarabes,’ IXe–XIIIe siècles,” *Hamsa: Journal of Judaic and Islamic Studies* 3 (2016–17): 78–90, at 87–88; Aaron Michael Moreno, “What’s in a Name or Signature? The Anthroponymy, Autography, and Communal Identification of Christian Communities in Early Castilian Toledo and Norman Sicily,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 4, no. 2 (2012): 141–65.

46 Moreno, “Arabicizing,” 110.

47 Ruth Miguel-Franco, “La recepción de la documentación árabe en los cartularios del Archivo Capitular de Toledo: Traducciones y adaptaciones de cartas árabes entre el latín y el romance,” *Al-Qanṭara* 43, no. 1 (2022): e10.

48 Francisco Hernández, “Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo,” *Boletín Burriel* 1 (1989): 29–51; Yasmin Beale-Rivaya, “The Written Record as Witness: Language Shift from Arabic to Romance in the Documents of the Mozarabs of Toledo in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *La Corónica* 40 (2012): 27–50.

from medieval Toledo rarely situates them within the history of that community. The liturgical manuscripts that are identifiably Toledan in origin are few in number and have not been conclusively localized or dated.⁴⁹ A certain amount of mystery surrounds the composition of the Toledan Mozarabic population itself in this period as well. It is not clear whether they were mostly migrants from farther south, for instance, or how many Mozarabs lived in Toledo before 1085.⁵⁰

The association of Mozarabs with the Mozarabic rite emerged in the chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, particularly in Jiménez de Rada's account of the duel and the trial by fire opposing the Mozarabic rite and the Roman rite.⁵¹ The idea that the liturgy was the foremost cultural characteristic of the Mozarabs as a group seems to have developed around 1500, in tandem with the turning point of Cisneros's revitalization of the rite. In effect, it was Cisneros who created or fostered the conditions for a historically inflected Mozarabic identity in the sixteenth century. Even before his decisive actions in support of the rite in Toledo, however, the Mozarabs and their distinctive liturgy were described at some length at the conclusion of a text known throughout Europe. Penned in the fifteenth century, the anonymous *Ten Divisions of the Nations of All Christendom* (*Divisiones decem nationum totius Christianitatis*) is a short treatise that circulated in manuscript form and was printed in numerous editions, mostly in Rome, from 1490 through 1510.⁵² Its account of the Mozarabs, which has attracted little scholarly attention until now, sheds light on the perception of this group in early modern Europe.

3 The Mozarabs as the Tenth Nation

As Arabizing Christians who observed a Latin liturgy, the Mozarabs are grouped in the *Ten Divisions* with the non-Latin Christians—not only the Greek church, but also the Christian religious minorities in Syria and Palestine, including the

49 Raquel Rojo Carrillo, "Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a Local or of a Wider Tradition?," in Beale-Rivaya and Busic, *A Companion to Medieval Toledo*, 97–139.

50 For more discussion of this subject see chapter 1.

51 Alain Rauwel, "Concurrence des rites et jugement de Dieu: Une origine espagnole?," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 232 (2015): 371–76.

52 The Incunabula Short Title Catalogue lists twenty-six editions, and several more are included in compilations under other titles.

Jacobite Syrians, Nestorians, Maronites, and Armenians.⁵³ The opening sentence of the treatise lists the nations in order, making it clear that the Mozarabs are not to be included among the “Latins”: “Note that the Christian peoples are divided into ten nations: namely, the Latins, Greeks, Indians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, and Mozarabs.”⁵⁴ This ordering places the Mozarabs at the opposite end of the series from the Christians of the Western Latin Church. The first section, which lists the rulers in the Latin Church, mentions the “Hispanic nation”:

The first nation: the Latins have a pope and emperor of the Romans as their superiors, and many kings, namely the king of France in the Gallican nation, and many dukes and counts. In the Hispanic nation there are the kings of Castile, León, the king of Aragon, the King of Portugal, the King of Navarre, and many dukes and counts. In the Italian nation the king of Sicily, the king of Naples [...] all the abovementioned obey the Roman church.⁵⁵

This passage exists in more than one version and seems to vary by context. The text of the *Divisiones* in a fifteenth-century manuscript (now in Vienna) states that “the Latins have an emperor of Germany” rather than “a pope and emperor of the Romans.”⁵⁶

As Arabic-speaking Christians whose liturgical language was Latin, the Iberian Mozarabs fit uneasily into the framework of the *Ten Divisions*. Presumably the listing of Mozarabs at the end of the Christian nations was intended to include other Arabic-speaking Eastern Christians such as Copts (who are not otherwise mentioned). The presence of Mozarabs in Africa as well as in the

53 For a brief discussion of these Christian minorities see Brian A. Catlos, “Ethno-Religious Minorities,” in *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, ed. Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita, Wiley Blackwell Companions to World History (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 2014), 359–77, at 366.

54 *Divisiones decem* (Rome, n.d.), [unpaginated] 1: Notandum quod gentes christianorum diuiduntur in decem nationes: videlicet Latinos, Grecos, Indos, Jacobitas, Nestorianos, Moronitas, Armenos, Georgianos, Surianos, et Mozarabes [‘Mozarabes’ in some editions].

55 *Divisiones decem*, 1: Prima natio: Latini habent papam et imperatorem Romanorum pro superioribus et reges multos; videlicet regem francie in natione gallicana et multos duces et comites. In natione hispanica sunt reges Castelle, Legionis, rex Aragonie, rex portugalie, rex Navarre, ac multi duces et comites. In natione italica rex Sicilie, rex Neapolitanus [...] omnes predicti sunt obedientes ecclesie Romane.

56 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4758, fol. 146v: Latini habent imperatorem alemanie.

Iberian peninsula, signaled at the end of the treatise, appears to distance them from the “Hispanic nation,” making them more a people of the past than of the present:

The Mozarabs were once numerous in parts of Africa and Hispania, but now they are few in number. They are called Mozarabs because they observed the habits of Christians in Arab lands in many respects. They use the Latin language in the liturgy and obey the Roman Church and Latin prelates, and they make unleavened hosts like the Latins, but in many things they differ from the Latins, for they have very lengthy hours in the liturgy. While the natural day is divided into twenty-four hours of day and night, they have very many offices or hours, and psalms and hymns, and certain very lengthy prayers that are not said according to the customs of the Latins, for that which the Latins say at the beginning, they say at the end or in the middle. Some divide the sacrament of the Eucharist into seven parts, and others into ten. They are a people very devoted in matrimony, and only marry their own people, and among them a woman who has lost her first husband never marries another, but remains in perpetual chastity. The cause of so much division among Christians was that from ancient times, Christians were constrained and impeded from celebrating general councils, and thus, when heretics arose in various places, there was no one to provide a remedy.⁵⁷

The reference in the concluding sentence of the treatise to general councils evokes conciliarism, the idea that a general council of the Church has greater authority than the pope. This conviction informed challenges to papal author-

57 *Divisiones decem*, 6–7: Mozarabes hii olim fuerunt multi numero in partibus Africe et Hispanie, sed modo sunt pauci. Sunt enim dicti mozarabes quia modos christianorum de Arabica in multis tenebant. Isti utuntur in diuinis officiis lingua latina et obediunt romane ecclesie et prelatis latinorum et conficiunt in azimo ut latini; sed in multis discrepant a latinis, quia in diuinis officiis habent horas valde prolixas, quia cum dies naturalis diuiditur in vigintiquator horas diei et noctis tot officia habent siue horas et psalmos ac hymnos ac certas orationes habent et nimis prolixas quas non dicunt more latinorum, nam illud quod latini dicunt in principio ipsi dicunt in fine vel in medio. Sacramentum eucharistie diuidunt aliqui in septem partes, aliqui in decem. Est natio valde deuota in matrimonio non coniunguntur, nisi personis sue gentis siue nationis inter quas femina amisso primo marito nunquam coniungitur alteri, sed permanet in castitate perpetua. Causa tante diuisionis inter christianos fuit quia ab antiquis temporibus christiani fuerunt astricti ed impediti ne celebrarent concilia generalia ideo insurgentibus hereticis in diuersis partibus non fuit qui remedium imponent.

ity during the councils of Constance (1414–18), which ended the Great Western Schism of the Church, and Basel (1437–49), which sought unity between Latin and Greek Christians.⁵⁸ In the absence of information on the authorship and history of the *Ten Divisions*, however, direct evidence for a connection with conciliarist writings is lacking. A few anti-papal additions appear in the version of the text published in Northern Europe beginning in 1490 under the title *Tractatus de decem nationibus Christianorum*.⁵⁹ One example is the sentence added to the end of the chapter on the Mozarabs, which concludes the entire treatise: “The second cause was the negligence of the popes, who did not care to send nuncios to Christians who had fallen into error, because if they had done so, many if not all would have returned to the single faith and obedience of the Roman Church.”⁶⁰ Both versions of the *Ten Divisions* allude to councils only at the very end of the text, suggesting that the passages were later additions.

A more immediate context for the *Tractatus de decem nationibus Christianorum* is the late-medieval literature of pilgrimage and travel. Most Northern European prints of the *Tractatus* incorporate it into an edition of a first-person travel narrative about the Holy Land, the *Itinerarius* of the Dutch priest Johannes Witte de Hese. Both the narrative and the author of the *Itinerarius* are fictional, according to the editor of the text, Scott Westrem.⁶¹ In addition to the many printed copies preserved in miscellany volumes, the *Itinerarius* and the *Ten Divisions* treatise survive in manuscripts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, apparently all copied from printed versions.⁶² The *Ten Divisions*

58 Gerald Christianson, “Conciliarism and the Council,” in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. Michiel Decaluwe, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 73–111, at 73.

59 This information is based on the entries for the *Divisiones decem* and *Tractatus* versions of the *Ten Divisions* text as well as the *Itinerarius*, in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: <https://data.cerl.org/istc/>.

60 *Tractatus de decem nationibus* (Cologne, n.d.), [unpaginated] 7: Secunda causa fuit negligentia summorum pontificum quia non curauerunt nuncios mittere ad christianos in erroribus positos, quia si hoc fecissent multos, aut omnes ad unam fidem et obedientiam Romane ecclesiae reduxissent. This passage also appears in Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4758, fol. 148r.

61 Scott D. Westrem, *Broader Horizons: A Study of Johannes Witte de Hese’s Itinerarius and Medieval Travel Narratives*, Medieval Academy Books 105 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 2001), 3–4.

62 The manuscripts include Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Collection Mancel, MS 0146; three manuscripts described by Westrem, *Broader Horizons*, 294–98 (Ghent, University Library, MS 15; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, MS VI.E.21; and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 4758); and Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2696. On the manuscript in Caen see Frédéric Macler, “Notes latines sur les nestoriens, maronites,

thus forms part of the extended corpus of descriptions of the Holy Land and represents the late-medieval reception of earlier texts about travels in the East during the Crusades, as well as about pilgrimage.⁶³ Several lines in the description of the Mozarabs at the end of the *Ten Divisions* quote directly from the corresponding passage in Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis* (written between 1216 and 1224), the first part of his *Historia Hierosolymitana*:

Those Christians who remained in Africa and Hispania among the western Saracens are called Mozarabs; they have Latin letters and use the Latin language in their scriptures, and they obey the holy Roman Church with humility and devotion like other Latins, in no way diverging from the articles of faith or the sacraments. They carry out the sacrament of the altar with unleavened bread like other Latins [Christians]. However, some of them divide the shape of the Eucharist into seven parts, and others into nine parts, while the Roman Church and others subject to it divide the Eucharist into only three portions. But since a division of this kind does not concern the substance of the sacrament, it does not alter or impede the effect of the sacrament.⁶⁴

The close correspondence between this passage in the *Historia orientalis* and a manuscript version of the *Ten Divisions* has been interpreted as evidence for the reading of Jacques de Vitry through the end of the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ What

arméniens, géorgiens, mozarabes," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 7 (1918): 243–60; Christian Cannuyer, "Sur une reprise de l'*Historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 200 (1983): 407–12.

63 The relationship between Jacques de Vitry's texts and the manuscript accounts is reviewed briefly in Camille Rouxpetel, *L'Occident au miroir de l'Orient chrétien: Cilicie, Syrie, Palestine et Égypte (XIe–XIVe siècle)*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 369 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2015), 64–69, but without specific consideration of the section on the Mozarabs.

64 Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale / Historia orientalis*, ed. and trans. Jean Donnadieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 324 ("Sous la Règle de saint Augustin"): Illi vero Christiani, qui in Africa et Hispania inter occidentales Saracenos commorantur, Mozarabes nuncupati; latinam habent litteram et latino sermone in scripturis utuntur, et sancte Romane Ecclesie sicut alii Latini cum omni humilitate et devotione obediunt, ab articulis fidei vel sacramentis in nullo deviantes. Constituunt autem sacramentum altaris de pane azymo quemadmodum alii Latini. Sanctam autem eucharistie formam quidam eorum in septem partes dividunt, alii vero in novem, cum tamen Romana Ecclesia et alii eidem subiecti ipsam eucharistiam in tres tantum proportiones partiantur. Huiusmodi autem partitio cum non sit de substantia sacramenti, non variat vel impedit virtutem sacramenti. On the date of composition see *ibid.*, 10–12.

65 Macler, "Notes latines"; Cannuyer, "Sur une reprise." Macler and Cannuyer, unaware of the

stands out from the comparison is that the remainder of the paragraph on the Mozarabs in the *Divisiones decem nationum* is more descriptive than the rather terse corresponding passage in the *Historia orientalis*. In general, except for the section on the Mozarabs, the *Historia orientalis* abounds in detail on the religious practices of Eastern Christians, many deemed heterodox because they did not conform to the expectation of Latin Catholics.⁶⁶ Vitry portrays the Mozarabs as more Western and Latin as well as orthodox.

Stressing both the Mozarabs' Latinity and their proper place in the Latin church, Jacques de Vitry nevertheless calls attention to their division of the host into seven or nine portions.⁶⁷ He evidently perceived the need to explain in detail that the Mozarabs resembled other Latin Christians despite living among Saracens. Vitry situates the Mozarabs at a significant juncture in the text between the description of Eastern Christian groups (the Maronites, Armenians, and Georgians) and the immediately following chapter on Jewish sects (such as the Essenes, Sadducees, and Samaritans). With its brief description of the Mozarabs, Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis* devotes much more space to the Christian East than does the *Divisiones decem nationum*. While following Vitry in locating the Mozarabs in Africa as well as in Hispania, and placing them last among all Christian groups, the *Ten Divisions* still differs from Vitry's account in the greater emphasis it places on the Mozarabs. Why?

One possible answer might be found in the crusading movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, characterized by the violent anti-Muslim sentiment that motivated the Catholic Monarchs' conquest of Granada in 1492 and the subsequent campaigns in North Africa, including Oran.⁶⁸ The idea that African Mozarabs were connected to those in Spain would appeal to those who viewed the conquest of North Africa as a victory comparable not only to the capitulation of Granada but also to the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085.

extensive history of the text in print, considered it a set of manuscript notes on the *Historia orientalis*. The connection had been noticed earlier by Faustino Arévalo, in the prolegomena to his edition of the works of Isidore of Seville published at the end of the eighteenth century (see chapter 5).

66 On Jacques de Vitry's descriptions of Orthodox Christians in the *Historia orientalis* see particularly Andrew Jotischky, "Ethnographic Attitudes in the Crusader States: The Franks and the Indigenous Orthodox People," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 125 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 1–19, at 6–18. John Tolan has called the *Historia orientalis* "part handbook of ethnography and heresiology." See John Tolan, "Historia orientalis," in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

67 The 1500 *Missale mixtum* of Ortiz illustrates the nine-portion host with a cross diagram.

68 On conquest of Oran and its commemoration in Toledo Cathedral, see chapter 3.

As Jessalyn Bird has pointed out, the *Historia orientalis* was useful to later readers seeking potential allies against Islam as “the arena for potential crusades to recover the Holy Land shifted to Armenia, Cyprus, the former Byzantine Empire, Spain, and Africa.”⁶⁹ Vitry’s text is transmitted in several manuscripts copied in the Iberian peninsula, some of them an abbreviated version of the text in Castilian.⁷⁰ The *Divisiones decem nationum* likewise was available in Castile; it was copied in a manuscript compilation from the early sixteenth century that includes various documents related to Ferdinand and Isabella’s policies after the conquest of Granada, including regulations concerning religious minorities.⁷¹

Even more revealing of the reception of the *Ten Divisions* in the Iberian peninsula is a reference to the paragraph on the Mozarabs in a poem celebrating the 1509 conquest of Oran, the *Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán* by Martín de Herrera (1510).⁷² As in the *Ten Divisions*, so also in this rhymed chronicle the Mozarabs are identified as the tenth nation among Christians: “The ten nations of Christians are written here: Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Indians, Syrians, Armenians and Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, and Mozarabs are the last nation.”⁷³ Pedro Cátedra, the editor of the text, construes this as a reference to the Castilian translation of the *Historia orientalis*, but the *Ten Divisions* treatise was also a likely source.⁷⁴ The allusion to the ten nations of Christendom implies that a crusade resulting in conquest across the Mediterranean would return the heterodox among the Eastern Christians to the fold of the Roman Church and change the fortunes of Christian minorities in the East. Such an

69 Jessalyn Lea Bird, “The *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text’s Audience, Reception, and Utilization,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20 (2003): 56–74, at 61–62.

70 Mianda Cioba, “La ‘*Historia orientalis*’ de Jacques de Vitry en manuscritos castellanos medievales,” *Revista de filología románica* 13 (1996): 153–66.

71 Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2696, fol. 89r–90v. For the contents of the manuscript see Oscar Lilao Franca and Carmen Castrillo González, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca*, II: MSS 1680–2777. Obras de referencia 13 (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), 1093–99.

72 *Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán* (Logroño: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1510). This text is discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

73 “*Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán*” por Martín de Herrera, ed. Pedro Cátedra, Monumentos tipográficos riojanos 3 (San Millán de la Cogolla: CiLengua, 2009), 249: Las naciones de christianos | diez aquí son subscritas: | latinos, griegos, jorgianos, | indianos, surianos | armenios y jacobitas, | nestorianos, monoritas | y mozárabes la postrera | nación.

74 Ibid., 2197. The order of the nations is different, but the *Historias* shares with the *Ten Divisions* a reference to the Maronites (called “Monorites”), who are named “Moronites” in the *Ten Divisions*.

implication would reaffirm the underlying point of the corresponding chapters in Vitry's *Historia orientalis*.⁷⁵

Ferdinand of Aragon and his circle espoused the idea of an anti-Ottoman Crusade resulting in a Mediterranean empire ruled by the king of Spain.⁷⁶ As we will see in chapter 3, the conquest of Oran was intended as a step towards consolidating that empire. The *Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán* relates the Mozarabs to the Catholic Monarchs' aspirations after 1492, when the religious landscape of the Iberian peninsula had been fundamentally transformed.

4 Definitions of the Mozarabs after 1492

After the conquest of Nasrid Granada in 1492, the expulsion of Jews, and the forced conversion of Muslims, the term “new Christians” was coined to designate those who had recently converted to Christianity from Judaism (conversos) and Islam (Moriscos).⁷⁷ Although by definition the Mozarabs were “old Christians,” many writers of the period noted the difference between them and other Castilians. The etymology devised by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (*mixti arabes*), while fanciful, did reflect a historical reality: the Mozarabs had indeed lived among Arabs. The term “Mozarab” was understandably puzzling to early modern commentators ignorant of Arabic, and the language of mixture in Jiménez de Rada's Latin etymology fed into anxieties that only grew with the emergence of debates about the purity of blood statutes. As Kevin Ingram points out, Toledan humanists had converso backgrounds, as did many of the historians of the period—including most of those whose definitions of the Mozarabs are discussed in this chapter.⁷⁸ Requiring proof of “pure” lineage, in some cases going back centuries, was impractical, and many writers contested the statutes for various reasons.⁷⁹

75 Mianda Cioba, “Sources, autorités et parénèse dans l'*Historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry,” in *Des nains ou des géants? Emprunter et créer au Moyen Âge*, ed. Claude Andrault-Schmitt, Edina Bozoky, and Stephen Morrison (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 111–49, at 121–22.

76 Andrew Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire: Just War in the Mediterranean and the Rise of Early Modern Spain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020).

77 See Max Deardorff, “The Ties that Bind: Inter-marriage between Moriscos and Old Christians in Early Modern Spain,” *Journal of Family History* 42 (2017): 250–70, at 251.

78 Kevin Ingram, “The Converso Issue and Early Modern Spanish Historiography,” in *Resistance and Reform*, ed. Kevin Ingram, vol. 4, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 225, Converso and Morisco Studies 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 142–66, at 142.

79 See, for instance, Elvira Pérez Ferreiro, *El tratado de Uceda contra los estatutos de limpieza*

Debates over *limpieza* and the Morisco question occurred in parallel with an unprecedented profusion of historical discourse on the Mozarabs.⁸⁰ The Toledan author of the “false chronicles,” Jerónimo Roman de la Higuera (1538–1611), who was probably from a converso background, constructed a Toledan Mozarab ancestry for himself through the writing of history. In the context of Roman de la Higuera’s role in a dispute about the cult of Saint Thyrsus (San Tirso) in Toledo, Katrina Olds has pointed out an “ambivalence among early modern Toledans about the long coexistence of the city’s Christians with predominantly Muslim and Arabic-speaking rulers and neighbors.”⁸¹ Olds continues: “Since the Mozarabs no longer seemed to exist as a distinct population, but more as a genealogical construction, retroactively claimed as illustrious ancestors, their identity was a matter of inconclusive discussion.”⁸²

It was against this background of anxiety about bloodlines and awareness of Mozarabic difference that a new etymology of the word “Mozarab” emerged in direct competition with the troubling expression *mixti arabes*. A series of historical writings published from the 1550s to the early seventeenth century proposed in place of the Latin etymon (or alongside it) a derivation from “Muza Arabe,” the name of a Muslim general. This “Arab Muza” was Mūsa ibn Nusayr, governor of the Maghrib for the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750). Muslim governor of Ifriqiya (Roman Africa), by 709 he had conquered North Africa. His deputy, Tariq, began a successful invasion of the Iberian peninsula in 710, and Mūsa ibn Nusayr followed him there in 712. An unknown writer concocted a fanciful narrative in support of this etymology, claiming that Mūsa, envious of Tariq’s glory and renown, bargained with the Christian inhabitants of Toledo to call themselves “Mozarabs” in his memory, in exchange for privileges and concessions that surpassed those offered by Tariq. Mūsa’s envy of Tariq is mentioned in other accounts of the conquest, such as Juan de Mariana’s, but the idea that he inveigled the Toledan Christians to take on his name is particular to the invented etymology.⁸³ The pseudohistorical scenario in which the vanquished Visigoths took the name of a Muslim general in exchange for favors with him maintained a notional separation between Christians and Arabs,

de sangre: Una reacción ante el establecimiento del estatuto de limpieza en la orden franciscana (Madrid: Aben Ezra, 2000).

80 Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, 109–17. For a useful overview of the Morisco question see Seth Kimmel, “The Morisco Question: Methodology and Historiography,” *History Compass* 17 (2019): 1–10.

81 The controversy about Saint Thyrsus is discussed at greater length in chapter 5.

82 Katrina Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 56–57.

83 “Muzam invidia stimulabat”; Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*, 297.

sidestepping the worrisome implications of mixture and asserting a purely transactional origin for the Mozarabs' historical designation. Remarkably, the early modern elaborations of the legend claimed that the Mozarabs' continuing claims to privilege were based on their negotiation of conditions with a Muslim conqueror.

While some early modern historians upheld the *mixti arabes* etymology (particularly Juan de Mariana, whose chronicle was widely read in Latin and Castilian), several chroniclers of the early modern period espoused the "Muza Arabe" etymology. The earliest reference to these two as competing etymologies dates to the 1540s. In his description of the Cathedral of Toledo, published in 1549, Blas Ortiz (1485–1552), a canon of Toledo from the same family as Alfonso Ortiz (who edited the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary), alludes to Mūza as "some leader of the Arabs" or "I know not what leader of the Arabs" (*nescio quo Arabum duce*):

Other Spaniards [*Hispani*] call them Mixtarabes because they lived thoroughly mixed with Arabs, whence their ecclesiastical rite is called the office of the Mixtarabs. Partly due to the passage of time, and partly corrupted by that hissing of the barbarians, the word degenerated into the one which now is commonly used, Mozarab. A fable arose concerning Muza (I know not what leader of the Arabs), who invented the appellation Mozarab, that rite having been preserved among the enemies due to his favor.⁸⁴

Tracing the Castilian word *mozárabe* to an etymon *mixtarabes* that had been distorted phonetically by the "hissing of the barbarians," Ortiz seems to describe Muslim speakers of Arabic as deforming the Latinate language of Christians. He contrasts a Latin term purportedly used by the Mozarabs in reference to themselves with one that had changed phonetically when speakers of Arabic referred to Mozarabs. Ortiz dismissed as fiction the story tracing the word "Mozarab" to an Arabic name.

84 Blas Ortiz, *Summi Templi Toletani* (Toledo: Juan Ayala, 1549), fol. 96v–97r: A reliquis Hispanis Mixtarabes, quod cum Arabibus permixtim viuerent, dicti sunt. Unde illorum ritus ecclesiasticus officium Mixtarabum nuncupatus. Quae vox tum temporis diuturnitate, tum stridula ipsa Barbarorum pronunciatione corrupta in eam degenerauit, qua nunc vulgus utitur Mozarabe. Unde nimirum fabula orta de Muza nescio quo Arabum duce, cuius videlicet beneficio, is ritus inter hostes seruatus, Muzarabis appellationem inuenerit. Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, 114, cites only the "nescio quod" reference. Gómez de Castro echoed this claim (see chapter 1, p. 44).

The first reference to the “Muza Arabe” etymology after Ortiz’s dismissive allusion in passing is in the history of Toledo by Pedro de Alcocer, which was first published in 1551 and printed for the second time in Toledo in 1554.⁸⁵ Alcocer was the first to explain the new etymology in detail in the context of the arrival in Toledo of the “capitán general de los Moros”:

Some say that Muça, to undo the memory of Tarif, negotiated with the Christians who remained in Toledo that henceforth they would call themselves Muçarabs, in memory of his name, which was Muça Arabe or Alarabe. And they say that because they did so, he conceded and confirmed all the things that Tarif had granted them, and gave them other special favors and privileges, and then, for this reason, they say that those Christians who were left in the city are called Muçarabs, and not only did they call themselves by this name, but also gave this name to the divine office they observed at that time, and also today. But our chroniclers record the derivation of the name Muçarab otherwise, from *mixti arabes*, which means mixed with Arabs, which is not as right as the above-mentioned one.⁸⁶

The pointed assertion of one etymology over another, which is diametrically opposed to Blas Ortiz’s dismissal of the Muza Arabe etymology in his Toledan publication (printed only a few years before Alcocer’s) suggests a context of debate over the origins of the Mozarabs. But Alcocer does not allude to the mixing of the Toledan Christians with Arabs at all. In Chapter 61 he mentions a different kind of mixing that occurred later in history, namely, the assimilation of the Mozarabs into the general population of Castilians. Here, Alcocer

85 Nothing is known about Pedro de Alcocer besides his publications.

86 Pedro de Alcocer, *Hystoria o Descripción de la imperial cibdad de Toledo, adonde se tocan y refieren muchas antigüedades y cosas notables de la Historia general de España. Agora nuevamente impressa en Toledo* (Toledo: Juan Ferrer, 1554), fol. 39v: Segun dizen algunos Muça, por deshazer la memoria de Tarif, tratò con los Christianos que quedaron en Toledo, que dende en adelante se llamassen Muçaraues, en memoria de su nombre, que era Muça Arabe o Alarabe. Y dizen que, porque lo hiziessen ansi, les concediò, y confirmò todas la cosas que Tarif les auia otorgado, y les diò otras particulares gracias y preuilegios, y dende entonces, y por esta razon, dizen que se llamaron Muçarabes, los Christianos que en esta cibdad quedaron, y no solamente se llamaron este nombre, mas llamòselo tambien el oficio diuino, de que entonces usauan, como selo llaman tambien oy. Aun que nuestros Cronistas escriuen la deribacion deste nombre Muçarabes, de otra diuersa manera, diziendo que vino de mixti Arabes, que quiere dezir mezclados con Alarabes, lo qual no lleua tan buena razon, como lo sobredicho.

emphasizes the difference between the privileges and exemptions that King Alfonso gave to Christian settlers arriving to populate the newly conquered city and the even greater ones he accorded to the Mozarabs:

He gave great privileges and exemptions to the Christians who came to populate it, as can be seen today in this city, and to those he placed there to guard it, and much greater ones to the Christians called Mozarabs who were there, because they and their predecessors in our holy Catholic faith had always persevered without being corrupted by the sect and the indecent living of the Moors, and their descent has lasted until today in this city, although because of the changes that occurred, some mixed with others, so that this name of Mozarabs is almost entirely gone. [...] Those who came to reside in this city after it was conquered were called Castilians, and Mozarabs those who had resided there previously [...] And the king, having conquered [the city], elevated himself [...] calling himself the Emperor of the Spains [...] and he called himself King of the Empire of Toledo, giving it an imperial title, and not only this magnificent king but other kings who succeeded him.⁸⁷

Alcocer's account of the Mozarabs' presence in Toledo simply juxtaposes them with the origin of the city's imperial title rather than presenting a causal link between the two. Crucially, however, the narrative connects the ancestral privileges of the Mozarabs with the Castilian crown's claim to empire.

A generation later, Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa (1533–1600), librarian and chronicler of Philip II, cited the “Muza Arabe” etymology in his *Los XL libros del compendio historial de las chronicas y uniuersal historia de todos los reynos*

87 Alcocer, *Hystoria*, fol. 54r–v (misnumbered in the 1554 printing as fol. 55): Dio grandes preuilegios y essenciones a los Christianos, que a ella vinieron a poblar, como se vee oy en esta cibdad, y a los que puso por su guarda, y muy mayores a los Christianos llamados Muçarabes que en ella hallo: porque como buenos auian persuerado siempre, ellos y sus predecesores en nuestra sancta fee catholica, sin auer sido corrompidos de la secta y desonesto biuir de los Moros, cuya descendencia dura aun hasta oy en esta cibdad, aunque por las mudanças que las cosas en ella han hecho, se han mezclado unos con otros: de manera que este nombre de Muçarabes esta ya casi del todo deshecho. [...] fueron llamados Castellanos todos los que se vinieron a morar a esta cibdad, despues que se gano, y Muçarabes los que antes morauan en ella. Y entre las otras cosas que ensalçan esta cibdad, no es de callar lo mucho que con auerla ganado el rey, se engrandecio, como consta por el nuevo titulo que tomo, llamandose Emperador de las Españas [...] que se llama rey del Imperio de Toledo, dandole titulo Imperial, y no solamente este magnifico rey, mas otros reyes, que le sucedieron.

de España, first published in Antwerp in 1571. Garibay's account is based on Alcocer's version, but expresses skepticism that Mūsa could have granted such ample privileges to the Mozarabs:

All over the rest of Spain there generally remained Christians who came to be called Mozarabs, which according to the interpretation of some means a people mixed with the Arabs. The interpretation of others is that they were called Mozarabs in memory of Captain Muça, who was Arab, because Muça, as some authors assert, envious of the glory and honor of the conquests of Tarif, agreed with the Christians that, taking his name and homeland, they would be called Muçarabes in his memory, confirming for them all that Tarif had granted, and adding to it so that he granted them greater exemptions than it seems possible for him to have done, greater than Tarif, and thus [they] report that the Mozarabes were named after Muça Arabe, which seems more likely than the first interpretation. The rite which was celebrated among the Mozarabic Christians was the one which at that time was celebrated in all of Spain [...] It remains until today in the city of Toledo in the Mozarabic Chapel [...] The same office is celebrated today on some particular days of the year in the Toledan parishes mentioned above.⁸⁸

It is telling that Garibay follows his account of the etymology with the statement that the Mozarabic rite, still celebrated in the Mozarabic Chapel, was observed only "on some particular days of the year" in Mozarabic parish churches. Placing the Mozarabic Chapel before the parish churches associated

88 Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, *Los XL libros del compendio historial de las chronicas y vniuersal historia de todos los reynos de España* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1571), 381: y en todo lo resto d'España en general siempre quedaron Christianos, los quales vinieron a ser llamados Muçarabes, que, segun la exposicion de algunos, tomaron el nombre de mixti Arabibus, que quiere dezir, gentes mezcladas con los Arabes. Segun otros lo interpretan, fueron dichos Muçarabes, en memoria d'el capitan Muça, que era Arabe, por que Muça, segun quieren algunos auctores, con embidia de la gloria y honra de las conquistas de Tarif, dizen, que concertò con los Christianos, que tomando su nombre y patria, se llamassen Muçaraues, para futura memoria suya, confirmando les por ello, todo lo que con Tarif auian concertado. Añaden a esto, que por ello aun les concedió mayores essempciones, que segun es verisimillo pudo hazer, como superior a Tarif, y assi refieren, que de Muça Arabe, fueron llamados Muça rabes, lo qual tiene mas verisimilitud que lo primero. El officio, que entre los Christianos Muçarabes se celebró, fue el que en este tiempo se celebraua en toda España. ... Este permanece hasta oy dia en la ciudad de Toledo en la capilla llamada Muçarabe. ... El mesmo officio se celebra oy dia en algunos dias señalados d'el año en la parochias de Toledo arriba nombrados.

the rite more with the former than with the latter, eliding the four-century exclusion of the Old Hispanic liturgy from the cathedral.

The Muza Arabe etymology was also reported by Eugenio de Robles, Mozarabic chaplain and curate of the Mozarabic Church of San Marcos, who in 1603 published a brief treatise on the Mozarabic rite that formed part of his biography of Cisneros. (For full discussion of the *Breve suma*, see chapter 5.) Before turning to the main topic, the liturgy of the rite, Robles reviews its historical context, starting with a lengthy passage that elaborates on the name of the Mozarabs and justifies their privileges. The first sentence of the treatise states the *mixtiarabe* etymology: “This word Mozarab is corrupted from Mixtiarab, which is the same as saying Christian mixed with Arabs” (Este vocablo Mozarabe, es corrompido de Mixtiarabe, que es lo mesmo que dezir, Christiano mezclado con Alarabes).⁸⁹ Robles then somewhat incoherently explains “Mixtiarabe” as reflecting the fact that the Christians were allowed to maintain their characteristic rite. Robles cites Alcocer and Garibay as preferring the Muza Arabe etymology to the *mixtiarabe* one. He concludes with a reference to the privileges that the Mozarabs received for preserving the Hispanic rite:

And of the Christians who did this heroic deed, there are today descendants in some parts of the Archdiocese of Toledo, who boast of being [descendants], and with ample justification: and they have very great privileges from popes and kings of Spain, which they were granted for their great devotion and particular affection towards this rite, for having been its conservators.⁹⁰

While Alcocer and Garibay mentioned the privileges and exemptions granted to the Mozarabs, Robles goes even further by describing the Mozarabs as showing off their special status. The allusion to papal privileges presumably means papal approval for Cisneros’s endowment of the Mozarabic liturgy celebrated in the cathedral’s chapel rather than privileges granted to the medieval Mozarabs.

89 Eugenio de Robles, *Breve suma y relacion del modo del rezo y missa del oficio santo gotico mozarabe: Que en la capilla de Corpus Christi de la santa yglesia de Toledo se conserua y reza oy conforme a la regla del glorioso San Isidoro Arçobispo de Seuilla* (Toledo: s.n., 1603), fol. 4r.

90 *Ibid.*, 4v–5r: Y de los Christianos que hizieron este heroyco hecho, ay oy dia descendientes de ellos en el Arçobispado de Toledo, en algunos lugares de la diocesi, que se precian de serlo, y con gran razon: y tienen grandissimos priuilegios de summos Pontifices y Reyes de España, que por la gran deuocion y particular aficion que a este oficio tuuieron, se los concedieron, por auer sido los conseruadores del.

The emphasis of Toledan writers on the Mozarabs' special privileges and nobility is also evident with a contemporary of Eugenio de Robles, the Toledan historian Francisco de Pisa (1534–1616), whose monumental *Descripción de la Imperial ciudad de Toledo* (1605) relates the Muza Arabe etymology, preferring it to the *mixti arabes* one put forward by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Pisa remarks:

And some lineages of those same Christians of that time, continuing from generation to generation, have remained up to our times, and residents of Toledo [...] who consider themselves to descend in nobility from those ancient Christians who had such constancy of faith. The Kings of Spain have granted those descendants of the Mozarabs many privileges and exemptions of which there are copies in the archives of this city, which are still preserved today and have been put to use; conflicting judgments have been resolved and enforced in their favor many times.⁹¹

Pisa obliquely mentions the legal challenges to the exemptions of the Mozarabs, and the documents of their privileges. As seen earlier, such lawsuits continued in the eighteenth century.

Court cases challenging exemptions based on asserted nobility were ubiquitous in early modern Castile.⁹² Francisco de Pisa wrote his *Descripción* in a period when many commoners purchased patents of nobility—*hidalguías*—that offered higher status and the possibility of holding desirable government positions.⁹³ A major advantage of *hidalguía* was exemption from taxation, but this privilege met with resistance. If a town council seeking to collect taxes challenged a man's claim to noble status, the professed *hidalgo* had to prove

91 Francisco de Pisa, *Descripción de la Imperial ciudad de Toledo, y historia de sus antigüedades y grandeza, y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido, de los Reyes que la han señoreado* (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1605), 126 (lib. 2, cap. 36): Y aun destos mismos Christianos de entones, procediendo de una generacion en otra, han quedado hasta nuestros tiempos algunos linages, y vezinos de Toledo [...] teniendose por nobleza venir de aquellos Christianos antiguos, que tuvieron tanta firmeza en a Fe. A los quales descendientes de Muzarabes los Reyes de España han concedido muchos privilegios y exempciones, de que ay copia en los archivos desta ciudad, los quales hasta oy se guardan y estan puestos en uso cuyo favor muchas vezes en contradictorio juyzio se ha sentenciado, y executoriado.

92 See Michael J. Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege in Late Medieval and Early Modern Castile, 1465–1598* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2014), 103–34.

93 I.A.A. Thompson, "The Purchase of Nobility in Castile, 1552–1700," *Journal of European Economic History* 8, no. 2 (1979): 313–60; see also Martz, "Pure Blood Statutes."

that at least his father and grandfather were also *hidalgos*.⁹⁴ A noble title was not enough; noble lineage was also required. In the sixteenth century, the concept of nobility in Spain bifurcated into nobility of blood (*nobleza de sangre*), which was inherent, and nobility of privilege (*nobleza de privilegio*), which could be acquired by favor or purchase. According to José Martínez Millán, while the notion of inherited nobility transmitted through purity of blood came to the fore in the early sixteenth century, it was during the reign of Philip II (1556–98) that the quality of *limpieza* definitively converged with that of *nobleza*.⁹⁵

At a time when the noble status of the modern Mozarabs was under legal scrutiny because of their privileges and tax exemptions, the definition of “Mozarabs” as “mixed with Arabs” suggested irregular lineage and impure blood. The Muza Arabe legend, clearly fictional, nevertheless found favor because it conjured up a past in which the Mozarabs remained a group apart, obtaining their privileges through negotiation with the enemy. According to this etymology, the ancestral privileges of the Mozarabs went back to the beginning of Muslim rule, thus dating to centuries before the privileges that were granted by Alfonso VI after 1085.

Although the Muza Arabe etymology was cited by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even later, several historians held out for the *mixti arabes* etymon. The chronicler Juan de Mariana stated that “those who were subject to the Moors, and mixed with them, then began to be called Mixti Arabes, meaning mixed Arabs. Later, the word changed somewhat and they were called Mozarabs.”⁹⁶ Like Pedro de Alcocer nearly half a century earlier, Mariana follows his description of the Mozarabs with an evocation of the Spanish Empire, which was consolidating its global reach. Mariana describes the rebirth of Spain as a phoenix from the ashes of the Gothic kingdom:

From the ashes and burial of that nation was born and arose a new and holy Spain, with greater force and dominion than before, a refuge in this

94 Mauricio Drelichman, “Sons of Something: Taxes, Lawsuits, and Local Political Control in Sixteenth-Century Castile,” *Journal of Economic History* 67 (2007): 608–42.

95 José Martínez Millán, “Nobleza hispana, nobleza cristiana: Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre,” in *Nobleza hispana, Nobleza cristiana. La Orden de San Juan*, ed. Manuel Rivero Rodríguez (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), 677–757, at 699–701.

96 Juan de Mariana, *Historia general de España* (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1601), 414: Los que estauan sugetos a los Moros, y mezclados con ellos, entonces se començaron a llamar Mixti Arabes, es a saber, mezclados Arabes: despues mudada algun tanto la palabra, los mismos se llamaron Mozarabes.

time, shelter and pillar of the Catholic religion. Spain, composed of all its parts [regions] like limbs, able to extend its vast empire, and extend it, as we see it today, to the furthest confines of the East and West.⁹⁷

Portraying the fortunes of Christians in the peninsula as a sacred narrative in which the triumph of the Spanish Empire was a sign of redemption for the sins committed by the last Visigothic ruler, Mariana considered the Muslim conquest fitting punishment.⁹⁸ The medieval Mozarabs, whom he characterized as “mixed Arabs,” were part of this divine plan.

The logical extension of Mariana’s interpretation was an image of the Mozarabs as both morally and ethnically compromised by their blending with their Muslim rulers. Such a conviction is expressed in a treatise that has been attributed, variously, to Juan de Mariana and to the renowned Dominican preacher Agustín Salucio y Adorno (1523–1601).⁹⁹ The title of the treatise—*The Origin of Those Peasants Who Call Themselves Old Christians*—situates it squarely in the context of debates over the purity of blood statutes. Stating that the Mozarabs self-indulgently elected to collaborate with the Muslim rulers, the author calls them

metrarabes or Mozarabs, which means *metis*, titles of renown remembering them perpetually in infamy for exhibiting the voluntary subjection they offered to the Arabs [...] the Moors who held them in low esteem and considered them base and evil, like men who had subjected

97 Ibid., 414: De las cenizas y la sepultura de aquella gente, naciesse y se leuantasse una nueva y santa España, de mayores fuerças y señorío que antes era, refugio en este tiempo, amparo y columna de la religion Catholica. La qual compuesta de todas sus partes, y como de sus miembros, terminasse su muy ancho imperio, y le estendiesse, como oy lo vemos, hasta los ultimos fines de leyante, y poniente.

98 Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 117–20. The trope of the loss and restoration of Spain originates in early medieval historical writing. See most recently Georges Martin, “La ‘pérdida y restauración de España’ en la historiografía latina de los siglos VIII y IX,” *e-Spania: Revue interdisciplinaire d’études hispaniques médiévales et modernes* 36 (2020), <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/34836>.

99 Rica Amrán, “El origen de los villanos que llaman christianos viejos’: judíos y conversos en un texto atribuido a Juan de Mariana,” in *Minorías en la España medieval y moderna (siglos xv al xvii) / Minorities in Medieval and Early Modern Spain (15th–17th c.)*, ed. Rica Amrán and Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (Santa Barbara: eHumanista, 2017), 226–46, states (at 239) that the text is unlikely to have been written by Juan de Mariana. The attribution to Salucio is mentioned in Francisco López Estrada, “Dos tratados de los siglos xvi y xvii sobre los mozárabes,” *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951): 331–61, at 333.

themselves to infidels, valuing more greatly their possessions than the defense of their religion.¹⁰⁰

This passage portrays the Mozarabs as betraying their faith and debasing themselves by willfully remaining subjects of Muslim rule. In this Christian reading, the compromise inherent in the principle of “convenience”—the arrangement underlying the *dhimma*—was construed as a failure to make war. While the word *metis* is not attested before this text (and thus its meaning here is not certain), it clearly has negative connotations, evoking the word *mestizo* that described persons of mixed ethnicity in the Atlantic colonies. Like Francisco de Pisa’s *Descripción*, the treatise *Del origen de los villanos* emphasizes nobility, but attributes *hidalguía* to the Christian conquerors of the peninsula rather than to the Mozarabs. The author construes the contemporary Mozarabs’ claims of nobility as a cover for the hazy origins of those who do not know whether their ancestry is Christian or whether they are the descendants of converts. These “villanos” are likened to foundlings left in front of a church door who could not prove their purity of blood because they did not know their parentage.¹⁰¹ The author concludes that

those peasants who today in Spain boastfully call themselves Old Christians descend either from the Moors and Jews who were tributaries of Christians, or from the Mozarabs and Marranos [...] and there being only these two origins, when they don’t know which one is their lineage, the fog of their former peasant status hidden, the infinity of those who come from the other origin, from Moors and Jews, who remain among us [...] is a much greater number than of the Mozarabs who remained in the end; no one can doubt that those who remain from the former group are more numerous than those from the latter.¹⁰²

100 Amrán, “El origen,” 228–29: Llamados metrarabes o muçarabes que es decir metis títulos renombre dellos dándoles por memoria y perpetua infamia para manifestar la voluntaria sujecion que á los Arabes ofrecieron [...] los mismos Moros, que los menospreciaban, y tenían por viles y malos, como hombres que se habian sujetado á gente infiel, por estimar mas la posesion de sus bienes, que la defensa de su religion.

101 Ibid., 245.

102 Ibid., 246: Los villanos que oy se llaman y precian de Christianos viejos en españa, tiene uno destos dos origenes o que descenden de los moros y Judios que eran tributarios de los Christianos o de los muçarabes y marranos [...] y ansi aviendo estos dos origines solos por no saberse de qual descenden [...] quedando con la niebla de su villania antigua oculta la infinidad de los que vienen del otro origen de moros y Judios que entre nosotros se quedaron [...] es mucho mayor numero que los muçarabes que al fin quedaron y per-

The author forcefully questions the presupposition that commoners who claimed “Old Christian” lineage were actually descended from the Mozarabs, casting doubt on the Toledan Mozarabs’ claims of Visigothic ancestry. “Marranos,” paired here with the Mozarabs, refers to converts from Judaism and typically describes crypto-Jews who maintained Jewish religious customs in secret.¹⁰³ Judaizing Christians were at a disadvantage because of their position in the gray area between two religious communities; they were not accepted by Jews (who considered them apostates), nor were they Christian enough to escape inquisitorial persecution.¹⁰⁴ By associating the Mozarabs with the Marranos, the author appears to suggest that they are alike, neither of them truly Christian, taking to its logical extreme the idea that the name of the Mozarabs meant they were “mixed with Arabs.”

The Arabicity of the medieval Mozarabs, although a historical fact, was not acknowledged in definitions of their name until quite late in the long trajectory outlined by this chapter. The belatedness of the Arabic etymology of “Mozarab” can be seen as a direct result of the historical circumstances in which Arabic philology established itself as a discipline in the early modern Iberian peninsula.¹⁰⁵ Expertise in Arabic developed pragmatically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in response to the exigencies of dominion and trade in Spain’s growing Mediterranean empire, as well as to the Inquisition’s need for translators.¹⁰⁶ A scholarly understanding of the language was required to decipher the theological writings that were discovered over several years beginning in

manecieron no se quien pueda dudar que mas son los que descienden destos que los que de aquellos.

103 On the Marranos see Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain: From the Late 14th to the Early 16th Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999). I am grateful to Ana Méndez Oliver for helping me to understand the connotations of the word in this passage.

104 Yirmiyahu Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos: Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

105 On Arabic philology as an academic discipline in early modern Spain see particularly Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, “Sacred History, Sacred Languages: The Question of Arabic in Early Modern Spain,” in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett, *The History of Oriental Studies* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 133–62.

106 Claire Gilbert, “Empire of Translation: Multilingual Administrative Dynasties in Habsburg Spain,” in *Iberian Babel: Translation and Multilingualism in the Medieval and the Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. Michelle H. Hamilton and Nuria Silleras-Fernandez, *The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World* 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 170–94; Gilbert, *In Good Faith: Arabic Translation and Translators in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

1588 in a cave in the hills of Sacromonte outside Granada, many of them on lead tablets.¹⁰⁷ Claimed by their Morisco translators as the writings of early Arabophone Christians, these texts constituted the turning point in the transformation of Granada into a Christian city, even though they were later revealed to be forgeries that were probably composed by their translators.¹⁰⁸ Notwithstanding the debunking of the Sacromonte forgeries, the controversial theory that Christians in Granada in the early centuries of the common era wrote in Arabic had the ultimate effect of “de-Islamizing” the language.¹⁰⁹

It is not happenstance, therefore, that etymologies deriving the word “Mozarab” from the Arabic finally appeared in the same period as the discoveries at Sacromonte. The first dictionary of the Castilian language, published by Sebastián de Covarrubias in 1611, tells the story of the Mozarabs and their liturgy, and explains their names as indicating that they lived mixed “among the Moors” and that the word gradually mutated from Mixtiarabes to Mozarabs. Covarrubias dismisses the Muza Arabe etymology as “foolish.”¹¹⁰ He reports the derivation of “Mozarabic” from *mustarabi*, proposed by the sixteenth-century Arabist Francisco López Tamarid, who had claimed that the Mozarabic mass was celebrated “mixed, in Arabic” in Toledo.¹¹¹ Following Covarrubias, Bernardo de

107 See Mercedes García-Arenal Rodríguez, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, and Consuelo López Menillas, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Numen Book Series, Studies in the History of Religions 142 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

108 On the Christianization of Granada see David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); and Katie A. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

109 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, “Sacred History, Sacred Languages.”

110 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española* (Madrid: Luís Sánchez, 1611), fol. 557v: Como estos tales Christianos estuviessen mezclados entre los moros, llamaronlos Mixtiarabes, eo quod cum Arabibus viverent. Despues de recobrada la ciudad de Toledo de los moros se continuò, y conservò la memoria destos Mixtiarabes, corrompido el vocablo en Mozarabes. [...] Que se aya dicho de Muza Arabe Capitan de Alif tienese por disparate.

111 Ibid.: Tamarid says: “The Mozarabic Mass in Toledo is named from ‘mixed Arabs,’ or from Mustarabi, which in Latin means ‘in Arabic,’ because in Toledo the celebration of the Mass was mixed, in Arabic” (*Tamarid dize assi: Mozarabe Missa en Toledo dicta a mixtis Arabibus, vel a Mustarabi, quod Latine sonat Arabice eo quod mixta Arabice Missa Toleti celebrabatur*). Little is known of Tamarid besides his self-identification as an inquisitorial translator in his *Compendio* of Castilian Arabisms. See Stefan Ruhstaller, “Los inicios de la investigación sobre el arabismo léxico en español,” *Bulletin hispanique* 115 (2013): 253–70, at 254.

Aldrete asserts the Arabic etymology, translating “Mozarabic” as “Arabic by accident.”¹¹² These interpretations renewed the association of the Mozarabs with the Arabic language.

5 The “Mozarabic Question”

Besides mudejars and Mozarabs, the other peninsular group closely associated with Arabic were the Moriscos.¹¹³ Whereas the comparison of Mozarabs to Moriscos may seem counterintuitive, the suspicions of apostasy that hovered over Moriscos in the sixteenth century contributed to a climate in which knowledge of Arabic was suspect.¹¹⁴ Even once the linguistic differentiation of Mozarabs from other Christians and their historical association with Muslims had become distant memories, the Castilian Mozarabs were perceived as inextricably associated with Arabs, whether by juxtaposition or by “mixture.” The tenacity with which early modern writers insisted on the Arabism of the Mozarabs may form part of the cultural tendency known as *maurophilia*, a taste for all things “Moorish.” Spaniards were fascinated by the non-Christian Other, creating an objectification of “Moors” that colored popular culture and made Spain what Barbara Fuchs calls an “exotic nation.”¹¹⁵ Acute interest in socioreligious difference (and, albeit only secondarily, of ethnic diversity) was a constitutive element of early modern culture. The concomitant emphasis on the identity and descent of the Toledan Mozarabs, who were apparently not culturally different from other Castilians, suggests a degree of curiosity along the lines of the *maurophilia* that pervaded early modern Spain.

The idea of “mixing,” expressed by the asserted etymon *mixti arabes* for the word “Mozarab,” endowed the Toledan Mozarabic community with a historically ambiguous otherness that was not recognizable as hybridity or as an early modern form of *métissage*, but was something still more difficult to classify. Neither Arab nor Muslim, they were clearly perceived as different from other

112 Bernardo de Aldrete, *Varias antigüedades de España, África y otras provincias* (Antwerp: Juan Hasrey, 1614), 433: El nombre de Mozarabe no vino del origen que algunos le dan, quasi Misti Arabes, sino de Musta arabi [...] árabigo por accidente.

113 Mercedes García-Arenal, “The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada,” *Arabica* 56, no. 6 (2009): 495–528; María Angeles Gallego, “The Languages of Medieval Iberia and Their Religious Dimension,” *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003): 107–39.

114 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 127.

115 Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*.

Christian Castilians in a way that went beyond language and tradition. The very existence of the Mozarabs was a stimulus to the recounting of their history, because in the early modern period their former Arabizing was increasingly perceived as going against the grain of Christian identity. While characterized by historians as a continuously Christian population descending from the Visigoths, they were also classified as a separate group; they were not exactly a religious minority, nor a separate church, but somehow, at least in ecclesiastical terms, a nation (*natio*) of their own—hence Jacques de Vitry's emphasis on the orthodoxy of the Mozarabs despite contrasts between their customs and those of other Christians.

The early modern desire to define the Mozarabs may also shed light on the alignment of religion in the early modern Iberian peninsula with an emerging category of race. The tendency of Christian writers to dwell on the definition of the name "Mozarab" and to recount their history before 1085 suggests anxiety about the connotations of mixture and hybridity embedded in the designation. In Geraldine Heng's formulation, race functions primarily as a category for describing difference, "a structural relationship for the articulation and management of human differences, rather than a substantive content."¹¹⁶ Iberian notions of *raza* emerging in the early modern period might illuminate the manipulation and avoidance of ideas about mixture seen in the definitions of Mozarabs.

Definitions of the Mozarabs reflect a generalized awareness that the Christians of the peninsula were, in effect, a population of the kind that today would be described as an "ethno-religious group." The medieval communities of Mozarabs were disparate, and the challenges of defining them have yielded reductive interpretations. In the nineteenth century, the Romantic nationalist approach of Francisco Javier Simonet (1829–1897), who described Mozarabs as a heroic, oppressed minority, asserted the fantasy of a timeless Spanish national identity maintained unchangeably throughout the centuries of Muslim rule.¹¹⁷ Simonet's nostalgic vision established for subsequent generations a variant on the early modern notion that the Mozarabs embodied the continuity of Iberian Christianity from the Visigoths.

The Mozarabs stand at the intersection of major junctures in the historiography of the Iberian peninsula. As Cyrille Aillet points out, the "Mozarabic

116 Geraldine Heng, "The Invention of Race in the Middle Ages 1: Race Studies, Modernity, and the Middle Ages," *Literature Compass* 8, no. 5 (2011): 258–74, at 262; Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 3.

117 Aillet, "La question 'mozarabe,'" 306–7.

question" is crucial to any consideration of Muslim-Christian relations in the peninsula before the twelfth century; the history of the Mozarabs illustrates the genesis of an Islamic society and the spread of Umayyad-Arab culture to Christian populations in Al-Andalus.¹¹⁸ The history of the Iberian peninsula contradicts reductive constructions of medieval "Spain" as a European entity (a category understood as largely Christian) or as a juxtaposition of the Andalusian South with a Christian North.¹¹⁹ Taking the vicissitudes of the Mozarabs into account also confounds perceptions of Christian Spain as a monolithic culture and society that was related to North Africa only through violent conquest (as in the ongoing crusading movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). The Mozarabs in Africa were mentioned by Jacques de Vitry as those in "the West" along with the Hispanic ones; and those in the Near East invoked by the *Ten Divisions* treatise were linked by their Arabic language and culture to those denizens of medieval Toledo also known as Mozarabs. After 1500 the identity of the Mozarabs as a group became increasingly hazy, perhaps as a consequence of sharpened confessional boundaries that generated ever greater scrutiny of those who claimed the Christian faith as their birthright. In retrospect, changes after 1500 in the perception of Mozarabs appear to be direct consequences of the actions undertaken by Cisneros to promote the legacy of the Mozarabs.

The construction of Mozarabic identity through definition, in the discursive space of language, fostered the remembrance of the Mozarabs' long-past Arabizing. In the early modern period, the idea of the Mozarab took on its own idiosyncratic reality and generative power as an intellectual construct underlying ways of writing Iberian history. Mozarabic definitions invented history through etymology. False etymologies gave rise to questionable histories. Along the same lines, as Seth Kimmel has demonstrated, early modern discourse on the Morisco question effectively staged disputes about the "reinvention of scholarly practices." If the "figure of the Morisco remained a tool of imperial self-examination,"¹²⁰ then did the figure of the Mozarab become a tool of imperial reification? As Arabic-speaking Christians, the medieval Mozarabs of Toledo are sometimes grouped (by modern as well as by medieval writers) with the Arabophone Christians of the Middle East. In the sixteenth century, the ongoing campaign to convert the Muslims in North Africa and the Ottoman

118 Aillet, "La question 'mozarabe.'"

119 Michelle M. Hamilton, *Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 3.

120 Seth Kimmel, *Parables of Coercion: Conversion and Knowledge at the End of Islamic Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 171, 173.

Empire conceptually linked the Mozarabs of Toledo to their counterparts overseas. When Cisneros chose the conquest of Oran as a subject for the decoration of the Mozarabic Chapel, he may have perceived a connection between the Mozarabic community of Toledo living under Muslim rule before 1085 and the Arabized Christians of Syria, Palestine, and North Africa.¹²¹ In chapter 3, I turn to the process by which the Mozarabic rite became entangled in the memorializing of the conquest of Oran, one of the North African campaigns that advanced the aspiration of Ferdinand of Aragon for universal empire.¹²²

Appendix B: Timeline and Summary of Mozarabic Definitions

(For translations, see above.)

Mixtiarabes

1209–47: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia Gothica*, 107

mixti arabibus conuiuiebant > mixtiarabes

Et isti dicti sunt Mixti Arabes, eo quod mixti Arabibus conuiuiebant, quorum hodie apud nos nomen perseuerat et genus.

1500: Alfonso Ortiz, Preface to the *Missale mixtum*

inter Arabes degentes > Mozarabes

Quo fit ut habitantibus Christianis Toleti inter Arabes eius urbis imperio potitos nomen Mozarabes inductum hucusque permanserit, ut opinor dicti sunt Mozarabes, hoc est inter Arabes degentes.

1549: Blas Ortiz, *Summi templi Toletani*, fol. 96v

cum Arabibus permixtim viuerent > Mixtarabes

[...] a reliquis Hispanis Mixtarabes, quod cum Arabibus permixtim viuerent, dicti sunt. Unde illorum ritus ecclesiasticus officium Mixtarabum

¹²¹ On the representation of Oran in the Mozarabic Chapel see chapter 3.

¹²² Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire*.

nuncupatus. Quae vox tum temporis diuturnitate, tum stridula ipsa Barbarorum pronunciatione corrupta in eam degenerauit, qua nunc vulgus utitur Mozarabe. Unde nimirum fabula orta de Muza nescio quo Arabum duce, cuius videlicet beneficio, is ritus inter hostes seruatus, Muzarabis appellationem inuenerit. Verum hoc sane commentum, cum nullo quidem testimonio dumtaxat idoneo nititur, tumquam attulimus opinio receptę fidei historicorum autoritate fulcitur, et vetustissimorum etiam monumentorum documento.

1569: Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio Archiepiscopo Toletano*, fol. 41

arabibus permisti viuerent > Mistarabes

Ergo eiusmodi homines quod arabibus permisti viuerent, Mistarabes appellati sunt, & illorum ecclesiasticus ritus, officium Mistarabum.

1601: Juan de Mariana, *Historia general de España*, 414

mezclados con ellos > Mixti Arabes

Los que estauan sugetos a los Moros, y mezclados con ellos, entonces se començaron a llamar Mixti Arabes, es a saber, mezclados Arabes: despues mudada algun tanto la palabra, los mismos se llamaron Mozarabes.

1603: Eugenio de Robles, *Breve suma*, 1

Christiano mezclado con Alarabes > Mixtiarabe > Mozarabe

Este vocablo Mozarabe, es corrompido de Mixtiarabe, que es lo mesmo que dezir, Christiano mezclado con Alarabes.

1611: Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española*, fol. 557^v

mezclados entre los moros > Mixtiarabes > Mozarabes

[...] como estos tales Christianos estuviessen mezclados entre los moros, llamaronlos Mixtiarabes, eo quod cum Arabibus viverent. Despues de recobrada la ciudad de Toledo de los moros se continuò, y conservò

la memoria destos Mixtiarabes, corrompido el vocablo en Mozarabes [...]

Muza (or Musa) Arabe

1549: Blas Ortiz, *Summi templi Toletani*, fol. 96v

Unde nimirum fabula orta de Muza nescio quo Arabum duce, cuius videlicet beneficio, is ritus inter hostes seruatus, Muzarabis appellationem inuenerit.

1551/1554: Pedro de Alcocer, *Hystoria o Descripción de la imperial cibdad de Toledo, adonde se tocan y refieren muchas antigüedades y cosas notables de la Historia general de España*, cap. 43, fol. 39r

Segun dicen algunos Muça, por deshazer la memoria de Tarif, tratò con los Christianos que quedaron en Toledo, que dende en adelante se llamassen Muçaraues, en memoria de su nombre, que era Muça Arabe o Alarabe.

1571: Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, *Los XL libros d'el compendio historial de las chronicas y vniuersal historia de todos los reynos de España*, lib. 8, cap. 49, 381

Segun otros lo interpretan, fueron dichos Muçarabes, en memoria d'el capitan Muça, que era Arabe, por que Muça, segun quieron algunos auc-tores, con embidia de la gloria y honra de las conquistas de Tarif, dicen, que concertò con los Christianos, que tomando su nombre y patria, se llamassen Muçaraues, para futura memoria suya.

1605: Francisco de Pisa, *Descripción de la Imperial ciudad de Toledo, y historia de sus antigüedades y grandeza, y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido, de los Reyes que la han señoreado [...] primera parte*, lib. 2, cap. 36, 125

El mismo Muza, por deshacer la memoria de Tarif, hizo concierto con los Christianos que avian quedado en Toledo, que desde en adelante tomassen por apellido llamarse Muzarabes, en memoria de su nombre, que era Muza Arabe, o Alarabe.

1611: Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española*, fol. 557v

Que se aya dicho de Muza Arabe Capitan de Alif tienese por disparate.

Must'arab or Must'arib (While Acknowledging Other Etymologies)

1611: Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española*, fol. 557^v

Tamarid dize assi: Mozarabe Missa en Toledo dicta a mixtis Arabibus, vel a Mustarabi, quod Latine sonat Arabice, eo quod mixta Arabice Missa Toleti celebrabatur.

1614: Bernardo de Aldrete, *Varias antigüedades de España, África y otras provincias*, 433

El nombre de Mozarabe no vino del origen que algunos le dan, quasi Misti Arabes, sino de Musta arabi [...] arábigo por accidente.

1862: Antonio Martín Gamero, *Historia de la ciudad de Toledo, sus claros varones y monumentos*, 661

Salga la voz mozárabe del participio MOSTARAB, que dicen significa *arabizado*, como determinando la manera de vasallaje que los cristianos rendian bajo la dominacion mahometana, o provenga de MUCTAARAB, vocablo con que se indica al que sin ser originariamente arabe, habla bien y usa de ordinario la lengua arábigo.

Remembering the Rite

Whether in various kinds of social observance, in religious practices, or in the received physical environment or in the use and interpretation of inherited artefacts, memory is a constant process of modification, of selection, of forgetting.¹

In the early modern period, the Mozarabic rite was a form of living memory, a venerable tradition that was both a historical repository of religious group identity and a commemorative practice continuously evoking the past of Christians in Toledo. This chapter explores cultural practices of reception that endowed the rite with layered meanings. Ongoing memory of the Mozarabic rite also entailed the acts of modification, selection, and forgetting described by David McKitterick in the epigraph above. Interpreting the Mozarabic Chapel as a memorial site, I situate its frescoes depicting the conquest of Oran in relation to narrative accounts of the military campaign. I then turn to the biography of Cisneros by Eugenio de Robles (the *Compendio*) and the early seventeenth-century poems that accompanied both the biography in print and the separately published chapters on the Mozarabic rite. The final part of the chapter addresses the memory of the rite in eighteenth-century Toledo and the symbolism of Archbishop Lorenzana's publication of the rite in Mexico.

By founding the Mozarabic Chapel in his cathedral and endowing the perpetual celebration of the rite there, Cisneros created a living memorial for a liturgy that the Mozarabic community had long observed only outside the cathedral. To that end, while the celebration of the rite in the parishes was limited to certain feast days, Cisneros made it more regular in the cathedral. Both the chapel and the Mozarabic rite itself act as nodes of associated meaning of the kind Pierre Nora called *lieux de mémoire*, that is, sites of memory.² The concept of *lieux de mémoire* derives from the rhetorical *loci* ("places") that are essential vectors in the classical theory of memory, the imagined points in

1 David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 322.

2 *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, 7 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92). For a brief summary of the concept see Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," trans. Marc Roudebush, in "Memory and Counter-Memory," special issue, *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.

the mind—whether places, objects or ideas—to which significant memories are connected and which thus become “symbolic element[s] of the memorial heritage of any community.”³ Another useful framework for interpreting the Mozarabic Chapel as a memorial structure is Aleida Assmann’s theorization of cultural memory, particularly her distinction between the canon as “actively circulated memory that keeps the past present” and archive as “the passively stored memory that preserves the past past.”⁴ These terms aptly describe the chapel’s recollection of the Mozarabic rite in the chapel and the preservation of the legacy of Cisneros, for the celebration of the rite there brought to mind not only the Mozarabs of Toledo but also, and equally, Cisneros himself as founder.⁵

Cisneros features prominently in the chapel’s monumental wall paintings depicting the siege of Oran, which he financed and led in 1509. Commissioned by the cardinal, the frescoes were executed in the years around 1514 by the Hispano-Flemish painter Juan de Borgoña (Fig. 3.1).⁶ With its pictorial representations, the Mozarabic Chapel fresco both contains and generates communal memory in which images of Cisneros and the conquest of Oran converge with the daily observance of the rite.

The conquest of Oran was part of a new crusading endeavor envisioned by the Catholic Monarchs for the conversion of Muslims overseas, extending to lands abroad the eschatological justifications that had driven the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. The taking of Granada in 1492, seen as a step towards the universal monarchy of the eschaton, is described in apocalyptic terms in the liturgical office composed by the first archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera.⁷ Expeditions to the coast of North Africa were intended

3 Pierre Nora, “From *Lieux de mémoire* to Realms of Memory,” preface in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), xvii.

4 Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning in collaboration with Sara B. Young, Media and Cultural Memory 8 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 97–108, at 98.

5 The dual memorial function of the Mozarabic Chapel differentiated it from the more typical funerary chapels that elite ecclesiastics endowed for services to be performed in their memory. With regard to Toledo see Almudena Cros Gutiérrez, “The Artistic Patronage of Gil de Albornoz (1302–1367), a Cardinal in Context” (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2008), 234–39.

6 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” (PhD diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2008), 259–73.

7 Fray Hernando de Talavera, *Oficio de la Toma de Granada*, ed. Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, Pilar Ramos López, Elisa Varela Rodríguez, and Hermenegildo de la Campa (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2003), 84: On the verge of the world’s evening, the highest Word



FIGURE 3.1 Juan de Borgoña, central panel of *The Conquest of Oran*, fresco, c.1514, Mozarabic Chapel, Toledo Cathedral
 PHOTO: ALBUM / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

to create a foundation for further expansion into the Mediterranean with the ultimate aim that Ferdinand would be crowned king of Jerusalem (a title he had claimed in 1504) and proclaim a universal empire.⁸ Spanish political theorists in the sixteenth century asserted that Spain's monarchy, allied with the Church, constituted the final empire, a transcendent universal monarchy that would last until the Second Coming of Christ. This political theology was based

liberated the kingdom of Granada by the right hand of King Ferdinand (Verbum supernum dimicans Fernandi regis dextera Granate regnum vindicat vergente mundi vespere).

- 8 Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Cisneros y la conquista española del norte de África: Cruzada, política y arte de la guerra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2005); Alonso Acero, *España y el norte de África en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2017), 58; Andrew Devereux, "Empire in the Old World: Ferdinand the Catholic and His Aspiration to Universal Empire, 1479–1516," in *In and Of the Mediterranean. Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies*, ed. Michelle M. Hamilton and Nuria Silleras Fernández, *Hispanic Issues* 41 (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015), 119–42; Devereux, "North Africa in Early Modern Spanish Political Thought," *Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): 275–91; Devereux, *The Other Side of Empire: Just War in the Mediterranean and the Rise of Early Modern Spain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020), 95–126.

on interpretations of prophetic books of the Bible and on the tenet that the Spanish monarchy was the only true heir to the Roman Empire.⁹ Cisneros supported the messianic conviction of Pedro Navarro and others in Ferdinand's circle according to which the North African conquest was the beginning of a crusade to retake Jerusalem and convert all of humanity to Christianity.¹⁰

The thematic choice of the conquest of Oran to decorate the Mozarabic Chapel signaled the wider meaning of Cisneros's triumph in a way that would have seemed logical to his contemporaries: just as the conquest of Toledo in 1085 had enabled subsequent victories, leading ultimately to the capitulation of Granada, so too the new military campaigns in Africa would empower the Spanish kingdom to repel the Ottoman threat and culminate in a Christian conquest of the Mediterranean. The image of the North African campaign added meaning to the celebration of the Old Hispanic rite by setting it within a wider chronological frame and underlining its place in the history of conflict between Christians and Muslims. In this way, the frescoes provided a visual accompaniment to the celebration of the rite associated with Christians who had been released from Muslim rule by a king of Castile and León.

Still, the painted scenes decorating the Mozarabic Chapel would seem to have no evident connection to the rite celebrated there. What did the capture of a coastal trading post in North Africa have to do with the restoration of the ancestral Christian liturgy of Toledo? The answer is in the memorial function of the chapel, which was intended to be as much a monument to Cisneros and his conquest of Oran as a place for the celebration of the Mozarabic rite.

The pairing of liturgical restoration and the figuration of imperial expansion in the chapel was a strategy of self-fashioning that presented these two endeavors as central to the cardinal's legacy. The most influential expression of the cardinal's identity was in the written word, particularly in the form of print culture. Before turning to the frescoes, then, we analyze the textual accounts that provide the most salient context for the visual depiction of the conquest.

9 Eva Botella-Ordinas, "'Exempt from Time and from Its Fatal Change': Spanish Imperial Ideology, 1450–1700," *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 4 (2012): 580–604, at 588. For an overview of Spanish theories of empire see Manuel Herrero Sánchez, "Spanish Theories of Empire: A Catholic and Polycentric Monarchy," in *A Companion to Early Modern Spanish Imperial Political and Social Thought*, ed. Jörg Alejandro Tellkamp, Brill's Companions to European History 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 17–52.

10 Alonso Acero, *Cisneros*, 64–87; Alonso Acero, *España y el norte de África*, 58–63, 89; José García Oro, *Cisneros, el cardenal de España* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2002), 185–209.

1 Textual Accounts of the Campaign

Accounts of the expeditions to Oran and Tripoli circulated in 1509–10 in the form of letters, some of which were widely circulated through subsequent publication. These documents, which are partly private and partly public in nature, became instruments of propaganda about the African campaign and the crusade that it aimed to prepare. That correspondence about the campaigns was viewed as a coherent corpus is clear from a sixteenth-century manuscript that presents a collection of five of the most significant letters, copied together and arranged in chronological order.¹¹ The first letter, penned by the royal chronicler Fernando del Pulgar on the occasion of Pedro Navarro's departure with Cisneros for Africa, is infused with humanist imagery.¹² The second letter is a brief private note from Cisneros to his vicar, Antonio García de Villalpando. In it, Cisneros introduces the third letter, a longer communication sent to Villalpando by Cisneros's chaplain, the Franciscan Juan de Cazalla.¹³ The fourth letter, from King Ferdinand to Cisneros, describes the conquest of Tripoli in July 1510.¹⁴ The fifth and final letter in the series was written by the grand master of Rhodes to Ferdinand. It cites the king's wish to continue the conquest of Africa as far as Egypt.¹⁵ Taken together (which may well be how some contemporaries read them), the five letters do two things of interest to us: in addition to narrating events, they illustrate the imbricated relationships between clergy and monarchy that enabled Cisneros to undertake military campaigns.

The letter from Juan de Cazalla provides the earliest description of Cisneros's arrival before the battle, an event depicted in the central panel of the chapel frescoes: riding a mule and preceded by a cross, the cardinal blessed the forces and enjoined them to begin the battle (Fig. 3.1, at right). According to Cazalla, Cisneros was the first to enter the city after its fall.¹⁶ With such reporting Cazalla's letter held testimonial primacy, serving as a source not only for Borgoña's painting but also for written versions of the narrative in the biographies of Cisneros by Alvar Gómez de Castro, Eugenio de Robles, and Pedro de

11 For an edition of the letters with a historical introduction see María Isabel Hernández González, *El taller historiográfico: Cartas de relación de la conquista de Orán (1509) y textos afines* (London: Dept. of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1997).

12 *Ibid.*, 37–46.

13 *Ibid.*, 47–54.

14 *Ibid.*, 55–57.

15 *Ibid.*, 58–61, at 60.

16 *Ibid.*, 49, 53.

Aranda Quintanilla y Mendoza. Many epistolary accounts of the conquest of Oran, along with diverse poems, were diffused in the printed broadsides or chapbooks known as *pliegos sueltos poeticos*.¹⁷ These brief and often ephemeral publications form an important corpus of early modern popular literature. According to Vincenç Beltrán, while the earliest *pliegos* (published before 1510) were mostly associated with the court, its politics, and its devotional culture, *romances* (strophic ballads) became more common in the *pliegos* between 1510 and 1516.¹⁸ The *pliegos* about Oran, which belong to the first stage described by Beltrán, constitute early examples of the *relaciones de sucesos*, narratives of current or recent events that were published both in prose and in verse and that made for effective propaganda due to their accessible style and format.¹⁹ A few decades later, *pliegos* celebrated major events in the reign of Emperor Charles v, including his coronation, his victories, and his peace treaties with France.²⁰

Cazalla's letter has its own propagandistic elements. At the time of the conquest of Oran, the letter relates, miraculous occurrences were said to have helped the Castilians win the day, including the appearance of a cross that Cazalla claimed to have seen upon arrival:

The first thing I saw in the land of Africa was a cross, and I said then to those who were with me: "In this sign we shall conquer," as I had preached on the feast of the Cross before we departed, and they had said that we were going to Africa in search of the Cross.²¹

17 These pamphlets were often a single sheet of paper folded twice to create four pages of text.

18 Vincenç Beltrán, "Los primeros pliegos poéticos: Alta cultura / cultura popular," *Revista de literatura medieval* 17 (2005): 71–120.

19 See Pedro Cátedra, "En los orígenes de las *epistolas de relación*," in *Las 'Relaciones de sucesos' en España (1500–1750)*, ed. María Cruz García de Enterría (Alcalá de Henares: Publications de la Sorbonne / Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 1996), 33–64; María Sánchez Pérez, "Panoramica sobre las Relaciones de sucesos en pliegos sueltos poeticos (siglo XVI)," *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 21 (2012): 336–68, https://www.ehumanista.ucsb.edu/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu.span.d7_eh/files/sitefiles/ehumanista/volume21/11%20ehumanista21.sanchez.pdf.

20 See the texts introduced and edited in *Pliegos sueltos sobre el emperador Carlos Quinto*, ed. Antonio Pérez Gómez, 2 vols, Duque y marques: Opúsculos literarios rarísimos 12–13 (Valencia: ... la fonte que mana y corre ..., 1958).

21 Hernández González, *El taller historiográfico*, 51: La primera cosa que yo vi en la tierra de África fue una cruz, e dixe luego a los que estavan comigo: 'En esta señal venceremos', como yo avía predicado el día de la cruz, ante que partiésemos, e avían dicho que yvamos a buscar la cruz a África.

This passage alludes pithily to a well-known story about the emperor Constantine. According to the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius of Caesarea, before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 the emperor saw a cross of light in the sky accompanied by the words “In this sign you shall conquer,” leading him to have the Christian *chi-rho* symbol painted on his soldiers’ shields. In the interpretations of Eusebius and the Latin historian Lactantius, the vision and the victory that followed it inspired Constantine’s conversion to Christianity. Cazalla’s letter approximates Lactantius’s well-known Latin rendition of the phrase (*In hoc signo vinces*).²²

To contemporary readers, the implications of Cazalla’s allusion would have been clear: aligning Constantine’s victory at the Milvian Bridge with the conquest of Oran framed the African campaign as the inauguration of a new era in which Christianity would triumph. By “going to Africa in search of the cross,” Cazalla situated the military campaign in North Africa within the ongoing effort to undertake a new crusade promoted by the Catholic Monarchs. Cazalla reinforced the connection between past and present even further by mentioning his own preaching on the Feast of the Cross before the departure of the expedition. The feast, on 3 May, commemorated the discovery of the True Cross in Jerusalem in 326 by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Quoting the words of Constantine and alluding directly to the Finding of the Cross, Cazalla’s letter imbued his account of the Oran campaign with the religious authority of the first Christian emperor.

The letter of Cazalla was a major source for one of the first literary tributes to the conquest, Martín de Herrera’s poem *Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán*.²³ True to the plural in its title, the *Historias* is a compound text. Its 2,500 lines comprise multiple sections that represent diverse genres of popular literature—panegyric, devotional poetry, vernacular biblical poetry, sacred history, and the short pastoral plays known as eclogues. Only one section of the long poem actually tells the story of the conquest of Oran, after recounting in a hagiographical vein the career of Cisneros up to that time.²⁴ The third part of

22 The complicated textual history of this episode has been addressed by Raymond Van Dam, most recently in “The Sources for Our Sources: Eusebius and Lactantius on Constantine in 312–13,” in *Constantine: Religious Faith and Imperial Policy*, ed. A. Edward Sicienski (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 59–74, esp. 68. See also Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

23 *Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán* (Logroño: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1510). Critical edition and facsimile in “*Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán*” por Martín de Herrera, ed. Pedro Cátedra, 2 vols, Monumentos tipográficos riojanos 3 (San Millán de la Cogolla: Cilengua, 2009).

24 *Ibid.*, 2:213–18. This section makes the *Historias* one of the earliest textual sources for the biography of Cisneros.

the text is about the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 AD, an event which for Herrera and his contemporaries prefigured the conquest of Oran. The editor of the *Historias*, Pédro Cátedra, describes the eschatological interpretation of the conquest of Oran that Herrera's readers shared:

Decades of eschatological drive converge, like a whirlwind, in the vortex of the victory of Oran and in the messianic and providential figure of Cisneros. The taking of Oran is the gateway to a new era and the beginning of the path to a mission sacred to Christianity, the conquest of Jerusalem, which would reinstate the kingdom of Christ on earth before the final Revelation in which the Triumph of Eternity would appear.²⁵

Cátedra argues that there was not only a typological relationship between the conquest of Oran and the destruction of Jerusalem but also a connection between them in the church year: in Toledo, the annual remembrance of the conquest of Oran was on Pentecost Sunday while the liturgical commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem took place on the ninth Sunday after Pentecost.²⁶ Several references in the text to well-known chants reinforce the effect of meaningful resonances associated with specific feast days of symbolic importance. In the poem's prologue Herrera reports that the news of the conquest arrived on Pentecost at the hour of the Divine Office when the responsory *Spiritus domini* was sung.²⁷ Cátedra shows the association between the liturgy of Pentecost and the psalm verse *Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius* ("Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered," Psalm 67:2), which tops the frontispiece of the sole edition of the *Historias*.²⁸ The Marian antiphon *Sub tuum presidium* ("Under your protection") appears below a woodcut of the Virgin and Child facing the frontispiece, implying the Virgin's patronage of the conquest.

Contemporaries deployed a variety of references in articulating their view of the conquest of Oran as auguring victory in future expeditions and triumph in the Holy Land. In one passage, Herrera directly addresses the "preachers of

25 Ibid., 2:201: Décadas de pulsión escatológica convergen, como en un torbellino, en el vórtice de la victoria de Orán y en la figura mesiánica y providencial de Cisneros. La toma de Orán es el pórtico de una nueva era y el inicio del camino a una misión sagrada de la cristiandad, la conquista de Jerusalén, que reinstaurará el reino de Cristo en la tierra antes de la Revelación última en que el Triunfo de la Eternidad se haga presente.

26 Ibid., 2:24. For the section devoted to the destruction of Jerusalem see 2:91–150.

27 Ibid., 2:22. Cátedra points out that the news actually arrived the next day. See also his commentary at 2:192–93.

28 Ibid., 2:191–93.

the holy crusade,” admonishing them to “raise their voices like trumpets” to announce the indulgences for crusaders and to instruct the religious orders to “pray in the same manner as when Oran was conquered, because their prayers will accomplish more than we do at war.”²⁹ Herrera imagines the Christians of the East united in obedience to Rome to assist in the crusade, with the help of armed forces supplied by the Aragonese kingdom of Naples, the Hospitallers (on Rhodes), and the forces of Ferdinand in Oran:

And if they were enlightened to be obedient to Rome, joined with them we would certainly be doubled against the forces of Mohammed; but even if all nine of these nations strike from Naples and Rhodes and Oran, we will make short work of those dogs.

Y si fuessen iluminados
para obdecer a Roma,
nós con ellos ayuntados
bien seríamos doblados
contra estos de Mahoma;
pero aunque huelguen todas
aquestas naciones nueve
dende Nápoles y Rodas
y Orán haremos bodas
destos canes muy en breve.³⁰

Thus Herrera evokes the newly conquered Oran as one of the points of departure for a new crusade in which Eastern and Western Christians would take up common cause against Muslims.

In addition to its hagiographical and liturgical echoes, the composition of Herrera's *Historias* reflects the influence of multiple literary genres, including epic. The author compares Cisneros to Aeneas, establishing the cardinal as a heroic follower of that ancient hero who passed through North Africa. Aeneas knew he was on his way to found Rome, and Cisneros thought he was on the way to conquering Jerusalem. What they had in common was their realization of a divine design through their actions.³¹

29 Ibid., 2:52: Y las ordenes [...] oren como quand Orán se ganó, que más harán sus preces que guerra nos.

30 Ibid., 2:49.

31 Ibid., 2:156–57.

In 1509–10, the same period as the publication of Herrera's *Historias* and the letters of Cisneros and Cazalla, other letters with reports of the battle were printed. Such *cartas* are a genre of history writing. One of them, the *Carta de la gran victoria y presa de Orán*, printed in Barcelona in 1509, was part of a multimedia ensemble, illustrated by a woodcut of the city of Oran and accompanying *villancicos* that cast the expedition as one phase of a crusade. Poetry and letters about the conquest of Oran, some of them verse panegyrics to Cisneros, reached a large audience, and did so often through print in the form of *pliegos*.³² Thus, poetry and print culture were significant vectors of transmission for propaganda about the conquest and its place in the framework of the crusading idea.

2 Oran and Cisneros

Cisneros supported the Oran expedition as a personal crusade, funding it generously from the coffers of the Toledo archbishopric. Appointed by Ferdinand of Aragon as general captain of the campaign, the archbishop, now a Roman cardinal, assumed the burdens of military sponsorship ordinarily associated with secular rulers, covering nearly all the costs of the campaign—from the salaries of the soldiers and shipmen to the maintenance of the fleet and the purchase of supplies. As compensation, Oran would become a permanent part of the archdiocese of Toledo and would remain under Cisneros's administrative jurisdiction until the vast financial outlay was reimbursed. The king provided the ships for the expedition, though he had balked at the enormous cost of the enterprise.³³ Some idea of the financial burden that Cisneros took on and the impediments he had to surmount can be gleaned from a letter to the cathedral canon Diego López de Ayala which the archbishop wrote from his residence at Alcalá on 1 September 1508, almost nine months before the expedition to Oran. He was already deeply ensconced in the practical logistics of organizing soldiers, recruiting mercenaries, and obtaining provisions.³⁴

32 Ibid., 2:321–81.

33 Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 212 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 36–37.

34 *Cartas del cardenal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros dirigidas à Diego Lopez de Ayala*, ed. Pascual Gayangos and Vicente de la Fuente (Madrid: Colegio de Sordomudos y de Ciegos, 1867), 1–7.



FIGURE 3.2 Juan de Borgoña, musicians welcoming Cardinal Cisneros, detail of *The Conquest of Oran*, fresco, c.1514, Mozarabic Chapel, Toledo Cathedral

PHOTO: TOLEDO CATHEDRAL / IBERFOTO / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

The mural paintings of the conquest of Oran render these details on the imposing scale of a monumental surface. In the first panel, Cisneros is shown disembarking from a ship, raising the fingers of one hand in a gesture of blessing to the combatants (Fig. 3.2, at right). He is assisted by a soldier, accompanied by a fellow Franciscan, and preceded by a chaplain. In the central scene (Fig. 3.1), Cisneros approaches the city on a mule behind a cohort of armed soldiers marching under a standard which prominently displays his coat of arms. All these elements of the visual narrative correspond to the descriptions in eyewitness accounts of the conquest, such as Cazalla's letter, that were penned soon after the victory.

Several elements of the frescoes emphasize the munificence and leading role of Cisneros in the military campaign. His coat of arms appears over the central fresco, thereby situating Oran literally under his aegis and marking the conquest as one of his signal achievements.³⁵ The fact that his garment possesses the brightest and most saturated hue draws attention to his figure, as does the fact that he is pictured wearing a *galero*, the red, wide-brimmed hat of a cardinal mentioned by Gómez de Castro in his biography of Cisneros: "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 Cardinalate."³⁶ The *galero*, the official hat that cardinals received from the pope at the time of their investiture, was purely symbolic when Borgoña painted the Mozarabic Chapel frescoes. By the late fifteenth century the headgear of cardinals had become the red cap known as the *biretta*, and the *galero* was thereafter reserved for use on important occasions, when it was carried (but not worn) as a symbol of the cardinal's high office.³⁷ As Carol Richardson notes, cardinals were set apart by the colors, cloth, and dye used in their richly tinted garments. During masses celebrated by the pope, cardinal bishops wore the rochet, a white lace-trimmed tunic designated for the highest clergy.³⁸ The image of Cisneros wearing the *galero* as well as the rochet stresses his ecclesiastical dignity and heightens the ceremonial quality of his processional arrival in Oran. What the frescoes do not show is the absence of Cisneros from the battle itself. On the day of the siege, in consideration of his age, poor health, and ecclesiastical dignity, Pedro Navarro sent him to the nearby garrison of Mazalquivir, where the cardinal prayed for victory while Navarro led the forces. Mazalquivir (Mers el Kébir) had been captured in 1505 by soldiers sponsored by Cisneros.³⁹

35 Sophie Domínguez-Fuentes, "Les fresques de la campagne d'Oran peintes par Juan de Borgoña dans la chapelle Mozarabe de la cathédrale de Tolède," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 83 (2011): 33–42, at 17, <http://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/6032>.

36 Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximénio Cisnerio archiepiscopo Toletano* (Complutum: Andream de Angulo, 1569), fols 41v–42r: In cuius restitutionis memoriam cenotaphium reparatori in medio sacello honorifice erectum cernitur, impendente desuper coccíneo galero, Cardinalitii honoris insigni.

37 Carol M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 173 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 122, 131–35. Richardson states (135 n. 131) that the earliest instance known to her of the practice of hanging a cardinal's hat over his tomb was that of Cardinal Richelieu (d. 1642) at the Sorbonne, but Gómez de Castro's description of the *galero* over the cenotaph of Cisneros was published in 1569.

38 Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 139.

39 Alonso Acero, *España y el norte de África*, 80–83. Mers el Kébir is ten kilometers from Oran.

Seemingly anecdotal details endow Juan de Borgoña's scenes with a degree of historical verisimilitude. A group of military musicians welcomes the disembarking cardinal with trumpets, fife, and drum (Fig. 3.2, at left). On the opposite wall, as Cisneros leaves Oran, captives stand in a neighboring ship with their hands bound, perhaps on their way to accompany him in a display of war booty. (Fig. 3.3). The smallest figures, their hands tied in front of them rather than behind their backs, may represent children who were less of a threat to their captors.

The frescoes did not include some of the most widely noted aspects of the conquest, however. While descriptions of the battle and its aftermath mention thousands of corpses that littered every corner of the conquered city, such casualties are largely absent from Borgoña's composition. An exception is the single prone figure in the lower left corner of the central lunette (Fig. 3.1). His short breeches and darker skin tone contrast with the dress and appearance of the advancing soldiers. The fallen man—who, we can infer, is meant to represent the many who died while defending the city—appears at the opposite end of the scene from the mounted cardinal (Fig. 3.1, at lower right), their respective positions in the foreground of the lower register mirroring each other with striking symmetry. With their detailed rendering of recent events and multiple appearances of Cisneros at key moments in the narrative, the frescoes are an effective form of propaganda and may also have provided justification for the enormous cost of the campaign, which the cardinal financed from the coffers of his singularly wealthy archbishopric.

Other, more subtle differences can be discerned between the portrayal of events in the frescoes and the historical reality of the siege. The painter's depiction of the conflict, which follows the textual sources, reinforces the conventional understanding of the victories in the Maghreb as logical outcomes of the Castilian forces' overwhelming military superiority. However, the victory at Oran, like others in the period, was prepared in advance by negotiations that had been carried out onsite by mediators whose intervention hastened the capitulation of local authorities. Such diplomacy 'from below', which was common in the Mediterranean region, was a decisive factor in the outcome of the attack on Oran and in conflicts initiated by Castilians elsewhere in the Maghreb.⁴⁰ The crucial importance of go-betweens explains the extraordinary ease with which victory was attained, as attested by eyewitnesses. Cisneros

⁴⁰ José M. Escribano-Paéz, *Juan Rena and the Frontiers of Spanish Empire, 1500–1540*, *Early Modern Iberian History in Global Contexts: Connexions* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 23–61.



FIGURE 3.3 Juan de Borgoña, captives in ship, detail of *The Conquest of Oran*, fresco, c.1514, Mozarabic Chapel, Toledo Cathedral

PHOTO: ALBUM / ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

himself wrote in his much-cited letter that it was achieved “more by miracle than by force of arms” (*más por misterio que por fuerza de armas*).⁴¹ Early accounts note that the North African soldiers defending Oran in battle near the port were unable to take refuge within the city because all the gates were suddenly closed to them, and they could not scale the walls, which sealed their fate and that of the city as a whole. As Escribano-Paéz points out, Alvar Gómez de Castro, in his 1569 biography of Cisneros, attributed the exclusion of the defending soldiers to a decision made in Oran to collaborate with the invading army.⁴² Gómez de Castro, for his part, alluded to intrigues on the ground before the battle—negotiations by mediators, including the Venetian clergyman Juan Rena.⁴³ Thus the remarkable speed of the victory, cited by Cisneros in his letter, was as much the result of earlier actions undertaken by intermediaries as it was a consequence of the siege itself. The depiction of the campaign in the frescoes, like the textual accounts on which it was based, constitutes a partial vision that simplifies the nature of the event for the purposes of rhetorical effect.

As we have seen, descriptions of the conquest were available in print, including Cisneros's missive, which was printed in Toledo in the same year.⁴⁴ Such texts were likely to have been sources for iconography of the frescoes, which therefore would have appeared to be authentic witnesses of the conquest. The same air of authenticity extended to various amplifications of Cisneros's role in Oran. Where viewers saw him approaching the city on a mule they could have perceived echoes of the *adventus*, an ancient imperial tradition of a ruler's triumphal entry into a city. The *adventus* was also the model for the biblical account of Christ's entry into Jerusalem riding a donkey. In many cities in medieval and early modern Europe, rituals of entry were performed with elaborate ceremonial. An instance close in place and time to the production of the Mozarabic Chapel frescoes is Ferdinand of Aragon's entry into Valladolid in 1513.⁴⁵ One obvious antecedent for Cisneros's entry into Oran was the triumphal entry of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, into Granada, capital

41 Hernández González, *El taller historiográfico*, 47.

42 Escribano-Paéz, *Juan Rena*, 43.

43 Escribano-Paéz, *Juan Rena*, 27–29.

44 The letter was printed in Toledo in 1509. See R. Consuelo Gonzalo García and Mercedes Fernández Valladares, “La ‘Carta de Cisneros’ sobre la Toma de Orán (1509) y la difusión de la victoria en Italia por Baltasar del Río: Más relaciones post-incunables recuperadas,” in *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales de la Europa moderna*, ed. Jorge García López and Sònia Boadas (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015), 427–45.

45 Tess Knighton and Carmen Morte García, “Ferdinand of Aragon's Entry into Valladolid in 1513: The Triumph of a Christian King,” *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 119–63.

of the newly conquered Nasrid kingdom, in 1492. On this occasion, thanks were given to the Virgin Mary and Santiago for the victory.⁴⁶ The associations of these saints with military victories over Muslims also guided Cisneros's dedication of two mosques in Oran to Santa María de la Victoria and to Santiago respectively on 20 May.

On 24 May Cisneros returned to Cartagena so as to report to the court and continue preparations for the ongoing crusade in North Africa, according to Cazalla. In fact, however, Cisneros left Oran because of disagreements with Navarro, whom the king later replaced with Fernández de Córdoba.⁴⁷ The cardinal's departure from the conquered city just four days after the battle was widely criticized, then defended with official justifications, and Cisneros sent numerous missives from Cartagena in an effort to gain control over narratives of the conquest.⁴⁸ Thereafter, he dedicated considerable correspondence to the administration of the new presidio in Oran, which he claimed for the archbishopric of Toledo on the basis of the agreement reached previously with King Ferdinand. Just as there were disparities between the frescoes' triumphal visual presentation of the conquest and the textual narratives, there were, likewise, tensions between the public accounts of the campaign and Cisneros's intentions.

3 Oran and the Mozarabic Rite

The commission of the frescoes for the very space of the Mozarabic rite's performance in Toledo Cathedral shows that Cisneros perceived a connection between the rite and the conquest of Oran. Putting the two projects on permanent display in the chapel created a lasting thematic bond between them as twin manifestations of the cardinal's patronage. This linkage was noted in—and perpetuated by—early modern descriptions of the chapel. The writing of Eugenio de Robles provides a key example while at the same time underscoring the decisive role played by Borgoña's frescoes in fixing the pair in memory.

Even a chapter title in Robles's *Compendio* suggests that the relationship between the chapel and the battle was perceived as intrinsic: "On the foundation of the unique and singular Chapel of Corpus Christi, which they call

46 Amy G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 89.

47 Alonso Acero, *España y el norte de África*, 89.

48 "Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán" por Martín de Herrera, 2186.

[that] of the Mozarabs, of the holy church of Toledo: and the conquest of the city of Oran by our most illustrious Cardinal.”⁴⁹ In this part of the biography we follow Robles on a guided tour as he accounts for each part of the Mozarabic Chapel and catalogues the objects in it, beginning with an iron gate bearing the arms of Cisneros.⁵⁰ It is then through a description of the chapel and its wall painting that Robles approaches the archbishop’s North African conquest. When the writer finally arrives at the fresco depicting Oran, he transcribes the lengthy Latin *titulus* (inscription) that appears below the painting. Although the Latin text is no longer visible today, a transcription of it in the *Compendio* enables us to read it as one of the early accounts of the conquest.⁵¹

The *titulus*, which provides a textual narrative for the frescoes, began with a lengthy passage (following the convention of citing the regnal year) dating the conquest to the sixth year of the reign of Pope Julius II and situating it in the reign of Joanna of Castile, whose father Ferdinand the Catholic was regent of Aragon and the two Sicilies [e.g. Sicily and Naples] in 1509.⁵² The remainder of the *titulus* recounts the stages of the campaign with Cisneros

49 Eugenio de Robles, *Compendio de la vida y hazañas del cardenal [...] F. Ximenez de Cisneros [...]* (Toledo: P. Rodriguez, 1604), 232 (ch. 22): 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.

50 Robles, *Compendio*, 241.

51 The *titulus* that is visible now is a Castilian translation of the Latin text, followed by accounts of the military conflicts in Oran in the eighteenth century; see Dolphin, “Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros,” 329.

52 Joanna of Castile (1479–1555), daughter of the Catholic Monarchs Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, ruled as queen of the Crown of Castile from 1504 (at the death of Isabella) but Ferdinand became her regent in 1507. Robles, *Compendio*, 243–44: Anno salutis Christianae, millesimo quingentesimo nono, Pontificatus domini Iulii Papae secundi anno sexto, regnante serenissima domina Ioanna Regina Castellae, relictæ quondam Philippi Burgundi unici Maximiliani Imperatoris nati, ac pro ea Ferdinando eius genitore Aragonum, et utriusque Siciliae Rege Catholico regnorum gubernacula gerente: Reverendissimus pater et dominus frater Franciscus Ximenez de Cisneros, Cardinalis Hispaniae, et Archiepiscopus Toletanus, ex portu Carthaginensi, cum ingenti armorum classe, tormentis, et comitatibus, refectissima movens, in biduo [Robles: viduo] ad Mazarquibir, die decimo octavo Maii apulit, et ea nocte in classe pernoctato, sequenti die egresso e navibus exercitu, cum hostibus conflictum habuerunt, quibus ultra urbis Aurensis ambitu expulsis, et profligatis, ad portus usque impune perventum est, ubi picas pro scalis ad muros exponentes, in urbem primi congressores ascenderunt, et eleuatis ad menia signis Christianorum, ac portis undique reseratis cuncti fideles pariter intraverunt, et censis passim quatuor millia hostium, urbs ipsa cum arce infra quatuor horas capitur, triginta de nostris solum desideratis, annuente Deo, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

as protagonist. I paraphrase: the archbishop departed from the port of Cartagena with a vast fleet of ships, arriving in two days (on 18 May) in Mazalquivir, where they stayed overnight; the following day, after the battle, the invading forces expelled the enemy, entered Oran, and raised “the standard of the Christians” on the city walls; once all the gates were opened, “all the faithful” entered and killed four thousand of the enemy, taking the citadel within four hours.

The titulus concludes the account with an invocation of the divinity: “Only thirty of ours were lost, by the will of God, who lives completed in the Trinity and rules eternally. Amen.”⁵³ The text frames the conquest as the triumph of Christian faithful over unspecified enemies, interpreting the extended campaign of Spanish imperial expansion along the North African coast as a holy war in the manner of a crusade. As Eva Botella-Ordinas notes, “Spanish imperial ideology’s main argument was theological.” This insight helps us see the titulus—reproduced and disseminated by the *Compendio*—not only as a narrative inscription but also as an instrument of empire.⁵⁴

Following his transcription of the Latin text, Robles translates into Castilian only the dating clause, then reviews the circumstances surrounding the campaign: hesitant to undertake a costly military action, Ferdinand of Aragon turned to Cisneros, who agreed to support the initiative to serve God and the king, and even to spill his own blood.⁵⁵ Robles dwells at length on the provisions and forces required for the expedition, listing in order the precise numbers and types of ships, soldiers, weapons, and foodstuffs as well as horses—all evidence of the archbishop’s generosity and careful planning.

Robles’s account turns from historical description of the expedition to exegesis of its religious symbolism. The late setting of the sun on the day of the battle, for instance, is taken as an instance of biblical typology, demonstrating that God granted “our Cardinal and Captain of his Church the privilege that the Old Testament accorded to another valorous captain of his people, the Jew Joshua.”⁵⁶ In construing these events as auspicious, Robles followed established tradition: celestial signs, omens, and other phenomena deemed miraculous are tropes in writing on the first four Crusades.⁵⁷ Robles’s account details the

53 Robles, *Compendio*, 244.

54 Botella-Ordinas, “‘Exempt from Time,’” 581.

55 Robles, *Compendio*, 246.

56 Robles, *Compendio*, 256: concediendo el Señor a nuestro Cardenal y Capitán de su Iglesia el privilegio que en el viejo testamento condecio al otro valeroso capitán de su pueblo Hebreo Iosué. (The biblical reference is to Joshua 10:12–13).

57 Beth C. Spacey, *The Miraculous and the Writing of Crusade Narrative* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2020).

cardinal's role in sacralizing the battle by means of liturgical and other ritual elements. For example, after they disembarked, priests and members of religious orders sang the hymn *Vexilla regis*, which begins with the words "the King's banners."⁵⁸ This processional hymn by the late-antique poet Venantius Fortunatus was typically sung during the liturgical procession of the Cross on Good Friday. Fortunatus wrote it in 569 for the solemn procession accompanying a relic of the True Cross (sent by the emperor Justinian, r. 527–565) as it entered the city of Poitiers, where it would be kept in the monastery founded by Saint Radegund.⁵⁹ In the context of Robles's account, the choice of the "King's banners" could be perceived as referring to Ferdinand of Castile as well as to the idea that the conquest of Oran was instrumental to the crusade to Jerusalem envisioned by Cisneros. Robles relates that after leaving his ship the cardinal preached a sermon to the knights, soldiers, captains, inciting them to battle. Although he remained in Mazalquivir during the offensive, Cisneros prayed so vigorously that by the end he was completely drenched in sweat.⁶⁰

The Dominican friar Juan de Marieta, a contemporary of Robles, likened the cardinal praying for victory during the battle at Oran to the attitude of Moses before the crossing of the Red Sea. Marieta included Cisneros among the Spanish saints as part of the ongoing campaign to canonize him. According to Marieta, "infidels" besieging Oran in 1573 were terrified by the spectacle of a "friar Francisco" wearing a cardinal's hat as he defended the port. The miraculous apparition, which reoccurred many times thereafter, was believed to be none other than Cisneros himself (thirty-six years after his death), identifiable by the combination of Franciscan habit with the symbolic *galero*.⁶¹ Thus, in addition to his sacramental role, the cardinal was credited with protecting Oran in perpetuity. Baltasar Porreño (1569–1639), quoting Robles, describes the miraculous appearance of Cisneros as a *santo Conquistador*:

The citizens and soldiers of Oran with full throat proclaim our Cardinal the Conqueror Saint, stating it to be very true that he appeared many times, like another Apostle Santiago, at the port and on the walls of their

⁵⁸ Robles, *Compendio*, 252.

⁵⁹ On the hymn's composition for the Cross relic see most recently Lynn Jones, "Perceptions of Byzantium: Radegund of Poitiers and Relics of the True Cross," in *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. Lynn Jones (London: Routledge, 2014), 105–24, at 112–13.

⁶⁰ Robles, *Compendio*, 255.

⁶¹ Robles, *Compendio*, 257–58; Juan de Marieta, *Historia ecclesiastica y flores de Santos de España* (Cuenca: Juan Messelin, 1594), bk. 5, ch. 97, fol. 145r.

city, dressed in his archiepiscopal garb, with his pastoral staff, and a drawn sword, defending the city valiantly from the assaults of the unbelievers who sought to return it to their power.⁶²

The visual arts similarly inform the comparison of Cisneros to Santiago, which takes on heightened meaning in the context of contemporary images of Saint James as Moorslayer (*Matamoros*) seated on a white horse and brandishing a drawn sword. The iconography of the moorslayer originated in the legend of the Battle of Clavijo, according to which the saint appeared in this guise in 834 when forces of King Ramiro I of Asturias and the emir of Cordoba clashed near Clavijo. The fiction of the battle's historicity was perpetuated by its inclusion in the thirteenth-century chronicle by the Toledan archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.⁶³

Descriptions of Cisneros as a new Santiago highlight the militancy of the archbishop as a key figure—and, in the case of Oran, a leader—in a wider crusade that sought to establish a Spanish empire in the Mediterranean, with Ferdinand reigning as king of Jerusalem. Deploying the image of Santiago Matamoros to describe the postmortem interventions of Cisneros effectively connected his persona with a saint whose cult had taken on a military dimension after the First Crusade.⁶⁴ The Order of Santiago, founded in the last quarter of the twelfth century, had the mission of eliminating Muslims from the Iberian

62 Robles, *Compendio*, 257; Baltasar Porreño, *Vida y hechos del cardenal Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros arzobispo de Toledo*, ed. Ángel Fernández Collado, Alfredo Rodríguez González, and Isidoro Castañeda Tordera, *Primalis Ecclesiae Toletanae Memoria* 40 (Toledo: Cabildo Primado, Catedral de Toledo, 2017), 244: Los naturales y soldados de Oran, llaman a boca llena a nuestro Cardenal, el santo Conquistador, afirmando por cosa muy cierta auerse aparecido muchas veces, como otro Apostol Santiago en España, en la puerta y muralla de su ciudad, vestido de pontifical, con su pastoral baculo, y un estoque desnudo, defendiendola valerosamente de los assaltos de los paganos que pretendian tornarla a su poder.

63 Erin Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011), 22. The nationalist tendency to consider the legendary battle a historical event was in evidence during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. See for instance Julián Cantera Orive, *La batalla de Clavijo y aparición en ella de nuestro patrón, Santiago* (1944; repr. Logroño: Gobierno de La Rioja Consejería de Educación, Cultura, Juventud y Deportes, 1997).

64 Katherine Van Lier, "The Moorslayer and the Missionary: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006): 519–43. Richard A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 296–97, points out that associations between Santiago and warfare against Muslims first became widespread in the twelfth century.

peninsula as well as of protecting pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Saint James in Santiago de Compostela.

The role of Santiago as a supernatural military leader is also cited in one of the first eyewitness accounts of the conquest of Oran, the letter of Juan de Cazalla, which states that the Spanish forces were as vigorous as if God and Santiago were their captains.⁶⁵ Cazalla wrote at a time when the iconography of Santiago was becoming increasingly violent.⁶⁶ By the early seventeenth century, when Robles and Porreño published their histories, the image of Santiago Matamoros with drawn sword, his horse trampling the bodies of Muslims, could be seen in churches throughout the Iberian peninsula.⁶⁷ Recent controversies around the iconography of Santiago Matamoros illustrate the need to concede that such violent images, while troubling, were also integral parts of a historical context in which the slaying of Muslims was considered not only sanctioned by divine authority but even celebrated as a sign of the saint's power.

Commentators rarely note the implications of the martial iconography in the Mozarabic Chapel other than to acknowledge its place in the dominant anti-Muslim ideology of the period. In addition to conveying a visually impressive interpretation of past events, however, such images actively shaped ideas about the meaning of the places, persons, and events depicted. The frescoes furthered the normalization of imperial conquest and advanced the notion that the North African campaign was Cisneros's contribution to a crusade-like holy war. According to Erika Dolphin, Cisneros saw as models for the conquest of Oran the earlier victories of Ferdinand and Isabella as well as Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo in 1085.⁶⁸ His contemporaries also perceived such parallels: Cazalla's letter states that Oran, with its fine houses, "seems to be Toledo."⁶⁹ On close inspection, the gates and walls of Oran as represented by Borgoña do bear more than a passing resemblance to those of Toledo. In the minds of their early viewers, the frescoes may have echoed earlier triumphs, thereby amplifying the archbishop's place in the imperial project.

65 Hernández González, *El taller historiográfico*, 50: e como llevassen a Dios e a Santiago por capitán.

66 Heather Dalton, "Santiago Matamoros/Mataindios: Adopting an Old World Battlefield Apparition as a New World Representation of Triumph," in *Matters of Engagement: Emotions, Identity, and Cultural Contact in the Premodern World*, ed. Hannes Ziegler, Daniela Hacke, and Claudia Jarzebowski (New York: Routledge, 2021), 95–122, at 97–98.

67 Nicolás Cabrillana, *Santiago Matamoros: Historia y imagen* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Diputación de Málaga, 1999).

68 Dolphin, "Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros," 272–73.

69 Hernández González, *El taller historiográfico*, 53.

Among the frescoes' precedents are three-dimensional images of the conquest of Granada adorning the choirstalls in the lower choir of Toledo Cathedral. These wood carvings, commissioned by Cisneros's predecessor, Pedro González de Mendoza (archbishop of Toledo from 1482–95), were produced between 1489 and 1496 under the direction of Rodrigo Alemán.⁷⁰ The sculptures were conceived during the wars with the kingdom of Granada, and thus depict events that were quite recent at the time.⁷¹ It was in the lower choir, according to the royal chronicler Fernando del Pulgar, that the Catholic Monarchs had given standards and insignia to the master of the Order of Santiago in support of war “against the Moors.”⁷² The cathedral enacted historical memory of prior wars against Muslims in other ways as well. Each year, a ceremony at the high altar commemorated the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in which Alfonso VIII of Castile, along with Sancho VII of Navarre and Peter II of Aragon, had defeated the forces of the Almohad caliph Muḥammad al-Nāṣir in 1212.⁷³ New plainchant offices were created for the liturgical remembrance of this turning point in the political history of the Iberian peninsula.⁷⁴

70 Dorothee Heim, *Rodrigo Alemán und die Toledaner Skulptur um 1500: Studien zum künstlerischen Dialog in Europa* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2006), 92–97.

71 See Dorothee Heim, “Instrumentos de propaganda política borgoñona al servicio de los Reyes católicos: Los relieves de la Guerra de Granada en la sillería de la catedral de Toledo,” in *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y las cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media*, ed. Concepción Cosmen Alonso, María Victoria Herráez Ortega, and María Pellón Gómez-Calcerrada (León: Universidad de León, 2009), 203–15; Felipe Pereda, “‘Ad vivum?’ o como narrar en imágenes la historia de la Guerra de Granada,” *Reales sitios: Revista de patrimonio nacional* 154 (2002): 2–20; Pereda, “Relieves toledanos de la guerra de Granada: Reflexiones sobre el procedimiento narrativo y sus fuentes clásicas,” in *Correspondencia e integración de las artes: XIV Congreso nacional de historia del arte: Málaga, del 18–21 de septiembre*, ed. Isidoro Coloma, María Teresa Sauret Guerrero, Belén Calderón Roca, and Raúl Luque Ramírez (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga), 1:345–74.

72 Borja Franco Llopis and Francisco de Asís García García, “Confronting Islam: Images of Warfare and Courtly Displays in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain,” *Jews and Muslims Made Visible in Christian Iberia and Beyond, 14th to 18th Centuries: Another Image*, ed. Borja Franco Llopis and Antonio Urquizar-Herrera, *The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World* 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 235–65, at 239–40. I am grateful to Ana Méndez Oliver for this reference.

73 Tom Nickson, *Toledo Cathedral: Building Histories in Medieval Castile* (College Park: Penn State University Press, 2015), 176–77.

74 Mercedes Castillo Ferreira, “Música y política: el oficio en canto llano para la conmemoración de la batalla de Las Navas de Tolosa,” in *Las Navas de Tolosa 1212–2012: miradas cruzadas*, ed. Patrice Cressier and Vicente Salvatierra (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2014), 43–52.

Other precedents for the frescoes in the Mozarabic Chapel were the large tapestries that usually decorated more secular, courtly settings.⁷⁵ As Felipe Pereda has pointed out, the various artistic projects carried out under González de Mendoza's patronage demonstrate that, since at least 1482, he had interpreted the expansionist politics of the Crown as providential and foundational for a "universal" monarchy with an evangelizing mission.⁷⁶ Cisneros, in turn, wanted viewers of the fresco in the Mozarabic Chapel to understand Oran as his providential extension of the Spanish kingdoms. Long after his lifetime, with the siege of Oran as a backdrop, the liturgy was witnessed not only by the Mozarabic chaplains but also by rulers and other august visitors—precisely the striking visual juxtaposition underlined by Robles in his *Compendio*.

4 Framing History

Robles's account of the conquest of Oran, we have noted, emphasizes Cisneros's involvement as a military leader as well as erudite churchman. These were the two facets of the cardinal's identity most frequently invoked in the seventeenth century, and they are also central to the verse paratexts that frame Robles's writings on Cisneros in their printed form. These poems, composed by Toledan ecclesiastics, are not usually cited in discussions of the *Compendio*, but they should be, since they contributed to the print panegyric shaping the memory of Cisneros. In rhetorically charged language, the sonnets develop a number of important themes in his life, adding a layer of commentary to Robles's prose. The particular interest of the paratexts for this chapter lies in their memorialization of Cisneros through references to the conquest of Oran, to the Mozarabic Chapel, and to the rite itself.

The *Compendio* is prefaced by five sonnets and a Latin epigram. The first sonnet was written by Pedro Vaca de Herrera, *regidor* (alderman) of Toledo and a member of the poetic academy of the Conde de Fuensalida, which met in Toledo in 1602–3.⁷⁷ Vaca de Herrera's sonnet begins with an allusion to the

75 Dolphin, "Archbishop Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros," 268.

76 Felipe Pereda, "Pedro González de Mendoza, de Toledo a Roma. El patronazgo de Santa Croce in Gerusalemme entre la arqueología y la filología," in *Visiones imperiales y profecía: Roma, España, nuevo mundo*, ed. Stefania Pastore and Mercedes García-Arenal, *Lecturas: Historia moderna* (Madrid: Abada, 2018), 127–57.

77 Abraham Madroñal Durán, "Entre Cervantes y Lope: Toledo, hacia 1604," *eHumanista/Cer-*

opening hexameter of Virgil's *Aeneid*, "I sing of arms and the man" (*Arma virumque cano*), which reinforces the martial tone of the opening lines. Readers of the *Compendio* would have recalled that Aeneas, like Cisneros, had made history on the shores of North Africa, albeit in quite a different way. The poet enjoins Robles to sing with a resonant voice about the deeds of Cisneros, who bore the weight of the church on his powerful arm:

Sing [of] arms and the famous man who longs for uncertain, haughty
 Glory; with a high accent and sonorous voice write proud deeds in leg-
 endary order. Sing joyfully [of] the unconquered, powerful arm on which
 the weight of his Church rests, and [the arm that] vanquished the bar-
 barbarian of Oran and humiliated the savage neck. May his false history
 surrender to time, which abhors vain things; disproven, [it gives way]
 to continuous proofs. May your history remain in high glory travers-
 ing time through the ages, and may it grow with the verdure of new
 branches.

Cante las armas, y el varón famoso,
 quien apetece incierta Gloria altiva:
 con alto acento, y voz sonora escriba
 vanos hechos, en orden fabuloso.
 Vos, el invicto brazo poderoso,
 en quien el peso de su Yglesia estriva,
 y al barbaro de Oran vence y derriba
 la indomita cerviz, cantad gozoso.
 De aquel se rinda la fingida historia
 al tiempo, que aborrece vanidades,
 desvanecida a las continuas pruebas;
 la vuestra permanezca en alta gloria,
 discurriendo del tiempo en las edades:
 y crezca con verdor de ramas nuevas.⁷⁸

The song that Robles is commanded to sing has two meanings that literally resonate with the aims of the *Compendio*. The opening allusion to the *Aeneid* implicitly compares the biography that is the *Compendio* to an ancient-style epic in which Cisneros is the heroic protagonist. At the same time, the song

vantes 1 (2012): 300–32, at 318, citing José Manuel Blecha, "La academia poética del Conde de Fuensalida," in *Sobre poesía de la edad de oro* (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), 203–8.

78 Robles, *Compendio*, unfoliated front matter.

symbolizes the chant of the Mozarabic rite, which Robles, as a Mozarabic chaplain, sang regularly. In the second quatrain, just as in the Mozarabic Chapel, the conquest of Oran figures prominently.

The second prefatory sonnet, by Gregorio de Angulo, is addressed to the portrait of Cisneros engraved by Petrus Angelus that appeared in the edition. Robles is again cast as an epic poet singing of the deeds of Cisneros “and learned voice that sings your feats” (*y docta voz que tus proezas canta*). The verses compare the verbal portrait of Cisneros in the *Compendio* to the visual one rendered in bronze by the point of the burin (an engraving tool). Angulo concludes the sonnet with an evocation of the cardinal’s dual roles as churchman and soldier:

Let the burin on hard bronze and the learned voice that sings your feats, accomplish the divine will, which brings this effigy to light in the pure air. Immortal, both here [i.e., on earth] and there, on the lofty wheel [i.e., the heavens], you secure the holy place, and it is your memory that terrifies the infidel, column of faith, wall of peace. Heaven guards your fire eternally, and crowning you, calls you conqueror, and the world offers incense to your holy name, because you are owed with double fame (Wise Prelate, valorous Captain) double honor, ever more immense.

Execute el buril, el bronce duro
y docta voz que tus proezas canta
la voluntad divina, que levanta
esta efigie a la luz del ayre puro.
Aqui y alli inmortal pones seguro,
en la alta rueda, la sagrada planta;
y es tu memoria, que al infiel espanta,
columna de la fe, de la paz muro.
Guarda el cielo tu lumbre eternamente,
que a coronarte vencedor te llama,
y al santo nombre ofrece el mundo incienso.
Que a ti se deve con doblada fama
(Sabio Prelado, Capitan valiente)
doblado honor, y cada qual inmenso.

This sonnet appears to cite Robles’s reference to Cisneros being acclaimed as the *conquistador*. Possibly there is also an allusion to Juan de Marieta’s *Historia ecclesiastica* (known to Robles and cited by him, as we have seen), in which the word *espanto* describes how the sight of the “friar Francis with a cardinal’s

hat," identified as the long-dead Cisneros, "caused the pagans terrible fright" (*ponia a los Paganos terrible espanto*). It was, indeed, his memory that terrified the "infidel," as this poem phrases it (*al infiel espanta*).⁷⁹

While the first and second sonnets thematize Robles's biography, addressing him as author of the work and approaching its subject by way of the portrait published in the edition, the remaining three prefatory poems turn to the clergy of Toledo Cathedral. The third sonnet preceding the main text of the *Compendio* was penned by José de Valdivielso (1565–1638), a chaplain of the Mozarabic Chapel and curate of the Church of San Torcuato.⁸⁰ The poem is addressed to the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (1546–1618, archbishop of Toledo from 1599):

The white Swan (whose feathers of gold the sun of the sempiternal Orient burnishes), floating on the current in the river of glory, sings a song as sweet as it is sonorous. I heard the cry of his thirteen cygnets, who tenderly beg him (as they would a father) to ask the resplendent red pastor [i.e., the cardinal], to guard their nest, which is the choir of heaven. He turned to Bernard full of stars, Christian Argos, whose beautiful lights [i.e., eyes] watch over the Church, and said: "Defend my nest, good shepherd; your Stars thereby transformed into Suns, you shall ascend to the circle of the two-time son."

El blanco Cisne (cuyas plumas de oro,
retoca el sol del siempre eterno Oriente)
que en el río de gloria, a la corriente,
canta, no menos dulce que sonoro.
De sus polluelos treze escuchè el lloro,
que como a padre, ruegan tiernamente,
pixa al roxo pastor resplandeciente,
guarde su nido, que es del cielo coro.
Al Bernardo bolvio, de estrellas lleno,
Argos Christiano, cuyas luzas bellas,
velan sobre la Yglesia, y assi dixo:
Defiendeme mi nido, pastor bueno,

79 Marieta, *Historia ecclesiastica*, fol. 145r.

80 Although a Mozarabic clergyman, Valdivielso was not a Mozarab; see Abraham Madroñal Durán, "José de Valdivielso," in *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/4756/jose-de-valdivielso>.

assi buelta en Soles tus Estrellas,
 Subas al roto del dos vezes hijo.

The sweet and resonant song of the swan (playing on the name Cisneros) stands in for the chant of the liturgy that the archbishop had perpetuated in the chapel with his endowment, the coins of those funds figuring here as golden feathers. The offspring of the swan are the thirteen Mozarabic chaplains imploring the cardinal to maintain and support the foundation. The stars that are transformed into suns refer to the heraldry of the Rojas family—there being five stars on the right side of the coat of arms of Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas.⁸¹ By opening with the dawn and closing with the stars, the sonnet frames the chapel's history from its foundation by a former archbishop to its hope of patronage under the current one, Cardinal Bernardo.

The fourth prefatory sonnet, addressed by Martin Chacon to Cisneros himself, evokes the foundation of the chapel's thirteen Mozarabic chaplaincies, continuing the metaphor of the chaplains as singing birds, the young offspring of the chapel's founder:

The thirteen little birds you chose (bending your ear to their angelic harmony), illustrious Prince, you placed where the Tagus swiftly flows. With the ancient songs that you gave them, the songs that Time sought to bury, every day they bring to light joyous hymns, and sad dirges. Among those [birds], with a gallant tone, in the branches of an Oak Tree [i.e., Robles, the author], a goldfinch with a subtle throat stopped his flight. Sir, listen attentively to the writing which holds all heaven hanging; it is your deeds that he sings to the world.

Los treze paxarillos que escogistes,
 inclinado a su angelica armonia,
 y adonde Tajo mas veloz corria,
 illustrissimo Principe pusistes.
 Con las viejas canciones que les distes,
 a quien el tiempo sepultar queria,

81 For a reproduction of the coat of arms in the frontispiece of Madrid, BNE, MS 9850 see Cloe Cavero de Carondelet, "Proyectos compartidos. Las fundaciones del cardenal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas durante el valimiento del duque de Lerma," in *Apariencia y razón. Las artes y la arquitectura en el reinado de Felipe III*, ed. Bernardo J. García García and Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 2020), 67–92, at 70, fig. 1.

al sol le hazen salua cada dia,
 de alegres hymnos, y de endechas tristes.
 Entre los quales, con gallardo acento,
 en las ramas de un Roble, parò el buelo
 un sirguerillo de subtil garganta,
 Oyd, señor, la letre un poco atento,
 que pues tiene suspenso a todo el cielo,
 hazañas vuestras son, que al mundo canta.

While the fourth sonnet figuratively introduces Robles among the chaplains, through both the name of the oak tree and the figure of the author-goldfinch perched in it, the fifth sonnet, by Alonso Palomino (1573–1637), is addressed to Robles as one of the Mozarabic chaplains and does not take up the theme of the Mozarabic rite (for which reason we pass over it here).

Following the five prefatory sonnets is a Latin epigram by the priest Francisco Gutiérrez, which refers to the Mozarabs as “mixed with Arabs,” following the most common etymology.⁸² The poem enjoins the reader to learn the Mozarabic rite and celebrates Cisneros’s endowment of it when little remained of its celebration:

Learn the ancient rites of the Mozarabs for the holy sacrifices, and [learn] the prayers they bore to God and those on high [i.e., the saints]. When our nourishing faith weaned our forefathers, she gave pleasant cakes to this youthful people. She refreshed her nurslings who were mixed with those of the Arab nation, and she lay hidden as if in a small seed. There remained scarcely any Gothic traces of observance; what had fallen away was restored by the wealth of Ximénez. For the devout master who accomplished so many things while alive sang more sweetly as a dying swan [i.e., his bequest to the chapel]. Nor is it surprising what remains of the ancient oak tree after this, if already new oaks flow with sweet honey.

Muzarabum priscos ad sacra piacula ritus
 disce, Deo, et superis quas retulere preces.
 Alma fides nostros quando ablactavit avitos,
 impuberi haec populo crustula blanda dedit.
 His arabum genti mixtos recreavit alumnos,
 et velut in parvo semine delituit.

82 The etymology of the designation “Mozarab” is discussed in chapter 2.

Gottica vix aderant aliquot vestigia cultus,
 Lapsaque Ximenii restituuntur ope.
 Nam pius Antistes qui tot, dum vita, peregit,
 Dulcius hoc cecinit iam moriturus Olor.
 Nec mirum antiquo maneat quod robore post hac,
 si nova iam dulci robora melle fluunt.

Here, Christianity in Toledo is personified as a mother weaning her children (the Mozarabs) and introducing them to solid food while they lived under Muslim rule. While drawn from the common Christian symbol of the church as mother, the verse “*impuberi haec populo crustula blanda dedit*” verbally echoes an oft-cited verse from the *Satires* of Horace describing teachers who motivate boys to learn by giving them cakes.⁸³ The image of the Christian faith hidden in a seed alludes obliquely to a parable in the synoptic Gospels where the kingdom of heaven is compared to a diminutive mustard seed that grows into a vast tree (Matthew 13:31–32, Mark 4:30–32, and Luke 13:18–19). By implication, the emergence of the tree is likened to Christianity in Toledo after the conquest of 1085. The poem also closes with a vegetal metaphor: while the old oak tree is Robles, the “new” oaks flowing with honey, evoked in the final verse, poetically figure the replenishment of the Mozarabic Chapel clergy with new arrivals, who multiply and thrive like shoots from a tree.

Together, the sonnets and epigram prefacing Robles’s *Compendio* employ vivid imagery to complement and frame the remembrance of Cisneros that the prose biography accomplished. While these poems place the greatest emphasis on Cisneros’s role as founder of the Mozarabic Chapel, the first two sonnets affirm the cardinal’s military feats specifically in relation to the conquest of Oran, so prominently on display in the Mozarabic Chapel.

The image of Cisneros as both man of arms and man of letters also informs the accompanying poems and the main text of Robles’s short treatise on the Mozarabic rite, the *Breve suma*, which is an excerpt from his *Compendio*.⁸⁴ Like the *Compendio*, the *Breve suma* is framed by sonnets that pay tribute to Cisneros’s gift of a long life for the Mozarabic rite.

83 Horace, *Satires* 1.1.25–6: ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi / doctores, elementa uelint ut discere prima (as kind teachers at first give cakes to boys, so that they may wish to learn the first elements).

84 Eugenio de Robles, *Breve suma y relacion del modo del rezo y missa del oficio santo gotico mozarabe: Que en la capilla de Corpus Christi de la santa yglesia de Toledo se conserua y reza oy conforme a la regla del glorioso San Isidoro Arçobispo de Seuilla* (Toledo: s.n., 1603). The *Breve suma* comprises chapters 23–25 of the *Compendio* (published 1604).

The first prefatory sonnet, by José de Valdivielso, is addressed to the cathedral chapter. With vivid language, it contrasts the inevitable ravages of death and time with the survival of the Mozarabic rite (alluding also to the legendary duel and the trial by fire):

Let worm-eaten death stain with blood her cruel scythe in fatal victory; war, in its absolute glory, may take a second life away from the holy honor. Time—swift, fierce, and deadly—may sully deeds worthy of immortal memory. Fire may rob human history of the rightful recompense due to virtue. God protects the holy Gothic office from the effects of time and death, scorching fire and angry Mars. The instruments of his strong arm being a pastor celebrated for his Swans, and you, Senate, who humble all.⁸⁵

Ensangrienta la muerte carcomida
La cruel segur, con la mortal victoria,
Quite la guerra en su tyrana gloria
Al honor santo la segunda vida,
Huelle el tiempo veloz, fiero, homicida,
Los hechos dignos de inmortal memoria,
El fuego robe de la humana historia
La justa paga a la virtud debida.
Que contra lo que pueden tiempo y muerte,
El fuego abrasador, y Marte ayrado,
Guarda Dios el oficio santo Godo.
Siendo instrumentos de su brazo fuerte
un pastor de sus Cisnes celebrado,
y vos, Senado, a quien lo humilla todo.

The direct address to the “Senate” (the chapter) also refers to the bishop (the pastor) as united with the canons in their continuance of Cisneros’s program.

The second prefatory sonnet, this one by Alonso Palomino, portrays Cisneros as both humanist and soldier. The pairing of learning and military prowess is the central conceit of the poem:

From this day forth let the universal dispute that arms and letters waged now cease, for they have reached a truce in the one who is learned in

85 I am grateful to Gary Mayta-Lizarraga for his help in translating this sonnet.

letters and in arms. They will see how important to the world it is that the scholar and the soldier who defends himself with letters and with arms understands both letters and arms. You will see that the Archbishop, Brother Francis, with letters and arms, in peace and in War, has been the truce between them and an example for the world. With arms he conquered Moorish Oran, with letters he earned heaven, and on earth he left his memory in his sacred temple.

Cesse desde oy la universal contienda
 que las armas y letras han tenido,
 pues a estar tan conformes han venido
 en quien de letras y armas se deprenda.
 El letrado, el soldado, que defienda
 con letras, o con armas su partido,
 veran quan importante al mundo ha sido
 que junto letras y armas comprehenda.
 Verà que el Arçobispo fray Francisco,
 con letras y armas, en la paz y en Guerra,
 ha sido de ellas paz, y al mundo exemplo.
 Vencio con armas el Oran Morisco,
 ganò el cielo por letras, a la tierra
 dexò memoria en su sagrado templo.

The phrase “arms and letters” permeates Palomino’s sonnet, intensifying through repetition the contrast between the two and thus lending emphasis to their remarkable conjuncture in Cisneros. Even the order of the terms in each phrase conveys a subtle meaning. Whereas the first instance presents the more common formulation “arms and letters,” the subsequent five references reverse the order to “letters and arms,” acknowledging the primary identity of Cisneros as a *letrado* and the predominance of his learned endeavors over his military ones. The symmetrical positioning of the “arms and letters / letters and arms” phrases within the verses sets them off to underline their symbolism: lines 4 and 8 end with clauses describing Cisneros as mastering letters and arms (*en quien de letras y armas se deprenda* and *que junto letras y armas comprehenda*) while “with letters and arms” appears at the beginning of lines 6 and 10.

After evoking the joining of arms and letters figuratively in the first eleven verses of the sonnet, the final three verses turn to the historical context, citing Cisneros’s victory at Oran and philological achievements as accomplished respectively with arms and letters. A verb in the preterite at the start of each of these three verses (*vencio*, *ganò*, *dexò*) reinforces the coherence of the con-

cluding triplet as a separate unit. Palomino closes the sonnet with the image of Cisneros's legacy of *memoria*, meaning both the memory of the man himself and the continued celebration of the Mozarabic rite in the chapel he had founded "in his sacred temple."

By invoking the "universal dispute" of arms and letters, the sonnet positions Cisneros in relation to the longstanding trope of a conflict between them as radically different skills. Unlike other instances of the arms and letters debate, however, Palomino's sonnet applies the concept in an encomium to a venerable churchman, by contrast with the usual subjects of this discourse, who were laymen. Perhaps the most famous example of the arms and letters debate in Spanish literature of the period is in the first part of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, which was published in 1605, just two years after Palomino's sonnet in the *Breve suma*.⁸⁶ In a speech over dinner, the eponymous protagonist compares the occupations of letters and arms, first extolling the military life (in chapter 37), then condemning the dangers of war to which soldiers are exposed (in chapter 38). Part of his speech ventriloquizes these two occupations as personified entities:

Letters say that without them, arms cannot maintain themselves, for war, too, has its laws and is governed by them, and laws belong to the domain of letters and men of letters. To this arms make answer that without them letters cannot be maintained.⁸⁷

As in *Don Quixote*, Palomino's sonnet may reflect a retrospective view rather than a contemporary notion of competition between arms and letters.⁸⁸ Ac-

86 On the literary context for this passage see Michel Moner, *Cervantès: Deux thèmes majeurs: L'amour, les armes et les lettres*, Thèses et recherches 15 (Toulouse: France-Ibérie recherche, Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1986), 71–136.

87 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*, trans. John Ormsby (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1885), 214; Cervantes Saavedra, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Luis Andrés Murillo, 2nd ed., Clásicos Castalia 77, 78 (Madrid: Castalia, 1982), 1:469; Dicen las letras que sin ellas no se podrían sustentar las armas, porque la guerra también tiene sus leyes y está sujeta a ellas, y que las leyes caen debajo de lo que son letras y letrados. A esto responden las armas que las leyes no se podrán sustentar sin ellas.

88 A respected writer of religious poetry, Palomino was the chaplain of the chapel of Don Pedro Tenorio in Toledo Cathedral at the time Robles's *Breve suma* was published. On his life and works see Abraham Madroñal Durán, "Alonso Palomino y Juan Ruiz de Santa María, dos poetas toledanos del tiempo de Lope de Vega (con un vejamen inédito)," *Toletum: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo* 35 (1996): 153–87.

cording to Anne J. Cruz, by the seventeenth century “the conflict between arms and letters, as envisioned in Don Quixote’s archaic mindset, no longer held any ideological currency.”⁸⁹ The changing socioeconomic landscape of early modern Spain and altered conditions of warfare lessened the distance between educated *letrados* (such as lawyers) and military professionals, who were increasingly active as writers.⁹⁰ Cervantes himself was both a military man and a writer; immediately following the arms and letters speech in *Don Quixote* is the section known as the Captive’s Tale, which is a semiautobiographical account of the author’s own captivity in Argel.⁹¹ Embedded in the Captive’s Tale are poems that include criticism of Spanish expansion in North Africa under Charles V.⁹² Thus, Palomino’s evocation of the contrast between arms and letters, like Cervantes’s, seems to be reminiscent of sixteenth-century courtly ideals.

Indeed, Palomino’s portrait of Cisneros as the union of arms and letters may reflect the influence of sixteenth-century poetry, specifically the oft-quoted dictum “now the sword, now the pen” in the third eclogue of the Toledan soldier-poet Garcilaso de la Vega (c.1501–36): “Amid the arms of bloody Mars where there is scarcely anyone who can oppose his fury, I stole this brief quantity of time, wielding now the sword, now the pen” (*Entre las armas del sangriento Marte, do apenas ay quien su furor contraste, hurté de tiempo aquesta breve suma, tomando ora la espada, ora la pluma*).⁹³ Ignacio Navarrete notes that the poem’s construction implies a combination of arms and letters rather than the need to choose between them: the contraction of vowels in the final verse of this passage (audible when the poem is read aloud, albeit not visible in its written form) has the effect of assigning the same number of syllables to the words “sword” and “pen.”⁹⁴ The resultant verbal conjunction thus conveys the junction of the two, which was embodied in Garcilaso himself.

89 Anne J. Cruz, “Arms versus Letters: The Poetics of War and the Career of the Poet in Early Modern Spain,” in *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Frederick A. de Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 186–205, at 191.

90 Faith S. Harden, *Arms and Letters: Military Life Writing in Early Modern Spain*, Toronto Iberic 53 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).

91 Cervantes was often in Toledo in the early seventeenth century; Madroñal Durán, “Entre Cervantes y Lope,” 301.

92 I thank Ana Méndez Oliver for reading my translations and pointing out the relevance of the Captive’s Tale.

93 Ignacio Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 116, (translation slightly modified).

94 Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch*, 117.

Palomino must have known Garcilaso's tenth sonnet, which was widely imitated in the sixteenth century. Thus, the exemplary fusion of arms and letters embodied by Cisneros in Palomino's sonnet may be an intentional adaptation of Garcilaso's image to suit an ecclesiastical figure who represented just as much a meeting of opposites.⁹⁵ The poet and the archbishop were in fact acquainted, at least through correspondence, as witnessed by an autograph letter sent to Cisneros around 1496 by Garcilaso, at that time an ambassador in Rome.⁹⁶

Following the text of Robles's *Breve suma* are two further sonnets, one addressed to the author by Don Juan Vaca de Herrera and the other addressed to Cisneros by the Toledo clergyman Juan Martínez. (We pass over the first one, as it does not focus on Cisneros.) The second poem tellingly brings out a number of themes showing the close linkage between the rite and the archbishop himself:

Since you, Swan/Cisneros, are silent, I raise my voice, though you will hear the voices of the chorus of the rite to which the Moor Muza Arabe gave his name, for it is a Holy Office. Thanks to your sweet and miraculous song, Toledo esteems and enjoys this treasure; gold in the veins of the earth would not be esteemed or valued as highly. You are the Sun that has revealed this gold and the Laurel Tree that preserved these relics and these remains from the lightning bolt of oblivion. And since ignorance conceals them, a son of yours who has produced this [book] presents it to your eyes like an Eagle.⁹⁷

Pues vos Cisne callays, mi vos levanto,
 aunque oyres en el cielo las del coro,
 del rezo, a quien Muza Arabe Moro
 su nombre dio, con ser oficio santo.
 Por vuestro dulce y milagroso canto
 Toledo estima y goza este tesoro

95 The allusion to "angry Mars" (*Marte ayrado*) in the sonnet by Valdivielso immediately preceding Palomino's may indirectly signal the influence of the verses cited from Garcilaso's tenth sonnet.

96 Madrid, BNE, MS 20212/7/1, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000186623&page=1>. I thank Gary Mayta-Lizarraga for this reference.

97 I am grateful to Michael Agnew for his help with this translation.

que en las arterias de la tierra, el oro
 ni se estimara, ni valiera tanto.
 Vos soys el Sol que aqueste oro descubre,
 y el Laurel, que del rayo del olvido
 preservò estas reliquias y despojos.
 Y por que la ignorancia los encubre,
 un hijo vuestro que este ha producido,
 como Aguila lo saca a vuestros ojos.

The poem plays with the name of Cisneros (*cisne*, “swan”) and refers to one of the competing etymologies of the word *Muzarabe*, the variant according to which the Mozarabic communities took the name of a Muslim general, as seen in chapter 2. This sonnet was published just six years before the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. Likening the rite unearthed by Cisneros to gold mined from veins in the earth evokes both his restoration of the chant and his commissioning of the editions, which brought to light texts that had been hidden in faded and inscrutable manuscripts. Although Cisneros/the swan is silent, his song persists—in both the Mozarabic chant sung in the chapel and his endowment perpetuating the celebration of the rite.

Cisneros had rescued the rite from the cumulative effects of time and neglect, and perpetuated it in print as well as endowing its performance. As we will see, early modern publications of—and commentaries on—the rite framed it as a monument to the archbishop’s personal initiative, while also attesting to a nostalgic, somewhat mythological idea of a Christian community that had existed continuously through time. This doubly commemorative reception of the Mozarabic rite extends from Cisneros through the eighteenth century and beyond, into the modern historiography of Spain. In the process, memory of the rite continued to develop in relation to monarchy and empire.

5 The Rite in the Eighteenth Century

Under the Spanish Bourbons, the relationship between the Mozarabic rite and the monarchy was rendered more explicit than it had been at any time since the rule of the Catholic Monarchs. The Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel (1719–62) was engaged by the government of Ferdinand VI (1747–59) to comb the archives for evidence to support the Spanish Crown’s prerogatives over ecclesiastical property, claimed in decades of negotiations between the king’s ministers and the Vatican. Leading the Commission on the Archives in Toledo from 1749 to 1755, Burriel carried out extensive research on the history of the liturgy,

which he considered an essential component of Spanish national identity and of direct relevance to the Bourbon monarchy. In the 1740s, he went so far as to propose that a new edition of the Mozarabic rite, intended for parish use, should be adopted in a royal foundation at the court in Madrid as well as in the Mozarabic chapels where the rite was celebrated in Toledo, Salamanca, and Palencia.⁹⁸ Introducing the Mozarabic liturgy at court would have affirmed the importance of the rite for the Bourbons' deployment of neo-Gothic ideology. Yet another way in which Burriel related the Mozarabic rite to Bourbon regalism was by preparing an edition of the *Monarquía de España* by Toledan historian Pedro Salazar de Mendoza (1549–1629). Although Salazar de Mendoza had penned the treatise in the seventeenth century, its articulation of political theory was readily adapted to the Bourbon dynasty's appropriation of the Visigothic legacy.⁹⁹

Burriel linked the medieval rite to the Bourbons most directly with the hand-made parchment fascimile of a Mozarabic liturgical manuscript he presented to Ferdinand VI in 1755. Executed in full color and with painstaking detail by the virtuoso calligrapher Francisco Xavier Palomares, this extraordinary object illustrates with vivid immediacy the religious legacy that Burriel summarized for the king in a dedicatory preface.¹⁰⁰ In this text, as in other commentaries, he describes the Mozarabic manuscripts in Toledo Cathedral as witnesses to the continuity of belief in the rulers from the Visigoths to the present:

These books are so many witnesses, most worthy of veneration for their antiquity and without comparison for their authenticity; they proclaim and cry out that Your Majesty believes, confesses, and venerates with all his Spanish Catholic vassals the same [things] that all Your Majesty's royal ancestors believed, confessed, and venerated with all their vassals for more than 1,200 years since the Catholic Kings Saint Hermenegild, and his brother the Catholic King Reccared.¹⁰¹

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

99 José Javier Rodríguez Solís, “Andrés Marcos Burriel y la historia textual de la *Monarquía de España*, de Pedro Salazar de Mendoza,” *Hispania* 82, no. 271 (2022): 355–83. The text (but not in Burriel's edition) was finally published in 1770 (in Madrid, by Joachin Ibarra).

100 Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Palacio, 11/483. See Susan Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, *Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 85–112, <https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/realbiblioteca/item/11698>.

101 Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Palacio, 11/483, fol. 3v: Estos libros son otros tantos testigos dig-

Burriel portrayed the Mozarabic rite as a reflection of the monarchy itself at a time when there were local attempts to undermine the ancient liturgy in Toledo, citing those who wished 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.” Moreover, Burriel wrote, “all should agree to maintain that which I judge to be the greatest and most solid glory of the nation.”¹⁰² Similar language appears in a petition from the clergy of the six Mozarabic parishes for royal patronage (*patronato real*) to support their liturgy, which they called “the most glorious crest and shield that could be made for Spain to the envy of foreign nations.”¹⁰³ The clergy claimed that they could not maintain a properly dignified celebration of the rite without the tithes paid by the members of their parishes, a longstanding arrangement that was frequently challenged in court.¹⁰⁴ Although the petition is undated, it must have been written after 1723, when Philip v attended Mass in the Mozarabic Chapel (an event mentioned in the text); he later confirmed the privileges and exemptions of the Mozarabs.

Monarchy was one context for remembering the rite in the eighteenth century. Empire was another, and it bore implications for the rite's early modern significance. In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Archbishop Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1722–1804) published several editions of the rite. The first, printed in 1770 in Puebla de los Angeles, was the *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica et Officium itidem Gothicum* (“Gothic or Mozarabic Mass and likewise Gothic Office”), which combines texts of the Mass and Office with commentary on the Mozarabic rite and explanatory rubrics.¹⁰⁵ The Mozarabic rite was not observed in Mexico, which followed the rite of Seville.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the

nisimos de veneracion por su vejez y mayores de toda excepcion por su autenticidad que claman, y gritan, que V. Magestad cree, confiesa, y adora con todos sus Vasallos Catholicos Españoles lo mismo, que desde los Catholicos Reyes San Hermenegildo, y su hermano el Catholico Re Reccaredo, han creydo, confesado, y adorado por mas de 1200 años todos los Reyes Progenitores de V. Magestad con todos los Vasallos.

102 Andrés Marcos Burriel, “Apuntamientos,” in Echánove Tuero, *La preparación intelectual*, 270.

103 Madrid, BNE, 13059, fol. 204r: Tymbre y blazon el mas glorioso, que pudo hacer a España, con embidia de las Naciones estrangeras. For the complete text of the petition see appendix C, at the end of this chapter.

104 Madrid, BNE, 13059, fols 204v–205r. The court cases invoked by Burriel, Camino, and the Mozarabic parish clergy are described in chapter 2.

105 *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica, et Officium itidem Gothicum [...] capituli Sanctae Ecclesiae Toletanae, Hispaniarum et Indiarum primatis* (Angelopoli: Typis Seminarii Palafoxiani, 1770).

106 The Cathedral of Mexico was founded as a dependency of Seville; the rite of Seville

Missa Gothica was connected to Puebla through its bishop, Francisco Fabián y Fuero (1719–1801), who was largely responsible for the contents of the edition (and who had been a canon of Toledo Cathedral alongside Lorenzana). The inclusion of the Mass for Saint James (Santiago) affirmed Santiago's patronage of Spanish Catholicism and his early modern image as a missionary.¹⁰⁷ While music and liturgy had longstanding missionary functions in Spanish colonialism, the Mozarabic rite does not properly belong to that history—except obliquely, by virtue of its celebration in close proximity to a representation of the conquest of Oran, a meaningful juxtaposition that had been intended by Cisneros.¹⁰⁸

It may be significant, then, that the archbishop published the *Historia de Nueva España* by the conquistador Hernan Cortes in the same year as the *Missa Gothica*.¹⁰⁹ The title of the *Missa Gothica* binds it to Spain's global empire, for it ends with the designation of Toledo as the primatial see of the Indies as well as of “the Spains.”¹¹⁰ Rather than the term “empire,” in the early modern period *las Españas* designated the ensemble of kingdoms and territories under the universal monarchy (*monarquía universal*) of Spain.¹¹¹ Cisneros's official titles as cardinal archbishop were “Cardinal of Spain” (*Cardenal de España*), referring most probably to ancient Hispania, and “Primate of the Spains” (*Primado de las Españas*).¹¹² In any case, the symbolism of empire seems likely to have motivated a Toledan prelate's inaugural republication of the rite in Mexico rather than in Toledo.

observed in Mexico was revised after the Council of Trent to adhere more closely to the Roman rite.

107 Van Liere, “The Moorslayer and the Missionary.”

108 Some important studies of music in early modern Spanish colonialism are Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Ireri Elizabeth Chávez-Barcenas, “Singing in the City of Angels: Race, Identity, and Devotion in Early Modern Puebla de los Ángeles” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018); Drew Edward Davies, *Forging Repertories: Cathedral Music in New Spain and Its Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2025); David R.M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Jesús Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain*, *Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

109 *Historia de Nueva-España escrita por su esclarecido conquistador Hernan Cortés* [...] (Mexico City: Joseph Antonio de Hoyal, 1770).

110 The publication of the *Missa Gothica* in Puebla forms part of the broader publication program Lorenzana pursued while in Mexico, on which see Javier Malagón-Barceló, “La obra escrita de Lorenzana como arzobispo de México, 1766–1772,” *Historia mexicana* 23 (1974): 437–65.

111 Chad Gasta, *Imperial Stagings: Empire and Ideology in Transatlantic Theater of Early Modern Spain and the New World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 40.

112 Cisneros used both titles when he signed letters.

It is tempting to see Lorenzana's publication as an assertion of the power of liturgy to shape history. Perhaps he intended the *Missa Gothica* edition to convey the role of the Mozarabic rite in the imagining of Spain as a transatlantic power. In 1771, he sent two copies of the edition to Toledo Cathedral, where he would be named archbishop in the following year.¹¹³ The gesture seemed to extend into print and across the ocean the vision of conquest that Cisneros had pursued with the siege of Oran and had visually evoked in the Mozarabic Chapel, for, like the Mozarabic Chapel, the *Missa Gothica* contains vivid and memorable images of violence. In this case, however, the victim was the Mozarabic rite itself.

The preface to the *Missa Gothica* edition includes the stories of the duel and the trial by fire opposing the Roman and Mozarabic rites, and the volume includes two engravings depicting these events. Lorenzana took the symbolic capital of the Mozarabic rite a step further than his predecessors by promoting and even perpetuating its legendary status through visual culture. Unlike the fresco depicting the conquest of Oran, the engravings illustrate the miraculous survival of the Mozarabic rite after the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085. The textual narrative underlying these images recounts the forcible introduction of the Roman rite in Toledo in the years after the conquest. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the legend became widely diffused through Juan de Mariana's *Historia general de España*, and the images in Lorenzana's *Missa Gothica* form part of the transmission and reception of the story.

The first engraving, which follows the prolegomena to the edition, depicts the fire from which the Roman-rite book leapt out while the "Gothic" one was unharmed (Fig. 3.4). The second engraving, which faces the opening of the little hours in the breviary, portrays the duel between two knights, each representing one of the rites (Fig. 3.5). The victor in this combat was the Toledan Lope Martínez de Matanza, as stated in the banderole above the scene. These illustrations were designed and executed by José de Nava (1735–1817), the most accomplished and prolific engraver in Puebla at the time.¹¹⁴ Besides the many images

113 Ángel Fernández Collado, "El cardenal Lorenzana: Semblanza de un singular arzobispo de Toledo," in *El cardenal Lorenzana, arzobispo de Toledo, Ciclo de conferencias en el centenario de su muerte (1804–2004)*, ed. Ángel Fernández Collado (Toledo: Instituto Teológico San Ildefonso, 2004), 9–26, at 12 n. 4.

114 José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en la Puebla de los Angeles (1640–1821)* (Santiago, CL: Imprenta Cervantes, 1908), lists forty books with engravings by Nava. On Nava see Juan Isaac Calvo Portela, "El grabador poblano José de Nava. Estudio de algunas de sus estampas religiosas," *Bibliographica* 2 (2019): 14–40 (see 24–29 for the engravings in the *Missa Gothica*), <https://doi.org/10.22201/iib.bibliographica.2019.1.24>.



FIGURE 3.4 José Nava, *The Trial by Fire*, engraving, 1770, from Lorenzana's *Missa Gothica*
 PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN: HATHI TRUST. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/GRI.ARK:/13960/T7NP7737S?URLAPPEND=%3BSEQ=14> [LAST
 ACCESSED 18 APRIL 2025]



FIGURE 3.5 José Nava, *The Duel*, engraving, 1770, from Lorenzana's *Missa Gothica*
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN: HATHI TRUST. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/GRI.ARK:/13960/T7NP7737S?URLAPPEND=%3BSEQ=152> [LAST
ACCESSED 18 APRIL 2025]

he produced for books, in 1755 Nava engraved a map and table of places in Spanish North America that, according to Magali Carrera, “reflected the Bourbon regime’s move toward a pragmatic philosophy of governance based on domination through empirical information for comprehensive management and administration.”¹¹⁵ The map’s creation dates to soon after the arrival in Puebla of its dedicatee, Agustín de Ahumada y Villalón (c.1715–60), the viceroy of New Spain appointed by King Ferdinand VI. Thus, Nava’s engraving production encompassed not only religious tractates—most notably a series of illustrations for a *Life of Saint Rose of Viterbo*—but also cultural products like the map that were directly related to the pragmatic aspects of the colonial enterprise.¹¹⁶ The 1770 *Missa Gothica* shares elements with both the religious and political publications in which Nava’s engravings appeared. On the one hand, the textual contents of the edition exemplified the peninsula’s religious culture with the performative function of asserting the continuity of ancient Visigothic liturgical tradition. On the other hand, the publication of the edition in Puebla acquires a deeper meaning in the context of colonial administration.

The images made by Nava for the *Missa Gothica* edition depict a conflict concerning ritual prerogative in which a foreign liturgy was imposed on the city by newcomers while the original inhabitants could retain their own tradition as a minority practice. The story could have resonated with the inhabitants of New Spain, who were forced to accept Catholic ritual practice with a violence that was mitigated at times by the foreign clergy’s attempts to incorporate native elements into the liturgy.¹¹⁷ In this context, it is fitting that the backgrounds designed by Nava for his engravings in the *Missa Gothica* may evoke

115 Magali Carrera, “Entangled Spaces: Mapping Multiple Identities in Eighteenth-Century New Spain,” in *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography from Colony to Nation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 82. The copy of the map now in the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University (<https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/s/a5wv35>) is cited also by Sylvia Sellers-Garcia, *Distance and Documents at the Spanish Empire’s Periphery* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 210 n. 47.

116 For Nava’s suite of illustrations of a *Life of Saint Rose of Viterbo*, executed around 1800 (but published without a date or title page), see *Santa Rosa de Viterbo a través de los ojos de un grabador novohispano*, ed. Teresa Matabuena Peláez, Marisela Rodríguez Lobato, and María Cristina Sánchez de la Vara, vol. 1 (Mexico City: Universidad Iberoamericana Ciudad de México, 2016). A complete digitized copy from the Johns Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries is available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.34136414>.

117 A useful recent study of musicoreligious syncretism in New Spain is Ireri Chávez-Barcenas, “Native Song and Dance Affect in Novohispanic Christian Rituals,” in *Acoustemologies in Contact: Sounding Subjects and Modes of Listening in Early Modernity*, ed. Suzanne G. Cusick and Emily Wilbourne (Cambridge: OpenBook, 2021), 37–64, <https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0226>.

the cityscape of Baroque Puebla, as Juan Isaac Calvo Portela has suggested.¹¹⁸ Contemporary viewers of these scenes might have perceived in this blending of histories the use of New Spain for reflecting on the history of Spain, whereby Puebla became a stage for retelling the story of the Mozarabic rite.

Lorenzana's intention in the *Missa Gothica* was to "demonstrate that the ancient Toledan rite followed so faithfully and closely the earliest of rites—the Roman—that it attained the rank of apostolicity."¹¹⁹ This comment, made by a modern biographer of Lorenzana, Luis Sierra Nava-Lasa, needs some historical context, for the relationship between the ancient rite of Toledo (the Mozarabic) and the Roman rite has always been fraught. The *Missa Gothica* edition appeared at a time when neo-Visigothic ideology maintained the continuity of religious and political identity from the Visigothic period onward. Given that the Mozarabic rite was held to be a paramount legacy of the Visigoths, Lorenzana's first liturgical publication renewed the association of the rite with the Visigoths that had been reaffirmed by Cisneros, one of his most illustrious predecessors as cardinal archbishop of Toledo. Lorenzana's contemporaries must also have perceived connections between the two archbishops. Such collectively imagined parallels were realized in ritual as well as in other actions. In preparation for Lorenzana's arrival from Mexico, the cathedral chapter celebrated supplicatory rites to invoke divine protection for the archbishop's perilous voyage by sea, just as their predecessors had done for Cisneros when he embarked on the campaign to conquer Oran.¹²⁰ Even further underlining his emulation of Cisneros, Lorenzana later went to Spanish-occupied Oran on a pastoral visit that could not help but convey political intent.¹²¹

The publication of Lorenzana's *Missa Gothica* in Puebla suggests a symbolic meaning for the Mozarabic rite in the context of Spain's imperial project. The engravings portray a conflict between adherents of different liturgical traditions. The cause is a military victory. In effect, while the volume's content is an edition of the Mozarabic rite with commentary, the idea of conquest adhered to the *Missa Gothica* as an object situated in space and time. Like the celebra-

118 Calvo Portela, "El grabador poblano José de Nava," 36.

119 Luis Sierra Nava-Lasa, *El cardenal Lorenzana y la ilustración*, Publicaciones de la Fundación Universitaria Española, Monografías 11 (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, Seminario Cisneros, 1975), 163: demostrar que el rito antiguo toledano consiste en una sucesión tan fiel y próxima a las más primitivas, a la romana—típica—que se le equipara en cuanto a rango de apostolicidad.

120 Hilario Rodríguez de Gracia, "Francisco Antonio Lorenzana: Un arzobispo viajero," in Collado, *El cardenal Lorenzana*, 179–216, at 188.

121 Rodríguez de Gracia, "Francisco Antonio Lorenzana," 202–4.

tion of the rite in the Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral, so too Lorenzana's editions reinforce the role of print as a mode of tribute and recollection.¹²²

The printed editions were a catalyst for the perception and memory of the rite throughout the centuries after 1500. Chapter 4 turns to the diffusion of the Mozarabic editions of Ortiz in early modern Europe. Tracing the provenance of the extant copies—and the pathways some of them followed from Spain to other places—illustrates their role as vectors of knowledge about the Mozarabic rite. Patterns of ownership and the locations of the volumes were factors in the historical study and ideologically informed appraisals of the rite, which form the subject of chapter 5.

Appendix C: Petition from the Clergy of the Mozarabic Parishes in Toledo

Madrid, BNE, MS 13059, fols 204r–205r (undated copy)

Translation by Liam Moore

Sir. The congregation of Priests and Prebendaries of the six Mozarabic Churches Santa Justa, San Marcos, San Lucas, Santa Eulalia, San Torquato, and San Sebastián of the city of Toledo, at the royal feet of Your Majesty, with the most profound and due humility, states:

That the Holy Gothic-Mozarabic Office was known in the first centuries of the Law of Grace with the venerable name of Apostolic, because it owed its origin to the Apostolic See and it was made known and established in Spain by the seven Apostolic Bishops, Disciples of our Patron Saint James. When they were sent to this Province by the Prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, they planted in it the Faith of Jesus Christ. And afterwards [the rite] acquired the name of Gothic, because it was glorified by Saints Leander, Isidore, Eugenius, Ildefonsus, and Julian, Archbishops of Toledo and Seville, all from the Gothic Nation. And finally that of Mozarabic, because in the prolonged period of the tyrannical Domination of the Saracen Arabs, the Catholic Faithful, who lived mixed with them, conserved it in the aforementioned six churches, despite their tyranny, unhurt and pure. And they practiced it always constant and steady in the Faith, and they used it during almost four Centuries in the same form, method, and rule in which they had received it from the Apostolic See. Because of these things, it has been and today is known, famous, laudable, and respected in

122 Lorenzana's subsequent editions are discussed in chapter 5.

the entire Catholic World, not just due to its venerable antiquity, but rather to how devout, distinguished, and admirable are its rites, ceremonies, and prayers, which, dictated by Divine Wisdom to those most Holy Fathers, our Prelates, are a most strong and impenetrable Shield against the bold arms of the Heresies. A most clear Testament of the sacred Dogmas of the Christian Faith: the most glorious Crest and shield that could be made for Spain, they are the envy of foreign Nations, happy and fortunate above all others, for [204v] none like her achieved the fathomless Glory of Knowledge in this day today, maintained and conserved the Mass and original Rite received from Rome. To sum up, it was the most principal purpose of the Glorious Kings, Your Majesty's Progenitors, for putting this city before other royal cities, their royal zeal and devotion yet unsatisfied with only diligently watching over the perpetuity and exaltation of this Holy Office in the six Churches referred to, they even deigned to come in person to Toledo to beautify them, attending the mass of the sacred rite and honoring its ministers, as did recently his Majesty King Don Philip v (who rests in God) in the year 1723.

Being thus, sir, all that the congregation reverently sets before Your Majesty in the most concise manner that has been possible for it, that this Holy Office being always favored by the Lord Kings has flourished in Toledo, performed in the aforesaid six Churches through the long course of Ten and seven centuries. It has been maintained by them and their Ministers, Priests and Prebendaries, with the Tithes of their parishioners and one singular Donation that, with the approval of the Apostolic See, was assigned to them by the lord King Don Alfonso vi, enough in that period for their decent maintenance. It is also true that the tyranny of the times aided by the irresistible force of the long and most costly lawsuits that since the year 1500 have been brought against these Churches (and that continue at this time in the supreme council of Your Majesty's Royal Chamber) by various powerful communities concerning the Rights over the said Tithes and Parishioners have placed them in such an unhappy state that although their Priests and Prebendaries have had the Justice [of their claims] shown and proven, in no way can they now confront such continually growing expenses 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 [205r] Mozarabic Rite exposed to total extinction, which is what necessarily will have to follow, because no one can be found who for a lean stipend would want to study and learn such an exceedingly difficult rite and chant, nor take upon himself the unfathomable labor of attending to the Performance of the Mass, and of all the daytime and nighttime canonical Hours; and with

that this illustrious memory will have to be extinguished and soon end, unless some very rapid remedy is applied that will hinder it. This we entrust to the Catholic zeal, religion, and Piety of Your August Majesty, in which virtues Your Majesty not being inferior to any of your glorious Progenitors, we hope that with the powerful arm of your greatness you detain the fatal ruin that threatens [it]. It will be without doubt of great concern to the royal magnanimous Heart of Your Majesty if the end of this Holy Office should occur in the times of your most happy reign. And so the congregation duly supplicates that Your Majesty condescend to receive in your royal protection and patronage (as a singular and the most powerful means for the conservation and perpetuity of the Holy Mozarabic Office) the six Churches referred to and adding them to the Royal Patronage, endow them with Income according to your royal pleasure, so that the six Priests and eight Prebendaries that make up the Clergy of this rite can maintain themselves with the Decency corresponding to Ministers of Your Majesty and so that the said Holy Office will be celebrated daily with the solemnity owed to it. This we hope from the Catholic zeal and magnificence of Your Majesty.

Señor. La congregacion de Curas y Beneficiados de las seis Iglesias parrochiales Mozarabes Santa Justa, San Marcos, San Lucas, Santa Eulalia, San Torquato y San Sebastian de la ciudad de Toledo a los Reales Pies de V. Magd. con el mas profundo debido rendimiento dice:

Que el Oficio Sancto Gothico-Mozarabe conocido en los primero siglos de la Ley de Gracia con el renombre venerable desde Apostolico, por que debio su origen a la silla Apostolica, y le publicaron, y establecieron en España los siete Santos Apostolicos Obispos Discipulos de nuestro Patron Santiago, que embiados a esta Provincia por el Principe de los Apostoles San Pedro plantaron en ella la Fee de Jesu Christo. Y que despues adquirio el de Gothico, por haberle ilustrado los santos Leandro, Isidoro, Eugenio, Ildephonso y Jullian, Arzobispos de Toledo y Sevilla, todos de lo [sic] Nacion Goda. Y ultimamente el de Mozarabe, porque en el dilatado tiempo de la tyrana Dominacion de los Arabas Sarracenos, los Fieles Catholicos, que vivieron¹²³ mezclados con ellos, le conservaron en dichas seis iglesias, a pesar de su tyrania, indemne y puro; y le practicaron tambien constantes y firmes en la Fee, y exercieron por casi quatro Siglos en la misma forma, methodo y regla, que le recibieron de la Apostolica Silla. En cuyo supuesto, ha sido, y hoi es, conocido, famoso, plausible,

123 The text originally read "viviendo," which was crossed out. "Vivieron" is written in the margin.

y respetado en todo el Orbe Catholico, no solo por su venerable antigüedad, sino por lo devoto, raro, y admirable de sus Ritos, Ceremonias y Oraciones, que dictadas por la Sabiduria Divina, a aquellos Santissimos Padres y Prelados nuestros, son fortissimo impenetrable Escudo contra las atrevidas armas de los Hereses. Testimonio clarissimo de los sagrados Dogmas de la Fee Christiana: Tymbre y blazon el mas glorioso, que pudo hacer a España, son embidia de las Naciones estrangeras, feliz y dichosa sobre todas; pues [204v] ninguna, como elle, logró la Gloria imponderable de haver, habrá el dia de hoi, mantenido y conservado la Missa, y rito primitive que recibio de Roma: y en fin, objeto principalisimo de los señores reyes Gloriosos Progenitores de V. Magd, pues anteponiendo este, a otros regios cuidados, no satisfechos su real celo, y devocion con invigilar solicitos, sobre la perpetuidad y exaltacion de este Oficio Santo, en las seis referidas Iglesias: se dignaron tambien de pasar en persona a Toledo, y decorarlas, oyendo la missa de este sagrado rito, y honrando a sus ministros, como lo executó ultimamente, la Magestad del Señor Rey D. Phelipe Quinto (que de Dios goza) en el año de Mil, Setecientos y Veinte y Tres.

Siendo pues assi, señor, todo lo que la congregacion expone reverente a V. Magd. Con la expresion mas concisa que le ha sido posible, y que este Oficio Santo favorecido siempre de los Señores Reyes, ha florecido en Toledo, exerciendose en dichas seis Iglesias por la larga carrera de Diez y siete siglos, manteniendose ellas y sus Ministros Curas y Beneficiados, con los Diezmos de sus Parrochianos, unica y sola Dote, que con aprovacion de la Silla Apostolica les dejó asignada el señor rey D. Alonso el Sexto, bastante en aquella edad para su manutencion y Decencia. Es tambien cierto, que la tyrania de los tiempos auxiliada de la fuerza irresistible de largos, y costossisimos Pleitos que desde el año de Mil y Quiniento han seguido contra estas Iglesias (y siguen actualmente en el supreme consejo de la Real Camara de V. Magd.) diferentes comunidades poderosas, sobre el Derecho de dichos sus Diezmos y Parrochianos, las han puesto en tan infeliz estado, que aunque sus Curas y Beneficiados tienen manifestada y comprobada su Justicia, no pudiendo ya, en manera alguna, suplir tan crecidas continuadas expensas, ni mantenerse con la decencia debida a su caracter 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 [205r] rito Mozarabe a una total extincion, la que forzosamente habrá de seguirse, porque no se allara quien por un tenue emolumento, quiera aplicarse a aprehender el rito y canto sumamente dificiles; ni tomar sobre si el imponderable trabajo de la asistencia al Exercicio de la Missa, y de todas las Horas Canonicas Diurnas, y Nocturnas; con que esta illustre memoria habra de extinguirse, y acabarse brevemente, a menos de no ponerse prestantissimo reme-

dio que lo estorbe. Este le libramos en el Catholico celo, religion, y Piedad de V. Magd. Augusta. En cuyas virtudes, no siendo V. Mag. inferior a ninguno de sus gloriosos Progenitores, esperamos que con el brazo poderoso de su grandeza detenga la fatal ruyna que amenaza. La qual seria, sin duda, muy sensible al real Magnanimo corazon de V. Magd. si el acabamiento de este Oficio Santo acaeciese en los tiempos de su felicisimo Reynado. Por tanto a V. Magd. suplica la Congregacion rendidamente, se digne de recibir en su real proteccion y amparo (como medio unico, y el mas poderoso para la conservacion y perpetuidad del Oficio Santo Mozarabe) a las seis referidas Iglesias, y agregandolas al Real Patronato, dotarlas con las Rentas que mas fueren de su real agrado, para que los seis Curas, y ocho Beneficiados, que componen el Clero de este rito, puedan mantenerse con la Decencia correspondiente a Ministros de V. Magd., y dicho Oficio Santo celebrarse diariamente con la solemnidad debida. Assi lo esperamos del Catholico celo, y magnificencia de V. Magd.

Collecting the Rite

Few books exist in the Republic of Letters that are as rare as this one, which preserves the ancient rite, and the manner in which the Christian liturgy was once celebrated in several cities in Spain.¹



Thus the Parisian bookseller and cataloguer Guillaume François De Bure (1732–82) introduced his lengthy description of the Ortiz editions in one of the eighteenth century's most influential works of bibliophilia. As moveable objects, the editions brought the revised version of the Mozarabic rite to a foreign audience, readers who were disconnected from the original social context and historical setting of the books as ritual texts. As we will see in this chapter, an essential component of the editions' reception in early modern Europe was the mediation of their contents by cataloguers and librarians whose descriptions instructed owners and prospective buyers about the contents of the editions and their historical importance.

Information on the provenance of copies of the Mozarabic editions—who owned them, when, and where—helps to situate them both as repositories of texts and as symbolic objects that took on a variety of cultural meanings.² According to the eighteenth-century chronicler of the Mozarabs, Pedro Camino y Velasco, the Catholic Monarchs had requested many copies in order to make gifts of them to various princes and potentates, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Breviary and Missal were given to bishops and queens, including Christina of Sweden.³ While the gifts mentioned by Camino

1 Guillaume François De Bure, *Bibliographie instructive ou Traité de la connoissance des livres rares et singuliers* [...], vol. 1, *Théologie* (Paris: Chez Guillaume François De Bure le Jeune, 1763), 180: Peu de livres existent dans la République des Lettres, aussi rares que celui-ci, qui nous conserve l'ancien Rit, & la manière dont on célébroit autrefois l'ancien Office Chrétien dans plusieurs Villes d'Espagne.

2 In a parallel development, commentaries, treatises, and new editions added to the proliferating print culture of the Mozarabic rite. The erudition that developed through these mediated readings is the subject of chapter 5.

3 Pedro Camino y Velasco, *Noticia historico-chronologica de los privilegios de las nobles familias de los mozarabes de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (Toledo: s.n., 1740), unpaginated.

y Velasco are not all traceable, his account helps to explain the scarcity of the editions that was noted throughout the early modern period.

More than half of the sixty-seven extant known copies were in Spain at least until the end of the seventeenth century; twenty have remained in Toledo to this day. A handful of other copies left the Iberian peninsula already in the sixteenth century. The paths taken by the editions varied over time.⁴ This chapter traces the itineraries of the Mozarabic editions to the extent that their provenance can be ascertained. Drawing on material evidence in the books themselves, such as bindings, notes of possession, and other annotations, in combination with external sources, I reconstruct probable or credible scenarios for the trajectories of individual copies.

The editions are artifacts that tell stories about books and about people as well. Their provenance attests to their liturgical uses as well as their appeal to collectors, and also reflects family histories, social networks, and politics. From the sixteenth century through the eighteenth, the editions entered aristocratic, princely, and ecclesiastical libraries across Europe. Subsequently, they were acquired by national libraries. Indeed, tracing the provenance of copies of the printed Mozarabic Missal and Breviary means following the development of European book collecting. The rarity that made the Mozarabic editions attractive to scholars also caused them to stand out in collections and catalogues as items of unusual value that conferred prestige on their owners.

Whereas for centuries the essential precondition for knowledge of the rite had been membership in the Mozarabic community (or, after 1500, a benefice in the Mozarabic Chapel), readers all over Europe who would never witness the Mozarabic rite in Toledo themselves could own the editions as rare and precious curiosities or consult them for their research. Through the gradual broadening and diversifying of the editions' audiences there emerged communities of users bound by shared interests despite being separated by time and place.

1 Sixteenth-Century Owners

In his 1569 biography of Cisneros, Alvar Gómez de Castro reported that copies of the Mozarabic editions were hard to find, even in Toledo:

4 Of the thirty-two copies now in Spanish libraries, twenty seem to have remained continuously in Toledo. Many others contain notes of possession, inscriptions, or other annotations indicating that they were still in Spain until the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The provenances discussed in this chapter are summarized in appendix 2.

The books of the Mozarabic rite that he made available to the public at that time are worn out by use, as are all things, and now are so completely sold out that it seems to me the volume they call the missal is worth thirty gold pieces in Toledo, for all learned and pious men who know of this office struggle to get hold of the missal and the breviary: and Pope Paul III himself, having sent legates to Toledo to seek out our liturgy from the church ordered that this monument of Gothic piety be preserved in the Vatican Library. [...] If only some imitator of the deeds of Ximenes could arise who would publish once again these holy tomes of the Mozarabs.⁵

Gómez de Castro's description of the books' scarcity and high price may not be an exaggeration, for many copies had left the Iberian peninsula within a generation of their production. Clearly they were of great interest not only to the clergy but also to other learned persons interested in the rite as a monument of Spanish sacred history—readers envisioned by Ortiz in his preface. Many copies of the Missal were distributed soon after their publication. An entry in an account book of the early sixteenth century from the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Alcalá records the payments Cisneros made to Melchior Gorricio in 1501–2 for delivery of forty bound missals with gilding (for 1,875 *maravedies* each) to various church officials.⁶ One of the recipients, Camerero Fonseca, was instructed to present the volume to Isabella of Castile. Two books were specifically designated as intended for the Mozarabic Chapel, which presumably means they were copies of the *Missale mixtum* of 1500.⁷

5 Alvar Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximénio Cisnerio archiepiscopo Toletano* (Complutum: Andrea de Angulo, 1569), fol. 51v: *Officii Mozarabum libri tunc per illum in publicum dati, ut res omnes usu consumuntur, nunc ita ferme iam exhausti sunt, ut volumen quod missale vocant, me vidente, triginta aureis Toleti consisterit. Nam ab omnibus doctis et piis hominibus, quibus huius officii notitia est, tam missale quam breuiarium certatim expetitur: ipseque adeo Paulus III Pontifex max. missis Toletum legatis ab ecclesia nostra officium hoc petierit et Gotthicę pietatis monumentum in bibliotheca Vaticana asseruari iusserit. Utinam aliquis exoriatur actorum Ximenii aemulus, qui sacra haec Mozarabum volumina euulget rursus.*

6 The account book covers the period from 1496 to 1509; see Santiago Aguadé Nieto, "De la manuscritura a la imprenta: Formación de la biblioteca del Colegio de San Ildefonso," in *Civitas librorum: La ciudad de los libros, Alcalá de Henares 1502–2002*, ed. Santiago Aguadé Nieto (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 2002), 55–80, at 57.

7 Some or all of the other volumes listed together with these in the same entry may have been copies of the Mozarabic Missal as well. Elisa Ruiz García and Helena Carvajal González, *La casa de Protesilao: Reconstrucción arqueológica del fondo cisneriano de la Biblioteca Histórica "Marqués de Valdecilla" (1496–1509)*, *manuscrito 20056/47 de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2011), 88–89, 129–30, 301, 407.

A subsequent entry in the same account book refers to bound breviaries that Gorricio gave to Antonio García de Villalpando in 1502, four of them for the Mozarabic Chapel and three others for the Mozarabic parishes; thus, at least seven of these volumes were copies of the Mozarabic Breviary.⁸ As a member of Cisneros's council, Villalpando assisted Cisneros with the conversion of Muslims in Granada and the publication of letters about the conquest of Oran. In his virulently anti-Muslim tractate *Razonamiento de las reales armas* (written before 1487), Villalpando enjoined the Catholic Monarchs to convert Muslims in the Holy Land and beyond.⁹ In 1500–1502, Villalpando combined the distribution of the Mozarabic editions to clergy with his participation in various anti-Muslim crusade efforts.

A generation after the editions were given to clergy in Toledo as well as to the queen, some of the first known owners outside Toledo were neither clergy nor intellectuals, but rather foreign aristocrats, suggesting the editions had already assumed a role as prized collectors' objects and status symbols, and possibly as diplomatic gifts. Inscriptions in four of the extant copies show that in the sixteenth century they belonged to members of the military orders: the Hospitallers (the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem), the Knights of Santiago, and the Order of Calatrava. Belonging to these orders became a marker of elite status in the early modern period, so a member's possession of a prestige object might not seem weighted with meaning.¹⁰ It is noteworthy, however, that the three earliest owners of the Mozarabic editions attested by inscriptions were all laymen and members of military orders closely associated with Spain. As we will see, two of these owners were foreigners. In the four copies in question, two annotations are notes of possession, while the inscriptions in two other copies record a gift.

One of the copies of the *Missale mixtum* now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France bears an inscription stating that it was purchased by an aristocrat from southern France, Honoré (or Honorat) de Pontevès, Lord of Flassans-sur-

8 Ruiz García and Carvajal González, *La casa de Protesilao*, 84, 187, 402.

9 Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, "Antonio García de Villalpando," in *Christian-Muslim Relations 11 Online: Spain, 1500–1600*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2015), https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/CMR2/COM_26409.xml; Carrasco Manchado, "Razonamiento de las reales armas de los serenissimos e muy esclarecidos príncipes e muy altos e muy poderosos reyes e señores, los señores don Ferando el quinto e doña Ysabel la segunda," in Thomas, *Christian-Muslim Relations 11 Online*, https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/CMR2/COM_30379.xml.

10 For an overview of the military orders in the Middle Ages see Helen Nicholson, "The Military Orders," in *A Companion to Chivalry*, ed. Robert W. Jones and Peter Coss (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), 69–84.

Isole (in the Var): “Honorat de Pontevès, Lord of Flassans, bought this missal in Aix (d’Aix) for five florins (v. ff.) in January 1531.”¹¹ The phrase “d’Aix” presumably refers to Aix-en-Provence, situated seventy-one kilometers from Flassans-sur-Isole.¹² One year after signing the *Missale mixtum*, Honoré was received in Malta by the Hospitallers of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem.¹³ The chronological proximity of these two events raises a number of questions. How and why did he obtain the Mozarabic Missal, and was his purchase of this rare book related to his imminent presentation in Malta? The Knights of Saint John were under a military obligation to Charles V, whose donation of the island made it the order’s home beginning in 1530. The emperor had the prerogative of requisitioning Hospitaller galleys for expeditions in the Mediterranean, several of which took place in 1531–32.¹⁴

Honoré’s acquisition of the Missal and his presentation in Malta are both signs of elite status; the Missal was rare and expensive, and the Order of Saint John had long been reserved for the aristocracy. By the time he was received at Malta it was necessary for the order’s knights to prove not only their legitimate and noble birth, but also the nobility of four of their grandparents.¹⁵ Furthermore, in the sixteenth century the Order of Saint John renewed its noble ideology in the context of the Mediterranean crusade.¹⁶ At some point Honoré’s

11 Paris, BnF, Réserve B 269: Honorat de Pontevès sieur de Flessans achepta ce missal d aix v. ff l’an mil cinq cents trente ung et du mois de janvier.

12 The currency indicated in the inscription as “ff.” could be florins of Provence. Other florins in use at the time include cameral florins, used in Avignon by the papacy, and Florentine florins, a common coinage struck until 1533 that circulated as an international medium of exchange. See John H. Munro, “Money and Coinage of the Age of Erasmus,” in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, vol. 1, *Letters 1 to 151, A.D. 1484–1500*, ed. Roger Mynors, Douglas Thomson, and Wallace Ferguson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 311–48, at 316–18. Prices in different florins from 1531 to 1535 can be consulted in the tables in John H. Munro, “Money, Wages, and Real Incomes in the Age of Erasmus: The Purchasing Power of Coins and of Building Craftsmen’s Wages in England and the Low Countries, 1500–1540,” Working Paper No. 1 (University of Toronto, Department of Economics and Institute for Policy Analysis, 2001), 119–40, <https://www.economics.utoronto.ca/public/workingPaper/s/UT-ECIPA-MUNRO-01-01.pdf>.

13 *Généalogie historique de la Maison Sabran-Pontevès*, Extrait de l’armorial général de France, registre supplémentaire (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1897), 100.

14 Anne Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté, 1530–1670*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 325 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), 41–42, 94–96.

15 Ann Williams, “The Constitutional Development of the Order of St John in Malta, 1530–1798,” in *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Msida: Mireva, 1993), 285–96, at 291.

16 Anne Brogini, “Vivre noble. L’Ordre de Malte et la Croisade au début de l’Époque Moderne,” in *Noblezas hispana, Noblezas cristiana. La Orden de San Juan*, ed. Manuel Rivero Rodríguez (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2009), 1393–1411.

copy ended up in the personal collection of Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–99), whose arms are stamped on the binding. The volume reached Paris presumably after 1798, when Napoleonic troops took Rome, occupied the Castel Sant'Angelo, and plundered the Vatican Palace.¹⁷ The book's trajectory from Toledo to Flassans-sur-Isole, Rome, and Paris attests to the geographic reach and social appeal of the Mozarabic editions over the course of the centuries after their publication.

Two other annotations that can be dated to the 1530s attest to movements of the printed Mozarabic Missal and Breviary within their city of origin. In a copy of the Breviary now in the British Library, an inscription states that “the bachelor Joan Fernandez de Valboa, Administrator of the Hospital of the Knights of Santiago in Toledo, gave this book to this convent during his lifetime, on 13 October in the year 1535.”¹⁸ The phrase specifying that the gift was made before the donor's death implicitly refers to the requirement that knights of Santiago bequeath some of their books to monasteries (whether those of the order itself or other monastic establishments).¹⁹ A nearly identical inscription appears in the copy of the Missal now in the library of the Augustinian convent at La Vid, although this other inscription does not mention a date.²⁰ Thus, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Hospital of Santiago at Toledo owned a pair of the Mozarabic editions.²¹

The inscriptions by Honoré de Pontevès and Joan Fernández de Balboa, which date to a generation after the publication of the editions, do not reveal

17 On the events of 1798–99 see Frank J. Coppa, *The Modern Papacy since 1789* (London: Routledge, 1999), 31. Pius VI died in Valence. The coat of arms stamped on the leather book box in which the volume is now preserved is identified in the card file in the Réserve of the Bibliothèque nationale de France as “Cardinal Toledo-Ozorío.” It combines a cardinal's hat with the arms of the Osorio family.

18 London, BL, General Reference Collection C.17.c.3, fol. 432r: El bachiller Joan fernandez de valboa administrador del [o]spital de santiago de los caballeros de toledo dio este libro a este convento en su vida 13 de octubre 1535 anos. (I am grateful to Tess Knighton for her help in reading this inscription.)

19 Erika Supria Honisch, Ferran Escrivà-Llorca, and Tess Knighton, “On the Trail of a Knight of Santiago: Collecting Music and Mapping Knowledge in Renaissance Europe,” *Music and Letters* 101, no. 3 (2021): 397–453, at 413. I am grateful to Tess Knighton for sharing this research with me before its publication.

20 La Vid, Monasterio de Santa María de la Vid, 135/Inc/13, fol. 469v: El bachiller Juan Fernández de Balboa administrador del Santiago de Toledo dió este libro en su vida a este convento. (Joan may have been a member of the Balboa family, part of the minor nobility in Galicia, which included the conquistador Vasco Núñez de Balboa [c.1475–1519].)

21 Joan's inscribed copy of the missal, now in La Vid, seems to have remained in the possession of the Order of Santiago for centuries. It contains the stamp from the library of the Monastery of Uclés, the headquarters of the order until it was forced out in 1836. The premises were later taken over by the Augustinians.

why these men acquired such books; nothing else is known of their collecting habits. Some other copies with early notes of possession can be related to what is known about their owners' lives and collections, however. One of the most salient examples is a copy of the Mozarabic Breviary now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, inscribed in 1567 by the Austrian aristocrat Adam von Dietrichstein (1527–90).²² In 1563 Adam had been appointed ambassador of the Habsburgs to Madrid, where, as mayordomo, he oversaw the education of the sons of the emperor Maximilian living at the court of Philip II (1527–98).²³

Adam von Dietrichstein was a favorite of Ferdinand I (1503–64) as well as of Maximilian II (1527–76), and for generations the Dietrichstein family was the most closely tied to Spain of the entire central European aristocracy.²⁴ Adam's marriage in 1553 to Margarita Folch de Cardona (c.1535–1610) linked him to the upper level of Spanish society; Margarita was a lady in waiting and close associate of the infanta Maria (1528–1603), who became the empress Maria.²⁵

The details of Adam's accession to the Order of Calatrava, which are documented by contemporary records, illustrate the process by which a foreign diplomat could obtain this honor, one reserved for only the highest echelons of the Spanish aristocracy. Thanks to his special position at court and to the favor of Maximilian II, Adam enjoyed the maximum privileges of a knight of Calatrava, his title of commander (*comendador*) elevating him above other Central European members of the order.²⁶ He was granted the habit of the order on the condition that he had no Jewish or Muslim ancestors, an inquiry into his blood-

22 Paris, BnF, Réserve, B-267, frontispiece: 15 M 67: Auxilium meum a Domino Dietrichstain. (Adam spelled his own name "Dietrichstain," but the accepted modern spelling is "Dietrichstein.")

23 Friedrich Edelmayer, "Ehre, Geld, Karriere: Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximilians," in *Kaiser Maximilian II: Kultur und Politik in 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayer and A. Kohler (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1992), 109–42; Edelmayer, "Honor y dinero. Adam de Dietrichstein al servicio de la Casa de Austria," *Studia Histórica. Historica Moderna* 10, no. 11 (1992–93): 89–116.

24 *Die Korrespondenz der Kaiser mit ihren Gesandten in Spanien*, vol. 1, *Briefwechsel zwischen Ferdinand I., Maximilian II. und Adam von Dietrichstein 1563–1565*, ed. Arno Strohmeyer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der iberischen und iberoamerikanischen Länder* 3 (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1997), 40–46.

25 See Dries Raeymaekers, "In the Service of the Dynasty: Building a Career in the Habsburg Household, 1550–1650," in *Monarchy Transformed: Princes and Their Elites in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert von Friedeburg and John Morrill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 263–64; see also Honisch, Escrivá-Llorca, and Knighton, "On the Trail," 408.

26 Pavel Marek, *La embajada española en la corte imperial (1558–1641): Figuras de los embajadores y estrategias clientelares*, *Ibero-Americana Pragensia Supplementum* 33 (Prague: Universidad Carolina de Praga, Editorial Karolinum, 2013), 173.

lines having been carried out in his home province of Carinthia.²⁷ Whereas many in the Order of Calatrava never obtained anything more than its religious habit, Adam was given as *encomienda* (benefice) the Aragonese town of Alcañiz, which was lucrative because of its associated revenues. When he received the final confirmation of the habit, in 1568, he was also granted an exemption from the requirement of six months in the order's galleys and three months learning the Rule.

It seems significant that Adam inscribed his copy of the Mozarabic Breviary in 1567, the same year he began the process of entering the Order of Calatrava. Such an unusual volume could have been a gift on the occasion of his accession to the highest level of prestige in Spain. It is possible, too, that the Mozarabic rite had taken on a particular connotation in the context of the Order of Calatrava. As seen in chapter 3, in the sixteenth century the rite came increasingly to be associated with the Catholic Monarchs' anti-Muslim crusade initiatives in the Mediterranean, and the representation of the conquest of Oran in the Mozarabic Chapel of Toledo Cathedral is a sign of this direct connection. In this same period, however, the Order of Calatrava was becoming primarily a marker of elite status (as were the other military orders), and one of the precious early editions from Toledo was in any case a fitting acquisition for a dignitary of the Spanish Empire.

Adam's note of ownership on the frontispiece consists only of the date and his surname, accompanied by the motto "*Auxilium meum a Domino*" ("my help is from the Lord"), which quotes from (Vulgate) Psalm 120:2.²⁸ As this phrase has been used in heraldic devices over the centuries, it is not unusual in itself, but appears consistently in the inscriptions in several other books he owned, often with his distinctive signature.²⁹ One of the most significant volumes bearing Adam's signature is an illuminated manuscript commonly known as the Gerona martyrology, a Bohemian liturgical book of around 1400 given to Adam in 1582.³⁰ In 1581, Adam inscribed his name and characteristic motto in

27 Ana Mur i Raurell, "Austriacos en las ordenes militares españolas en el siglo XVI," in *Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance*, ed. Wolfram Krömer (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1989), 81–95, at 84–88.

28 The first two verses of Psalm 120 in the Douay-Rheims translation are: "I have lifted up my eyes to the mountains, from whence help shall come to me; My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

29 A large collection of books that had been owned by Adam was among the booty captured by Swedish troops in 1645; see Honisch, Escrivá-Llorca, and Knighton, "On the Trail," 403 n. 27.

30 Museu Diocesà de Girona, MS 273. The inscription on fol. 2r shows that it was given to Dietrichstein in 1582. Alexandra Suda, "The Girona Martyrology: Making and Meaning

a sixteenth-century manuscript copy of the decretals of the kingdom of Hungary.³¹ In the same year, he wrote his name and motto in a copy of the indices to the annals of the Crown of Aragon, published just three years earlier in Zaragoza by the official chronicler of Aragon, Jerónimo Zurita y Castro (1512–80).³² Adam's interest in Aragonese history may be tied to his *encomienda* of Alcañiz.³³ There is evidence, then, for Adam's ownership of both luxury illuminated liturgical manuscripts and printed books of history and law that related to his roles as a courtier and as a landowner in Spain.

The path by which Adam's breviary traveled to France remains unknown. Its entry into the French royal collection might be related to the Spanish Habsburg alliances of Louis XIII (with Anne of Austria) and of his son, Louis XIV (with Maria Theresa). Another possible context for the book's arrival in Paris is the involvement of Adam's son Franz von Dietrichstein (1570–1636) in the Spanish court as well as in Rome, where he represented Spanish interests.³⁴ As a Roman cardinal, Franz participated in conclaves alongside Cardinal Mazarin, a great bibliophile who became first minister of France. The Mozarabic Breviary is the kind of rare volume that would have been suitable for Mazarin's renowned personal collection, and after his death in 1661 some of his printed books ended up

of a Manuscript in the Margins" (PhD diss., New York University, 2016), 19, interprets the inscription as referring to Adam's son, Franz von Dietrichstein, who had the manuscript restored, as mentioned in an inscription from 1613. In 1582, however, Franz was only 12; presumably the father received the manuscript and passed it on to his son, as argued by Otto Pächt, "A Bohemian Martyrology," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 73 (1938): 192–204, at 192.

31 The inscription is transcribed in a description of the manuscript in *Leges ecclesiasticae regni Hungariae et provinciarum adiacentium*, ed. Ignác Batthyány (Alba Iulia: Typis Episcopilibus, 1785), 28.

32 Jerónimo Zurita y Castro, *Indices rerum ab Aragoniae regibus gestarum ab initis regni ad annum MCDX* (Zaragoza: Domingo de Portonariis, 1578). Adam's inscription on his copy (now in Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket, konv. 3–4) can be seen at <https://skk.lib.cas.cz/files/158724>. A modern edition is *Indices de las Gestas de los reyes de Aragón desde comienzos del reinado [pro reino] al año 1410*, ed. Á. Canellas López, trans. J. Guillén Cabañero (Zaragoza: IFC, 1984).

33 Alcañiz, which belonged to the Order of Calatrava, was given to Adam von Dietrichstein in 1569 as a knight of the Order. Pavel Marek, "La diplomacia española y la papal en la corte imperial de Fernando II," *Studia historica. Historia moderna* 30 (2008): 109–43, at 134.

34 Marek, "La diplomacia española," 135–36. Franz lost his wealth in 1619, however, as a result of the Bohemian war and had to relocate to Vienna. Marek, *La embajada española*, 164, citing Bohumil Badura, "Los intereses económicos de los Dietrichstein en España en los siglos XVI–XVIII," in *Las relaciones checo-españolas*, ed. Josef Opatrný, Ibero-Americana Pragensis, Supplementum 20 (Prague: Universidad Carolina de Praga, Editorial Karolinum, 2007), 47–93.

in the Bibliothèque du Roi.³⁵ All we know is that Adam's breviary appears in the 1739 catalogue and includes a book stamp that was one of the first used by the royal library, indicating acquisition in the seventeenth century.³⁶

It is intriguing that three known owners of the Mozarabic editions in the sixteenth century represent each of the three major military orders and that two of these owners inscribed their copies close to the time they were received into those orders. Honoré de Pontevès acquired his missal the year before he was received by the Hospitallers at Malta, and Adam von Dietrichstein signed his copy of the Mozarabic Breviary in 1567, the year in which he was received into the Order of Calatrava. Joan Fernández de Balboa gave the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary in 1535 to the Toledan Hospital of Santiago under his administration. The Orders of Santiago and Saint John (the Hospitallers) were both founded in support of the Spanish monarchy's ongoing crusade against Muslims, and, as seen in chapter 3, in the early sixteenth century they were specifically evoked in that role with regard to the conquest of Oran.

2 Seventeenth-Century Owners

The sixteenth-century inscriptions in the Mozarabic editions offer glimpses into some of the contexts in which these books changed hands. Aside from Adam von Dietrichstein, however, little is known of those who wrote their names in these copies. Comparatively more information is available about some of the owners in the seventeenth century, who represent both the expanded geographical reach of the editions and the broadening range of collectors who acquired them. By the end of that century, copies of the Mozarabic editions had entered some of the most important private collections in Europe.

For most bibliophiles, the editions were high-status items, appreciated for their rarity. But some of those who acquired these books in the seventeenth

35 When Mazarin went into exile in 1652, some of his most exceptional books (both manuscript and printed) were saved from auction by his librarian, Gabriel Naudé. See *Le cardinal, la Fronde et le bibliothécaire: Les trente plus beaux livres de Mazarin*, ed. Isabelle de Conihout and Christian Péligny (Paris: Editions du mécène, 2002), 8.

36 Jean-Baptiste Jourdan, Anicet Melot, Pierre Jean Boudot, and Claude Sallier, *Catalogue des livres imprimez de la Bibliothèque du roy*, vol. 1, *Théologie* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1739), 247 (shelfmark B709). The stamp may have been used as early as 1640, but it was certainly in use starting around 1685. I am grateful to the staff of the Réserve of the BnF for this information.

century had a particular interest in the historical or religious significance of the Mozarabic rite. Among the owners most likely to have had a religious motivation for reading the editions as works of theology was the English non-conformist clergyman Simeon Ashe (or Ash) (1595–1662). As an alumnus of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (where he matriculated in 1613), Ashe made several gifts of books to its library, including the Mozarabic Missal.³⁷ Of the thirty-five known extant copies of the Missal, his shows the most extensive study in the form of reading marks—underlining, outlining, dots, and “nota bene” signs. Indeed, Ashe’s is the only extant copy that appears to have been closely studied throughout, with passages that encapsulate Catholic doctrine annotated and key terms underscored. In several cases, three different forms of annotation appear on the same page.³⁸

Admittedly, someone else could have made the marks, and such nonverbal annotations do not convey a specific meaning.³⁹ Nevertheless, the fifty carefully annotated leaves in this copy of the *Missale mixtum* are remarkable considering Ashe’s career as a Protestant theologian and churchman, and as an editor of Puritan and Presbyterian writings.⁴⁰ Context for the intriguing gift can be sought in the other books Ashe gave to Emmanuel College. One was John Foxe’s *Book of the Martyrs*, a signal text of the English Reformation that includes vivid, even gruesome descriptions of Protestant martyrdoms.⁴¹ In the same period, Ashe gave the college a volume containing the theological works of the Dutch Calvinist Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) and another of the Ger-

37 Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library, MS 5.2.12, given to the Library in 1652. I am deeply grateful to H.C. Carron, Librarian of Emmanuel College, for information on Ashe and his gifts of books to the Library.

38 For instance, on fol. 164v, three different forms of annotation mark out most of a prayer for the Lord’s Prayer, which begins, “Looking upon our thoughts and our sins, we do not sacrifice bleeding victims to you, Lord, but with supplicant prayers, we offer to you, eternal, the body of the priest” (Cogitationes et delicta nostra cernentes, non cruentas tibi domine victimas immolamus, sed supplicibus votis tibi sempiterni sacerdotis corpus offerimus).

39 Adam Smyth, “Book Marks: Object Traces in Early Modern Books,” in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. Katherine Acheson (New York: Routledge, 2019), 51–69, at 65, notes that we do not actually know what underlinings in early modern books convey about the attitude of the reader.

40 For the biography of Ashe see Ann Hughes, “Ashe, Simeon,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online version of 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/751>.

41 John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of Matters most Special [...] Booke of Martyrs* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1641). Ashe’s copy is a later edition of the work, which was first published in 1563.

man Protestant David Pareus (1548–1622).⁴² All three of these books, which Ashe gave to Emmanuel College within a decade of their publication, are unremarkable possessions for a Protestant theologian. Then there was the *Missale mixtum*—the only Catholic book he donated and the only rare, early edition. In the absence of other information, one assumes that Ashe made the gift because of the book's value as a luxury object and the interest of its contents for theological studies.

In contrast to Ashe, most of the Catholic clergy who acquired the Mozarabic editions were renowned bibliophiles whose collections included many rare liturgical books. The Roman cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679) owned both the Breviary and the Missal, which are listed in the catalogue of his vast library that was published in 1681.⁴³ The volumes remained in the Barberini family collection until 1902, when they were purchased for the Vatican Library.⁴⁴ Barberini's collection included numerous liturgical editions as well as manuscripts. On the same page as the Mozarabic Missal are listed his copies of printed missals of the Roman and Ambrosian rites as well as those of Seville, Zagreb, Lyon, and Salisbury. The range of different liturgical uses and scholarly commentaries represented in Barberini's collection is typical of many bibliophile libraries from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In addition to practical editions of the modern rites, some of the texts in the Barberini library were works of liturgical history. In the interest of completeness, the cataloguer seems to have listed all the liturgical texts in the library, not only those that comprised independent volumes. Several of the listed works constitute sections in the compilation of ecclesiastical writings generally known as the *Bibliotheca patrum*.⁴⁵ For instance, immediately pre-

42 *Francisco Gomari opera theologica omnia* (Amsterdam: Janson, 1644); David Pareus, *Opus theologicorum exegeticorum* (Frankfurt: Viduam Ionaë Rosae, 1647).

43 The Breviary (now BAV, Stamp. Barb. B.X.3) is listed as "Breviarium Mozarabes, sive Toletanum, [folio]" in *Indicis bibliothecae qua Franciscus Barberinus S.R.E. cardinalis vicecancellarius magnificentissimas suae familiae ad Quirinalem aedes magnificentiores reddidit* (Rome: Typis Barberinis, 1681), 1287; and the Missal (now BAV, Stamp. Barb. AAA.II.16) is listed, with the Barberini library call number on the flyleaf (1X-D-32), as "Missale mixtum secundum Regulam B. Isidori dictam Mosarabes." *Indicis bibliothecae*, 2:78.

44 See Cinzia Fortussi, "La Bibliotheca Barberina: La raccolta libraria di Urbano VIII e Francesco Barberini" (diploma thesis, Scuola Vaticana di Biblioteconomia, 1994).

45 The full title of the work is *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*. It was first printed in Paris in 1575 and subsequently republished in expanded form several times in the seventeenth century as well as in Venice in 1766. The Barberini catalogue refers to the Paris editions of 1575 and 1624 as well as to the 1618 Cologne edition.

ceding the *Missale mixtum* in the Barberini catalogue is a “Missa Mozarabum S. Leandro Hispalensi Interprete” (the Mass of the Mozarabs, as transmitted by Saint Leander of Seville), an annotated order of mass occupying just two pages within the *Bibliotheca patrum*.⁴⁶ A brief note preceding the text provides some background:

The Christians in Spain who were mixed with the Arabs were called Mozarabs, as it were, “mixed with Arabs,” and for that reason their divine service has retained the name “Mozarab” [...]. It was used in Spain until the time of Alfonso VI, at which time it was changed by the authority of Pope Gregory VII: and it is still allowed for it to be observed in Toledo in six parishes and in the cathedral, in the chapel of Brother Francisco Ximenez.⁴⁷

In explaining the etymology of the rite’s traditional designation, this account emphasizes the hybridity of the Mozarabs, as seen in many of the texts discussed in chapter 2. The note also conflates the medieval post-conquest history of the rite with the sixteenth-century reformed rite in Toledo Cathedral. Continuity rather than change is suggested by this paratext, which delivers a brief synthesis of received knowledge. Summaries appeared in a variety of contexts, including editions, reference works, catalogues, and commentaries (see chapter 5).

The *Bibliotheca patrum* was such a common early modern reference for liturgical history that it is cited in an annotation in the Mozarabic Breviary now in the John Rylands Library, in Manchester.⁴⁸ A note added to the preface refers the reader to a discussion of “this Gothic [i.e. Visigothic] office” in the *Bibliotheca patrum*; the text mentioned in this note is probably the brief treatise that immediately follows the “Missa Mozarabum” just cited.⁴⁹ This copy was owned

46 “Missa mosarabe D. Leandro Hispalensi Episcopo Peculiariter in Hispanis Usitata,” *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Paris: Aegidius Morellus, 1644), 6: cols 103–106.

47 Ibid.: Christiani in Hispania Arabibus praemixti, Mozarabes dicebantur, quasi mixti Arabibus, et Officium divinum eorum, Mozarabe inde appellationem retinuit [...] haec usa est Hispania usque ad tempora Alfonso sexti, quo tempore, autoritate Gregorii Papae septimi mutata est: licet et Toletu adhuc in sex parochiis servetur; et in cathedrali Ecclesia, in sacello fratris Francisci Ximenez.

48 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, 273.

49 “Ordo divini officii Gothici Muzarabum,” in *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum*, 6: cols 105–24. This text is a Latin digest of the *Breve suma*, the treatise on the Mozarabic rite published in Castilian (an excerpt from the biography of Cisneros, the *Compendio*) by the Mozarabic chaplain Eugenio de Robles in 1604. The *Breve suma* is discussed in chapters 2 and 5.

in the seventeenth century by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83), finance minister to Louis XIV.⁵⁰ In the accounts kept by his librarian, Baluze, Colbert's copy of the Missal is listed among the books brought from Madrid in 1680, its price of 440 *livres* the highest amount paid for a single book.⁵¹ Colbert's breviary and missal were bound and decorated with his coat of arms soon after their purchase in 1680.⁵²

Even in Colbert's unusually fine collection, the Mozarabic editions stood out as distinctive items of great value.⁵³ They were sold together at auction in 1728 by his grandson, the Comte de Seignelay, garnering the exceptionally high price of 3,005 *livres*.⁵⁴ The sale price became well known to bibliophiles through the influential *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* ("Historico-Critical Catalogue of Rather Rare Books"), first published in 1732 by Johann Vogt (1695–1764). A subsequent owner, Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford (1689–1741), left his widow in need of funds, so she commissioned Thomas Osborne to sell the family's renowned collection of printed books. The catalogue described the Mozarabic Missal as "the scarcest Book in the whole Harleian Collection."⁵⁵ Later acquired by the English bibliophile George Spencer (second Earl Spencer, 1758–1834), the Breviary and Missal were purchased from his son in 1892 by Enriqueta Rylands, founder of the John Rylands Library in Manchester.⁵⁶

Also in the late seventeenth century, the Leipzig man of letters Gottfried Christian Götze (c.1679–1724) owned a copy of the *Missale mixtum* which he

50 On Colbert's library see Denise Bloch, "La bibliothèque de Colbert," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. 2, *Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789*, ed. Claude Jolly (Paris: Promodis, 1988), 157–79.

51 Paris, BnF, MS Baluze 212, fol. 271r.

52 The Breviary and the Missal are listed among the books that were bound for Colbert in February 1680 (Paris, BnF, MS Baluze 366, fol. 63v).

53 The collection was inherited in 1690 by Colbert's son, the archbishop of Rouen, Jacques-Nicolas Colbert (1654–1707), who left it to his nephew, Charles Eleonor Colbert (1689–1747).

54 *Bibliotheca Colbertina, seu, Catalogus librorum bibliothecæ [...]* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1728), 20–21 (item 342 for the Missal and 361 for the Breviary).

55 David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books, 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 184, citing the description in *Catalogus bibliothecæ Harleianæ, in locos communes distributus cum indice auctorum*, 5 vols (London: Thomas Osborne, 1743), 3:117–18 (lot 1528).

56 The Missal (JULM 263) is described in Nigel Griffin, "Spanish Incunabula in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 70 (1988): 3–142, at 127–34. For the Missal and Breviary see Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana; or a Descriptive Catalogue of the books Printed in the Fifteenth Century and of Many Valuable First Editions, in the Library of George John Earl Spencer* (London: [printed for the author], 1814–23), 1:135–49.

inscribed in Bayonne in 1696, three years after earning his doctorate.⁵⁷ Bayonne, in the Basque country, may have been known as a place to obtain books from Spain because of cross-border exchange.⁵⁸ Although it is unknown why Götze was in France, it is certain that he traveled far and wide to see manuscripts and that he visited collections in Italy. The historian Lodovico Antonio Muratori helped him obtain access to manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and sent him a newly published book, which Götze mentioned he would bring to Rome when he went to see the prefect of the Vatican Library, Lorenzo Alessandro Zacagni (1652–1712).⁵⁹ Götze bequeathed his copy of the Missal to Leipzig's senate library (*Ratsbibliothek*), where he was the director. Eventually it passed into the collection of the university library in Leipzig, where it is today.

Götze's acquisition of the Missal at the end of the seventeenth century is emblematic of a broader interest in rare books in northern Germany, which fostered the development of significant private collections and, concomitantly, the publication of guides to rare books. The third edition of the *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* by Johannes Vogt states that the Missal was "certainly the rarest of all rare books" (*inter rariores Libros hic est certe rarissimus*).⁶⁰ Vogt's catalogue established rarity as one of the foremost values in book collecting, a quality crucial to the perceived value of the Mozarabic editions. A comparable work, the compendium on rare books by the Dresden-based priest and librarian Augustus Beyer (1707–41), published in 1734, begins

57 The volume is now Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Inc.Civ.Lips.369. I am very grateful to Boris Liebrecht for consulting and photographing this book in January 2020; I examined it in Leipzig in December 2024.

58 The presence of Old Hispanic missals in Bayonne is mentioned in a letter of 1714 written by Desserre, a priest of the Oratory, to Pierre Le Brun (Paris, BnF, latin 16811, fol. 129r). The epistolary exchange between the two Oratorians, discussed in chapter 5, is the subject of a larger study in preparation.

59 *La corrispondenza di Lodovico Antonio Muratori col mondo germanofono: Carteggi inediti*, ed. Fabio Marri and Maria Lieber, with Daniela Gianaroli, *Italiani in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 31 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), 73–74.

60 [Johann Vogt], *Johannis Vogt Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1747), 470. The Mozarabic editions are not cited in the first edition of 1732 (Hamburg: Johann Christoph Kisner). On the context of Vogt's doctrine of rarity see Torsten Sander, "Samuel Engels's *Bibliotheca Selectissima* (1743). 'Rarity' as a Criterion of Knowledge and its Classification," in *Scholars in Action: The Practice of Knowledge and the Figure of the Savant in the 18th Century. Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions*, ed. Martin Stuber, Philippe Rogger, André Holenstein, and Hubert Steinke (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 339–60. McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books*, 192, contrasts the taxonomy of guides to rare books in German-speaking lands with the focus on copy-specific information seen in the catalogues of the book trade.

several pages of dense commentary on the Mozarabic editions with an excursus on the name “Mozarabic,” noting the lack of consensus among Spaniards concerning its etymology.⁶¹ From 1726 to 1730, Beyer studied in Leipzig, residing some of the time in the home of the jurist and law professor Karl Otto Rechenberg.⁶² Given these circumstances, Beyer could perhaps have seen Götze’s copy of the Missal in the senate library in Leipzig, where the volume was kept after Götze’s death in 1724.

“Bayona,” a laconic inscription in Götze’s copy of the Mozarabic Missal, reveals nothing about how he obtained it. Even speculating about the reasons for his acquisition of this unusual book requires recourse to a much broader context than Götze himself. By contrast, the circumstances in which the Swedish nobleman Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727) acquired his copy of the Missal are documented with an unusual degree of detail.⁶³ The frontispiece bears two inscriptions (Fig. 4.1). At the bottom of the page, a note in Latin signed by the librarian of San Lorenzo de Escorial states that on 17 March 1690 Sparwenfeld was given a copy of the Missal that was a duplicate.⁶⁴ The inscription near the top of the page is the *ex libris* of the library of the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris.⁶⁵ Remarkably, the information in both inscriptions is explained in a letter Sparwenfeld wrote to the philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) on 31 January 1700:

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- 61 Augustus Beyer, *Memoriae historico-criticae librorum rariorum* (Dresden: Friedrich Hekel, 1734), 158–66, at 158. This account of the editions is addressed at greater length in chapter 5.
- 62 Henrik Schwanitz, “Beyer (Beier, Beyerus), August (Augustus),” in *Sächsische Biografie*, Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde e.V., <http://www.isgv.de/saebi/>.
- 63 The volume is now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 5.E.16. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Konstanze Mittendorfer of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for sending me a photograph of the inscription, identifying the names in it, and discussing the provenance of the volume with me by email in 2020. When I examined the volume in May 2024, I observed that its binding differs significantly from that of the copy of the Breviary that is now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 22.C.20 (which has a nineteenth-century binding decorated with the imperial eagles).
- 64 Below the frontispiece: When Father Francisco Pridaeus de Valdemoro came, this missal was given to Sir Johann Gabriel Sparvenfelt, Swedish Knight, from this Royal Library of San Lorenzo of the Escorial, on 17 March 1690. Franciscus Rosales, Librarian. Duplicate (Cum venisset Padre Franciscus Pridaei de Valdemoro datum fuit hoc missale D. Joanni Gabrieli Sparvenfelt Equiti Sueco, ex hac Regia Bibliotheca S. Laurentii Scorialensis die 17. Mensis Martii An. 1690. Franciscus Rosales / Bibliothecarius. / Duplicatum).
- 65 The handwriting and ink of the single word at the top of the page, “Mozarabes,” differentiate it from the other annotations on the frontispiece. Above the word is the remainder of a marking (possibly part of another inscription or of a shelfmark) that was truncated when the volume was trimmed for rebinding.

The Gothic Missal of Thomasi of which you speak must be some part of the Mozarabic Missal of Isidore, which Cardinal Ximenes had reprinted in Toledo in the last century, and which Robles has also discussed. The Abbot of the Escorial, Padre de Valdemoro, gave me a copy, and in Paris, someone pressed me so much on behalf of the monks of Sainte-Geneviève du Mont that I finally sold it to them for 40 pistoles, and thus you see it must be rare.⁶⁶

Sparwenfeld was an erudite Swedish diplomat and linguist who travelled far and wide in search of evidence for the culture of the Goths—not only in western Europe but also in Russia, the Caucasus, and North Africa.⁶⁷ He shared with Leibniz an interest in the origins and early history of Germanic peoples and languages, and the two men maintained a voluminous correspondence for several years. Their exchange forms a small part of the vast corpus of letters through which, in the words of Maarten Ultee, “in contacts with leading theologians, philosophers, journalists, scientists, and princes, Leibniz would construct the Republic of Letters.”⁶⁸

Sparwenfeld was an expert in comparative linguistics. His letters addressed topics such as “Swedish antiquities and the history of the Goths to Tartaric languages of western and central Asia, the relationship between the Slavic and Germanic languages, and the unrelatedness of Basque.”⁶⁹ In Spain, Sparwen-

66 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, vol. 1, *Allgemeiner politischer und historischer Briefwechsel*, no. 18, *Januar–August 1700*, ed. Malte-Ludolf Babin, Marie-Luise Weber, and Rita Widmaier (Hannover: Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 2005), 359–60, letter 206: Le Messell Gothique de Thomasin dont vous me parlez, il faut qu’il soit quelque partie du Messell Mosarabe de St. Isidore, que le Cardinal Ximenes fit rimprimer à Toledé le siecle passé, et dont Robles a aussi traité, L’Abbe de l’Escorial El Padre de Waldomoro me fit presant d’un Exemplaire, et on me pressa tant à Paris de la part des Religieux de Ste Genevieve du Mont qu’à la fin je le leurs vendis pour 40 pistoles, ainsi vous voyez qu’il faut qu’il soit rare. (The editors of the letter state that the volume is not known, but it is now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 5.E.16.)

67 Carl Ulf Vilhelm Jacobowsky, *J.G. Sparwenfeld: Bidrag till en biografi* (Stockholm: Kurt Lindberg, 1932).

68 Maarten Ultee, “The Republic of Letters: Learned Correspondence, 1680–1720,” *The Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987): 95–112, at 95.

69 Michael C. Carhart, *Leibniz Discovers Asia: Social Networking in the Republic of Letters, Information Cultures* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 131. On Sparwenfeld’s linguistic expertise see Ulla Birgegård, “J.G. Sparwenfeld and the Oriental Languages,” in *Turcologica Upsaliensia: An Illustrated Collection of Essays*, ed. Éva Á. Csató, Gunilla Gren-Eklund, Lars Johanson, and Birsel Karakoç (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 103–19. On his work in Slavonic see Birgegård, *Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld and the Lexicon Slavonicum*,

feld sought traces of the Goths (in Iberia, the Visigoths) at the order of the king of Sweden. Not finding epigraphic or architectural remains dating to the Visigothic period, he pursued vestiges of the Gothic language, working in the Escorial library for nine months, from November 1689 through August 1690, and acquiring books in several cities, including Madrid and Zaragoza.⁷⁰

Sparwenfeld's reference to the Mozarabic Missal was in response to Leibniz, who had written: "As you are seeking everything about the ancient Goths [...] an Italian scholar named Joseph Maria Thomasius, publishing some years ago certain ancient Sacramentaries, published an ancient *Missale Gothicum*."⁷¹ Leibniz meant the 1680 volume that the Theatine priest Giuseppe Maria Tommasi (1649–1713) had dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden. This edition prints the text of a sacramentary known to historians as the *Missale Gothicum*, although it is actually a witness to the Gallican liturgy of pre-Carolingian Francia.⁷² The conflation is telling; Leibniz, a Protestant, may not have known more of the sacramentary than its title and may have been grasping at straws. Sparwenfeld, a Protestant himself as well as a diplomat traveling in Spain, had direct knowledge of Robles's writing on the Mozarabic rite and even obtained the Ortiz edition of the Missal.

While abstruse, the epistolary exchange between Sparwenfeld and Leibniz illustrates their understanding of the manuscripts they discussed representing early medieval cultures with distinctive languages and religious practices. The next part of Sparwenfeld's letter moves swiftly from bibliophilia to liturgical erudition, culminating in a display of linguistic bravado:

The copy [of the Mozarabic Missal] that was sent from Madrid to Pope Innocent XI was entirely old and torn, it is one of the most ancient liturgies, and quite different from the Ambrosian rite, and that of St Gregory

His Contribution to the 17th Century Slavonic Lexicography, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis 23 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1985).

70 Vilhelm Jacobowsky, *J.G. Sparwenfeld*, 130–52; Felipe Vidales del Castillo, "Buscando a Suecia en España: El 'Viaje Gothico' de Johann Gabriel Sparwenfeldt (1689–90)," *Urbs Regia: Orígenes de Europa* 4 (2019): 27–33.

71 Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 251, letter 163 (14 January 1700): Comme vous recherchés, tout ce qui regarde les anciens Gots [...] un sçavant italien nommé Josephus Maria Thomasius, donnant au public à Rome il y a quelques années des anciens livres Sacramentaires, y a publié un antiquum *Missale Gothicum*.

72 *Codices sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores nimirum libri* 3 (Rome: Bernabò, 1680). For a modern edition of the *Missale Gothicum* see *Missale Gothicum: E codice Vaticano Regimensi Latino 317 editum*, ed. Els Rose, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 159D (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

of the Great, of which I gave quite a magnificent example to the King of France, on vellum and in gold ink; nevertheless, these three missals or liturgies have nothing in common with those of Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil, which are known among the Greeks and the Russians and the Greek Slavs, I have all of them, even in Moldovan.⁷³

The Mozarabic Missal given to Sparwenfeld was rare, but not enough of a direct witness to the ancient Visigoths to keep him from selling it to Sainte-Geneviève. How it got from Paris to Vienna is not yet known. The other copy owned in the eighteenth century by the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, and still in its library today, was one of the 50,000 volumes bequeathed by the bibliophile archbishop of Rheims Charles-Maurice Le Tellier (1642–1710).⁷⁴ Generations later, another monk of Sainte-Geneviève, the librarian Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger (1734–99), likewise understood the value of the Mozarabic Missal. Mercier de Saint-Léger's engagement with the Mozarabic editions, to which we will return below, indicates the ways in which eighteenth-century print culture shaped and mediated the reception of the rite among elite book collectors.

Tracing the provenance of the editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has brought to light information about a wide variety of owners, some of whom are not otherwise known as collectors of books. For the most part, those who acquired copies of the Mozarabic editions in the eighteenth century, to which we now turn, were renowned bibliophiles who belonged to the international elite of the European book trade.

3 Eighteenth-Century Owners

The ownership history of the Mozarabic editions exemplifies several key aspects of elite collecting in the eighteenth century: the formation and trans-

73 Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 360: L'exemplaire que l'on envoya de Madrit au Pape Innocent XI estoit tout à fait vieux et déchiré, cest un[e] des plus encienes liturgies, et fort differente de l'ambrosienne, et de celle de St Gregoire le Grand dont j'ay donné un tres magnifique Exemplaire au Roy de France sur du velin et en lettres dor, cependant ces 3 messels ou liturgies, nont rien de comun avec celles de St Jean Chrysosthome et de S Basil dont on sert parmi les Grecs et les Russes et Esclavons-Grec[s], je les ay toutes, et meme en langue Moldowlackoize.

74 Both the Missal and the Breviary appear in the catalogue of Le Tellier's collection published seventeen years before his death; see *Bibliotheca Telleriana, sive Catalogus librorum bibliothecae* [...] *D.D. Caroli Mauritii le Tellier, archiepiscopi ducis Remensis* (Paris: Typographia Regia, 1693), 156. Only the missal is in the Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève today.

mission of collections through acquisition and inheritance; the development of cataloguing, particularly the subject classifications employed by Parisian booksellers; the emergence of public libraries; and the print culture and social context of public auctions. The editions also played a role in the written forms of intellectual exchange occasioned by bibliophilia, including the mediation of content by secretaries and cataloguers, the reading of catalogues, and learned exchanges.

In the eighteenth century, an increasing number of private collections became shared intellectual resources, thanks to the innovative practices of their founders. One such collection was that of the Roman cardinal Carlo Agostino Fabroni, who had his 8,000 books shipped by boat from Rome to his home city of Pistoia. He decided to found a library for the learned public, perhaps inspired by the circulation of books in Rome and the development of elite libraries there. The Biblioteca Fabroniana has operated continuously since the founder's death in 1727; Fabroni's will included provisions for the construction and maintenance of a public reference library, as well as an endowment for its expansion.⁷⁵ His copy of the Mozarabic Missal does not fit into his collecting habits and shows no sign of use, however, so it is not known why he acquired it.⁷⁶ It might have been considered useful for those carrying out research on early liturgical texts, as several Jesuits in Spain and Italy were doing at that time. It was in another of the newly public Italian libraries that an eighteenth-century editor of the Old Hispanic rite could consult the Ortiz edition in the preparation of his own edition. The Scottish Jesuit Alexander Lesley mentions in the preface to his edition of the Mozarabic Missal that he had consulted the *Missale mixtum* in the library of Cardinal Neri Maria Corsini (1685–1770).⁷⁷ Neri's uncle, Lorenzo Corsini (1652–1740; Pope Clement XII from 1730 to 1740), gave his books to his nephew, who opened the library to the public in 1754. Since Lesley published his edition in 1755, he must have visited the Corsini library during its first year of operation.

The copies of the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary in the Biblioteca Corsiniana have elaborate silver-gilt treasure bindings decorated with the arms of Clement XII, so the books presumably entered Lorenzo's library while he was

75 Anna Agostini, *La Fabroniana di Pistoia: Storia di una biblioteca e del suo fondatore* (Ilde: Edizioni Polistampa, 2011).

76 Pistoia, Biblioteca Fabroniana, E.2.193; see Silvano Rafanelli, *Catalogo degli incunaboli delle biblioteche pistoiesi*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 44 (Florence: Olschki, 1963), 52.

77 See *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes*, ed. Alexander Lesley (Rome: Venanzio Monaldini, 1755), iv. The other copy he consulted was in the library of Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (see below, n. 113).

pope.⁷⁸ Although it is not known who gave him these precious volumes, each bears traces of its earlier owners in Spain. The Breviary contains a sixteenth-century note in Castilian stating that the owner bequeaths the book to his chapel and that, moreover, he had acquired it at the estate sale of his “lord Tavera.”⁷⁹ The Tavera named in the inscription could be Diego Tavera (d. 1560), executor of the estate of his uncle, cardinal archbishop of Toledo, Juan de Tavera (1472–1545). The archbishop’s possessions included a number of books.⁸⁰ At various points, owners of the book modified the dates and ranks of several feasts. As in many copies of the Mozarabic Breviary, there are more annotations in the calendar than in the main body of the text. One of the brief Castilian annotations in the missal is identical in script and content to a corresponding note in another copy of the Ortiz edition which is now in Florence’s Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Banco Rari 117).⁸¹

The Florence copy is from the personal library of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Pietro Leopoldo (1747–92), who in 1790 would become the Habsburg emperor Leopold II. The volume contains the library stamp from his personal collection housed in the Palazzo Pitti, the Biblioteca Palatina Mediceo Lotharingia, and is listed in the inventory of his books transferred to the Biblioteca Magliabechiana in 1771.⁸² Possibly at that time (but certainly in the eighteenth century)

78 The Missal and Breviary are, respectively, Rome, Biblioteca dell’Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 46.F.7 and 46.F.19. I am grateful to Ebe Antetomaso, director of the Biblioteca Corsiniana, for the ample information she provided on these volumes. For a description of the bindings see *Il libro romano del settecento. La stampa e la legatura* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1959), 115, cat. 57.

79 The note reads: Andres Alfonso left this breviary in his will to his chapel; he got it at the estate sale of his lord Tavera. May they go to heaven (Por este breuiario mando andres alfonso en su testamento a su capilla por algun descargo sacolo del almoneda de don suo tavera que ayan glorie).

80 I am exceedingly grateful to Michael Noone for his help in reading the inscription, in discussing this identification, and for sending me Javier Castán Lanaspá, “A proposito del testamento del cardenal Tavera,” *Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología: BSAA* 59 (1993): 365–78.

81 In the calendar for November (fol. 7r), the annotator of both breviaries (Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 46.F.7 and Florence, BNC, Banco Rari 117) wrote “son a 21 de julio” next to the feast of Saint Speratus and companions, the Scillitan martyrs. For the disputed dates of this feast see chapter 5.

82 *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, ed. Pietro Sapeccchi (Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze / Nerbini, 2017), 27 and 298–99. Ebe Antetomaso suggested that it could have been a gift from Lorenzo Corsini (Pope Clement XII) in 1769, when Leopold visited the Corsini library while he was in Rome for two weeks with his brother, Emperor Joseph II (1741–90). This hypothesis presupposes two copies of the missal in the Corsini family library at the time.

an extensive bibliographical note in Italian was added to the front flyleaf with copious citations of the various books that mention the Mozarabic editions, including Vogt's *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum*.⁸³

It is not known how or when Leopold acquired the missal. He had connections to Spain through his marriage in 1765 to the Infanta Maria Luisa (1745–92). The volume could have come from the collection of the Medici family, which was combined with the library of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany in the Biblioteca Palatina Mediceo Lotharingia. The Mozarabic chaplain Pedro Camino y Velasco states in his 1740 *Noticia* that Charles II of Spain (1661–1700) obtained copies of the Mozarabic editions and sent them, richly bound, to Ferdinando dei Medici, Grand Prince of Tuscany (1663–1713).⁸⁴ The copy of the missal now in Florence is probably not one of those books, but Camino y Velasco's account indicates that the Mozarabic editions could, on occasion, function as diplomatic gifts.

The users of the Florence copy took great care to restore the lower portions of several leaves that had been damaged. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a variety of different hands rewrote many lines of text in loose imitations of Gothic script (Fig. 4.2).⁸⁵ Such painstaking repair and restoration suggests continued use for the liturgy. A similar campaign of rewriting can be seen in the fragmentary copy of the Missal now in the library of the Abbey of Montserrat.⁸⁶ Portions of a significant number of its pages were rewritten, presumably due to damage that had caused loss of text. In several cases, an entire column was rewritten on a pastedown in the early eighteenth century (Fig. 4.3). I suggest this date because the handwriting resembles that of a note of possession in a copy of the Mozarabic Breviary stating that the priest of the Mozarabic parish of San Marcos restored it at his own expense (Fig. 4.4).⁸⁷ Unlike what we

83 My dating of the script to the eighteenth century is based on comparison with other instances of learned annotations, such as those of Andrés Marcos Burriel (1719–62) in numerous manuscripts containing his research notes and transcriptions, one example being Madrid, BNE, MS 13015, fols 1r–19v (discussed in chapter 5).

84 Camino y Velasco, unpaginated: Y el Señor Carlos II sacò de este Capilla otros dos Tomos, los quales, ricamente encuadernados, embiò al Serenissimo Duque de Florencia, Gran Principe de Toscana, Ferdinando de Medicis.

85 The lower portions of folios 21 and 425–27 have been replaced with paper and their contents rewritten.

86 Montserrat, Biblioteca de la Abadia Benedictina, 4º 143. It might have been among the incunables acquired by the library in the first half of the twentieth century, which are mentioned by Damià Roure, *La Biblioteca de Montserrat: Un espai de cultural al llarg dels segles* (Montserrat: Abadia de Montserrat, 2007), 96.

87 Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla y La Mancha, I 3710, unfoliated flyleaf: Este BREVIARIO es

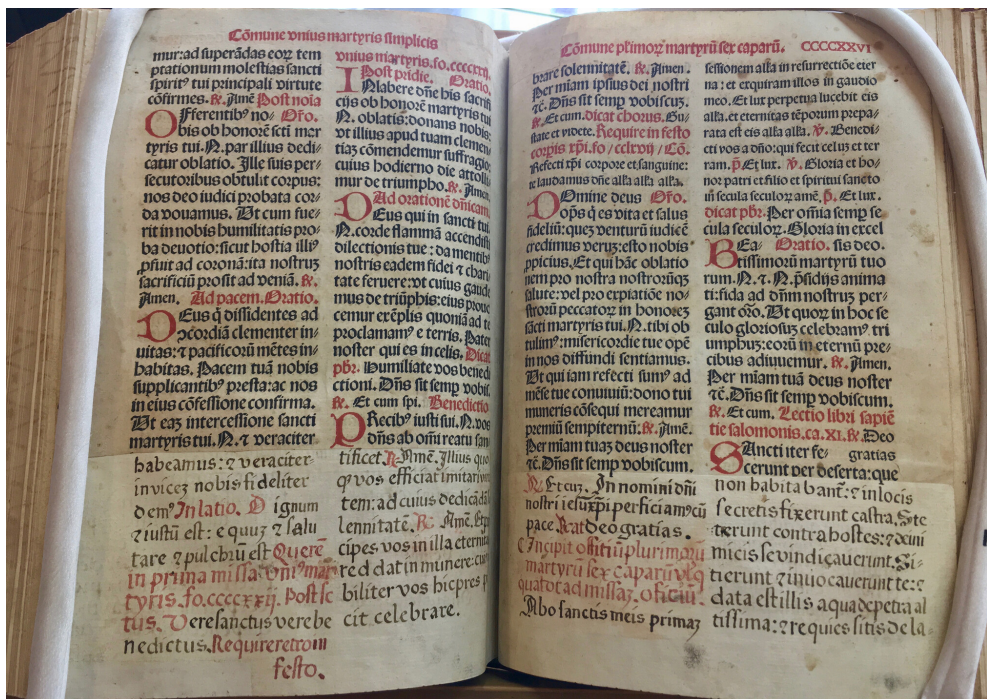


FIGURE 4.2 Pages with rewritten passages, *Missale mixtum*, 1500, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 117, fols 425v–426r

PHOTO: AUTHOR, REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE MINISTERO DELLA CULTURA / BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, FIRENZE. FURTHER REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have seen in the copy now in Florence, the rewritings added in the Montserrat copy do not imitate the Gothic typeface of the original publication; instead, the scribe embellished the Roman characters with colorful capital letters and decorative line endings. While an annotation mentioning “San Juan de Mata fundador” suggests a period of ownership by a community of the Trinitarian Order, the extensive restoration of this volume suggests that it belonged to a Mozarabic parish, which would have needed to maintain the text intact.⁸⁸ Another copy of the same edition must have been available to serve as an exem-

de la Parrochia MVZARABE Del Sr. San MARCOS de esta CIUDAD de TOLEDO. Se reparò I compuso año de 1713 A Deuocion I Expensas De Don Eugenio Yneantas Siendo Cura de dicha Parrochia.

88 In 1198, John of Matha (1160–1213) founded the Order of the Most Holy Trinity in order to ransom Christian captives. On the early history of the order see John Flannery, “The Trinitarian Order and the Ransom of Christian Captives,” *Al-Masāq* 23 (2011): 135–144, DOI: 10.1080/09503110.2011.580632.

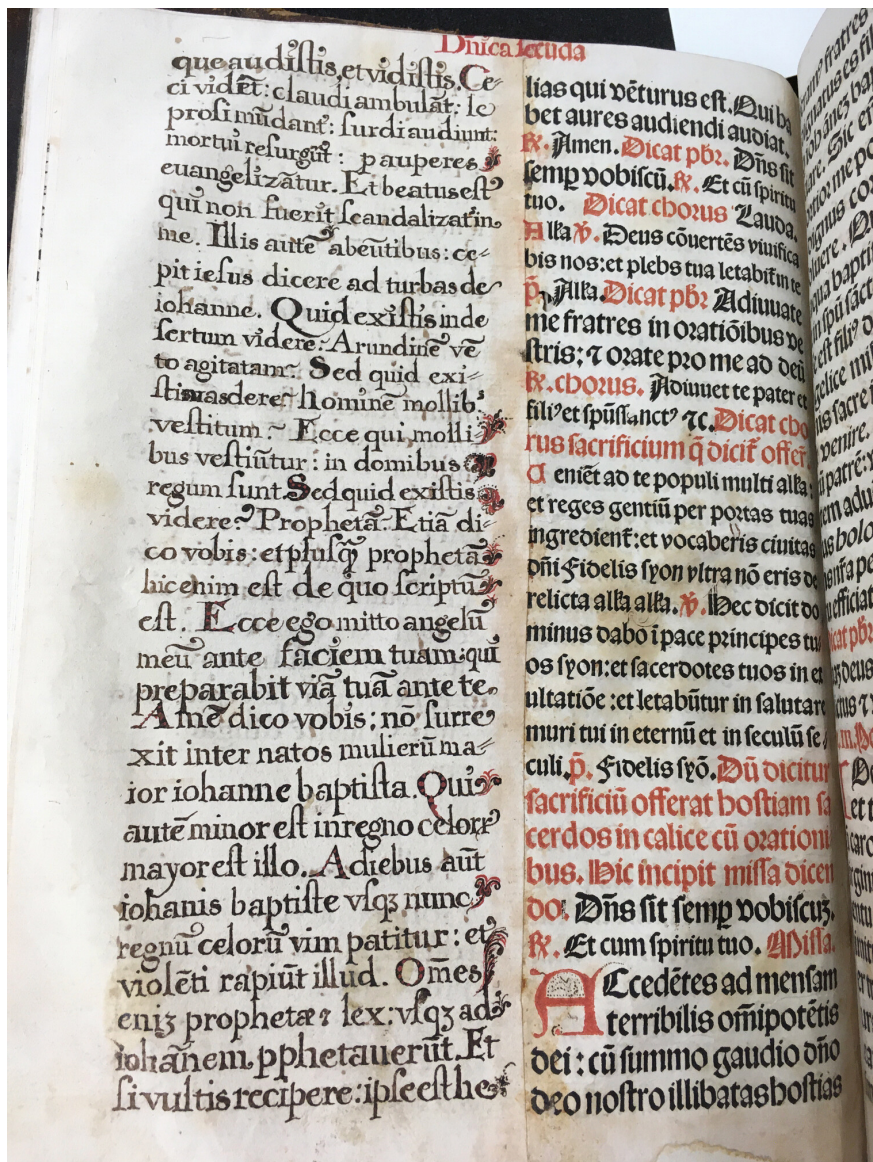


FIGURE 4.3 Page with rewritten left column, *Missale mixtum*, 1500, Montserrat, Biblioteca de la Abadía Benedictina 4143

PHOTO: AUTHOR

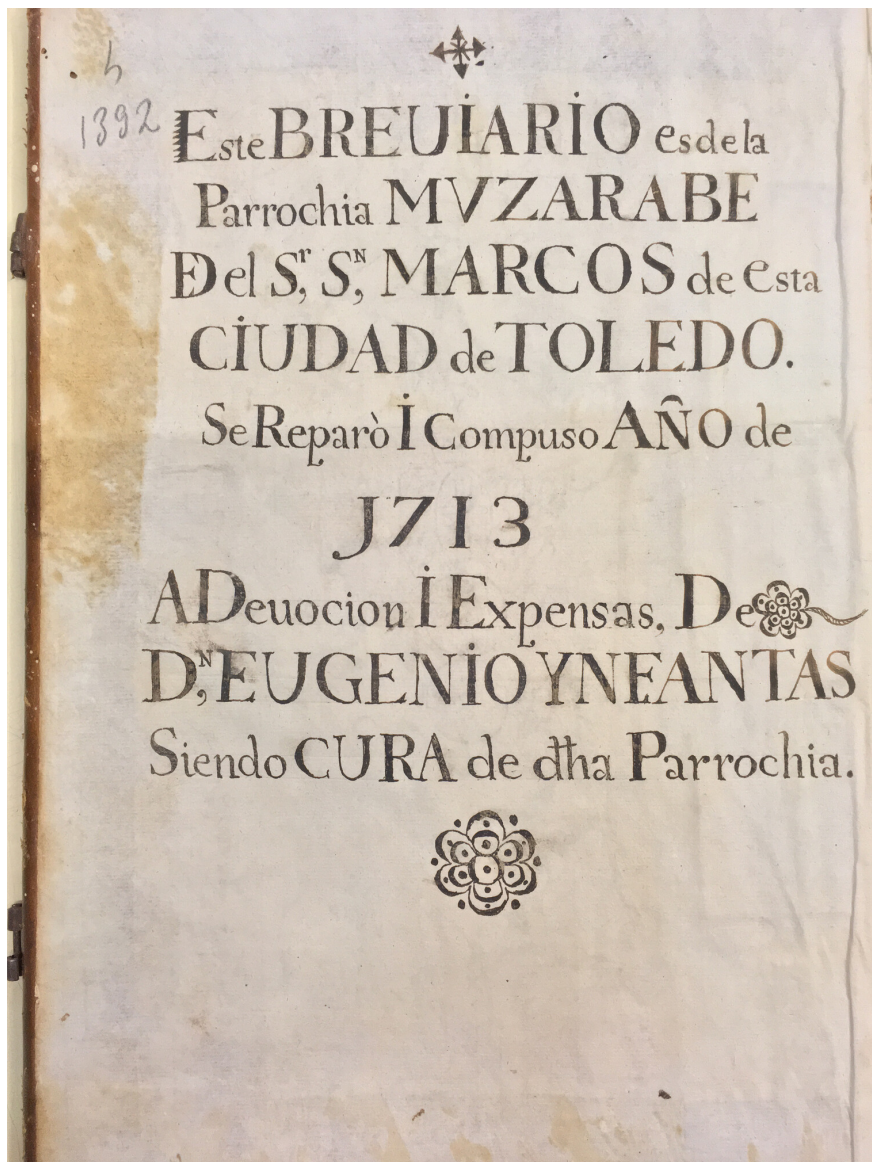


FIGURE 4.4 Flyleaf, *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, 1502, Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I 3710, unfoliated

PHOTO: AUTHOR

plar for the manual rewriting of the missing text.⁸⁹ Further indication that the Montserrat copy was in a Mozarabic parish in the eighteenth century is the fact that most of its annotations signal use in the liturgy. Notes recording donations also point to long-term stewardships of copies the Mozarabic editions. For instance, an inscription in BCT FM-23 states that the book was given to the Mozarabic Chapel in 1834 by a chaplain who was the priest of the Mozarabic parish of Santa Eulalia.⁹⁰

4 French Collections in the Eighteenth Century

Among the French bibliophiles of the ancien régime, the editions were historically important prestige objects. Their content and significance were mediated by published catalogues such as the *Bibliographie instructive* of De Bure, which guided bibliophile understanding. The French lay bibliophiles who were the most avid collectors of the Mozarabic editions did not need a specialized knowledge of church history or liturgy to appreciate them; the parameters of high price and rarity were enough to make the volumes stand out even in the collections of those who owned tens of thousands of manuscripts and printed books. The many sale catalogues written by De Bure, which were widely read by book collectors, are structured around the five divisions established by the Paris bookseller Gabriel Martin and widely employed in the Paris book trade: theology, law and jurisprudence, arts and sciences, literature, and history.⁹¹ The Mozarabic editions, as liturgical publications, fall under the category of theology.

In the first volume of his *Bibliographie instructive*, published in 1763 and consulted by many bibliophiles, De Bure describes the Mozarabic Breviary and Missal at length, emphasizing the role of Cisneros in the establishment of the

89 There is similarly extensive rewriting in Madrid, BNE, R/7180 (see chapter 5).

90 Toledo, BCT, FM-23, front flyleaf: Legó a la capilla muzarabe este breviario, un capellan y cura de santa Eulalia el Doctor Don Andres Garcia y Texada, año 1834.

91 On eighteenth-century catalogues see Michel Marion, *Collections et collectionneurs de livres au XVIII^e siècle*, Histoire du livre et des bibliothèques (Paris: Champion, 1999). For digitized catalogue data see the database of the project “MEDIATE (Measuring Enlightenment: Disseminating Ideas, Authors, and Texts in Europe, 1665–1830): Understanding the Literary System of the 18th Century” (<https://mediate18.nl/?page=database>); the BIBLIO (Bibliography of Individually-Owned Book and Library Inventories Online) database (http://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=radboud_BIBLIO&website&id=890&pageid=884); and the “Esprit des Livres” database (<http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/cataloguevente/>).

rite in Toledo Cathedral.⁹² Like his contemporaries, De Bure situates the editions in a continuous line going back to the Visigoths:

This Missal and Breviary were named Gothic because they were the usage of the Goths, and since the eighth century, they were more commonly called Mozarabs, named after the Christians who lived harshly under Moorish rule, obtaining by an annual tribute the permission to live according to their laws and customs, which caused them to be called Mozarabs or Mixtiarabes.⁹³

After briefly evoking the decline of the rite and its restoration by Cisneros, De Bure lists the copies he knew of in Paris at the time, several of which are still in Parisian collections. His description was based on the copies in the famous library of the bibliophile Louis-Jean Gaignat (1697–1768), one of the period's most renowned collections. A collector of art as well as of books, Gaignat was a secretary-counselor to the king and a palace official responsible for official requests (*receveur général des consignations des requêtes du Palais*). His will stipulated that the sale of his collections would be described in detail so that connoisseurs could take the same pleasure in learning about them as he had taken in assembling them. Two Mozarabic missals and two Mozarabic breviaries were among the books from his collection that were sold after his death in 1769.⁹⁴ The Missal and Breviary now in the Morgan Library contain earlier notes of possession from the Jesuit College at Alcalá.⁹⁵

Another Parisian owner of the Ortiz editions was Paul Girardot de Préfond (1722–85?), who sold many of his books in 1757. His copies of the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary are now in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America.⁹⁶ An inscription below the frontispiece in both books identifies them as

92 De Bure, *Bibliographie instructive*, 179–90. For readers wanting more detail on Mozarabic rite, De Bure cites the *Descriptio summi templi Toletani* by Blas Ortiz and the 1601 *Compendio* by Eugenio de Robles.

93 De Bure, *Bibliographie instructive*, 181: Ce Missel & ce Breviaire ont été nommés Gothiques, parce qu'ils étoient à l'usage des Goths, & depuis le huitième siècle, ils ont été appelés plus communément *Mozarabes*, du nom qu'eurent les Chrétiens, qui prirent le parti de vivre durement sous la domination des Maures, achetant par un tribut annuel, la permission de vivre selon leurs loix et leurs coutumes; ce qui les fit appeler *Mozarabes* ou *Mixtarabes*.

94 The four volumes were lots 178, 179, 180, and 181 in Guillaume François De Bure, *Supplément à la bibliographie instructive, ou catalogue des livres du cabinet de feu M. Louis Jean Gaignat* (Paris: Guillaume François De Bure, 1769), 52–53.

95 Their shelfmarks in the Morgan Library are ChL1754 (Missal) and 10E (Breviary).

96 Girardot de Préfond sold his first collection in 1757 in order to acquire more select volumes (including the Mozarabic editions) for his second collection. The most detailed

gifts to the Jesuit Seminary of Strasbourg from the French Jesuit Pierre Robinet (1652–1738), who was confessor to Philip V of Spain from 1705 to 1715.⁹⁷ Robinet had received the volumes from Juan de Goyeneche (1656–1735), an influential investor and industrialist from Navarre who served as treasurer to the consorts of Charles II and Philip V.⁹⁸ As the king's confessor—and only the second French Jesuit to serve in that role—Robinet was an important actor in the new mode of governance with increased French influence that accompanied the accession of the Bourbons in Spain, and in 1712 he became the founding director of the Royal Library. A promoter of Bourbon regalism, Robinet advocated for the subjection of the church to the state, including the monarch's prerogative in appointing bishops. With the intervention of the Roman Inquisition and the arrival in 1714 of Isabella Farnese (second wife of Philip V), regalistic policies were overturned, leading to Robinet's expulsion from court in 1715.⁹⁹ Given that regalism continued to be a source of friction between Rome and the Spanish Bourbons, there may have been symbolic importance in Robinet taking the Mozarabic editions with him to France, as these books represented an Iberian religious tradition that had once been independent of the pope, before the kingdom adopted the Roman rite in the late eleventh century.¹⁰⁰ The volumes could have been a parting gift to the French Jesuit, who was more likely to make scholarly use of them than Goyeneche himself.¹⁰¹

information on Girardot de Préfond appears in the "Esprit des Livres" database (<http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/cataloguevente/notice23.php>) and is also available in the Biblissima portal (<https://portail.biblissima.fr/ark:/43093/pdata6aac03fa3a10b832a3cdf3dcc904b7c210580b74>).

- 97 New York, Hispanic Society of America, Inc 68 Copy 1 (Missal) and BX 2000 .A2 1502 (Breviary). On the inscription see Bernard Quaritch, *Monuments of Typography and Xylography: Books of the First Half of the First Century of the Art of Printing* (London: Quaritch, 1897), 257–58. Quaritch sold the Ortiz editions to Archer Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society.
- 98 On Goyeneche see Beatriz Blasco Esquivias, *Nuevo Baztán: La utopía colbertista de Juan de Goyeneche*, Grandes temas 85 (Madrid: Cátedra, 2019); Santiago Aquerreta González, "Goyeneche Gastón, Juan de," in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/14751/juan-de-goyeneche-y-gaston>; *Juan de Goyeneche y el triunfo de los navarros en la monarquía hispánica del siglo XVIII* (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2005).
- 99 Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 357–59.
- 100 Thomas Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape. L'Espagne et Rome (586–1085)*, Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale 1 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010).
- 101 Goyeneche was also a collector of paintings; see Encarnación Hernando Álvarez, "La colección de pinturas de don Juan Francisco de Goyeneche y su esposa," *Archivo español de arte* 63 (1990): 331–34.

(In this context, it is worth noting that Isabella Farnese visited the Mozarabic Chapel and heard Mass there.)¹⁰²

Indeed, the textual contents of the Mozarabic editions would have been arcane to all but the most erudite readers or to those who celebrated the rite.¹⁰³ Just as catalogues today guide acquisition and research, auction catalogues in the eighteenth century were crucial resources for book owners. Elite bibliophiles had secretaries to complement the information in De Bure's descriptions and in other auction catalogues. For instance, a flyleaf in the Mozarabic Breviary now in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal contains two explanatory notes written in the eighteenth century by two different hands. This volume passed from the collection of the Comte d'Argenson (1696–1764) to his nephew Antoine-René de Voyer d'Argenson, the Marquis de Paulmy (1722–87). The first note, written by Rotisset, who was secretary to both d'Argenson and Paulmy, summarizes the competing etymologies of the name Mozarab and mentions the high price of the books.

One may well ask why this Liturgy has been given the name Mozarab. Some say that it means "mixtarab" because it is the liturgy of Spanish Christians when they were mixed with Arabs and under their domination; others think that it was the name of Musa or Mosa, the first governor of Spain for the Arabs, who allowed the Christians to follow this Liturgy. This Liturgy is no longer celebrated except in one Chapel in the Cathedral of Toledo. The Mozarabic Missal and Breviary are very rare, but especially the Breviary; they were valued at one thousand livres at the sale of M. de Bure and de Bure le Jeune offered this sum and obtained these two volumes.¹⁰⁴

102 The visit is reported by Camino y Velasco, *Noticia historico-chronologica*, unpaginated: [...] la Augusta Reina Catholica de España, Doña Isabel Farnesio, Nuestra Signora, pues se dignò honrar a esta Capilla con su Real asistencia, oyendo en ella la Missa Gothica, que se celebrò con la solemnidad, y grandeza, que viò Toledo.

103 Most of the annotations in the extant copies were added in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, often identifiably in Spain. They are discussed in chapter 5 as evidence for study of the editions.

104 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, FOL-T-740, first flyleaf: C'est une grande question que de sçavoir d'ou vient l'on a donné à cette Liturgie le nom de mozarabe. Les uns prétendent que cela veut dire mixte-arabe, parce que c'est la liturgie dont ussoient les Chretiens Espagnols quand ils estoient meslés avec les arabes et sous leur domination; les autres en firent le nom de Musa ou Mosa premier gouverneur d'Espagne pour les arabes qui permit aux Chretiens de suivre cette Liturgie. Cette Liturgie ne se pratique plus que dans une seule Chapelle de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Tolède. Le Missel et le Breviaire Mozarabes sont très rares, mais surtout le Breviaire. Ils ont été estimés mille écus à la vente de M. de Bure et de

The second note paraphrases in brief the conclusion of the chapter on religion and superstition in Voltaire's *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne jusques à Charlequint*,¹⁰⁵ summarizing the philosopher's account of the duel fought by two knights on behalf of the Roman and Mozarabic rites and the trial by fire that followed:

Monsieur de Voltaire, in his abbreviated Universal History, tells the story of the two Champions that were made to fight, respectively for and against the Mozarabic and Roman liturgy; he says that the Knight for the Mozarabic Breviary was called D. Ruiz de Montania, and that he unseated his adversary, which seemed to decide the matter in favor of the Mozarabic Missal; but a second trial was required, which was to throw the two liturgies on the fire, and when both were burned, they decided that certain churches would follow the mozarabic Breviary and others, the Roman.¹⁰⁶

(In most versions of the tale the Mozarabic book was unharmed by the fire and the Roman-rite book leapt out of it.) Both of these contextualizing notes cobble together information from auction catalogues and a survey of universal history in conveying to the Comte d'Argenson and the Marquis de Paulmy the most salient knowledge available in France about the Mozarabs and the Mozarabic rite. The framing accomplished by such texts demonstrates the mediation and distillation of shared knowledge that illuminated the historical context of books in elite collections. As I mentioned in the preface, it was because he knew of the editions that the Maréchal de Noailles (1678–1766), a statesman and a contemporary of the Comte d'Argenson, asked to see the medieval liturgical manuscripts held in Spanish libraries.

The Ortiz editions were among the books that the Marquis de Paulmy inherited from his uncle, the Comte d'Argenson. The volumes enriched a collection

Bure le Jeune a offert cette somme de ces deux volumes cy. (I am grateful to Nadine Férey-Pfalzgraf of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal for identifying the hand of the first note as that of Rotisset.)

105 Mr. de Voltaire, *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne jusques à Charlequint* (The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1743), 1:348–49.

106 M. de Voltaire, dans son *abregé de l'Histoire Universelle*, rapporte l'histoire des deux Champions que l'on fis combattre, pour et contre l'office Mozarabes et le Romain; il dit que le Chevalier pour le Breviaire Mozarabe s'appeloit D. Ruis de Montania, qu'il fis perdre les arçons à son adversaire, ci que l'affaire paroissoit décidée en faveur du Missel mozarabe; mais que l'on exigea, une zème épreuve, qui fus, de jetter les 2. Offices au feu, et qu'ayans été tous deux brûlés on decida que de certaines eglises suivroient le Breviaire mozarabes et d'autres, le Romain.

that was already of exceptional importance.¹⁰⁷ After retiring from administration, Paulmy devoted himself to scholarly endeavors, including the compilation of an annotated “Catalogue raisonné d’une grande bibliothèque.”¹⁰⁸ This personal catalogue contains his notes on the Mozarabic editions, including a reference to the *Bibliographie instructive*.¹⁰⁹ Thus, Paulmy continued the work of contextualization that others had done through writings such as the descriptions in auction catalogues and the manuscript notes discussed here.

The history of another pair of Ortiz editions, formerly in the collection of one of Paulmy’s contemporaries and now in the Bibliothèque Abbé Grégoire in Blois, exemplifies the pathways of rare books in ancien régime France. The missal and breviary there have different early provenances, although they are both thought to have come from the library of the archbishop of Blois, Alexandre de Lauzières-Thémines (1743–1829), whose books were confiscated and combined with other collections in Blois in 1776, after he left for voluntary exile in Belgium.¹¹⁰ The binding of the missal bears the arms of three previous owners: two of the sons of Colbert, Louis XIV’s finance minister—Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay (1651–90), and his brother, the archbishop of Rouen, Jacques-Nicolas Colbert (1655–1707)—and then the bibliophile Count Charles-Henry of Hoym (1694–1736), ambassador of August II (elector of Saxony and King of Poland) to the French court.¹¹¹ Between Hoym and Thémines, the volume’s provenance is unknown. While Thémines’s missal belonged to several well-known collectors before him, his breviary seems to have come directly from Toledo, a provenance which appears to be confirmed by a letter of 1782 in which Thémines thanked Archbishop Lorenzana for sending a copy of the Mozarabic Breviary.¹¹² The binding has no coats of arms, and the only prior note

107 On the collection see Martine Lefèvre and Danielle Muzerelle, “La bibliothèque du marquis de Paulmy,” in Jolly, *Les bibliothèques*, 302–15. In Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 6600, p. 15, a lot of twelve books including the Missal is valued the highest on the page.

108 Ève Netchine, “Le marquis de Paulmy et la construction d’une bibliothèque comme oeuvre,” in *La famille d’Argenson et les arts*, ed. Véronique Meyer and Marie-Luce Pujalte-Fraysse (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2019), 84–92, at 87–88.

109 Catalogue de la bibliothèque du marquis de Paulmy, Paris, BnF, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 6298–99 (Théologie), fol. 32r: Voyez sur ce volume et le suivant tous deux tres rares precieux et tres recherchés. La bibliograph. instructive de Debure tom. 1 page 179 et 180.

110 See “Lauzières-Thémines, Alexandre de,” in the *Index possessorum incunabulorum*, <https://data.cerl.org/ipi/00020772>.

111 This volume is now Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, 1 40. For information on its provenance see <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=706>.

112 Juan Manuel Sierra López, “El cardenal Lorenzana y el rito hispano-mozárabe,” *Crónica mozárabe* 98 (2019): 9–20, at 12.

of possession is “Santa Ollala” (presumably referring to the Church of Santa Eulalia in Toledo). To be sure, it is not absolutely certain that the book mentioned in the letter is the one now in Blois, but it is a reasonable supposition that Lorenzana sent such a gift to a French bibliophile archbishop. As will be seen here, even long after this period, provenance can reveal historical connections established among owners of the editions.

5 Modern Collections

Studying the provenance of the Mozarabic editions also sheds light on the formation of libraries and the rare book trade. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, institutional libraries bought the editions or acquired them as gifts. One example is the Vatican Library. None of its own three copies were there before the nineteenth century. The Roman cardinal Luigi Valenti Gonzaga (1725–1808) presented his family’s parchment copy of the Missal to the Library on becoming Vatican Librarian in 1802.¹¹³ A century later, Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903) bought the Barberini family collection for the Vatican Library from Luigi Tommaso Sacchetti Barberini (1863–1936), which means that the Missal and Breviary that had been in the Barberini family for over two centuries were transferred to the Vatican in 1902.¹¹⁴

Unlike these well-documented volumes, no early provenance is known for several of the copies that entered European libraries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For instance, the *Missale mixtum* in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Genova bears only the name “Signor del Monte.”¹¹⁵ The date of its accession is unknown. While the Austrian National Library’s copy of the Missal passed through the Escorial library and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, the same library’s Mozarabic Breviary has no known provenance prior to its entering the Court Library in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁶ The same is true of the *Missale mixtum* in

113 The copy is Vatican City, BAV, Membr. II. 21; see Daniel Benvenuti, “Un episodio di collezionismo nel Settecento: Incunaboli nelle biblioteche di Silvio e Luigi Valenti Gonzaga,” *Le fusa del gatto* 3 (2014): 141–48, at 142–43. Alexander Lesley states in the preface to his *Missale mixtum* edition that he consulted this copy in the library of Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (1690–1756); *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, IV (see also below, 210–12).

114 Stamp. Barb. AAA.II.16 (Missal) and Stamp. Barb. B.X.3 (Breviary). For more on these copies see above.

115 Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Rari C.III.3.

116 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 22.C.20. On the Missal see above, 151–56.

the National Library of Portugal.¹¹⁷ In other cases, the date of a book's acquisition is known, but nothing of its earlier history. The Mozarabic Breviary now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which was one of that institution's most expensive single acquisitions in the nineteenth century, was purchased from the rare bookseller John Leslie in 1853.¹¹⁸ The volume's dark blue velvet binding resembles that of the Missal in the British Library, possibly suggesting that the two books had the same owner before they were separated in the mid-nineteenth century, but neither has any known provenance before that time.¹¹⁹

While some early historical relationships between extant copies of the Ortiz editions can be established on the basis of their bindings or annotations they contain, other forms of evidence bring out relatively recent connections between volumes that are now in different collections. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the Mozarabic Breviary now in Rome's Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale was purchased from the Roman bookseller Angelo Gheno. While the book was still in Gheno's possession, a librarian at the Vatican examined it and took notes, transcribing all the early annotations. These manuscript notes are now bound in with the Vatican's own copy of the Breviary. Because the Vatican copy was missing its frontispiece, a photograph of the corresponding leaf in what the librarian called the "Gheno copy" was used as a surrogate.¹²⁰ An addendum made in October 1930 to the original set of notes states that the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele had bought the breviary for 1,200 lire. Since the addendum was written in the period when the Vatican Library was preparing its first card catalogue of printed books, with assistance from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Library of Congress, it may signal growing awareness of the context for the Vatican's own collections.¹²¹ Thus the copies in the Vatican Library and the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome are linked by the material evidence of modern reproduction and comparative study.

117 Missal, Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional de Portugal, INC 532.

118 Breviary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 1 Q1.28. See the notes on the sale price in https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/44OXF_INST/35n82s/alma990144040250107026.

119 Missal, London, British Library, General Reference Collection IB.53535 (previously C.17.c.2).

120 Vatican City, BAV, Stamp. Barb. B.X.3.

121 On the cataloguing project in the wider context of the Vatican's history see Carmela Vircillo Franklin, "Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo': The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146 (2002): 363–84, at 382–83.

In the decades between the sale of the Breviary to Rome's National Library and the 1930 note about the acquisition, the Great War had created considerable uncertainty; many books changed hands during the war years and even after the armistice. One example is the *Missale mixtum* now in Stockholm's Royal Library, which was acquired between 1914 and 1919 by the Swedish bibliophile Per Hierta (1864–1922).¹²² Little is known about the volume's provenance between 1500 and its donation to the Royal Library by Hierta in 1921, except for a handwritten note, dated 1919, in which Hierta referred to attending book fairs in Germany at Christmas time.¹²³ The boards of the volume's ornate leather-tooled binding are remarkably similar in design and decorative detail to a mudéjar binding that has been dated to 1500 and localized to Toledo.¹²⁴ It is unusual for a book to retain its early binding for so long—an element of material continuity which contrasts sharply with the historical context in which Hierta acquired it. The Mozarabic Breviary in the Royal Library in Copenhagen comes from the collection of Henry Huth (1815–78), whose books were

¹²² Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Coll(S) 132. The book must not have been in Hierta's possession in 1914, when an occasional volume about his collection, published in honor of his fiftieth birthday, lists all the places in which his incunabula were printed, including Portugal, but does not mention the *Missale mixtum*. See Isak Collijn, "Något om friherre Per Hiertas inkunabelsamling med anledning af densammas utställning i Kung. Biblioteket," in *Ex bibliotheca fraemmestadiens: Festskrift tillägnad friherre Per Hierta på hans femtioårsdag den 25 oktober 1914*, ed. Johannes Reinhold Gustaf Rudbeck (Stockholm: [Bröderna Lagerström], 1914), 55–58. On the biography of Hierta see Sten G. Lindberg, "Per G.A. Hierta," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/13576>.

¹²³ Dr. Wolfgang Undorf of the Kungliga Bibliotek kindly informed me (in personal correspondence, February 2021) that the volume contains a note from Hierta stating that he acquired it in 1919. In Stockholm in 2024, I examined both the inscription and a letter on Hierta's personal stationery that was folded and preserved inside the cover of the volume.

¹²⁴ See Francisco Hernández Sánchez, "Encuadernaciones inéditas de los siglos xv y xvi en el Instituto Valencia de Don Juan," *Boletín de la asociación española de archiveros, bibliotecarios, museólogos y documentalistas* 65 (2015): 87–126, at 97–99 and figs. 4–6. The binding of the copy now in Stockholm does not resemble those, mostly slightly earlier, in Antonio Carpallo Bautista and María Carmen Esteban García, *Las encuadernaciones artísticas bajomedievales de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2017) and *Piel sobre tabla: Encuadernaciones mudéjares en la BNE*, exh. cat. (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2013), or those studied by Carpallo Bautista and Esther Burgos Bordonau in several articles on the bindings in Toledo Cathedral. I am grateful to Wolfgang Undorf for sending me a photo of the binding in February 2021. The numerous early quire signatures and foliations, which to my knowledge are unique among extant copies of the *Missale mixtum*, suggest that the volume has hardly been trimmed, and is thus still in its original binding.

acquired after 1849 (mostly in London) and inherited by his son, Alfred Huth (1850–1910).¹²⁵ This copy was included in the auction catalogue of November 1911 and entered the Danish Royal Library in 1919–20.¹²⁶ Its provenance in the intervening years is as yet unidentified.

While the movement of books around the time of the First World War was the historical setting for the acquisition of the Missal now in Stockholm and possibly also the Breviary in Copenhagen, one of the copies now in the archive of Toledo Cathedral, in the Fondo mozárabe (the collection of books from the Mozarabic Chapel), contains an inscription linking it to the Spanish Civil War through one of its owners. The note states that the volume “belonged to Naves, Mozarabic curate, martyr in 1936.”¹²⁷ Francisco Navas Vegas, curate of the Mozarabic parish of Saints Justa and Rufina, was shot by soldiers of the Republican army outside the Monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo on August 29, 1936. Navas was one of many Spanish clergy killed during the Civil War.¹²⁸ In a book commemorating the “martyrdom” of more than one hundred clerics in Toledo during two months in 1936, Jorge López Teulón inserts a brief history of the Mozarabic rite into the story of Navas’s death, which is recounted in a chapter entitled “the extermination of the Mozarabs.”¹²⁹ Linking the fate of the priest who celebrated the post-Cisneros rite to the medieval Mozarabs of Toledo and their rite poignantly elides the intervening centuries.

After the Civil War, the book that had belonged to Navas (now Fondo mozárabe 45) passed into the possession of another Mozarabic cleric. According to

125 The shelfmark is København, Kongelige Biblioteket, 4, 68 S-30. On Alfred Huth see “Huth, Alfred Henry,” in *Owners of Incunabula*, <https://data.cerl.org/owners/4029>.

126 *Catalogue of the Huth Collection of Printed Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, pt. 1, *Catalogue of the Famous Library of Printed Books, Illuminated Manuscripts, Autograph Letters and Engravings Collected by Henry Huth, and since Maintained and Augmented by his Son, Alfred H. Huth* (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 1911), 285, lot 985 (sixth day). The date of accession and serial number in the Danish Royal Library are inscribed on the verso of the first flyleaf: Bibl. Reg. Hafniensis 1919–20. 1012.

127 Perteneció al Naves, Beneficiado Mozarabe, martir en 1936. Su familia lo regaló a D. José M. Mansilla en 1942 a finir en la actualidad pertenencia. Toledo, 1942. José M. Mansilla prete. (Todelo, BCT, FM-45, front flyleaf.)

128 For the biography of Naves see Jorge López Teulón, *En la ciudad de Toledo*, vol. 1, *La persecución religiosa en la archidiócesis de Toledo, 1936–1939* (Toledo: J.L. Teulón, 2019), 502–5. On anticlerical violence during the Civil War see the overview in Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, “‘They Walked Towards Their Death As if to a Party’: Martyrdom, Agency and Performativity in the Spanish Civil War,” *Politics, Religion and Ideology* 17 (2016): 210–26, at 210–13.

129 Jorge López Teulón, *Toledo 1936, ciudad mártir*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Edibesa, 2008), 227–30 (“El exterminio de los mozárabes”).

the note on the front flyleaf of the missal, in 1942 the family of Francisco Navas Vegas gave the book to José María Mansilla Gutiérrez (d. 1980), a priest who was ordained the year after Navas died. Mansilla served from 1940 as curate of Santa Justa and Rufina (the position Navas himself had held) and was also a Mozarabic chaplain and treasurer of the cathedral.¹³⁰ From Mansilla the book passed to the cathedral canon Antonio Cabrera y Delgado (d. 2022), who left it to Toledo Cathedral along with two other books.¹³¹ Recordings of bequests and donations in copies of the Mozarabic Missal attest to the Toledan clergy ensuring that the continuity of the Mozarabic rite would be linked over generations, even in periods of disruption, through successive ownership of the editions.

Many inscriptions in copies of the Mozarabic Missal bear witness to the long lives of these books in the community of those serving the cathedral and the Mozarabic Chapel. For instance, in the copy that is now FM-10 in Toledo Cathedral's archive, the names of acolytes and altar servers (*monasgillos*) inscribed on the flyleaves are dated 1724, 1768, and 1803, in some cases indicating the feast day on which a young altar boy entered the service of the Mozarabic Chapel (Fig. 4.5).¹³² To the right, a much later note in pencil records the use of the book for the celebration of a mass on 23 February 1928 by the Mozarabic chaplain Alvaro Cepeda, in the presence of King Alfonso XIII of Spain (r. 1886–1931) and Cardinal Pedro Segura y Saenz (1880–1957).¹³³ In sum, well into the twentieth century such inscriptions continued to function as memorial supplements to the commemoration enacted by the celebration of the rite in the Mozarabic Chapel.

130 Mansilla served Santa Justa and Rufina from 1940–42 and 1955–56, and was treasurer of the cathedral from 1940–68; see Mario Arellano García, “Estado actual de los M.I. señores capellanes de la capilla mozárabe y los párrocos de estas iglesias desde el año 1936,” *Crónica mozárabe* 93 (2016): 5–9 at 8–9.

131 The bequest of FM-45 by Cabrera y Delgado, dated 2013, was listed on a typed sheet inserted into the volume. Facing it on the front guardleaf is a note written in pencil by Cabrera in 1976, stating that he received FM-45 when he became a canon of the cathedral and instructing that it be given to the cathedral upon his death.

132 Toledo, BCT, FM-10, back flyleaf: Se compuso en el Año de 1724 siendo frabueno Don Ignacio Gamana/ Ese missal, le compusieron en el año de 1724 Juan Ganero ... Manuel de la Vega siendo monagilo En la capilla de muzarabe intro por San Joseph. Año de mil 1768. Back pastedown: Si[e]ndo monasjillos Josef Fernandez con Manuel Moral en el Año de 1803 / [perpendicular to the page] Manuel Moral. (Fig. 4.5)

133 Por este Misal cantó la Misa el Capella Don Alvaro Cepeda el dia 23 de febrero de 1928 oblando de M. Alfonso XIII y del Cardenal Segura y Saenz. (See fig. 4.5, lower right).



FIGURE 4.5 Notes of possession in back flyleaf and pastedown, *Missale mixtum*, 1500, Toledo, BCT, FM-10

PHOTO: TOLEDO CATHEDRAL ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

6 A Mozarabic Missal as Microcosm

The copy of the Mozarabic Missal now in Aschaffenburg, Germany (Hofbibliothek Th 422), is a fitting case study with which to conclude this chapter. The book's early provenance is unknown, but what I have reconstructed of its history through material study brings together many of the themes addressed in this chapter. The binding, typical of Mainz in the late eighteenth century, suggests that the missal is from the collection of Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal (1719–1802), a renowned bibliophile who was prince-elector and archbishop of Mainz until 1802.¹³⁴ After the occupation of Mainz by French troops in 1792, Erthal fled to Aschaffenburg, and by 1794 his personal library was integrated

¹³⁴ Josef Benzing, *Die Frühdrucke der Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg bis zum Jahre 1550*, Veröffentlichungen des Geschichts- und Kunstvereins Aschaffenburg, Schriftenreihe 11 (Aschaffenburg: Pattloch, 1968), 42. Aschaffenburg was the secondary residence of the prince-archbishops of Mainz until 1803.

into the larger princely collection that had gradually accumulated since the sixteenth century.¹³⁵ Much was lost in 1945, when Schloss Johannisburg became the last bastion of German defense during the ten-day Battle of Aschaffenburg.¹³⁶ Like the walls of the ruined castle, the Hofbibliothek and its history had to be reconstructed in the postwar period.¹³⁷ While the missal's early history in the Hofbibliothek is not known, I believe that this volume is the very one mentioned in a six-page pamphlet published in 1786 by the librarian of the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger (1734–99).¹³⁸ In the first footnote on the pamphlet's first page, Mercier mentions buying the *Missale mixtum* for the Elector of Mainz at a sale of the collection of the duc de la Vallière.¹³⁹ He identifies the copy as the one (from the collection of Louis-Jean Gaignat) which De Bure had described in the first volume of his *Bibliographie instructive*.¹⁴⁰ The background for Mercier's allusion to De Bure merits a brief excursus.

It is striking that in 1786 Mercier cited De Bure's description from more than two decades earlier. A renowned bibliophile himself, at the appearance of the *Bibliographie instructive* in 1763 Mercier published a lengthy article in the influential monthly *Journal de Trévoux*, where he presented a scathing critique of De Bure's bibliographic method.¹⁴¹ So prolix was the text that a footnote was

135 Sigrid von der Gönna, *Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg: Ihre Geschichte in der Tradition der Kurfürstlich Mainzischen Bibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1982), 129. I am grateful to Karen Kuhn, director of the Hofbibliothek, for showing me this publication and discussing the volume with me.

136 On the history of Erthal's collection and the Aschaffenburg Hofbibliothek see also Eric Marshall White, *Editio princeps: A History of the Gutenberg Bible* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2017), 93.

137 Von der Gönna, *Hofbibliothek Aschaffenburg*, 286–89.

138 Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger, *Particularités littéraires sur la Liturgie Mosarabe, tirées des Lettres Manuscrites du Père Burriel, Jésuite Espagnol* (Paris, 1786).

139 Louis-César de la Baume Le Blanc, duc de la Vallière (1708–80), was an important figure at the court of Louis xv. On the collection see Dominique Coq, "Le parangon du bibliophile français: Le duc de la Vallière et sa collection," in Jolly, *Les bibliothèques*, 316–31. The library of de la Vallière was sold at five different auctions, the last two in 1783–84; his copy of the *Missale mixtum* is lot 272 in Guillaume De Bure, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de La Vallière*, pt. 1 (Paris: Guillaume De Bure, 1783), 84–85. Since the volume had belonged to Gaignat, it must have been acquired by de la Vallière at the 1769 sale of the Gaignat collection.

140 Mercier de Saint-Léger, *Particularités*, 1: A la vente du Duc de la Vallière, je n'ai pourtant payé son Exemplaire que 1554 liv.; et cet Exemplaire très-beau, relié en maroquin bleu, étoit celui même de M. Gaignat dont parle De Bure dans sa Bibliographie. J'ai fait cette acquisition pour l'Electeur de Mayence.

141 Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger, "Lettre aux auteurs de ces Mémoires sur la Bibliographie instructive de M. de Bure," *Journal de Trévoux* 63 (1763): 1617–81.

appended by the editors to justify its exceptional length, which far exceeded that of the journal's usual contributions; Mercier found fault with most of the entries in the *Bibliographie instructive*.

Mercier seemed determined to cut De Bure down to size, remarking sharply that "it is important for this Bibliographer to visit more precisely than he has done the great Parisian libraries, whose riches are too little known to him."¹⁴² As an ecclesiastic, Mercier had reason to question De Bure's judgment and expertise, for the two men came from different worlds. De Bure, who worked commercially as a cataloguer and printer, achieved great influence among collectors for his methods of describing rare books, but he was not an intellectual or a scholar. However, as Jean Viardot pointed out, booksellers had an internal knowledge of the market that gave them an advantage over clerics specializing in book history.¹⁴³ Indeed, Mercier stated sarcastically that he looked forward to seeing De Bure justify the reputation he had acquired as one of the most skillful booksellers in Paris.¹⁴⁴

Mercier's diatribe led to something of a pamphlet war. In a short book published in October 1763, De Bure responded to Mercier's attack point by point. As noted in the *Bibliographie instructive*, one of the two Mozarabic breviaries owned by Gaignat was the only copy De Bure had seen to lack a table listing the feasts of the church year. He suggested that the table, initially omitted, had been added in other copies after the first print run.¹⁴⁵ Dismissing De Bure's remark as trivial, Mercier stated that the absence of the table was nothing more than a defect.¹⁴⁶ In response, De Bure maintained that far from an insignificant detail, his observation exemplified the comparative method of descriptive bibliography espoused in the *Bibliographie instructive*.¹⁴⁷ But this statement in defense of his method was not enough; in the meantime Mercier had published another critique in the *Journal de Trévoux* (again in 1763), which in turn

142 Mercier de Saint-Léger, "Lettre," 1681: Enfin il est important pour ce Bibliographe qu'il visite plus exactement qu'il n'a fait les grandes bibliothèques de Paris, dont les richesses lui sont trop peu connues.

143 On De Bure in his social and commercial contexts see Jean Viardot, "Un épisode du collectionnisme en fait de livre au XVIII^e siècle: Le *Musæum typographicum* ou le goût des raretés superlatives," in "L'idée des bibliothèques à l'âge classique," special issue, *Littératures classiques* 66 (2008): 161–78.

144 Mercier de Saint-Léger, "Lettre," 1681.

145 De Bure, *Bibliographie instructive*, 187–88.

146 Mercier de Saint-Léger, "Lettre," 1633.

147 Guillaume De Bure, *Lettre a M. *** servant de réponse à une critique de la Bibliographie instructive* (Paris: s.n., 1763).

elicited yet another systematic response from the impugned De Bure.¹⁴⁸ Six years later, in his catalogue of the Gaignat collection, De Bure brought up once again the absence of the table, citing his discussion in *Bibliographie instructive*.¹⁴⁹ De Bure's exchange with Mercier provides an example of the competing (and sometimes inflated) claims of expertise that were crucial to the historical process David McKitterick has called "the invention of rare books."¹⁵⁰

It is all the more significant, then, that in the *Particularités* Mercier alluded in passing to purchasing the very copy (previously owned by Gaignat) that had been described by De Bure. Here Mercier invoked precisely the section of the *Bibliographie instructive* that he had panned two decades earlier—the description of the Mozarabic editions that had brought them renown in Parisian bibliophile circles. In the end, even the redoubtable Mercier joined the throngs of those citing De Bure's catalogue entries as the reference of choice for high-prestige book acquisitions.

Besides the light it sheds on book collecting in the late eighteenth century, the Aschaffenburg copy of the *Missale mixtum* contains Latin annotations that signal a historical perception of the edition as a monument to the past. Below the colophon, two hands of the early seventeenth century added references to published histories of Spain:¹⁵¹ "On the Toledan liturgy and the Mozarabs and the seven churches of Toledo, see in the *Historia vulgaris*, folio 76; and the *Historia generalis Hispanie* and also see in the *Crónica del Cid Ruy Diaz*, folio 39."¹⁵² The first work mentioned in the annotation, *Historia vulgaris* (the "Vulgate" History), could be the *Estoria de Espanna*, the vernacular history compiled by Alfonso X of León and Castile (1221–84), which includes an account of the change of rite.¹⁵³ The second work cited in the annotation, the *Crónica del*

148 Guillaume De Bure, *Appel aux savans et aux gens de lettres, au sujet de la Bibliographie instructive* (Paris: s.n., 1763).

149 De Bure, *Supplément à la bibliographie instructive*, 53.

150 McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books*.

151 The first annotation on the page is "Quid sonit pilacio vide s. fol. cxxviii id est prefacio", which appears to refer to the continuation of the *inlatio* (preface chant) that appears on fol. 228r of the *Missale mixtum*. This annotation is distinct from the ones citing history writing.

152 De oficio toletano et mozarabes et septem ecclesiis toleti vide in historia vulgari folio lxxvi^o: [et] historia generalis hispanie et vide in cronica del cid ruy dias fo. Xxxix. (The second part of the inscription, beginning with "historia generalis hispanie," seems to be written by a different hand.)

153 Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez, *La estoria de España de Alfonso X: Estudio y edición de la versión crítica desde Fruela II hasta la muerte de Fernando II*, *Anejos de Analecta Malacitana* 75 (Málaga: Analecta Malacitana, Universidad de Málaga, 2009), 498. In the early

Cid Ruy Diaz (originally published in 1498), is the story of the medieval knight Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, most famous as the protagonist of the *Poema del mio Cid*.¹⁵⁴ The fifteenth-century *Crónica* was published in several different versions in the sixteenth century; the annotation seems to cite chapter 121 in the Burgos 1512 edition recounting the imposition of the Roman rite in Toledo, followed by the duel and the trial by fire.¹⁵⁵ The work that the Latin annotation calls the “*Historia generalis hispanie*” is likely to be Juan de Mariana’s *Historia general de España* of 1601, which is a revised Castilian translation of his 1592 Latin chronicle *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri xx*.¹⁵⁶ In the *Historia general*, the change of rite is described in book 9, followed by a paragraph combining the post-conquest history of the Mozarabic rite with a brief description of the Mozarabic Chapel and its function:

The dispute ended, and they agreed that in the ancient churches called Mozarabic the ancient breviary [i.e., church services] would be maintained, which we see today on certain feast days of the year, that in those churches they celebrate the offices in the manner of the Mozarabs. There is also a chapel in the cathedral with a certain number of Mozarabic chaplains, which Cardinal Friar Francisco Ximenez endowed from his own estate, to prevent the loss of such a renowned phenomenon and ancient rite. These [chaplains] celebrate and say the mass according to the ancient missal and breviary.¹⁵⁷

modern period Alfonso’s historiography was known principally through a 1541 publication by Florian de Ocampo, *Las quatro partes enteras de la Cronica de España* (Zamora: Augustin de Paz and Juan Picardo, 1541). However, the reference to a “folio 76” in the annotation seems to be to an edition other than Ocampo’s.

- 154 See Fernando Gómez Redondo, “The Cidian Matter in the 15th Century,” in *A Companion to the “Poema de mio Cid,”* ed. Irene Zaderenko and Alberto Montaner, in collaboration with Peter Mahoney, Brill’s Companions to Mediaeval Philology 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 489.
- 155 The narrative appears in chapter 121 of the edition published in Burgos in 1512: *Crónica del famoso cavallero Cid Ruy Diez Campeador* (Burgos: Fadrique Aleman de Basilea, 1512). For a modern edition see *MIO CID CAMPEADOR: Cantar de mio Cid, Mocedades de Rodrigo, Crónica del famoso cavallero*, ed. José María Viña Liste (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2006).
- 156 Juan de Mariana, *Historia general de España. Compuesta primero en latín, después buelta en Castellano por Iuan de Mariana, D. Theólogo, de la Compañía de Iesus*, 2 vols (Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez, 1601).
- 157 Mariana, *Historia general*, 596: Concluyose el pleyto, y concertaron que en las yglesias antiguas que llaman Moçarabes, se conservasse el breviario antiguo. Lo qual vemos oy dia en ciertas fiestas del año, que se hazen en los dichos templos los officios a la manera de los Moçarabes. Tambien ay una capilla dentro de la yglesia mayor, en la qual ay

This narrative jumps from the end of the eleventh century to the (late-sixteenth-century) present, eliding the decline of the Mozarabic rite in the later Middle Ages and thus implying a degree of continuity, as if the decision to maintain the rite after 1085 had ensured its survival in the Mozarabic parish churches. In truth, its survival in the parishes was always fragile.

The *Historia general* was published in numerous editions both in Latin and in the vernacular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including in a French translation by the Jesuit Joseph-Nicholas Charenton.¹⁵⁸ Mariana's digest was a common reference from which many readers gleaned information about the history of the Mozarabs and their rite. Although the references to historical writings added to the Aschaffenburg copy are highly abbreviated, they indicate that users of the Mozarabic editions sought to situate the contents of the books in a national context. In sum, the volume in Aschaffenburg provides an example of the reception of the published rite and its context in print culture.



As shown by the annotations, notes, and treatises that literally accrued to the editions over the centuries, as well as in the commentaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Mozarabic Missal and the Breviary were perceived not only as rare books but also as monuments to the history of Christianity in Iberia. The meanings that the Missal and Breviary held for early modern readers were also bound to the inseparability of liturgical tradition from national identity, a theme of central importance throughout this book. Consequently, the diffusion of the editions in early modern Europe contributed to a perception of the Mozarabs and their rite as part of a memorialized past. The study of the rite, which occurred through the filter of the editions and the increasing importance of its national character, is the subject of chapter 5.

cierto numero de capellanes Moçarabes, que dotò de su hazienda el cardenal fray Francisco Ximenez, porque no se perdiessse la memoria de cosa tan señalada, y de rezo tan antiguo. Estos rezan y dizen missa conforme al missal y breviario antiguo.

¹⁵⁸ The passage corresponding to the one quoted above is *Histoire générale d'Espagne*, trans. Joseph-Nicholas Charenton (Paris: Mercier, et alii, 1725), 2:368–69.

Understanding the Rite

In recalling, iterating, reading, commenting, criticizing, discussing what was deposited in the remote or recent past, humans participate in extended horizons of meaning-production.¹



In the early modern period, the Mozarabic rite became a special object of historical inquiry as well as a coveted publication. Scholars reached different understandings of the rite, depending on variables of method and access to sources. The study of the rite in the centuries following the publication of the Ortiz editions, which is the focus of this chapter, illustrates the construction of cultural memory described by Aleida Assmann as an iterative and cumulative process of meaning-production. Whether by publishing new editions, writing commentaries, or making transcriptions for study, scholars and users of the editions interpreted the rite, to borrow Assmann's words, "discussing what was deposited in the remote or recent past."

Most importantly for this book, it was through commentary on the rite that the ancient liturgy attained its greatest renown as a national symbol. Early modern liturgical erudition was never remote from politics. High-level diplomacy came into play for advancing research, and debates about saints' affiliations with the Iberian peninsula brought the texts of the Mozarabic rite to bear on local history as well as on the historiography of Christianity in Spain. The wider historical context for learned reception of the Mozarabic rite was the territorial expansion of the Crown and the emergence of global dominion under the Hispanic Monarchy (*Monarquía Hispánica*). As seen in chapter 4, among the early owners of the Ortiz editions of the Mozarabic rite were foreigners connected to the growth of the Spanish Empire. The definition of the Hispanic Monarchy as universal was consolidated by the Habsburgs and con-

¹ Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning in collaboration with Sara B. Young, Media and Cultural Memory 8 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 97–108, at 99.

firmed in the mid-eighteenth century with the triumph of Bourbon regalism. Contemporaneous with (and often in close proximity to) the theorization and implementation of the monarchy of Spain (*Monarquía de España*) were various responses to the rite that ranged from treatises to annotations on copies of the Ortiz editions.

This chapter addresses the long history of efforts to understand the rite as a published text and as the legacy of a community—in both cases the rite always having been apprehended, as an object, through the filter of early modern print. I show the importance of the editions for liturgical research and follow the study of the rite through to its culmination in the Napoleonic era with the posthumous publication of Lorenzana's *Missale Gothicum* in Rome by the exiled Spanish Jesuit Faustino Arévalo.

As a philological project, the publication of the Mozarabic editions was effectively without precedent. Renaissance methods of textual and historical criticism had not yet been applied to liturgical texts in the manner that would become routine after the Council of Trent (1545–63) mandated changes in liturgical use. The commissions created after the council led to new editions of the Roman rite, beginning with the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568) and the *Missale Romanum* (1570) and continuing with more editions of these books as well as of the Roman martyrology. According to Simon Ditchfield, the study of liturgy as a scholarly discipline—which I call liturgical erudition—is “largely the creation of the period 1550–1700,” the centuries which saw the emergence of a “concern with understanding the individual elements of the liturgy via painstaking philological reconstruction of its textual tradition rather than in operation as a system of public worship.”² Dioceses were allowed to maintain their rites if they could demonstrate that their own tradition went back more than two hundred years. Scholars examined the textual record for evidence of the historicity of saints and the antiquity of local liturgies. From this post-Tridentine requirement for historical proof emerged a renewed understanding of hagiography as a source for the writing of history.³ Indeed, while there had already been little or no perceived distinction between the genres of hagiography and history in the Middle Ages, textual scholarship in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries expanded the use of hagiography as a historical source.⁴ Ditchfield, Katrina Olds, Erin Rowe, and Katherine Van

2 Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 20.

3 See Ditchfield, *Liturgy*, esp. 23–44, on the reform of the Roman breviary.

4 Ditchfield, “‘Historia Magistra Sanctitatis’? The Relationship between Historiography and

Liere have all illustrated the deployment of hagiography, history, and liturgy to undergird narratives about saints and the places where they were venerated.⁵

The Ortiz editions, having been published two generations before the Council of Trent began, represent in retrospect a precocious instance of a textual reconstruction that shored up a threatened local identity, foreshadowing some of the post-Tridentine developments described by Ditchfield. In the centuries after 1500, when the medieval manuscripts of the Old Hispanic rite were largely ignored and inaccessible, the editions came to the fore as physical representatives of the ancient rite. Differences between the editions and the medieval rite, intuited and sometimes confirmed by various scholars, inspired research that gradually yielded refinements in comparative method. Some scholars drew on the work of Ortiz to produce treatises or new editions that were, in effect, republications of the existing text with added commentary. Over the years, writers repeated, reassessed, or rebutted previous opinions in a cumulative process that culminated in the dense summation published in 1804 by the Spanish Jesuit Faustino Arévalo (1747–1824). From the confluence of print culture, contestations of local tradition, and philology colored by national identity came methodological advances that informed the erudite reception of the Mozarabic editions.

1 Annotations as a Sign of Use

Early modern study of the Mozarabic rite unfolded not only in the form of publications that built on the Ortiz editions but also in the responses of individuals to the editions. Scholars' understanding of the rite developed gradually, through consultation. As the book historian Bill Sherman has pointed out, the

Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent (1564–1742 ca.)," in *Nunc alia tempora, alii mores: Storici e storia in età postridentina*, ed. Massimo Firpo (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2005), 3–23. On the lack of distinction between hagiography and history in the Middle Ages, the foundational essay is Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–113.

5 Ditchfield, *Liturgy*; Katrina Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Erin Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011); Katherine Elliott Van Liere, "The Moorslayer and the Missionary: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales," *Viator* 37 (2006): 519–43.

word “reading” does not adequately describe the full range of ways in which books were used in the early modern period.⁶ “Use” is a more pertinent term for many of the interactions people had with the Mozarabic editions. Their users perused or consulted them not as they would have read literary texts; instead, they employed the editions more instrumentally, whether mining them for information or reconciling them with other sources. The most common evidence of use is the presence of annotations, which were added by different hands at various times. Many of the copies of the Ortiz editions described in chapter 4 bear written traces of reactions they elicited from their users. Of course, many of the annotations are readers’ marks, which are somewhat inscrutable, although likely to be significant. The copy of the *Missale mixtum* owned by Simeon Ashe contains an unusually large number of such marks, as discussed in chapter 4.⁷

Handwritten responses to the printed text represent efforts to understand the rite, as its texts form part of the history of use, reception, and liturgical erudition. Annotations added to copies of the Mozarabic editions emended faulty texts, corrected the dates of feasts or added new ones, and commented on the contents. Other users pointed out variant readings and mistakes in the printed text, and compared it with other editions (and, sometimes, with manuscripts). While the identities of the annotators are unknown, their script and the use of Castilian along with Latin suggest that the annotations were made in Spain in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.⁸ Some of the annotations suggest a critical reading of the texts, while others are notes of a more practical nature, indicating the uses of the books in the liturgy.

Many annotations in copies of the Mozarabic Breviary concern its hymn texts, frequently with an emphasis on hymns by the Iberian poet Prudentius. In a copy now in Toledo’s Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, a sixteenth-century hand noted Prudentius’s authorship of the hymn “Beate martyr prospera” for Saint Vincent of Saragossa and indicated that the errors in the edition should be corrected with reference to Prudentius’s *Liber Peristephanon*.⁹ In the copy now in Blois, a hand of the seventeenth century intervened with numerous

6 William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, Material Texts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), xiv–xv.

7 Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library, MS 5.2.12.

8 Copies which contain notes of possession and established provenance have relatively few annotations, in part because they have been preserved for centuries in private collections.

9 Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla y La Mancha, 1–3556, fol. 360v–61r: *Hic hymnus est quintus apud Prudentium, per quem corrigendus est iste a multis mendis.*

corrections to the text of “O Nazarene,” also from the *Liber Cathemerinon*.¹⁰ A later hand annotating the beginning of the same hymn specifically cites the emended text and commentary of Victor Giselin (1543–91) as the source to use for correction.¹¹ Another copy of the Breviary, this one owned in the eighteenth century by the Mozarabic Parish Church of San Sebastián, contains added critical notes in Castilian, including corrections of prosody.¹² Annotations could also refer to the musical performance of hymns. In many copies of the Breviary, later hands added the titles of the hymn melodies to which the hymn texts should be sung.¹³ While references such as “sung to the tune of [a certain hymn]” are common, here the practice is particularly salient for our study, for the melody most often indicated was the “Pange lingua,” a hymn closely associated with early modern Spanish elites and their devotion to the Eucharist.¹⁴ In addition to remarks on the texts and melodies, annotations on hymns manifest the special attention that users of the Ortiz editions paid to the Iberian heritage of saints. A copy now in Madrid contains the added instruction to replace “O beate mundi auctor,” the hymn of the Roman rite that Ortiz assigned to a Hispanic saint, Cucufas, with the Old Hispanic hymn, “Barcilon lete Cucufate vernans,” which appears in several medieval manuscripts.¹⁵ The intention behind this annotation was to bring the contents of the Mozarabic Breviary closer to the medieval Mozarabic tradition.

The clearest evidence for annotators’ concern with the cult of the saints in the Mozarabic rite lies in the modifications of the calendar that comprise the majority of the annotations in most copies of the Mozarabic editions. Feasts were added and crossed out, or their dates corrected, sometimes with brief comments in Latin or Castilian. In many copies, later hands have added the

10 Blois, Bibliothèque Abbé Grégoire, 140 bis, fol. 84r–v.

11 Errata huius hymni cuius auctor est Prudentius, corrige ita ex emendatione et commentario Victoris Gisellini, in Prudentii Cathemerinon, Hymn. 70. This may be a reference to the edition published by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in 1564: Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Theodori Pulmanni Cranenburgii, et Victoris Gisellini opera: Ex fide decem librorum manuscriptorum emendatus. Et in eum, eiusdem Victoris Gisellini commentarius*.

12 Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, 1–3709.

13 For example, Madrid, BNE, R/16492, fols 342, 345v, 348r, 350v, 373r, 389r, 403v; Madrid, BNE, R/3858, fol. 49r; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 69.4.G.22, fols 26r, 31r, 49r, 345v, 359r.

14 Manuel del Sol, “El himno Pange Lingua de Juan de Urrede, un emblema del poder de las élites hispánicas en el antiguo régimen (siglos XVI–XVIII),” *Historia y genealogía* 11 (2021): 168–87. I thank María Soterraña Aguirre Rincon for this reference.

15 For the annotation see Madrid, BNE, R/3858, fol. 388v. The hymn is available at <https://musicahispanica.eu/chant/92500>.

sequential Arabic numerals for the days of the month in a column to the left of the Roman numerals in the calendar, which employed the Roman system of numbering days according to their distance in time from the kalends, nones, or ides of each month. Many annotations bring calendars into closer agreement with the Old Hispanic church year. Corrections made to the dates of feasts show the special care that users dedicated to scrutinizing calendars. For instance, the date of the Feast of Saint Mancius of Evora, corrected by an early modern hand from May 22 to May 21 in just one copy, shows close attention to detail; one wonders who kept track of the feast day of this legendary first bishop of Lisbon and Evora (and, according to some traditions, a disciple of Jesus), whose relics were thought to have been translated to Villanueva de San Mancio (Castile) in the thirteenth century.¹⁶

Often, later hands added new feasts that had been introduced after the editions' publication. There is little evidence to allow the precise dating of these annotations, although the general period in which they were written can be ascertained through comparison with dated documents. However, in many cases the chronology of the newly established feasts provides at least the date after which the addition must have been made. One of the dates frequently added to the calendars of the Mozarabic editions in the seventeenth century was March 1, the feast of the Guardian Angel, which was extended to the universal Church in 1608.¹⁷ This occasion had special meaning in Toledo, where it was established to commemorate the victory of Ferdinand of Aragon over Afonso V of Portugal at the Battle of Toro in 1476.¹⁸

The annotations in certain copies seem to reflect the historical context of their provenance. For instance, the *Missale mixtum* now in the National Library in Madrid (Madrid, BNE, R/7180), which contains an exceptional array of additions to the calendar, was given to the Royal Library in Madrid in 1792 by Francisco Pérez Bayer (1711–94), who had been that library's prefect since 1783. The early provenance of this missal is not known; it presumably came from the large personal collection for which Pérez Bayer was known.¹⁹ He could have

16 Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket, 4,68 S-30. On Saint Mancius see José María Fernández Catón, *San Mancio, culto, leyenda y reliquias: Ensayo de crítica hagiográfica* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro [CSIC-CECEL], 1983).

17 On the cult of the guardian angel in the seventeenth century see particularly Antoine Mazurek, "L'ange gardien, entre théologie, dévotion et spiritualité (xvi^e–xvii^e siècles)," *Revue d'histoire des religions* 1 (2016): 21–47.

18 Mercedes Castillo-Ferreira, "Chant, Liturgy and Reform," in *Companion to Music in the Age of the Catholic Monarchs*, ed. Tess Knighton, Brill's Companions to Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 283–322, at 316–17.

19 For a brief biography of Pérez Bayer see Antonio Mestre Sanchis, "Francisco Pérez Bayer,"

acquired the volume in Toledo, where he worked for the Royal Commission on the Archives in the early 1750s and became a canon of the cathedral in 1759. Pérez Bayer's copy contains several unusual annotations that were entered by a small number of hands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The additions point to liturgical considerations and sharp historical awareness of changes in the calendar of saints. The added feasts include that of the martyred Visigothic prince Hermenegild, who was canonized in 1585 by Sixtus v and was featured prominently in Jesuit drama of the seventeenth century.²⁰ Also added to this copy is the annual commemoration of the translation of the relics of Saint Leocadia from Flanders to Toledo in 1587. Philip II himself presided over that translation, personally placing the relics in the cathedral in a public demonstration of the royal family's devotion.²¹ The inscription in the lower margin designates Leocadia as "our patron" (she was a patron saint of a church in Toledo, and of the city of Toledo along with the seventh-century bishop Ildefonsus) and indicates the feast's celebration on 26 April (Fig. 5.1, bottom left).

More unusual is the addition of the feast of the royal saint King Ferdinand III of Spain, who was canonized in 1671 after a lengthy process that had begun in 1629 (Fig. 5.1, lower right).²² In 1671, the decision of Pope Clement x to extend veneration of the saint to all the territories ruled by the Hispanic Monarchy led to a variety of celebrations in which royal power was on display. Mariana of Austria (queen of Spain, 1649–65, and regent, 1665–75) sent official instructions for the festivities throughout Castile and to the court in Madrid as well as to individual cities such as Valladolid (including its cathedral chapter and its university), emphasizing that the canonization had occurred under her regency.²³

in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/5338/francisco-perez-bayer>. On his passion for books see Antonio Mestre Sanchis, Pablo Pérez García, and Jorge Antonio Catalá Sainz, *Francisco Pérez Bayer: Viajes literarios*, Arxius i documents 22 (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1998), 56.

20 Stefano Munerón, *Hermenegildo and the Jesuits: Staging Sainthood in the Early Modern Period* (Cham: Springer, 2017).

21 María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, urbs regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2000), 50.

22 On the canonization of Ferdinand III see most recently Alvarino Álvarez-Ossorio, "Rey Santo: Fernando III, una corona sagrada para la monarquía de España," *Tiempos modernos* 46 (2023): 307–28.

23 Álvarez-Ossorio, "Rey Santo," 314–16; Lourdes Amigo Vázquez, "La apoteosis de la Monarquía Católica Hispánica. Fiestas por la canonización de San Fernando en Valladolid (1671)," in *La declinación de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. Francisco José Aranda Pérez (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2004), 189–205, at 191–93.

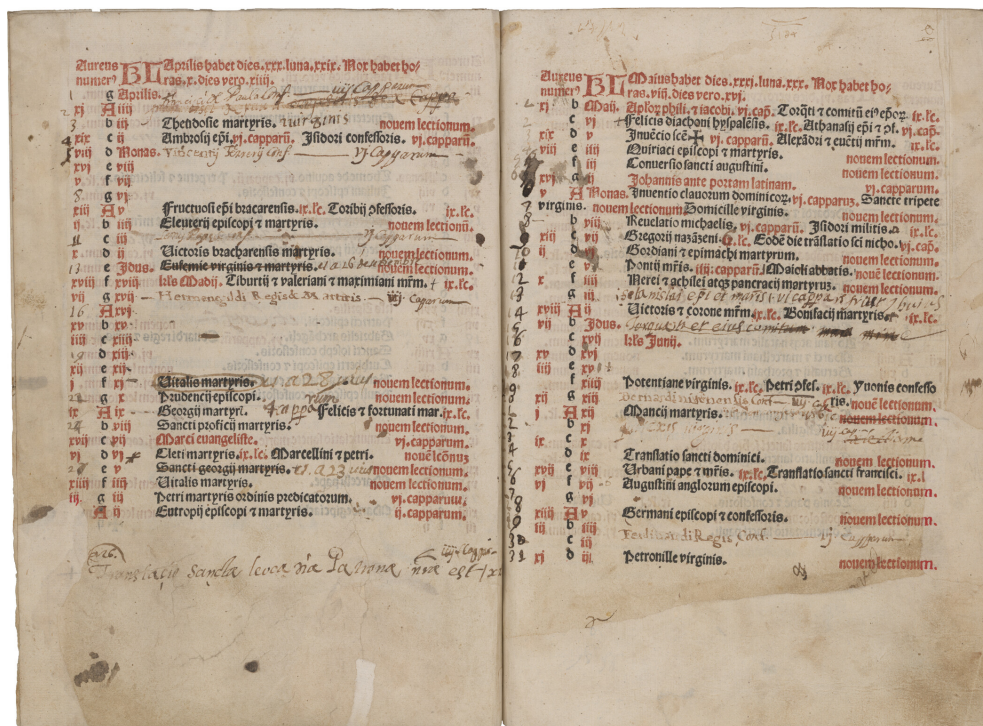


FIGURE 5.1 Calendar pages for April and May, *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, 1502, Madrid, BNE, R/7180, formerly property of Pérez Bayer
 PHOTO: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA

From the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, the monarchy promoted devotion to Ferdinand III in Peru as well as in its other colonies.²⁴ The name of Ferdinand VI (king of Spain, 1746–59) shows the importance of the cult for the Spanish Bourbons; it was in honor of the king's namesake that the Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel (1719–62) undertook extensive research for a revised biography of the royal saint while leading the Royal Commission on the Archives under Ferdinand VI.²⁵ While annotations in Madrid, BNE, R/7180 are anonymous (like all others in the Ortiz editions), adding the feasts of Hermenegild, the Translation of Saint Leocadia, and Ferdinand III suggests that the annotator's perspective was informed by royal priorities.

24 Álvarez-Ossorio, "Rey Santo," 321–24.

25 Andrés Marcos Burriel, *Memorias para la vida del santo rey Don Fernando III*, ed. Miguel de Manuel Rodríguez (1800; repr., Barcelona: El Albir, 1974). We will return to the work of Burriel later in this chapter.

Even rarer than these annotations to the calendar in the Madrid copy is the addition of the feast on October 22 of Saints Nunilo and Alodia, virgins who were born in Huesca to a Christian mother and a Muslim father. Because they had chosen Christianity over Islam, Nunilo and Alodia were executed as apostates in 851 under the caliph Abdal-Rabman II. Of particular importance in Huesca and Pamplona in northern Spain, this feast was added to the calendar of Toledo, BCT, FM-45 in the sixteenth century, presumably by a Mozarabic chaplain who was using the book. Nunilo and Alodia, like other Christian martyrs in the Muslim-ruled Iberian peninsula, held special significance for those who viewed the peninsula's history through the lens of Christian-Muslim conflict. Moreover, their origins and date of martyrdom were of interest to historians and hagiographers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁶

To summarize, some of the additions of saints' feasts in the Mozarabic editions relate directly to the political and religious history of the Spanish kingdoms, particularly the saints of the Iberian peninsula. Certain feasts that were emphasized by users of the editions held symbolic importance for the monarchy or had acquired particular meaning in collective perceptions of the past. Whether seen in isolation or as parts of patterns, such manual interventions on the editions' printed pages convey the importance of annotations as evidence for the early modern understandings of the rite.

2 Case Study: The Hymn for Saint Thyrsus

One particular text in the Mozarabic Breviary, the hymn for Saint Thyrsus, "Exsulta nimium turba fidelium," was the subject of a controversy that generated extensive commentary.

The debate, while idiosyncratic, reveals something of the stakes of studying the Mozarabic editions as well the scholarly uses of the editions. Verses from the hymn were deployed in the late sixteenth century to make claims that, while evidently false, were nonetheless carefully reviewed. Such close attention to the hymn as a historical source shows how much early modern erudition drew upon liturgical sources. In what follows, I synthesize what has already been written about this curious controversy and go further to adduce previously unpublished evidence.

26 Ramón López Domech, "Las Santas Nunilo y Alodia de Huesca, Huéscar (Granada) y Bezares (La Rioja): Ensayo bibliográfico," *Los columbarios de la Rioja, antigüedad y cristianismo* 16 (1999): 379–96, esp. 387–89 on the historiography of the saints in the early modern period.

Although Saint Thyrsus (or Tirsus, Castilian *Tirso*) was thought to have been from Bithynia (in modern-day Turkey), the Jesuit historian Jerónimo Roman de la Higuera (1538–1611) maintained that the saint was actually from Toledo but had been martyred in Greece, his relics subsequently returning to Toledo. Higuera is best known as the forger of what are commonly called the “false chronicles,” a collection of pseudohistorical accounts that he claimed to have discovered in manuscript form.²⁷ He sought tenaciously to convince his contemporaries of his theories, which he got published in January 1595 in a pamphlet that took the form of an epistle addressed to Philip II.²⁸ Although the purported author of the missive was Alonso de Cárcamo, *corregidor* of Toledo, the text advanced Higuera’s arguments and was apparently written by Higuera himself. Before publishing, Cárcamo had written to Philip II to gain the support of a monarch who was known for his interest in the cult of Iberian saints.²⁹ Higuera, through his mouthpiece, Cárcamo, asserted the authenticity of a forged letter of Higuera’s own—one that King Silo of Asturias (r. 774–783) had purportedly written to Archbishop Cixila of Toledo (d. 783). The epistle describes Cixila’s efforts to build a church dedicated to Saint Thyrsus near the main mosque, resulting in a threat from city’s Muslim ruler, who finally granted permission to complete the church in exchange for a tribute paid by the archbishop.³⁰

In support of these startling claims, Higuera (in the person of Cárcamo) cited the hymn for Thyrsus in the Mozarabic Breviary. For the identification of Thyrsus as a native of Toledo, he adduced a single verse of the hymn: “Te martir lachrimis vernule poscimus.”³¹ The full stanza, followed by a Castilian transla-

27 The most recent account of the false chronicles is Olds, *Forging the Past*. On the controversy about Saint Thyrsus and its consequences see Olds, *Forging the Past*, 29–55, drawing on Abraham Madroñal, “San Tirso de Toledo, tragedia perdida de Lope de Vega,” *Hipogrifo. Revista de literatura y cultura del Siglo de Oro* 2 (2014): 23–54.

28 Alonso de Cárcamo, *Traslado de la carta y relacion que embio a su Magestad el señor don Alonso de Carcamo [...] a cerca del templo que en ella se ha hallado, del señor san Tyrso [...]* (Toledo: Pedro Rodriguez, 1595).

29 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 43–44.

30 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 37.

31 “Exsulta nimium turba fidelium” is transmitted in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 30 (from San Millán de la Cogolla, in the Rioja region), fol. 212r–213v, and Madrid, BNE, MS 10001 (earlier in Toledo), xxxiv–xxxvi. The most recent critical edition is *Hymnodia Hispanica*, ed. José Castro Sánchez, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 167 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 640–42. The hymn is catalogued as 06500 in the Musica Hispanica database (<http://musicahispanica.eu/chant/73392>). The strophe in question reads: Te martyr lacrimis / vernule poscimus / per te omnipotens / conditor ocus / durum quo premimur / ut jugum auferat / et laetos faciat / saecula in omnia; Olds, *Forging the Past*, 44.

tion, appears on the first page of the epistle to the king, identified as a “Gothic [i.e., Visigothic] hymn.” Higuera went even further out on a limb by buttressing his argument with just one word from that verse, *vernule*, which he interpreted as a direct address to the saint (construing the form of the noun as the vocative case) and translated as “native” (*natural* in Castilian).³² Since in other texts Saint Leocadia, the city’s patron saint—who *was* from Toledo—was described as *vernula*, Higuera argued that the use of the word in the hymn for Thyrsus must identify that saint, too, as a native of the city. As we will see, the Achilles heel of Higuera’s logic (besides the obvious falsity of the claim) is that, in Latin, words with different grammatical functions and thus different meanings can all be spelled identically. Although a prolific writer, Higuera was more of an aspiring historian than a skilled Latinist.

Higuera cited another verse of the same hymn text in support of the equally fanciful assertion that a ruined building in Toledo had once been a church dedicated to Saint Thyrsus, built at the order of Cixila, an archbishop of Toledo in the late eighth century.³³ In the version of the hymn published in the Mozarabic Breviary of Ortiz, the penultimate strophe refers to a church built by Cixila, but neither of the extant medieval manuscripts of the hymn contain this passage.³⁴ The statement that “Cixila founded this church” has no obvious connection to the rest of the hymn or to Saint Thyrsus, so the inclusion of the name of Cixila has led some of the text’s editors to ascribe the hymn’s authorship to that archbishop.³⁵ The passage might have been inserted into the text later in the Middle Ages (in a manuscript now lost). It could have been interpolated by Ortiz (who, as we saw in chapter 1, included in the *Missale mixtum* his own compositions for a Mass of the Virgin Mary) to endow the text with an early medieval Toledan reference. Admittedly, the two medieval manuscripts that transmit the hymn have slightly different final strophes, but these rather conventional doxology strophes express praise in a formulaic manner that could vary from manuscript

32 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 48: “Oh martyr, with tears, oh *vernule*, we entreat you.”

33 On Cixila see Ramón González Ruiz, “El arzobispo Cixila: Su tiempo, su vida, su obra,” in *Luz de sus ciudades: Homenaje a Julio Porres Martín-Cleto*, ed. Ramón González Ruiz (Toledo: Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, 2008), 45–87.

34 The strophe reads: Lord, Cixila built this temple; here may he obtain a worthy end in heaven; may he sing songs with the dwellers on high, rejoicing perpetually for all time (Templum hoc domine cixilla condidit / dignam hic habeat sortem in ethera / cum summis ciuibus cantica precinat / gaudens perpetuis seculis omnibus).

35 This attribution is summarized in *Hymnodia Hispanica*, ed. Castro Sánchez, 848. The most recent musicological study of the Iberian hymns follows this attribution; see Carmen Julia Gutiérrez, “Iberia canta a sus santos. Los himnos de la liturgia hispánica dedicados a los santos ibéricos,” *Anuario musical* 79 (2024): 12, 24.

to manuscript. The strophe honoring Cixila appears to function somewhat as an additional doxology. Nonetheless, its superfluity makes it stick out as an extraneous element. The remainder of the hymn stays close to the hagiographic narrative of the saint's martyrdom. In sum, there is no known medieval evidence for the identification of the church in the hymn or for the ruin in Toledo as dedicated to Thyrsus. It is no wonder that Higuera seized on this rare allusion to local history—in the printed Mozarabic Breviary—as the basis for his identification of the ruins as a church of Saint Thyrsus.

The ecclesiastical establishment reacted swiftly to Higuera's confabulations. In March 1595, Pedro Salazar de Mendoza (1549–1629), a learned canon of Toledo Cathedral, published a response refuting Higuera's interpretation of the hymn verse. Salazar correctly construed *vernule* as the feminine nominative plural *vernulae* ("natives") supplying the subject of the verb *poscimus* ("we supplicate").³⁶ Several letters exchanged among ecclesiastical officials in the same period express disbelief at Higuera's claims concerning Thyrsus and Cixila.³⁷ In the copy of the pamphlet in the library of Toledo Cathedral (and still there today), the librarian Christoval Palomares wrote a lengthy annotation debunking the claims, describing Higuera obliquely as a "certain man of religion, who, tempted by the devil" (*cierto religioso que tentado del demonio*) invented the letter from Silo to Cixila and all the rest.³⁸ News of the scandal traveled all the way up the hierarchy of the Jesuit order.³⁹

Annotations in copies of the Mozarabic Breviary preserved in Toledo show that the volumes' users were well aware of Higuera's fraudulent claims and their reception. Even the underlining of the word *vernule*, seen in two copies, suggests awareness of the controversy that the term elicited in this hymn.⁴⁰ An annotation signaling the fact that Higuera's misinterpretations made the hymn text problematic appears in a copy formerly owned by the Mozarabic Parish of San Sebastián. The remark—"This stanza has to be removed"—was added next

36 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 48–49. Salazar wrote several important works on the history of Spain, including the posthumously published *Monarquía de España* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1770), which systematically theorizes the claims of the Spanish crown to universal rule.

37 The letters are bound in the copy of the *Traslado* in Toledo, BCT, 76–2. They were published in Nicolás Antonio, *Censura de historias fabulosas*, ed. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (Valencia: Antonio Bordázar de Artazu, 1742), 524–33.

38 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 32, reproduces the copy of this admonitory inscription that was made in the eighteenth century in a copy of the *Traslado* that is now Madrid, BNE, R/8499.

39 Olds, *Forging the Past*, 52–54.

40 Examples are Toledo, BCT, FM-1; Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, 1–3556 (the text appears on fol. 364r).

to the verses mentioning the church built by Cixila.⁴¹ Most likely, the annotator considered the strophe inauthentic, which it may well be.

A hand of the early seventeenth century added several particularly interesting annotations to the hymn in one of the copies of the Mozarabic Breviary that remain in the chapter library in Toledo.⁴² On the left side of the opening shown in figure 5.2, the marginal notes below the left column state that Thyrsus was martyred in Nicomedia when Cumbricius was the governor and Bauculus the mayor. The note also mentions Leucius, martyred soon after Thyrsus.⁴³ In the lower right margin of the same verso page, a different hand identifies a “Smaragdine” book (*libro smaragdino*) in the library of Toledo Cathedral as a source in which to seek an explanation of the hymn. The annotator cites this book again in the upper right margin of the facing recto page (Fig. 5.2, upper right).⁴⁴ The “Smaragdine book” is a thirteenth-century manuscript passionary that is still preserved in the archive.⁴⁵ Presumably because Saint Thyrsus was a subject of interest in Toledo in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, scholars there consulted both the passionary and the Mozarabic Breviary, annotating the texts they contained about Saint Thyrsus. (As we will see later in this chapter, the passionary was an important source also in the eighteenth century, for the Jesuit scholars Pinius and Burriel, who transcribed and analyzed its texts.)

The hymn for Saint Thyrsus draws some of its phrases from the prose narrative of the saint’s martyrdom that appeared in the passionary. The annotator of the Mozarabic breviary we have seen must have compared the hymn published by Ortiz to a section of the passion account on which the hymn text was based, for he wrote an excerpt from the passion in the upper margin of the recto (Fig. 5.2, right). As a result, the portions of the text that were cut off when the book was later trimmed can now be supplied from the passion account: “Siluanus dixit: ‘Capacem gastrum adferre et aqua eum implete. Tir-

41 Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, 1–3709, fol. 344r: Esta estancia se ha de quitar.

42 Toledo, BCT, FM-1, fols 343v–344r.

43 Toledo, BCT, FM-1, 343v (lower margin): [Th]yrsus passus est Nicomedię, Leucius. [...] Cumbricius preßes Bauculus [iu]dex.

44 Toledo, BCT, FM-1, 343v (lower margin): Huius hymni explanatio ex martyrio sancti Thyrsi petenda quod in smaragdino libro in bibliotheca sancta ecclesie Toletanę est [...]; fol. 344r (upper margin): in libro supra citato.

45 Toledo, BCT, 44.11, olim 35.6. A passionary is a collection of texts known as passions (narrative accounts of martyrdom). The annotator refers to this book as a “libro smaragdino” most likely because the first two volumes in the three-volume set comprised of 44.9, 44.10, and 44.11 contain texts by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel.

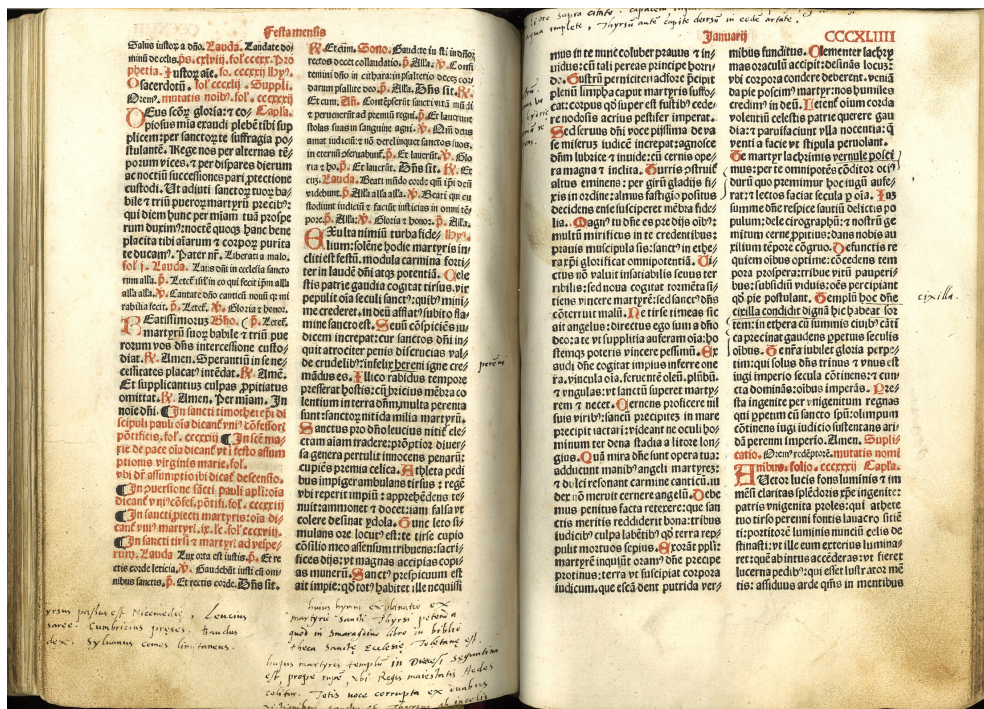


FIGURE 5.2 Annotations concerning Saint Thyrsus, *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, 1502, Toledo, BCT, FM-1, fols 343v–344r

PHOTO: TOLEDO CATHEDRAL ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY

sum autem capite deorsum in eodem artate.”⁴⁶ Consulting the text of the passionary, the annotator also corrected the spelling *gustrum* in the printed hymn text, which is an erroneous reading (presumably by Ortiz) of the word *gastrum*. In any manuscript in Visigothic script that Ortiz could have consulted, the word *gastrum* could easily be mistaken for *gustrum*, because the lower-case ‘a’ in the Visigothic script is open at the top.⁴⁷ The annotator of Toledo FM-1 knew the correct spelling of the word, however, because it comes directly from the account of the saint’s martyrdom in the medieval passionary in Toledo Cathedral’s library, which he evidently consulted. Furthermore, since *gastrum* is an extremely rare term for a wide-mouthed jar, the annotator also added a

46 *Passionarium Hispanicum saeculi decimi*, ed. Yarza Urquiola, CCSL 171 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 673.

47 Editing this hymn, Ortiz might have used Madrid, BNE, 10001, which was in Toledo until the nineteenth century.

brief definition of the word in the left margin of fol. 344r. These annotations enable us to observe the process of an early seventeenth-century reader in Toledo Cathedral consulting medieval sources while studying the hymn.

The controversy around the hymn for Saint Thyrsus was so well known that it influenced the transcription of the text by Martín Vázquez Siruela (1600–64), who produced a two-volume annotated partial copy of the Mozarabic Breviary owned by the Parish Church of San Marcos in Toledo.⁴⁸ In the early modern period, transcribing texts was a common mode of study, and transcriptions were an important part of research on the Mozarabic rite. While in Madrid from 1642 to 1647, teaching the son of the Marqués del Carpio (Luis de Haro y de Guzmán), Vázquez Siruela became a friend of Nicolás Antonio (1617–84), a scholar famous for his rebuttal of the false chronicles in the *Censura de historias fabulosas*. Bound in Vázquez Siruela's copy are letters from Antonio, including a transcription of the Office of the Forty Martyrs from the Mozarabic Breviary.⁴⁹ Given this evidence of exchange with Antonio about the Mozarabic rite, it is likely that Vázquez Siruela, while copying the Breviary, chose to transcribe the hymn for Saint Thyrsus as one of the excerpts from the Breviary because he had learned—presumably from Antonio himself—of the scandal caused by Higuera generations earlier. In two chapters of the *Censura*, Antonio summarizes the texts that gave rise to the debate and includes the entirety of the letters rebutting Higuera and Cárcamo.⁵⁰

The larger point to underscore here is that the controversy about the origins of Saint Thyrsus and the church mentioned in the hymn illustrates how early modern historians might use a text from the Mozarabic Breviary. Verses from the hymn were disingenuously pressed into service for a local mythmaking enterprise, and the ensuing debate remained widely known even long after its specious claims had been rebutted. Scholars also used the texts of the Mozarabic rite to buttress historical arguments—reading and interpretation which the editions made possible.

48 On Vázquez Siruela see Olds, *Forging the Past*, 291. The copy is Madrid, BNE, MSS 6239–6240. The first volume, MS 6239, has a note on the first pastedown stating that the volume was purchased by the Royal Library from the Count of Miranda (“Se comprò con otros al Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Miranda”), meaning Antonio López de Zúñiga (1700–65). A note of possession (“Este Breviario es de la Iglesia de S. Marcos Mozarave de Toledo”), transcribed by Siruela, indicates that his exemplar was most likely the copy that is now Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, 1–3710, where an identical note, in a sixteenth-century hand, appears on the frontispiece.

49 Antonio's more extensive transcription from the breviary is now preserved in Madrid, BNE, MS 7365, fols 486–529 (cited in *Hymnodia Hispanica*, ed. Castro Sánchez, 25).

50 Madrid, BNE, MS 7365, fols 524–533 (chs 7–8).

3 A Failed Experiment: Spain in Pierre Le Brun's Liturgical Survey

Spanish scholars and antiquarians were in their native environment when studying the Mozarabic rite, and at times we find them invoking its texts to support claims concerning the Spanish nation. Such uses of the rite in the service of a kind of religious nationalism provide an instructive contrast with the case of Pierre Le Brun (1661–1729).⁵¹ Le Brun was a French priest in the congregation of the Oratory who endeavored to study the medieval Hispanic liturgy from the position of an outsider to its ritual and political context. His research methods can be compared to those of later historians of the liturgy. Unlike them, however, he did not have direct access to early manuscript sources. Despite his efforts to leverage the highest levels of society and government to obtain medieval manuscripts from Spain, in the end his knowledge of the Mozarabic rite was conditioned by the Ortiz editions. Studied here for the first time, the story of his attempts sheds light on the historical setting of the larger scholarly enterprise.⁵²

Le Brun gained renown in the early eighteenth century as an authority on the Catholic liturgy thanks to the publication of scholarly writings that remain widely read today.⁵³ He established his reputation by publishing the *Explication littérale historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la Messe*, which appeared in four volumes between 1716 and 1726 and was a major (and much reprinted) contribution to the centuries-long tradition of commentary on the liturgy.⁵⁴ His research unfolded in a fraught moment of social upheaval. The Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598 by Henry IV, had proclaimed tolerance of Protestantism in France, bringing to an end the French Wars of Religion. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685, French Protestants had to convert to Catholicism or leave France. The decades that followed saw a proliferation of publications on Catholic dogma and liturgy, some of them voicing arguments in polemical debates between Protestant and Catholic writers.

51 I use the spelling Le Brun here as it appears in the eighteenth-century publications.

52 I am exceedingly grateful to Antoine Mazurek for bringing to my attention Le Brun's manuscript notes and letters on Spain preserved in Paris, BnF, lat. 16811.

53 See Xavier Bisaro, *Le passé présent: Une enquête liturgique dans la France du début du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012).

54 Pierre Le Brun, *Explication littérale, historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la messe: suivant les anciens auteurs, et les monumens de la plupart des églises, avec des dissertations & des notes sur les endroits difficiles & sur l'origine des rites*, 4 vols (Paris: Florentin Delaulne, 1716–26).

It was in this new pastoral environment that Le Brun published his *Explication* while at the same time delving into comparisons of customs in ecclesiastical provinces, mostly within France's borders but also more remote. He invented an innovative method of scholarship—in effect, an early form of crowdsourcing—to gather data on liturgical practices in France and ultimately in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Christian East. Le Brun based his survey on responses from far-flung correspondents to a questionnaire of his devising. The scale of the survey was unprecedented in that it was not limited to a controlled population. Its first version, from around 1714, asks questions about observances in certain aspects of church services. Framing the twenty-seven brief questions are introductory and concluding statements emphasizing that the questionnaire's aim was to determine which current usages in French churches differed from the Roman rite.⁵⁵

Concurrently, by means of published requests, Le Brun solicited data taken from historical sources of the liturgy, especially from manuscripts. His questionnaire appeared in periodicals such as the respected academic journal *Journal des sçavans* whose readers Le Brun apparently assumed would be erudite laypeople, but the responses came from ecclesiastics.⁵⁶ The questionnaire's second version, first published in 1716 at the conclusion of the first volume of the *Explication*, consists of 110 questions. As Xavier Bisaro has observed, the longer questionnaire combines into a single document the aims of the previous calls for submissions. It begins by explaining the goals and outline of the work, then requests information about manuscripts of various liturgical centers (or transcriptions of excerpts, if the manuscripts were situated far from Paris), followed by the questions about the elements of services. At the end of the questionnaire is a response template along with Le Brun's address at St Magloire in Paris.⁵⁷

Le Brun's ambitious project led ultimately to his *Dissertations historiques et dogmatiques sur les liturgies de toutes les églises du monde chrétien*, a series of treatises included in volumes 2 and 3 of the 1726 edition of the *Explication*. While not all of the treatises were equally based on original research, in the aggregate the *Dissertations* were a pathbreaking comparison of Catholic rites. The treatise on the liturgies of Spain must have been of particularly great interest, given how little was known about the history of the Mozarabic rite in the early eighteenth century. In one of his letters, Le Brun himself refers to impatient readers and the need for comparative material from Spain:

55 The first questionnaire is printed in Bisaro, *Le passé présent*, 161–62.

56 On Le Brun's method and the development of the questionnaires see *ibid.*, 30–41.

57 For the text of the second questionnaire see *ibid.*, 163–70.

People are pressing me to publish as soon as possible the volume of treatises in which I should speak of the Mozarabic rite, and for that all I need is one of the manuscript missals of the churches of Spain that were still in use in the twelfth century, or at least I need someone to be so kind as to collate one of these manuscripts with the Mozarabic missal that Cardinal Cisneros had printed in 1500 and which is still used in the chapel in Toledo. We have this missal in Paris and I would like to know exactly what more or less there is in the manuscripts, because it seems to me that Cardinal Cisneros made changes that could render the rest suspect.⁵⁸

Le Brun's dissertation on the liturgy of the churches of Spain forms part of the second volume of the *Explication*. The treatise begins with the kind of general background on the Hispanic rite that had been published in earlier works of ecclesiastical history, then enumerates in detail the aspects of the Mozarabic Missal that seemed to Le Brun more Roman than Visigothic or Mozarabic.⁵⁹ (His extensive notes on the Mozarabic Breviary were not included.) In the *Dissertation* Le Brun observed the correspondence between the Palm Sunday and Easter Triduum rubrics in the Mozarabic Missal and the Roman-rite missal of Toledo Cathedral (printed in 1550), concluding that

there are things in the printed Mozarabic missal that were very recent at the time of Cardinal Ximenez; and there are others that were already rather ancient, but do not come from the Mozarabic missal, or from the ancient rite of the churches of Spain.⁶⁰

This observation sums up his critical assessment of the printed editions as a combination of different liturgical traditions. Before a final section comparing

58 Paris, BnF, lat 16811, fol. 141r-v: On me presse vivement de donner au plutôt le volume de dissertations dans lequel je dois p[arler] du Rit Mosarabe et je n'atens pour cela qu'un de ces Missels manuscrits des Eglises d'Espagne qui étoit encore en usage au 12e siecle, ou du moins que quelqu'un ait la bonté de collationner un de ces manuscrits avec le Missel Mosarabe que le Cardinal Cisneros fis imprimer en 1500 et dont on se sert actuellement à la chapelle de Tolède. Nous avons à Paris ce missel et je voudrois scavoir exactement ce qu'il y a de plus ou de moins dans les Manuscrits, parce qu'il me paraît que le Cardinal Cisneros y a fait quelque changement qui pourroit rendre le reste suspect.

59 "Cinquième Dissertation: Ancienne et nouvelle Liturgie des Eglises d'Espagne," Le Brun, *Explication*, 2:271–340.

60 Le Brun, *Explication*, 2:304: Il y a donc dans le Missel Mozarabe imprimé des choses qui étoient très-récents au tems du Cardinal Ximenès; & il y en a d'autres qui étant déjà assez anciennes, ne viennent pourtant pas du Missel Mozarabe, ni de l'ancien Rit des Eglises d'Espagne.

the Mozarabic rite to the ancient Gallican rite, Le Brun summarized his findings on the former, describing the variegated layers embedded in the *Missale mixtum*. He acknowledged the appreciable merit of Cisneros in preserving many mass formularies of the Old Hispanic rite, but pointed out that

From all that we have just seen, one must infer that in the printed Mozarabic Missal are inserted practices and rubrics that were not in the ancient Gothic Rite and were taken from the Roman-Gallican Missal of Toledo; [this was] doubtless because [the editors] did not know all the particulars of the ancient Gothic Rite, which was no longer celebrated in any church at the time of Cardinal Ximenez. Therefore, one cannot cite as Mozarabic all of what some Authors have taken from the *Ordo Missae* of the [printed] Missal, nor the *Ordo* for Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, or Holy Saturday, which Father Martène included in his *De antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, because nearly all the Rubrics for these days are obviously taken from the Toledo Missal, which at the time of Cardinal Ximenez was justifiably called the *Missale mixtum*. In fact, it was not purely Roman; elements of the Gothic Rite had been inserted into it, and it was certainly blended with several practices which (as we stated) came from Churches in France. One example is the ceremony of closing the Church at the Procession of Palms and not opening it until the Priest knocks on the door several times with the Cross, asking that it be opened to the King of glory. Such spectacles were introduced around the year 1000 in some Churches in France, and at that time were neither in the Roman Missal, nor in the Mozarabic Missal.⁶¹

61 Le Brun, *Explication*, 2:333: De tout ce que nous venons de voir il faut inférer que dans le Missel Mozarabe imprimé, on a inséré des pratiques et des Rubriques qui n'étoient pas de l'ancien Rite Gothique & qui ont été tirées du Missel Romain-Gallican de Toledo; sans doute parce qu'on ne connoissoit pas tout le détail de l'ancien Rit Gothique, ne se faisant plus dans aucune Eglise au tems du Cardinal Ximenès. Il faut par conséquent en conclure aussi qu'on ne peut citer comme venant du Mozarabe tout ce que quelques Auteurs ont tiré de l'*Ordo Missae* de ce Missel, ni de l'*Ordo* du Mercredi des Cendres, du Dimanche des Rameaux, du Jeudi Saint, du Vendredi Saint & du Samedi Saint, que le Pere Martene a inséré dans le Volume *De antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, car presque toutes les Rubriques marquées en ces jours sont évidemment tirées du Missel de Toledo qui au tems du Cardinal Ximenès étoit avec raison appelé *Missale mixtum*. En effet il n'étoit pas pur Romain; on y avoit pu insérer quelques usages du Rit Gothique, & il étoit certainement mêlé de plusieurs pratiques qui (comme nous l'avons dit) venoient des Eglises de France. Telle est par exemple la cérémonie de fermer l'Eglise à la Procession des Rameaux, et de ne l'ouvrir qu'après que le Prêtre a frappé plusieurs fois à la porte avec la Croix, qu'il a demandé d'ouvrir au Roi de gloire. Ce sont là de ces spectacles

The *Missale mixtum* cited here does not refer to the Mozarabic edition of the same name, but rather to the missal of the Church of Toledo (entitled *Missale mixtum alme ecclesie toletane*) printed there in 1499 by Hagembach. The use of Toledo Cathedral combines some elements inherited from the Hispanic rite with the Roman rite established in the cathedral after 1085, largely by clerics from France, whence the descriptor “Roman-Gallican.” By “Gothic” Le Brun meant, of course, the early-medieval Visigothic rite of the Iberian peninsula. Rendering the term in literal translation conveys the notion, shared by his contemporaries, of a broader Gothic cultural substrate underlying the Old Hispanic rite. Hybridity thus defined both the Roman rite of Toledo and the Mozarabic editions of Ortiz. Recognizing the mixing of ancient and modern traditions in the Mozarabic editions, Le Brun sought to differentiate the early substrate from the later (Roman-rite) elements that were interpolated in the editions.

Le Brun’s unpublished notes give more insight into his study of the Mozarabic rite than his published treatise.⁶² His excerpts from the Mozarabic Missal, and remarks in his letters, show that he had access to a copy of the Ortiz edition as early as 1692.⁶³ One of his marginal annotations on his later transcription of the calendar from the Missal quotes verbatim a passage (attributed to the eleventh-century bishop Guitmundus of Aversa) that attributes the texts of the Mozarabic Missal to Isidore of Seville. Le Brun could have encountered this attribution in two sources, both of which were presumably available to him: the early modern compilation *Bibliotheca patrum* and Nicolás Antonio’s *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*.⁶⁴

If Le Brun’s unpublished notes offer insight into his sources and intellectual milieu, his unpublished correspondence reveals the reasons his efforts to

qu’on a introduits vers l’an mille en quelques Eglises de France, & qu’on ne trouvoit pas alors ni dans le Missel Romain, ni dans le Missel Mozarabe.

62 I am preparing a study of Le Brun’s notes and an edition of his correspondence.

63 Paris, BnF, lat. 16811, fols 1–8 comprise the “Extraits du Rituel Mozarabe.” Paris, BnF, Réserve B270 has a seventeenth-century book stamp from the Bibliothèque royale. I thank the librarians of the Réserve for this information.

64 Paris, BnF, lat. 16811, fol. 19r: On ne voit pas dans le Missel Mozarabe imprimé ce que Guitmond escrivoit au XI siecle dans son De Sacramento: *In quodam Missali Hispano quod dicunt Sanctum dictasse Isidorum In hebdomada ante Pascha, in quadam missa sic inueni: Totum hoc Domine diuinum est. totum pater de caelo.* (underscored in the original) The quoted passage in question is in *Bibliotheca patrum* (Cologne: Antonii Hierati, 1618), 11:369, and Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus: sive, Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve scripto aliquid consignauerunt, notitia* [...] (Rome: Ex Typographia Antonii de Rubeis, 1696), 1:269 (bk. 5, ch. 4).

gather data on the liturgy in Spain ultimately failed. He was unable to obtain a manuscript version of the Mozarabic Missal in France or to acquire one from Spain.⁶⁵ Thus, he lacked material for his study the Mozarabic rite, and had to rely on a copy of the edition in Paris.

At first, Le Brun had found a willing collaborator in Desserre, an Oratorian living in Spain with whom he corresponded beginning in 1714. But in the end this connection did not deliver on its initial promise. A letter of 1720 from Desserre to Le Brun illustrates the difficulties facing the enterprise of their collaboration. Desserre wrote that he could not get hold of the Mozarabic Missal or Breviary in any form, neither an original nor a copy (“ni original ni copie”), even though he had written to someone of influence at the court of the regent, Philip of Orléans. He also expressed gratitude to another person from that world, the Duc de Noailles. Adrien-Maurice de Noailles (1678–1766) was an important military man who had fought in the war of Spanish succession (1710–13) and had been president of the French Royal Finance Council from 1715 to 1718. The duke continued to distinguish himself in the service of the crown, going on to be named a marshal of France in 1734 and serving as foreign minister in the second half of 1744. As with many of his contemporaries, in de Noailles military prowess and diplomacy combined with an interest in rare books. He owned the trouvère “chansonniere de Noailles” (Paris, BnF, fr. 12615) before it entered the Bibliothèque royale in 1740, for example. In 1746, two decades after the epistolary exchange between Desserre and Le Brun, the duke (now the Maréchal de Noailles) made a request that brings to mind Le Brun’s efforts: he asked the Spanish diplomat Blas Jover y Alcázar to help him gain access to early Iberian liturgical manuscripts.⁶⁶ The involvement of career diplomats in various attempts to obtain manuscripts of the Old Hispanic rite illustrates the intertwining of diplomatic networks with the Republic of Letters. As Alexandre Tessier points out, both milieux were international and both were structured by epistolary exchanges.⁶⁷

Despite assistance from people such as the Duc de Noailles, Desserre reported that he had made little progress. He explained that the Mozarabic rite was also celebrated in the Chapel of Talavera in the Cathedral of Salamanca,

65 Le Brun, *Explication*, 2:307.

66 See Susan Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 12–13. I also mention this request in the preface to the present study.

67 Alexandre Tessier, *Réseaux diplomatiques et République des Lettres: Les correspondants de Sir Joseph Williamson (1660–1680)*, Bibliothèque d’histoire moderne et contemporaine 50 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015), 25–26.

but the service books were quite damaged and difficult to read. He had offered to get them printed and to compare and correct them, if only he were allowed to make a copy, but his request was refused in Toledo and Salamanca alike. He feared that the books would disintegrate beyond recognition if the king of Spain did not use his authority to prevent such a loss. Lastly, Desserre promised to seek out older missals and report to Le Brun if they differed from more recent ones.⁶⁸

The final portion of Desserre's 1720 letter conveys the sense of reciprocal obligation that must have been common among those who received Le Brun's liturgical questionnaires. Here, Desserre asked his fellow Oratorian to use his own influence and his network to help a friend extricate himself from a trial (*un procès*) in Spain.⁶⁹ Desserre mentioned that the person in question had gone to see Le Brun the previous year. Such visits and exchanges were elemental to all diplomatic processes, including those involving ecclesiastical trials conducted according to canon law.

Social, political, and intellectual relationships were so closely bound with the institutional connections among the clergy that Le Brun's liturgical investigation was inextricable from the clientelism of his network. That both he and Desserre alluded to the possibility of royal intervention in their pursuit of liturgical manuscripts underlines the symbolic capital of the liturgy in an era of cultural nationalism. Le Brun, while applying innovative methods to the comparative study of liturgical history, understood that ancient manuscripts held a certain prestige in diplomatic channels.

Le Brun's letters attest to the requests and questions that he sent repeatedly to correspondents in Spain, with little or no response. He asked for manuscripts or at least transcriptions from Toledo and was told that the manuscripts were lacunary and could not be deciphered. (Decades later, scholars both Spanish and foreign would receive similar replies.) Frustrated by the lack of cooperation from his contacts, Le Brun opined that in order to save the manuscripts it would be necessary to call upon royal authority—presumably alluding to the fact that the reigning king of Spain, Philip v (1683–1746), was the grandson of Louis XIV. The period in which members of the ruling elite assisted in Le Brun's research was shaped by the division of power between the Bourbon ruling families of Spain and France. In the Treaty of Utrecht, which had ended the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, Philip v, king of France, renounced his rights to the French throne. The future French kings Louis xv

68 Paris, BnF, lat. 16811, fols 133r–134r, letter of 14 October 1720 from Desserre to Le Brun.

69 Paris, BnF, lat. 16811, fol. 134r.

(1710–74) and Philip of Orleans (1674–1723), who would become regent on the death of Louis XIV in 1715, renounced their rights to the Spanish throne. The diplomatic effects of this peace agreement can be glimpsed in the letter Le Brun wrote to Desserre around 1725, alluding to the improvement in relations between France and Spain (“if the alliance between France and Spain is renewed more than ever, as one currently believes”) and asking once again for help in obtaining manuscripts—or for Desserre to cull data from manuscripts on his behalf.⁷⁰

It was in the context of Franco-Spanish détente that Le Brun sought to obtain a response to his missive by offering the assistance of Jean-Baptiste Robin (1664–174?), who delivered the letter while in Spain for a round of negotiations. Allusions to Robin are frequent in Le Brun’s correspondence; he was one of the most important agents in the Oratorian’s efforts to gather information on the liturgy in Spain. The son of a merchant banker in Metz, Robin was one of many commoners in eighteenth-century France who entered into diplomatic service and acquired noble rank as recompense for service to the state. From 1720 to 1725, Robin held the post of general agent of the Navy and Commerce of France. In 1721, in recognition of his successful negotiation of the marriage contract between the Spanish infanta and Louis xv, Robin was granted the title of Count of Castille and Comte de Robin and de Saint-Challier. Robin’s noble status and titles, which would be passed on to his issue, were confirmed by *lettres patentes* of Louis xv in 1722.⁷¹ The elevation of Robin to the ranks of the nobility is mentioned specifically in Le Brun’s 5 July 1724 letter to Desserre: “He is now Monsieur le Comte de Robin de Saint-Challier, Count of Castille, recognized not only in Spain, but by the patents of the King of France registered in Parliament and highly esteemed by all.”⁷² Le Brun asked Desserre to confer with Robin so as to purchase medieval liturgical manuscripts, which the Duc de Noailles would gladly buy.⁷³ Le Brun mentioned that the Comte de Robin and others close to the court were also ready to pay for early printed books. He

70 Paris, BnF, lat. 16811, fol. 141r: si l’alliance de la France avec l’Espagne se renouvelle plus que jamais comme on le crois presentement.

71 Sylvain Lloret, “Entre clientélisme, compétence et intérêt individuel: De l’avantage d’être agent général de France à Madrid (1702–1793),” in “Dossier: De l’intérêt d’être consul en Méditerranée, xviiie–xxe siècle,” special issue, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 98 (2019): 45–56.

72 Paris, BnF, lat. 16811, fol. 135r: Il est a present Mr le Comte de Robin de Saint-Challier, Comte de Castille, reconnu non seulement en Espagne, mais par les patentes du Roi de France enregistrees dans les Parlemens et très estimé par tous.

73 Ibid., fol. 141v, letter of Le Brun to Desserre (undated, probably written around 1725).

suggested that the count could ask the king of France to intervene with the king of Spain so that the early manuscripts would not be lost or destroyed.⁷⁴

In his response, Desserre described a previous effort to obtain a Mozarabic missal and breviary for the regent Philip of Orléans, who “did not want it to appear that these books were being sought out for the library or at his order” (ne voulut pas qu’il parut qu’on les recherchoit pour la bibliothèque ou par son ordre). This passing remark hints intriguingly at unspecified connotations coloring the acquisition of the Mozarabic editions by royalty. Could such a purchase have been seen as a French encroachment upon Spanish patrimony at a sensitive moment in the relations between the two nations?

Desserre’s letter continues:

I did everything I could to ask for some transcriptions, and even that was refused; they wrote me from Toledo that these books were defective in some places and that there were others they could not read, I offered to have them copied at my own expense and offered to engage all the scholars to reconstruct these passages and endeavor to decipher what they considered illegible, but my letters received no response, so I think that without royal authority these books will be completely lost.⁷⁵

The lengthy description of efforts made in vain might have been intended to justify the lapse of time between the letter from Le Brun of July 1724 and Desserre’s belated response, which seems to have been written sometime in the winter of 1724–25.⁷⁶ Desserre also states in this letter his plans to work on the translation of Le Brun’s *Explication de la Messe* before the arrival of extreme heat in July, suggesting that he wrote early in 1725. In his final letter to Desserre, penned on 2 August 1726, Le Brun incredulously admitted defeat while repeating his request for materials to be sent to him. He had received

74 Ibid., fol. 136r, letter of Le Brun to Desserre, 5 July 1724.

75 Ibid., fol. 139v, letter of Desserre to Le Brun (undated, probably from 1724–25): Je fis aussi tout ce que je pus pour en voir quelques mots transcrits, et cela même me fut refusé; on m’écrivait de Tolède que ces livres étoient defectueux en quelques endroits et qu’il y a en avoit d’autres, qu’on ne sçavoit pas lire, j’offris de les faire copier à mes depenses et que j’engagerois tous les scavants à remettre ces passages et à tacher de lire ce qu’ils croyoient inlisible, mais mes lettres n’eurent aucune response, ainsi a moins de l’autorité Royale, je suis persuadé que ces livres se perdront tout à fait.

76 The conclusion of the letter refers to the death of Louis I of Spain at the age of 17 (on 31 August 1724), followed by the reversion of the crown to his father, Philip v (on 6 September 1724). Ibid., fol. 140v: Depuis la mort de notre jeune Roy, et après bien des difficultés levées, le Roy son Pere a repris le gouvernement de ce royaume.

no news of Desserre (or of Desserre's friend, whom Le Brun had helped) in at least a year, but he had heard indirectly that the Spanish translation of the *Explication* would not be published after all.⁷⁷ In the end, then, despite political connections and dogged efforts to promote his work in Spain, Le Brun was unable to obtain more information on medieval Iberian liturgy than he had at his disposal in Paris.

4 Pinius's Research in Toledo

Given his disappointment, it seems all the more unfortunate that Le Brun did not know that the Bollandist Pinius (Jean Pien, 1678–1749) was in Toledo carrying out research for the *Acta sanctorum* in 1721–22, precisely the years in which the Le Brun sought to cultivate more contacts in Spain. The two worked in entirely different institutional settings: while Le Brun drew on French diplomatic networks, Pinius was on a mission for his religious foundation. Despite these differences, Pinius would have been the ideal correspondent for the French Oratorian. In 1729, the year of Le Brun's death, Pinius published a treatise on the early Hispanic rite with a title pithily combining all the names by which the rite was known: *Mozarabic Liturgy: Historical-Chronological Treatise on the Ancient Hispanic, Gothic, Isidorian, Mozarabic, Toledan, Mixed Liturgy*.⁷⁸ The tractate was widely known in the eighteenth century, even outside of ecclesiastical circles. One copy was in the famous library of the Marquis de Paulmy, who remarked in his catalogue that he had copies of the original Mozarabic Missal and Breviary and that the Pinius edition was useful for its notes.⁷⁹

Pinius's volume formed part of the context for the lives of the saints published in critical editions by the Bollandists, and was presented as a preliminary study to the sixth volume of July saints in the *Acta sanctorum*. Pinius offered a concise description of the liturgical manuscripts in Toledo Cathedral written in Visigothic script, but noted that his list was based on the account provided by the rector of the Mozarabic Church of San Sebastián, Pedro Camino Velasco.⁸⁰

77 Ibid., fol. 137r–138v, letter of Le Brun to Desserre, 2 August 1726.

78 Joannes Pinius, *Liturgia Mozarabica: Tractatus historico-chronologicus de liturgia antiqua Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana, mixta* [...] (1729; repr., Rome: Typis Hieronymi Mainardi, 1740). This work was reprinted along with others in *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana, mixta* (Rome: Typis Hieronymi Mainardi, 1746).

79 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms 6298–99 (Théologie), fol. 32, no. 43.

80 The description is in Pinius, *Tractatus historico-chronologicus*, 109–10.

Judging from his own account of his research in Toledo, Pinius seems not to have consulted any of the liturgical manuscripts in Visigothic script, either because they were considered too precious for viewing by scholars or because he was unable to read them.⁸¹ Indeed, few in Pinius's lifetime could read Visigothic script; it had been omitted from the best-known paleography manual, Mabillon's *De re diplomatica*, and manuscript examples were largely unavailable for consultation.⁸² The script's reputed indecipherability must have been part of the reason for the statement—frequent in the early modern period—that the medieval Mozarabic liturgical manuscripts were illegible. Pinius did, however, consult other medieval manuscripts in Toledo Cathedral. He produced a transcription of the Latin narrative of Speratus's martyrdom from a passionary written in an early Gothic script of a kind that he could easily read.⁸³ Thirty years later, Andrés Marcos Burriel would have the same passionary transcribed in its entirety so he could study saints venerated in medieval Toledo (see below).⁸⁴

Pinius's treatise on the Mozarabic liturgy exemplifies the methods of liturgical erudition practiced at a time when manuscript study and historical arguments applied to hagiography often had implications for questions of national identity. A prime example is the Feast of Saint Speratus and His Eleven Companions, a group of early Christians arrested in Roman North Africa in the second century and executed in Carthage on 17 July 180.⁸⁵ One frequently encountered name for this group is the Scillitan martyrs, in reference to a place name (otherwise unattested) that is mentioned in early documents as the site of a church dedicated to them.⁸⁶ The two dates on which the Scillitan martyrs were commemorated in Spain differed from the date of their martyrdom recorded in early sources. In the introduction to the text of the martyrs' passion in the *Acta sanctorum*, Pinius speculated on possible reasons for the divergence:

81 This was first noted by Alfonso Echánove Tuero, *La preparación intelectual del P. Andrés Marcos Burriel, S.J. (1731–1750)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1971), 270.

82 Boynton, *Silent Music*, 26.

83 The passionary manuscript is Toledo, BCT, 44.11 (olim 35.6).

84 Madrid, BNE, MS 13015, fols 75r–77v. This manuscript is the first volume of the complete transcription of the passionary Toledo, BCT, 44.11 (olim 35.6).

85 For an overview of the Scillitan martyrs in their historical context see David E. Whilite, *Ancient African Christianity* (London: Routledge, 2017), 85–87, 91–96.

86 Fabio Ruggiero, "Atti dei martiri scilitani: Introduzione, testo, traduzione, testimonianze e commento," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Memorie / Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 9th ser., 1, fasc. 2 (1991): 39–138, at 48.

I think that the relics of the martyrs Saint Speratus and his Companions translated from Africa to Spain gave rise to this solemn cult of the Mozarabs [...] those Martyrs are commemorated by the Mozarabs not on their day of martyrdom, but on 21 July in the Breviary, and on 16 November in the Missal, which are perhaps days when [the Mozarabs] received their relics, or when they set them out to be venerated publicly by the people.⁸⁷

In short, Pinius thought that historical events explained why the Mozarabs celebrated the Feast of Saint Speratus on dates that were not customary in other churches.

The multiple dates for the Feast of the Scillitan Martyrs in Spanish ecclesiastical tradition seem to have generated debate, giving rise to numerous annotations in extant copies of the Mozarabic editions. In many copies of the Breviary and Missal, the feast is crossed out on November 16 with a note indicating that it belongs on 21 July.⁸⁸ In two copies of the Breviary, however, annotations instead affirm that the feast should be celebrated on November 16.⁸⁹

Not only the date but also the place of the martyrdom was a fraught topic—in Spain. Against all the early evidence, some Spanish historians asserted that Speratus had been martyred not in Carthage, in North Africa, but rather in the city of Cartagena, on Spain's south coast. In the early modern period, this minority opinion found a prominent advocate in Juan Tamayo de Salazar (d. 1662), a lay historian in the employ of the church who held tenaciously onto the various fictions that had circulated as authentic accounts of the history of Spain. In the 1650s, Tamayo published a six-volume martyrology of Spanish saints in which he famously inserted corrupted texts and presented invented statements as if they were historical facts.⁹⁰ Tamayo was an opponent of Nico-

87 *Acta sanctorum julii* 4: col. 206: Opinor, quasdam S. Sperati & Sociorum martyrum reliquias ex Africa in Hispaniam translatas solemniter huic Mozarabum cultui causam dedisse [...] illos Martyres non ipso martyrii die a Mozarabibus coli, sed in Breviario XXI Julii, & in Missali XVI Novembris celebrari, qui forte sunt dies, quibus reliquias eorum receperunt, vel populo publice venerandas proposuerunt.

88 The notes, usually in Castilian, typically state “note. They are on 21 July” (“ojo. Son al 21 de julio” or “Son 21 de julio”). It is possible that the same hand added many of these notes. Examples include Florence, BNC, Banco Rari 117; Madrid, BNE, R/16492 and R/6714 (outlined in Madrid, BNE, R/7180); Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, 46.F.7; Toledo, BCT, 74–31, FM-1, FM-21, and FM-23; Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, 1–3714.

89 Toledo, BCT, FM-24: Est 16 novembris; Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 46.F.19: Sperati et S. non hic in mense novembris celebratur (added to the July page of the calendar). The feast is also added in the body of the text in November.

90 Juan Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyrologium Hispanum, sive Anamnesis sive Commemorationis*

lás Antonio, who had debunked the false histories in his posthumously published *Censura de historias fabulosas*. Antonio's book had circulated in manuscript long before it was published in 1742. Indeed, Pinius himself wrote that in Madrid, in 1721, he had received a manuscript of Nicolás Antonio's as yet unpublished *Censura*, which noted that the Scillitan martyrs were obviously from Carthage.⁹¹

As in several other controversies concerning the saints, the star witness concerning the location of Speratus's martyrdom was a liturgical text—in this case, the hymn in the Mozarabic Breviary of 1502, which stated that “Carthage, the renowned city of Africa, preserves this martyr” (Hunc urbs prepollens africe cartago seruat martyrem). Baronio, in his notes on the Roman martyrology, cited this verse *contra* those who asserted (“they hallucinate,” he wrote) that the martyrs had perished in Cartagena rather than Carthage.⁹² Baronio's comment called out an excess of national pride as the cause of the spurious localization.

Antonio had cited the same verse at the beginning of his disquisition on the origin of the Scillitan martyrs. Before turning to the hymn in earnest, however, he adduced other texts of the early Middle Ages that allude to Saint Speratus in Africa, noting, however, that recently several historians had mistakenly placed the martyrdom in Cartagena. One of the worst offenders was Dexter, the purported author of the above-mentioned false chronicles (an apocryphal figure invented by their forger, Jerónimo Roman de la Higuera). Antonio cited other examples of names similarly manipulated in order to claim saints for Spain, and contended that Tamayo was taken in by all these tendentious assertions because he believed them to be supported by Dexter's chronicle.⁹³ Hav-

sanctorum hispanorum, 6 vols (Lyon, 1651–59). For the biography of Salazar see Miguel Gómez Vivanco, “Juan Tamayo de Salazar,” in *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/54583/juan-tamayo-de-salazar>.

91 *Acta sanctorum julii* 4: col. 209: Lest anyone be tricked by these magnificent titles of very ancient codices or manuscripts, the most erudite Spaniard Nicolás Antonio in his posthumous writings, which were very kindly communicated to me in Madrid in 1721 by the great Adrian Coninck, a relative of the most learned author; [Antonio] defends everything against the usual fallacies of his compatriot Tamayo concerning this controversy (Ne quis magnificis hisce vetustissimorum codicum aut manuscriptorum titulis decipiatur, Nicolaus Antonius eruditissimus Hispanus in Mss. posthumis, quæ mihi Matriti anno 1721 ab amplissimo D. Adriano Coninck, doctissimi auctoris consanguineo, perhumaniter communicata sunt, unumquemque adversus consuetas Tamayi popularis sui fallacias occasione hujus controversiæ sic præmunit). Pinius refers to Adrian Coninck as related to the Flemish Jesuit Giles de Coninck (1571–1633), a noted theologian.

92 Cesare Baronio, *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem et ecclesiasticæ historiæ veritatem restitutum* [...] (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1598), 346.

93 Antonio, *Censura*, 281–82. On Higuera see above, 188–90.

ing established Tamayo's gullibility, Antonio revealed his falsification of the hymn text, line by line. For instance, Tamayo had transcribed one line as "Here, his tomb blossoms with glorious virtues" (Floret eximiis eius hic tumulus virtutibus), whereas in the Breviary it reads "His tomb blossoms with glorious virtues" (Floret eiusdem tumulus eximiis virtutibus) without the "here," a small but highly significant difference, as we will see shortly. After going through the specific grammatical and historical reasons for rejecting Tamayo's forced interpretations, Antonio concluded that hymn's meaning was clear and that the cult of Speratus and companions must have arrived in Spain from the martyrs' original resting place in Africa. He wondered about the existence of the two dates for their feast (one being the November date in the Mozarabic Missal, we recall, the other the July date in the Breviary), both observed in the Mozarabic rite but not in the Roman rite.

Building on Antonio's *Censura*, Pinius reviewed and liberally quoted the writings of previous authors in his own introduction to the publication of the *acta* of the Scillitan martyrs in the *Acta sanctorum*. Pinius rebutted Tamayo's arguments point by point, with the hymn text as prime evidence. The Jesuit recounted how he had studied the hymn in Toledo in 1722 using the 1502 Mozarabic Breviary, which he described as the "unique and still rare edition of this breviary, which cannot be obtained at any cost, and indeed could barely be provided" (ex editione unica & admodum rara hujus Breviarii, quod nulla ratione obtineri, imo vix commodari potuit).⁹⁴ Echoing Antonio, Pinius summarized the opinions of early modern writers according to whom Speratus had been martyred in Spain and later translated to North Africa. He decried the credulity of authors who followed one another's misinterpretations blindly, like sheep (ovium more [...] invicem caece secuti), and observed that Tamayo had manipulated the text simply by modifying it slightly. Tamayo's claim that the hymn referred to the tomb of the saints as being located "here" (*hic*), meaning in Spain, was based on a disingenuous misreading. The first occurrence of the word would be translated as "Here, with the sacred companions" (*Hic sacris cum sodalibus*). However, as Pinius noted, the word that appears in the 1502 Breviary is not *hic* at all but rather *his*, "these," so the phrase means "with these sacred companions" (*His sacris cum sodalibus*) and does not contain any spatial reference.⁹⁵ Similarly, while Tamayo referred to a second occurrence of the word *hic* in the phrase "*hic dictis*" (with the things said here), in the printed bre-

94 *Acta sanctorum julii* 4: col. 206.

95 *Breviarium secundum regulam Beati Isidori* (Toledo: Petrus Hagembach, 1502), fols 382v–83r.

viary the phrase actually reads *his dictis*, an ablative absolute formation that translates as “these things having been said” or “after these things were said.” In other words, Tamayo’s arguments for the use of the word “here” in the hymn were nothing more than wishful thinking.

While the word *hic* does appear in these lines in an eleventh-century manuscript from San Millán de la Cogolla (now in the British Library),⁹⁶ it is unlikely that Tamayo, in the seventeenth century, had consulted the version of the hymn in the manuscript, which at that time was little known. Even if Tamayo had seen the manuscript, interpreting *hic* as referring to Cartagena in Spain contravenes the evident sense of the text, which refers specifically to Africa earlier in the hymn. Pinius considered Tamayo’s corruption of the text in the Breviary an intentional deformation—a misplaced expression of national pride—and pointed out that there was no need to distort the written record, as Spain did not lack martyrs of its own.

A quarter-century later, the Spanish Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel would also weigh in on Tamayo’s misrepresentation of the text. Burriel had a transcription made of the medieval passionary that contained the account of Speratus’s martyrdom,⁹⁷ and wrote an annotated table of contents summarizing the state of the question on each text. For the passion of Saints Speratus and companions, Burriel pointed out that the *acta* printed by Tamayo conflicted in their contents with the historic texts of the acts of the martyrs, which were recorded in an official document that seemed to have been written by notaries.⁹⁸ Burriel noted that Tamayo (*contra* Baronio) had localized the martyrdom to Cartagena even while adducing as evidence the same hymn verses cited by Baronio: “Hunc urbs praepollens Africa / Carthago servat martyrem.” The question of why the Feast of Speratus and Companions had two different dates remained unanswered because the debate about the saints hinged entirely on interpretation of the hymn verse.

The central place of a hymn from the printed Mozarabic Breviary in two centuries of debate over the facts about the location of Speratus’s martyrdom shows how crucial the Ortiz editions were in early modern discussions of the Mozarabic rite and of the saints’ legends that formed part of Spanish religious culture. It was due to the editions’ existence that Tamayo could cite the text

96 London, British Library, MS Add. 30845, fol. 47r. The transcription of the text in the Musica Hispanica database incorrectly transcribes the *hic* as *his*. See <http://musicahispanica.eu/chant/99189>.

97 The transcription in Madrid, BNE, MS 13015 of Toledo 44.11 is by an amanuensis, possibly Francisco Xavier de Palomares.

98 Madrid, BNE, MS 13015, fol. 11v.

(albeit incorrectly), that Antonio could refute Tamayo's interpretation, and that Pinius could, in turn, reveal Tamayo's error. The edited text represented an authority that could be taken at face value or subverted, depending on the aims of the commentator. But while uses of this hymn oscillated wildly between history and philology, all derived ultimately from the neo-Mozarabic version confected by Ortiz.

Historical arguments in the eighteenth century concerning the Old Hispanic rite were based largely on the comparison of editions. Analysis of the Old Hispanic rite focused on similarities and differences between the early Gallican rite (as edited by Mabillon),⁹⁹ the Visigothic orationale from around 700 (preserved in the Biblioteca Capitolare, in Verona), and the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic Missal. The orationale, which is the earliest extant manuscript of the Old Hispanic rite, may have originated in the northwest of the Iberian peninsula or in the area of Narbonne.¹⁰⁰ The Italian Oratorian priest Giuseppe Bianchini (1704–64) relied primarily on printed editions of early liturgical texts for his critical notes on the Old Hispanic orationale preserved in Verona. He observed that texts in the orationale drew from the book of Revelations for texts from Easter to Ascension, texts seen also in the early Gallican lectionary of Luxueil (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9427, c.700) and in the printed Mozarabic Missal.¹⁰¹ The use of Revelations in Paschal time was noted equally by Le Brun in the Mozarabic Missal.¹⁰²

Since 1500, historians have seen the Mozarabic editions—which were based on manuscripts in Toledo—as reflecting substantially the same early substrate as the orationale, assuming continuity in the Old Hispanic rite from the Visigothic period onward. Eighteenth-century scholars were aware of the considerable differences in age, nature, and geographic origin among the textual sources, but did not emphasize their historicity or materiality as objects. Their methodological stance was conventional for their time: liturgical studies had

99 Jean Mabillon, *De liturgia Gallicana libri III* (Paris: Martin and Boudot, 1685).

100 See Manuel C. Vivancos, "El oracional visigótico de Verona: Notas codicológicas y paleográficas," *Cuadernos de filología clásica. Estudios latinos* 26 (2006): 121–44. See also Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, "Consideraciones sobre el oracional visigótico de Verona," in *Petrarca, Verona e l'Europa*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Verona, 19–23 sett. 1991), ed. Giuseppe Billanovich and Giuseppe Frasso, *Studi sul Petrarca* 26 (Padua: Antenore, 1997), 13–29. Although an orationale is typically a collection of prayers, this manuscript is a book for the celebration of Mass.

101 Giuseppe Bianchini, "Adnotationes in sequentem libellum orationum antiquissimi ritus Gothico-Hispani," in *Liturgia antiqua*, 255. The lectionary, which Mabillon found at the Abbey of Luxueil, in northeastern France, could have been copied elsewhere.

102 Paris, BnF, lat. 16881, fol. 39r.

long focused on textual content and were based primarily on printed editions rather than on manuscripts to which most scholars did not have direct access. Reliance on editions still remains common in the study of early liturgical texts. Although it would seem that the manuscript orationale and the lectionary offered more ancient and unadulterated testimony than the Mozarabic editions, the printed versions were often given equal or even greater weight as witnesses to early traditions because scholars predominantly had recourse to edited texts. Typical of the intersection of liturgical history with bibliography in the first half of the eighteenth century, even the compendium on rare books by the librarian and theologian Augustus Beyer (1707–41) reviewed the print reception of the Mozarabs and of the Mozarabic editions rather than describe the editions themselves.¹⁰³ On the Mozarabs and their name, Beyer summarized the account of Blas Ortiz in his 1549 description of Toledo Cathedral, then the chronicles of Juan de Ferreraras and Covarrubias, and the statements of Nicolás Antonio on the rite's authorship. He went so far as to include the story of the editions as recounted in their prefaces—an additional measure of the power of print.

5 Jesuit Historians of the Rite: Lesley and Burriel

While commenting on the texts of the Ortiz editions was the predominant mode of research on the Mozarabic rite in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the eighteenth century scholars began to publish new editions (still ultimately based on those of Ortiz). In the decades around 1750, two Jesuit scholars in different parts of Europe were studying the rite and its editions from differing vantage points. Alexander Lesley, a Scottish Jesuit, undertook research on the history of the liturgy while teaching in Rome from 1744 to his death in 1758. In 1755, he published a reprint of the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic Missal with his own notes.¹⁰⁴ In the same period, the Spanish Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel (discussed in chapter 3) consulted medieval liturgical manuscripts of the Mozarabic and Roman rites, as well as editions, while leading the Royal Commission on the Archives in Toledo, from 1749 to 1754.¹⁰⁵ He had begun his

103 Augustus Beyer, *Memoriae historico-criticae librorum rariorum* (Dresden: Friedrich Hekel, 1734), 158–66. It is possible that Beyer saw a copy of the Mozarabic Missal during his studies in Leipzig (see chapter 4).

104 *Missale mixtum secundum regulam Beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes*, ed. Alexander Lesley (Rome: Venanzio Monaldini, 1755).

105 On Burriel's study of liturgical manuscripts see Boynton, *Silent Music*, and Susan Boynton,

analysis of the Mozarabic editions in 1747 and continued the work in Toledo until 1756, two years after the Commission had formally concluded. While Burriel compared the medieval manuscripts of the liturgy to the editions, Lesley did not have the opportunity to consult manuscripts; he worked only from the editions. In the preface to his own edition, Lesley stated that he had seen three copies—one printed on paper, two on parchment—in Roman libraries.¹⁰⁶

These crucial differences between the respective projects of Lesley and Burriel determined the outcomes of their research. Whereas Lesley's edition was essentially a reprint (with new commentary) of the Ortiz edition of the Mozarabic missal, Burriel's comparative work (which remains largely unpublished) constitutes a more nuanced and comprehensive historical assessment. Even more consequential for scholarly understanding of the rite were the contrasting conclusions the two men drew from their source material. While Burriel's copious manuscript notes detail the manifold and varied ways in which the Mozarabic editions diverged from the medieval sources, Lesley asserted that the Ortiz edition of the missal was an authentic record of the medieval rite. That authenticity, it is worth emphasizing, had become a point of contention.

Already in the late sixteenth century, some Toledan writers observed that the Mozarabic editions contained elements of the Roman rite. Their assessments seem to reflect the influence of humanist textual criticism and perhaps also of post-Tridentine comparisons of liturgical texts with historical witnesses, which, as we have seen, was a widespread method in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as churches reckoned with reforms and limitations on local traditions imposed by Rome. One of the writers who pointed out Roman elements in the editions was the Mozarabic chaplain Eugenio de Robles, who remarked in his *Breve suma*:

It should be noted that in the printing that the most Illustrious Cardinal lord friar Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo had made, in the course of the transfer of Gothic [i.e., Visigothic] script into Latin were added many saints of the ancient Toledan rite, mixed with the

ton, "Burriel, Palomares y el estudio del rito hispánico en el siglo XVIII," trans. Anna Llorens Martín, 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), 647–68.

106 One was the copy belonging to Neri Corsini and another belonged to Silvio Valenti Gonzaga. See *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, iv. These copies are discussed in chapter 4. Since the Corsini library had opened to the public only in 1754, Lesley probably saw the Missal there in that year.

Visigothic-Mozarabic saints: and the general Confession was added to the Mass, and the prayer for the veneration of the Cross, and other prayers that are said before the Introit, and the Salve at the end of the Mass. And because these and similar things were added, he gave the Missal the title *Missale mixtum, according to the rule of Saint Isidore, said to be of the Mozarabs*.¹⁰⁷ (italics in the original)

Robles noted further that most of the saints' feasts in the Ortiz Breviary that were not also in the medieval manuscripts lacked proper texts specific to their feast days, which were celebrated with texts from the common of saints; the early Visigothic saints with propers (texts specific to their feast days) were martyrs, even if in some cases the printed Breviary identified them as confessors.¹⁰⁸ Showing his scrutiny of the feasts in the calendar, Robles's observation correlates with annotations in several copies of the Breviary, where later hands identify saints as martyrs rather than confessors.

Accounting for earlier assessments of the Mozarabic Missal of Ortiz, Lesley's preface substantiated his position that the edition was faithful to the medieval rite. As he stated:

When I encountered anything that seemed to diverge from the Hispano-Visigothic rite, I indicated in the notes, but these things do not compromise the integrity of the Liturgy of the Missal of Ximenez such that it cannot be called Hispano-Visigothic.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Eugenio de Robles, *Breve suma y relacion del modo del rezo y missa del oficio santo gotico mozarabe: Que en la capilla de Corpus Christi de la santa yglesia de Toledo se conserua y reza oy conforme a la regla del glorioso San Isidoro Arçobispo de Seuilla* (Toledo: s.n., 1603), fol. 19v: Es de advertir, que en la impression que hizo el Illustrissimo Cardenal don fray Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Arçobispo de Toledo, y en la traduccion de la letre Gotica en Latina, añadio muchos de los santos del oficio Toledano antiguo, y loz mezclo con los santos Goticos Mozarabes: y añadio en la Missa la Confession general, y la oracion para la adoracion de la Cruz, y las demas oraciones que se dizen antes del Introito, y la Salve al fin de la Missa. Y por razon de aver añadido estas cosas, y otras semejantes, dio al Missal Mozarabe el titulo que tiene, que es: *Missale mixtum, secundum regulam Beati Isidori, dictum Mozarabes*.

¹⁰⁸ Robles, *Breve suma*, fols 19v–20r. The common of saints is the term used for the collection of liturgical texts ordered by category of saint (confessor, virgin, martyr, bishop, apostle, and so on).

¹⁰⁹ *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, xxi: Si quid enim offendi, quod a ritibus Gotho-Hispanis discrepare videbatur, in notis indicavi. Haec tamen integritati Liturgiae Missalis Ximenii non ita nocent, ut Gotho-Hispana dici nequeat.

Point by point, Lesley's preface rebuts the claims made by many different scholars according to whom elements of the revised rite were modern or external to the Hispanic tradition. Lesley did reiterate Robles's earlier statement that many additions were made when the texts written in Visigothic script in the medieval manuscripts were printed in the Ortiz editions.¹¹⁰ The Jesuit scholar countered, however, that Ortiz's prefatory epistles mentioned the mandate given by Cisneros to print an authentic version that preserved the antiquity of the texts, not only in their meaning but also in their vocabulary and orthography. Lesley also refuted Robles's statement that many Roman rite elements were interpolated into the Mozarabic rite, and he did so by advancing the counterargument that the Roman-rite elements could have been interpolated by the Mozarabic clergy themselves, long before the episcopate of Cisneros.¹¹¹

Given his entrenched opinion, it is not surprising that Lesley opposed most of what Pierre Le Brun himself had written about the Mozarabic rite. Not satisfied merely to oppose Le Brun's assessments, Lesley made insinuations that subtly impugned his motives and credibility. He referred to Le Brun as promoting "with the appearance of great learning" the accusation that the printed Mozarabic Missal was so "corrupted" (*vitiata*) that it could not be called Hispano-Visigothic. He alleged that Le Brun had gathered together in one place and amplified with his own observations the criticisms that had already been voiced by various writers. He presented as trivial details some of Le Brun's objections to the Mozarabic editions—for example, the fact that the printed Missal contained rubrics concerning vestments reflecting post-Visigothic practices while it lacked other rubrics that were known from the Visigothic liturgy.¹¹²

Beyond such ad-hominem criticisms, however, Lesley's engagement with Le Brun's work was as substantive and rigorous as we might expect from a serious methodological rival. What the two had in common was that each consulted only the Ortiz edition of the Missal. Where they differed was in the interpretations of its contents. Lesley cited Le Brun more than forty times (sometimes four times on a single page), principally to express disagreement with his statements. For instance, Le Brun had cited as post-medieval elements the rubrics

110 Lesley describes this as a process of transcription, using the Latin noun *translatio*, which means "transfer" in this context: "in the transfer of the Gothic text into Latin" (in translatione textus Gothici in latinum). The sentence refers to the style of script rather than to a difference of language.

111 *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, xxix: Quid si a Sacerdotibus Mozarabibus ante Episcopatum Ximenii additae fuerint? (What if they were added by the Mozarabic priests before the episcopate of Ximenez?)

112 *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, xx–xxi.

in Good Friday services requiring the deacon and subdeacon to wear black dalmatics. Lesley explained that the use of the term “dalmatic,” rather than referring to the earlier medieval vestment known as the tunic or tunicle, must have been an error and therefore did not imply that other elements in the printed Missal were likewise of recent date.¹¹³ Lesley also rebutted Le Brun’s arguments concerning the dating of several texts within the Palm Sunday service in the Mozarabic Missal.¹¹⁴ It remains to ask why Lesley was such a determined partisan of the Ortiz edition. Let us posit that his evident bias in its favor might be a reflection of his work environment in Rome, where the authority of Cardinal Cisneros would have been unquestioned.

Burriel’s was the most ambitious study of the Mozarabic rite yet attempted. As seen in chapter 3, the Royal Commission on the Archives was created by the government of Ferdinand VI to gather documents supporting the Crown’s claims on ecclesiastical property in its decades-long negotiations with the Vatican. Seizing the opportunity for a research program of unprecedented scope, Burriel devised an expansive plan for the study and publication of the historical documents housed in Toledo Cathedral. Early on, however, he broadened the frame of inquiry to encompass nearly everything pertaining to the history of the Iberian peninsula, including medieval liturgical manuscripts and the printed missals and breviaries of most dioceses in Spain.

What set Burriel apart from all other scholars of the time who wrote about the Mozarabic rite—indeed, from most historians of the liturgy—was his use of original manuscript sources. While most liturgical erudition in the mid-eighteenth century relied primarily or exclusively on printed books, Burriel collated texts from manuscripts and added commentary while undertaking painstaking comparisons and preparing new editions. His unpublished manuscript materials, contained in dozens of volumes now preserved in Madrid’s Biblioteca Nacional de España, attest to the extensive copying and compilation carried out by a team of assistants under his supervision. Most decisive for Burriel’s achievements was the expert assistance of Francisco Xavier de Santiago y Palomares, an outstanding calligrapher and medieval manuscript imitator who was uniquely skilled in reading Visigothic script.

For Burriel, liturgical books were historical sources. He viewed the medieval liturgical manuscripts in Visigothic script—of which several were jealously guarded in the archives of Toledo Cathedral, as we have seen—as direct witnesses to the history of that city’s medieval Mozarabic community. In his esti-

113 Le Brun, *Explication*, 2:303; *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, xxvii–xxviii.

114 Le Brun, *Explication*, 2:333; *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, xxvi–xxvii.

mation, then, understanding the situation of the Mozarabic rite meant gaining unprecedented insight into Toledo and its people. Noting differences between the medieval manuscripts and the Ortiz editions, Burriel set out to examine the manuscripts in detail and to produce a new synthesis on the Mozarabic rite and its history. His notes systematically signal the agreements and divergences between the edited versions of texts and the medieval manuscripts. He also took account of relevant scholarship, weighing others' judgments against what he found in the archives. In this way, he situated his discoveries in the context not only of existing editions but also prevailing opinion. All of this may strike us as routine; indeed, Burriel's methods of inquiry resemble to a considerable degree those of liturgical scholars today. Yet for his own time, they were utterly novel.

In the end, very few of Burriel's findings ever reached a scholarly audience, despite the advanced nature of his work and its aim to provide new historical knowledge about the rite. Most of his research remains in manuscript notes, unpublished. His plans to publish new liturgical editions ultimately did not come to fruition, his activity in Toledo having been interrupted in 1756 owing to the redundancy of the Royal Commission on the Archives after the Crown obtained control over benefices through the Concordat of 1753. When Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1722–1804) subsequently published his own editions of the Mozarabic rite—now known through a reprint in the *Patrologia Latina* edition, the most familiar version of the rite today—he made no use of the groundbreaking comparisons Burriel had carried out.

6 Lorenzana and the Republication of the Rite

Beyond the publication of some of Burriel's letters in the late eighteenth century, his findings remained largely unpublished until the twentieth century. Some of the silence about his accomplishments can be attributed to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1767 and the suppression of the order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. While Burriel did not have the opportunity to share the fruits of his liturgical research through print, they may have been a stimulus to the later publications of Lorenzana. Lorenzana became a canon of Toledo Cathedral in 1754, while Burriel was working in the archives. In 1755 Lorenzana became dean of the cathedral. He was surely there when Burriel presented his work to the cathedral chapter that year. And Lorenzana personally owned manuscripts of the plan of work that Burriel had presented to the royal confessor Francisco de Rávago in 1752. Luis Sierra Nava-Lasa notes how closely Lorenzana's publications and scholarly interests reproduce the themes of Bur-

riel's own work on church history, patristics, liturgy and chant, suggesting that the archbishop and his circle of scholarly collaborators simply used the papers Burriel had left behind (none of them shared the Jesuit's ability to read the Visigothic script).¹¹⁵ Still, Lorenzana never cited Burriel by name. Burriel thus fades quickly from view as we follow Lorenzana's career in subsequent decades.

Lorenzana became bishop of Plasencia in 1765 and archbishop of Mexico in 1766. During his time in Mexico, he published in Puebla the work that would cement his reputation, the *Missa Gothica* (1770).¹¹⁶ After returning to Spain as archbishop of Toledo, in 1772, he published two more re-editions of the neo-Mozarabic rite, the *Breviarium Gothicum* and *Missale Gothicum*, both of which paid homage to Cisneros.¹¹⁷ In preparing these volumes he was assisted by the Spanish Jesuit Faustino Arévalo (1747–1824), a scholar of patristics and hymnology. Lorenzana became a Roman cardinal in 1789 and in 1797 was appointed extraordinary envoy from Spain to the Holy See. With the declaration of the Republic in 1798, he accompanied Pius VI into exile, returning to Rome in 1800 after the installation of a new pope, Pius VII. Renouncing the archbishopric of Toledo at that time, Lorenzana remained in Rome until his death in 1804. His final work, published by Arévalo soon after Lorenzana's death, was a reedition of the *Missale Gothicum*.¹¹⁸ To republish the text first brought to light under Cisneros, his predecessor as archbishop of Toledo—and like himself, a Roman cardinal—was a fitting end to a brilliant ecclesiastical career that combined diplomacy with liturgical erudition, as had Cisneros's own trajectory.

A high point of Lorenzana's scholarly trajectory was the *Missa Gothica* of 1770. It is a testament to centuries of writing on the Old Hispanic rite. At the same time, that publication evidences the shift in the perceived relationship between the Mozarabs of Toledo and the rite bearing that community's

115 Luis Sierra Nava-Lasa, *El cardenal Lorenzana y la ilustración*, Publicaciones de la Fundación Universitaria Española, Monografías 11 (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975), 93–97.

116 *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica, et Officium itidè Gothicum, diligentè ac dilucidè explanata ad usum percelebris Mozárabum Sacelli Toleti á munificentissimo Cardinali Ximénio erecti, et in obsequium illmi. perindè ac venerab. D. Decani et capituli Sanctae Ecclesiae Tole-tanae, Hispaniarum et Indiarum primátis* (Angelopoli: Typis Seminarii Palafoxiani, 1770) (discussed in chapter 3).

117 *Breviarium Gothicum secundum regularm beatissimi Isidori ad usum sacelli Mozarabum* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1775); *Missale Gothicum secundum regulam beati Isidori Hispalensis episcopi jussu cardinalis Francisci Ximenii de Cisneros in usum Mozarabum prius editum* [...] (Rome: Antonium Folgonium, 1804).

118 *Missale Gothicum*.

name, traced in chapter 2. One particular detail is stark in this regard: only through illustrations of the duels and trial by fire (discussed in chapter 3) do the Mozarabs of Toledo appear in Lorenzana's editions at all. The fact that he spent much of his career far from Toledo might seem to explain this detachment, but there were larger factors at work. While the preface to the *Missale mixtum* credits members of the Mozarabic community with assisting in the preparation of the Ortiz editions, all editions of the rite published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were based largely on existing publications, which meant primarily the Ortiz editions. Representatives of the community lamented the difficulty of maintaining the celebration of the rite in the Mozarabic parish churches, as seen in chapter 3. Like the medieval manuscripts in Toledo Cathedral, the Mozarabs had been left behind. Print culture and the commentary tradition on the rite were now ascendant.¹¹⁹

7 Faustino Arévalo: The End of an Era

Lorenzana entrusted the *Missale Gothicum* edition (1804) to Faustino Arévalo, who was not only a scholar of patristics and hymnology but also a noted philologist.¹²⁰ After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, he lived in exile in Rome for nearly half a century, beginning in 1780. There, he became part of the intellectual community of exiled Jesuit scholars. In 1786 he published the *Hymnodia Hispanica*, an edition of new versions of hymns for the Hispanic rite.¹²¹ With that publication he sought to attract both the patronage of Lorenzana, whose *Breviarium Gothicum* of 1775 included new editions of hymns, and the attention of King Charles III, whose interest in the Immaculate Conception was served by a newly composed hymn for that feast at the beginning of the *Hymnodia Hispanica*.¹²² The edition bore other fruit for Arévalo: favor with Pope Pius VI, who allowed him access to the Vatican Library, and with the royal court, which

119 As seen in chapter 4, in the eighteenth century copies of the Ortiz editions were annotated, inscribed, and sometimes restored in Toledan parish churches.

120 For the biography of Arévalo see Elena Gallego Moya, "Acercamiento a la biografía del jesuita Faustino Arévalo (1747–1824)," in *Y en el tercero perecerán: Gloria, caída y exilio de los jesuitas españoles en el s. XVIII*, ed. Miguel Batllori and Enrique Giménez López (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2002), 611–37.

121 Faustino Arévalo, *Hymnodia Hispanica ad cantus, latinitatis, metrique leges revocata* [...] (Rome: Typographia Salomoniana, 1786). For a modern edition of the texts see Faustino Arévalo, *Los himnos de la Hymnodia Hispanica*, ed. Elena Gallego Moya (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2002).

122 Gallego Moya, "Acercamiento," 620–22.

gave him a pension. He went on to publish critical editions of Christian Latin poetry.¹²³ His biggest achievement, however, is the summation of centuries of commentary on the Mozarabic rite that he distilled decades later in the publication of Lorenzana's last edition.

Before that, the Jesuit scholar had needed to earn Lorenzana's trust and his patronage.¹²⁴ At Lorenzana's expense he produced a complete edition of the works of Isidore of Seville, published from 1796 to 1803—which today is Arévalo's most acclaimed contribution.¹²⁵ Because Isidore was widely considered to be the author of the Old Hispanic rite—or at least of many of its texts—the prolegomena to the edition of Isidore's works include a synthesis of all research on the rite up to the late eighteenth century. Writing the ecclesiastical Latin characteristic of scholarly editions of the period, Arévalo reviewed the accounts from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries discussed earlier in this chapter. In the manner of a modern liturgical historian writing a review of literature, he outlined and critically assessed the history of research on the rite since the publication of the Ortiz editions. His exposition illustrates the process of scholarly study over the centuries leading to a general consensus that the Ortiz editions were inauthentic witnesses to the medieval manuscripts but could have been a faithful record of practice around 1500.¹²⁶ Arévalo brought into dialogue the findings of scholars who had addressed the central questions about the relationship of the Ortiz editions to the medieval manuscript tradition, as we see in these two sentences:

Cardinal Ximenes did not intend to represent to us all the antiquity of the Gothic office as if in chronological order, but from those things which were in the various volumes, partly very ancient, partly more recent, to select those which seemed best suited to organizing the Mozarabic office and combining it into a single corpus; thus he accomplished exactly what he set out to do, so that the Mozarabic priests could continue to perform its rites with less effort than before. But critical men, who love

123 Ibid., 622–23.

124 Ibid., 621.

125 Isidore of Seville, *S. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Hispaniarum doctoris opera omnia*, ed. Faustino Arévalo, 7 vols (Rome: Antonii Fulgoni, 1797–1803), reprinted in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, vols 81–84 (Paris: Migne, 1844–50)—hereafter PL.

126 Alexander Lesley had made this point in the preface to his 1755 edition, asserting that the extraneous elements from the Roman rite introduced by Ortiz into his edition may have already been in the late-medieval tradition observed by Mozarabic clergy in Toledo. See *Missale mixtum*, ed. Lesley, xxix.

not only to differentiate ancient from recent things, but also to compare the older with the less ancient, and know everything about ecclesiastical antiquity, are still left to wish for all these Codices to be brought to light publicly, as the Gothic Orationale was by Bianchini, and many other missals, antiphonaries, and hymnaries have been edited by Mabillon, the Reverend cardinal Tommasi, Muratori, and others.¹²⁷

Arévalo juxtaposed the pragmatic nature of the Ortiz editions with the critical expectations of his contemporaries. The hallmark of a more modern approach to liturgical history, as exemplified by Arévalo, is the premise that the texts have changed over time and that historical criticism can uncover chronological stages—some of them made available by previous scholars and the editions they had published. Liturgical erudition was a new edifice built up slowly on the twin foundations of textual criticism and historical criticism that had been applied to hagiography since the Counter-Reformation. Arévalo's writings on the Old Hispanic rite, little known today, offer eloquent testimony to a then-emergent historical view of the liturgy.

Advanced though it was, Arévalo's work does conform with that of his predecessors in notable ways. His commentary on the rite, like theirs, was inseparable from the history of Mozarabs and the etymology of their name. For his part, he synthesized the well-known medieval texts cited by early modern writers, but also quoted from the *Divisiones decem nationum* (less familiar to his contemporaries; discussed in chapter 2) as cited in the *Particularités littéraires sur la liturgie mosarabe* (discussed in chapter 4) and Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis*, one of the *Divisiones'* major sources.¹²⁸ Arévalo's review of the etymology includes the etymon proposed by Marqués de Mondejar (*Mus-tarabes*, "Living among Arabs"), discounts the etymon *muza* ("Christian") as refuted by Arabists, and reports widespread rejection of the explanation that

127 Isidore of Seville, *S. Isidori Hispalensis*, ed. Arévalo, 1:129 (PL 81:686): Cardinalis Ximinius non sibi proposuerit, totam antiquitatem officii Gothici veluti ordine chronologico nobis repraesentare: sed ex variis, quae aderant, voluminibus partim antiquissimis, partim recentioribus, ea seligere quae officio Mozarabico ordinando atque in unum corpus compingendo magis accommodata viderentur, id quidem effecit quod conatus est, ut sacerdotes Mozarabes leviori quam ante labore ritus suos peragere valerent: at viris criticis, qui non solum antiqua a recentibus discernere amant, sed antiquiora cum minus antiquis conferre, nihilque prorsus antiquitatis ecclesiasticae ignorare, adhuc desiderandum reliquit, omnes huiusmodi Codices in publicam lucem prodire, ut Orationale Gothicum a Blanchino, et plura alia missalia, antiphonaria et hymnaria a Mabillonio, Ven. cardinale Thomasio, Muratorio et aliis edita sunt.

128 On the *Divisiones* and Jacques de Vitry see chapter 3.

the Mozarabs “followed in certain rites the customs of Christians living in Arabia,” meaning Eastern Christians.¹²⁹

Among the many authors cited by Arévalo in his edition of Isidore, the one that stands out the most is his fellow Jesuit Andrés Marcos Burriel. While the liturgical publications of Arévalo’s patron Lorenzana never cited or mentioned Burriel—this includes even the *Missale Gothicum* edition, which was actually Arévalo’s work—in the prolegomena to his edition of Isidore of Seville’s works Arévalo reported Burriel’s findings repeatedly, as if at pains to acknowledge the neglected but crucial contributions of his fellow Jesuit. Even more striking than the pointed citation of Burriel after decades of silence is the fact that Arévalo had read the summary of Burriel’s letters in the French leaflet mentioned just above, *Particularités littéraires sur la liturgie mosarabe*, published in 1786 by Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Leger, the librarian of the abbey of Saint-Geneviève in Paris. In the same prolegomena, Arévalo translated into Latin one of Burriel’s letters, which had been published in Castilian.¹³⁰

Next to his momentous edition of Isidore’s works, Arévalo’s subsequent preparation of Lorenzana’s *Missale Gothicum* for print marks the end of an era. Published four months after Lorenzana’s death in 1804, the edition constitutes a monument to the cardinal. Arévalo’s extensive commentary on the text is a critical compilation and summation of three centuries of erudition on the rite. While the composite of the opinions of previous scholars is Lorenzana’s, other aspects of the edition express Arévalo’s own critical approach.¹³¹ For instance, on 21 July, the Feast of Saint Praxedis, the Feast of Saint Speratus and Companions is indicated in parentheses along with a note saying that the Mozarabic Breviary gives this date.¹³² In this way Arévalo acknowledges the longstanding disagreement about the date of the feast (21 July in the Mozarabic breviary but

129 Isidore of Seville, *S. Isidori Hispalensis*, ed. Arévalo, 2:118 (PL 81:677): *Rejiciendum quoque est nonnullorum etymon, Mozarabes dictos, qui modos Christianorum in Arabia existentium in quibusdam ritibus tenerent.* (Note that this sentence is based in part on the following phrase in the *Divisiones decem*, cited earlier in Arévalo’s own text: *sunt enim dicti Mozarabes, quod modos Christianorum de Arabia in multis tenebant.*)

130 Although in exile, Arévalo may also have had access to a compilation of Burriel’s letters published as *Cartas eruditas y críticas del P. Andrés Marcos Burriel, de la extinguida Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor (Madrid: Marin, 1775).

131 The critical notes are in three sections: the “*Illustratio Missalis gothici in usum Mozarabum*” (cols 1145–1480) comprise Arévalo’s notes added to Lesley’s, followed by Lesley’s “*Dissertatio De liturgia Gothica et Mozarabica*” (cols 1147–1210), and finally the “*Notae ad Missale Mozarabum*” (cols 1211–1480), annotated with variant readings from Lesley and Sandoval comparing the printed *Missale mixtum* to early medieval liturgical monuments.

132 *Missale Gothicum*, xii: (In festo S. Sperati, vel comitum ejus ix lect. ex Br. Moz.).

16 November in the *Missale mixtum*) but refrains from comment, and does not seek to reconcile the conflicting dates in the Ortiz editions.

Like the note about the Scillitan martyrs, others in the *Missale Gothicum* treat bitterly disputed questions in an impassive tone. Arévalo's impartiality is noticeable in his discussion of the date of the Feast of Saint James (Santiago). Two dates were in conflict—25 July and 30 December—as seen in a note in the copy of the Mozarabic Breviary that belonged to the Mozarabic Parish Church of San Sebastián in the eighteenth century, which states that the feast belongs on 30 December but that Cisneros had placed it in July in order to conform with Roman use.¹³³ The question of which date had priority was particularly fraught, for the answer depended on how long the saint had been venerated in Iberia. The fact that Santiago was not in the Visigothic liturgical calendar undermined the so-called *tradiciones jacobaeas* ("Jacobean traditions"), which had maintained his presence in the Iberian peninsula in Christian antiquity. Increased veneration of the saint during the eleventh and twelfth centuries gave rise to the widespread belief that he had evangelized Spain and that Santiago de Compostela was, therefore, the primatial see.¹³⁴ Adding a note to the 25 July date in a reconstruction of the Visigothic liturgical calendar based on his compilation from various printed sources, Arévalo wrote simply and dispassionately that "it is not clear enough on which day the Visigoths venerated this apostle."¹³⁵

Arévalo's work in his edition of Isidore of Seville and in the *Missale Gothicum* illustrates the development of liturgical historiography into a discourse based on the manuscripts as well as the critical assessment of prior scholarship. In addition to reporting the findings of others, the text engages in the refutation of previous arguments and the comparison of witnesses, displaying a critical acumen that surpasses the more encyclopedic spirit of earlier writers. To be

133 Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, 1–3709, fol. 385r: La fiesta de nuestro patron Santiago se ha de yavan a 30 de diciembre donde corresponde, segun todos los mss. que aqui se han visto; y se sabe que el colocarla en Julio fue por conformarse el Senor Cisneros con Roma (the feast of our patron Santiago should be on 30 December where it belongs, according to all the manuscripts that have been seen here; and it is known that placing it in July was for Cisneros to conform with Rome). The allusion to consulting multiple manuscripts suggests that this annotation comes from the years in which Burriel was studying the manuscripts in Toledo (1749–56).

134 For a useful summary of the early evidence for the cult of Saint James see *The Miracles and Translatio of Saint James: Books Two and Three of the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, trans. Thomas F. Coffey and Maryjane Dunn (New York: Italica Press, 2019), xxvii–xxxv.

135 *Missale Gothicum*, col. 1493: non satis constat, quo die Gotho-Hispani hunc Apostolum coluerint.

sure, Arévalo shares with previous authors a tendency to present lengthy direct quotations and to catalogue opinions, a practice which remained common in the nineteenth century. His diachronic approach was not simply a collecting that resulted in sedimentation, however; in gathering the learned writing that had gradually accrued since the time of Cisneros, he assessed even the earlier opinions with care and moderation.

A close contemporary of the visual artist Francisco Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), Faustino Arévalo was no less a man of his own time. He inaugurated the modernization of liturgical erudition, with historical scholarship on the rite reviewing literature, thinking critically, and speaking in a distinctively measured scholarly voice. Arévalo's contribution to understanding the Mozarabic rite can be seen as the culmination of a process that had begun three centuries earlier with the publication of the Ortiz editions.

Conclusion

I began this book with the request of a French diplomat, the Maréchal de Noailles, to consult manuscripts of the Mozarabic rite while he was in Spain in 1746. In closing, I return once again to the perception of the rite in France, this time through the filter of historiography. It is instructive to juxtapose the maréchal's curiosity with the disapproving response of his contemporary Voltaire to the most famous story about the rite, the duel opposing the Roman and Mozarabic rite and the trial by fire to which their books were subjected. The narrative punctuates a section on religion and superstition at the conclusion of the first volume of the *Essay on Universal History*, first published in 1743.¹ Despite their contrasting viewpoints, de Noailles and Voltaire—both men, not coincidentally, from France, where bibliophiles were particularly interested in the Ortiz editions—represent two main facets of the rite's reception in early modern Europe: the place of the editions in the history of rare books, on the one hand, and the symbolic role of the Mozarabs in the perception of Christianity in Spain, on the other.

Voltaire remarked that, after the duel, “all the laws of chivalry” opposed proceeding to trial by fire. More than that, the duel and the trial by fire represented for him a remote and excessively pious past that was inferior to his own society. Such condescension clearly stands at a geographic and political distance from Spain, where the aftermath of the combat between the two rites bore the weighty symbolism of foreign encroachment on the inhabitants of Toledo.

Already for more than half a millennium, writers in the Iberian peninsula had viewed the eleventh-century imposition of the Roman rite there through the lens of national identity. The thirteenth-century Alfonsine vernacular *Estoria de España*, following the chronicle of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, situates the aftermath of the trial by fire in the political context of Alfonso VI's decision (influenced by his “French” queen, Constance of Burgundy) to impose the “French” (Roman) rite on all the clergy and laity of his realm.² Concurrently, a cleric from southern France, Bernard of Sahagún, arrogated ecclesiastical power to himself as archbishop of Toledo. But the most consequential intervention of all was royal. Disregarding the outcome of the trial by fire, the king mem-

1 Mr. de Voltaire, *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne jusques à Charlequint*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Jean Neaulme, 1743).

2 Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez, *La estoria de España de Alfonso X: Estudio y edición de la versión crítica desde Fruela II hasta la muerte de Fernando II*, Anejos de Analecta Malacitana 75 (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2009), 498.

orably imposed his own will along with the Roman-Gregorian liturgy, which Spanish writers—even in the middle of the eighteenth century—consistently characterized as French. The Jesuit historian Andrés Marcos Burriel and the calligrapher Francisco Xavier Palomares, writing around 1750, during the reign of the Spanish Bourbons, described the introduction of the Roman rite in Toledo as signaling a broader incursion of political influence from France, which likewise brought a foreign writing style (late Caroline minuscule) along with Frankish settlers.³

Voltaire's version of the narrative, which appeared years before Burriel's research project began in Toledo, approached the events from the French perspective and extended the nationalist interpretation—albeit with a twist. While many writers over the centuries had recounted the contest between the two rites as crucial to the history of Christian Spain, Voltaire attributed the spirit evinced by the story to colonized peoples of his own day. To the Frenchman's mind, trials by fire illustrated the superstitious tendencies that Europeans shared with Africans: "Most of what I have told, one would expect to read in a tale of Hottentots or Negroes; it must be admitted that we still resemble them in certain ways."⁴ This reading of the story of the Mozarabic rite's medieval past against a background of contemporary colonialism speaks in its own way to the rite's early modern role as a recollection of past communities as well as a representation of present ones. In Spain, the Mozarabic liturgy's marginalization and suppression had been impressively reversed by Cisneros, an avatar of early Spanish imperialism. By Voltaire's time the rite had become, in effect, a liturgy of empire, its symbolic role a function of what Eva Botella

3 On these passages in Burriel's *Paleografía Española* (1753) and Palomares's *Polygraphia Gothico-Española* (1764) see Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, *Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 149–51.

4 Voltaire, *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne*, 1:348–49: La dernière épreuve que je rapporterai, est celle dont on se servit pour décider en Espagne après la prise de Tolède, si on devoit réciter l'Office Romain, ou celui qu'on appelait Mosarabique? On convint d'abord unanimement de terminer la querelle par le duél. Deux champions armés de toutes pièces combattirent dans toutes les règles de la Chevalerie. Don Ruis de Montania, Chevalier du Missel Mosarabique, fit perdre les arçons à son adversaire, et le renversa mourant. Mais la Reine qui avait beaucoup d'inclination pour le Missel Romain, voulut qu'on tentât l'épreuve du feu. Toutes les Loix de la Chevalerie s'y opposoient. Cependant on jetta au feu les deux Missels, qui probablement furent brûlés; et le Roi pour ne mécontenter personne, fit en sorte que quelques Églises prioient Dieu selon le Rituel Romain, et que d'autres garderoient le Mosarabique. Dans la plupart des choses que je viens de rapporter, on croiroit lire une relation des Hottentots ou de Nègres; et il faut l'avouer, nous leur ressemblons encore en quelque chose.

Ordinas terms imperiocentrism—a transnational and imperialist historiography in the service of interests that “self-identified as national.”⁵

That transformation of the Mozarabic rite began around 1500 with Cisneros’s advocacy for it, which was matched only by his ardent support for Spain’s expeditions in North Africa. As noted in chapter 3, the archbishop funded the conquest of Oran with the revenues from Toledo Cathedral, into which he had introduced the Mozarabic rite, an act of foundation that became a major part of his public identity. He overtly connected his own championing of both causes by commissioning a depiction of the conquest of Oran in the Mozarabic Chapel. Throughout the early modern period, one marked by Spanish imperial aspirations, the reception of the Mozarabic rite, whether in print or performance, was closely bound to ideas of conquest.

In this book I have emphasized the importance of print culture in that reception and the range of potential meanings of Mozarabic editions for those who owned and used them. After describing the creation of the editions in chapter 1, in chapter 4 I examined their use and ownership, with attention to the provenance of surviving copies and the annotations they contain. Users of these books were participants in the meanings that accumulated over the centuries after their publication. The copies that remain in Toledo bear witness to their long histories of use in parallel with the ongoing celebration of the liturgy in the Mozarabic Chapel. The copies that left Toledo, beginning in the sixteenth century, attest to the perception of these volumes as luxury objects even as they symbolized Iberian traditional religion.

Unlike early Latin liturgical rites such as the Gallican and the Beneventan that had largely disappeared as a result of the Carolingian and Gregorian reforms, the Mozarabic rite was never entirely extinguished. While prolonging its life, the patronage of Cisneros altered it considerably, as we have seen, and the changes met with scrutiny. In chapter 5, I analyzed evidence for the place of the editions in the development of liturgical erudition. Between 1500 and 1800 historians and philologists strove to grasp what distinguished the medieval Old Hispanic liturgy from the neo-Mozarabic rite. Intellectually, this was a consequential undertaking, as differences between the rite’s medieval and early modern forms proved to be productive sources of tension, eliciting a comparative method of historical inquiry that modernized liturgical erudition. Successive generations of scholars built on Cisneros’s legacy, each edition and commentary making its own distinctive and situated use of the Ortiz editions.

5 Eva Botella Ordinas, “Leyendas imperiocéntricas, memoria oficial e historias descoloniales,” *eHumanista* 50 (2022): 54–73, at 56.

The neo-Mozarabic rite was filtered through multiple layers of use and reception, accruing meaning from the readers, writers, artists, statesmen, booksellers, bibliophiles, and librarians who engaged with the editions. While in the medieval period the Mozarabic rite had been attached to distinct social groups (Visigoths, Toledans, Mozarabs), new associations coalesced after Cisneros. Study and practice of the liturgy not only amplified the received tradition but also created a sense of affiliation with the “imagined communities” of use, the most salient for this book being scholars and bibliophiles.⁶ By regarding the Mozarabic rite as something dynamic and diffuse—not a static corpus of texts, but a more malleable collective patrimony—we can better understand its function as a cultural symbol, the variety of readings it engendered, and its lasting impact on the construction of history and identity.

6 For the idea of “imagined communities” see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991).

Exchange of letters between Blas Jover y Alcázar and Gregorio Mayans y Siscar

Blas Jover y Alcázar to Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (excerpt), 7 May 1746:

I appointed Don Benito Casamaior the Spanish secretary to the Marshal de Noailles, whom I found to be a very learned minister, because he reads Greek, Hebrew, and Latin perfectly. He speaks Italian and Spanish very well. He deputized me to find a mosaic [i.e., Mozarabic] rite earlier than the one that the canon Ortiz wrote, one of those [manuscripts] which he described as very disorderly. And not knowing where to go for such an old thing [i.e., book] I am looking for it in the Library, in the Escorial and in Toledo.

He dado al Sr. Mariscal de Noailles por su secretario español a don Benito Casamaior i he tratado con este motibo a un ministro mui erudito, porque el griego, la lengua santa i latina las lee a la perfección. Habla mui bien la italiana y española. Me ha encargado de buscar un rezo mosaico [*sic*] anterior a el que escribió el canónigo Ortiz, de los notados por éste de mucha confusión. Y no sabiendo a dónde acudir por este bexestorio lo voi buscando en la Biblioteca, en el Escorial y en Toledo.

Response of Gregorio Mayans y Siscar to Blas Jover y Alcázar (excerpt), 14 May 1746:

I am delighted that you are dealing with this very learned French minister, who shows his good taste in his wish to see the Mozarabic Breviary and Missal prior to that which the canon Ortiz published, and considering that this wish is not mere curiosity but extends to the public good, interested in the knowledge of the ecclesiastical rites of Spain, I will tell you, most reverend sir, that which can be done in the easiest way I have to ensure its success: for otherwise every good wish is frustrated, and experience teaches that many, invoking a higher authority, have depleted the good books from the finest libraries in Spain, not only individuals, but also churches, applying this care in withholding information with the result that Spain is deprived of her best books and the public is deprived of information that is avariciously or jealously hidden; and thus, the first task to handle with the greatest care is to reassure the proprietors of

the books that they will not be removed, whether by deception or violence, but that they will be copied by an entirely satisfactory person. Assuming this is taken care of, it is necessary to exhibit the simplest desire to obtain information without stealing them, proposing a copyist who will provide information to the person in question in a completely satisfactory manner and will know how to do what is requested. Such a one would be Don Francisco de Palomares, who is in Toledo, a very fine man with an exceptional ability to read old scripts and transcribe them with the greatest care, which I have witnessed directly; do not be concerned that he does not know much Latin, because he knows how to imitate it, which is much more important. Whatever else is lacking can be remedied by other means. The most efficient way to reach this Don Francisco is to speak with Father Andrés Marcos Burriel, who is your very good friend. With this Father, you must speak of these things without witnesses (especially servants) so he can work more freely. You can be assured that your will shall be accomplished. Once this arrangement is set up, it should be by the authority of the Lord Marshal de Noailles, facilitating through His Majesty or the Lord Cardinal Infante access to various Gothic books which are in the library of the church of Toledo. I will go to let them know, so that the chapter does not deny any knowledge of them, out of fear that they will be taken. It would be good for Father Burriel to notify Doctor Don Juan Antonio de las Infantas, his dear friend, to assure him that no one aims to take them from the chapter or the public good. And though Don Francisco de Santiago is a dependent of the Lord Cardinal Infante, it is best for the Lord Marshal de Noailles or yourself to hire [him], so that he is confident that he will be paid, and thus will accomplish the task more willingly and with greater application. Do not be surprised by the abundance of these warnings, because if one does not handle it this way, distrust will prevail and due to the fear of theft, the attempt will fail.

Me alegro de que v.s. tenga ocasión de tratar con este ministro francés tan erudito, que bien manifiesta su buen gusto con el deseo de ver el Breviario i Missal mozárabe anterior al que publicó el canónigo Ortiz, i considerando yo que este deseo no se endereza a una mera curiosidad, sino al bien público, interesado en el conocimiento de los ritos eclesiásticos de España, diré a v.s. Ilma. lo que se puede conseguir i los medios fáciles que ai para su logro; porque de otra manera se frustrará qualquier buen deseo, i aviendo enseñado la experiencia que muchos, valiéndose de superior autoridad, han ido agotando los buenos libros de las librerías más escogidas de España, no sólo de personas particulares, sino también de las iglesias, parando esta diligencia en un estanco de las noticias por medio del qual se ve España privada de sus mejores libros i el público de sus noticias, avara o embidiosamente ocultas; i así la primera diligencia deve ser

asegurar a los poseedores de los libros que no se les quitarán ni con fraude ni con violencia, sino que se copiarán por persona de la qual tengan entera satisfacción. Esto supuesto, se ha de manifestar un sencillísimo deseo de lograr las noticias sin defraudarlas, proponiendo un copiante que sea de total satisfacción a la parte interesada en dar las noticias i que sepa servir exactamente al que las desea. Tal sería don Francisco de Palomares, que está en Toledo, hombre mui de bien i de insigne habilidad para leer letras antiguas i representarlas con el mayor primor, de lo qual tengo experiencia, i no se detenga v.s. Ilma. en que no sabe mucho latín, porque sabe imitar, que importa mucho más. I la otra falta se puede suplir por más medios. Eslo i mui eficaz para el dicho don Francisco el Padre Andrés Marcos Burriel i para este padre v.s. Ilma. que le tiene robado el corazón i deve hablarle destas cosas sin testigos, particularmente de doméstico, para que obre con más libertad; pues en lo que toca a su voluntad la tiene v.s. Ilma. bien assegurada. Prevenido este medio, cave entrar la autoridad del señor mariscal de Noailles, facilitando o por su Magestad o por el señor Infante Cardenal el logro de varios libros góthicos que se hallan en la librería de la iglesia de Toledo i yo iré señalando; i para que aquel cavildo no se niegue la noticia de ellos, temiendo no se los quiten, será bien una prevención al doctoral don Juan Antonio de las Infantas hecha por el Padre Burriel, su íntimo amigo, que le asegure no se tira a desposeer al cabildo, sino al bien público. I si bien don Francisco de Santiago es dependiente del señor Infante Cardenal, convendrá que la diligencia del traslado se le encargue por medio del señor mariscal de Noailles o de v.s. Ilma. para que teniendo assí segura la gratificación, satisfaga de mejor gana y con mayor aplicación el encargo. No estrañe v.s. Ilma. la menudencia de estas advertencias, porque si no se dora con esta arte todo serán desconfianzas, i temiendo el despojo no se logrará.¹

1 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario*, vol. 11, *Mayans y Jover*, no. 1, *Un magistrado regalista en el reinado de Felipe V*, ed. Antonio Mestre (Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1991), 324–27; Biblioteca Valenciana Digital <https://bivaldi.gva.es/en/corpus/unidad.do?posicion=1&idCorpus=20000&idUnidad=51858> (letter of 7 May) and <https://bivaldi.gva.es/en/corpus/unidad.do?posicion=1&idCorpus=20000&idUnidad=51859> (letter of 14 May), accessed 5 March 2025.

Copies of the Ortiz Editions and Their Provenance

Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, Th 422, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: acquired by the Duc de la Vallière in 1769; purchased in 1783 by Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger (1734–99) in Paris at the sale of the collection Louis-César de la Baume Le Blanc, duc de la Vallière (1708–80), according to the *Particularités*, then presumably given to Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal (1719–1802); eighteenth-century stamped and gilded binding from Mainz, as well as a modern, postwar library stamp.

Blois, Bibliothèque Abbé Grégoire, I 40, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay (1651–90); Jacques-Nicolas Colbert (1655–1707) in 1690; Charles Henry, Comte d'Hoym (1694–1736) in 1728 (the arms of all three of appear on the binding); Alexander François Amédée Adonis Louis Joseph de Lauzières-Thémines (1742–1829) before 1780; Bibliothèque communale, Blois, in 1792 (library stamp).

Digitized version: www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=706

Blois, Bibliothèque Abbé Grégoire, I 40 bis, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Santa Eulalia, presumably in Toledo (“Santa Olalla” above frontispiece); Thémines in 1780–90, possibly in 1782 (library stamp of Thémines), sent from Toledo by Archbishop Lorenzana; Bibliothèque communale, Blois, in 1792 (library stamp).

Digitized version: <http://www.bvh.univ-tours.fr/Consult/index.asp?numfiche=707>

Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library, MS 5.2.12, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: owned by Simeon Ashe (1595–1662); given by him to Emmanuel College Library in 1652.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket, 4,68 S-30, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Henry Huth (1815–78); Alfred Huth (1850–1910); sold at Sotheby auction to bookseller Joseph Baer, 22 November 1911; entered the Danish Royal Library in 1919–20; Huth ex libris and Royal Library stamps.

Library link: https://soeg.kb.dk/permalink/45KBDK_KGL/1pioqof/alma99122169107105763

Córdoba, Biblioteca Capitulare, 617, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Córdoba Cathedral, possibly around 1600–1700; earlier owned by Convento de San Pablo, Córdoba; early shelfmarks on the original flyleaf and a note of possession.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 117, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: acquired by the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana (Florence) in 1771; owned by Pietro Leopoldo by 1765, and kept in the Pitti Palace collection. Library stamp of the Biblioteca Austriacae Floren. Palatii (Palazzo Pitti); a library stamp used by the Magliabecchiana from 1731 to 1815; and a library stamp from the Biblioteca Nazionale (after 1864).

Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, Rari C.III.3, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: unknown; faded inscription “Signor del Monte.”

La Vid, Monasterio de Santa María de la Vid, 135/Inc/13, Missal, on parchment

PROVENANCE: Uclés, in sixteenth century; Hospital of Santiago, Toledo; Juan Fernández de Balboa (same as Breviary in the British Library); three library stamps of the Biblioteca de Uclés (fols 3, 265, 409) and an inscription of Balboa (fol. 469v).

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Inc.Civ.Lips.369, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Gottfried Christian Götze; inscribed “Bayona 1693”; Götze’s *ex libris* on the title page; given by Götze to Leipzig Ratsbibliothek around 1700.

León, Real Colegio de San Isidoro, Archivo-Biblioteca, ASIL 465, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: cabildo of León, acquired possibly in the early sixteenth century

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, INC 532, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Real Biblioteca, unknown acquisition date

Digital version: <https://permalinkbnd.bnportugal.gov.pt/idurl/1/70736>

Library link: <https://catalogo.bnportugal.gov.pt/ipac20/ipac.jsp?profile=bn&uri=full=3100024~!321356~!0>

London, British Library, General Reference Collection IB.53535, Missal, on parchment

PROVENANCE: unknown; British Museum library stamps.

London, British Library, General Reference Collection C.17.c.3, Breviary, on parchment

PROVENANCE: Given to the Hospital of Santiago in Toledo by Juan Fernández de Balboa in 1535 (inscription); purchased by the library on 31 October 1845; British Museum library stamps and bookplate.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/16492, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Biblioteca Real; unknown acquisition date; Biblioteca Real library stamp, Biblioteca Nacional library stamp, and earlier shelfmarks on the front pastedown.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/3858, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Toledo; Biblioteca Real (library stamp); earlier shelfmarks (from Toledo?) are largely effaced.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/6714, Breviary, on parchment

PROVENANCE: Toledo, Archivo capitular (and Mozarabic Chapel), until nineteenth century; Toledo shelfmark ("Cajon 24 Num. 32") on the flyleaf.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/7179, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Toledo, Archivo capitular (and Mozarabic Chapel), until nineteenth century; Toledo shelfmark ("Cajon 24 Num. 33") on the flyleaf.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/7180, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: given by Francisco Pérez Bayer (1711–94) to the Royal Library in Madrid in 1782; inscribed "Bibliotecae Regiae Matritensi Franciscus Peretius Bayerius Praef. MDCC.LXXXII.2 Maii" on the frontispiece.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/15, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: unknown

Digital version: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000176268&page=1>

Catalog record: <https://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000176268>

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INC/1122, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Toledo, Biblioteca del cabildo, until nineteenth century; Toledo shelfmark ("Cajon 75 Num. 1") on the flyleaf.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, JRULM 263, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: acquired by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83) in 1680; Harley collection, appearing in third volume (pub. 1744); George John Spencer (1758–

1834); John Poyntz Spencer (1835–1910); purchased in 1892 by Enriqueta Rylands. Colbert arms on the binding; contains an ex libris “Bibliotecae Colbertinae” and a Biblioteca Spenceriana stamp.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, JRULM 273, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: aquired by Colbert in 1680; Harley collection, appearing in third volume (pub. 1744); George John Spencer (1758–1834); John Poyntz Spencer (1835–1910); purchased in 1982 by Enriqueta Rylands. Colbert arms on the binding; contains an ex libris “Bibliotecae Colbertinae” and a Biblioteca Spenceriana stamp.

Montserrat, Biblioteca de la Abadía Benedictina, 4 143, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: unknown

New York, Hispanic Society of America, BX 2000 .A2 1502, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Juan de Goyeneche (1656–1735); Pierre Robinet (1652–1738), according to inscription; Girardot de Préfond (ex libris); Jesuit College of Strasbourg; Archer Huntington.

New York, Hispanic Society of America, Inc 68 Copy 1, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Juan de Goyeneche; Pierre Robinet, according to inscription; Girardot de Préfond (ex libris); Jesuit College of Strasbourg; Archer Huntington.

New York, Morgan Library & Museum, E1 10 E, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Jesuit College of Alcalà (note on the frontispiece); Louis-Jean Gaignat (1697–1768), sold 1769; Pietro Antonio Bolongaro Crevenna (d. 1792), sold in 1790; purchased by Quaritch at Sotheby's, July 1909; purchased from Quaritch by Morgan, September 1909.

Library link: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=53046>

New York, Morgan Library & Museum, ChL1754, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Jesuit College of Alcalà (note on the frontispiece); Louis-Jean Gaignat (1697–1768), sold 1769; Pietro Antonio Bolongaro Crevenna (d. 1792), sold in 1790; purchased by Quaritch at Sotheby's, July 1909; purchased from Quaritch by Morgan, September 1909.

Library link: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=13499>

8

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 1 Q1.28, Breviary, on parchment

PROVENANCE: purchased from John Leslie in 1853; Library Records b. 43 on fol. 38 (bill dated 13 August 1853).

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, FOL-T-740, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: d'Argenson family collection; coat of arms on binding shared by the Marquis de Paulmy (1722–87) and comte d'Argenson (1696–1764).

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, FOL-T-742, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: d'Argenson family collection; coat of arms on binding shared by the Marquis de Paulmy and comte d'Argenson.

Digital version: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8728875t>

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve B 267, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Adam von Dietrichstein (1527–90), inscribed “1567 Auxilium meum a Domino A[dam] Dietrichstein”; Bibliothèque royale, acquired between 1640 and 1700; contains Bibliotheca Regia stamp used by 1685, possibly as early as 1640.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve B 268, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Bibliothèque royale, date of acquisition unknown

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve B 269, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Honorat de Pontevès, acquired in 1531 (note of purchase on frontispiece); Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–99), date of acquisition unknown; Bibliothèque royale, acquired 1798.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Réserve B 270, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Bibliothèque royale, acquired 1650–1700; late seventeenth-century book stamp.

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, OEXV 166 RES, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: gift of Charles-Maurice Le Tellier to the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in 1710; arms of Le Tellier on the binding and an ex libris of the abbey (1752).

Library link: https://catalogue.bsg.univ-paris3.fr/permalink/33USPC_BSG/13g4rb9/alma991007770679705804

Pistoia, Biblioteca Fabroniana, E2 193, Missal, on paper and parchment

PROVENANCE: personal collection of Carlo Agostino Fabroni, acquired before his death in 1727.

Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 69.4.G.22, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: purchased by the Biblioteca Nazionale between 1870 and 1900 from Angelo Gheno; library stamp of the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele.

Digital version: <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/libroantico/BVEE061046/BVEE061046/1>

Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 46.F.7, Missal, on parchment

PROVENANCE: gift to Lorenzo Corsini (Pope Clement XII) between 1730 and 1740; library stamp ("Bibl. Corsinia Vetus") indicates accession before 1754.

Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 46.F.19, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: (presumably sixteenth-century) note of bequest mentions purchase by Andres Alfonso at a Tavera auction; Lorenzo Corsini; library stamp "Biblioth. Corsinia Vetus."

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Coll(S) 1321, Missal, on parchment

PROVENANCE: Per G.A. Hierta (1864–1924); "1919" inside front cover; given by Hierta to the Swedish Royal Library in 1921 (includes note of donation).

Library link: https://regina.kb.se/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=46KBS_ALEPH_DS002097916&vid=46KBS_VU&search_scope=ALL&tab=default_tab&lang=sv_SE&context=L

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, 74–31, Breviary, on parchment

PROVENANCE: Library of Toledo Cathedral

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-1, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-3, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-10, Missal, on parchment

PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-14, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-21, Breviary, on parchment
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel; stamp of the Mozarabic Chapel on the frontispiece.

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-22, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-23, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel; inscription on the flyleaf records 1834 donation.

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-24, Breviary, on parchment
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-25, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-26, Missal, on paper
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-27, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel

Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Capitular, FM-45, Missal, on paper
PROVENANCE: Mozarabic Chapel; Francisco Navas Vegas, c.1930–36; José Mansilla, acquired in 1942 (note of possession from 1942); subsequently owned by Antonio Cabrera y Delgado (d. 2022), who bequeathed the volume to Toledo Cathedral.

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I-3556, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: unknown

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I-3704, Breviary, on parchment
PROVENANCE: unknown

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I-3709, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: Toledo, Parish Church of San Sebastián (inscription)

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I-3710, Breviary, on paper
PROVENANCE: Toledo, Parish Church of San Marcos (note of possession)

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, I-3714, Breviary on paper

PROVENANCE: unknown

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Incunabulum 1, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: unknown

Digital version: <https://patrimoniodigital.castillalamancha.es/bidicam/es/consulta/registro.do?id=12134>

Toledo, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Res. 5, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: unknown

Digital version: <https://patrimoniodigital.castillalamancha.es/bidicam/es/consulta/registro.do?id=12276>

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Memb. 11.21, Missal, on parchment

PROVENANCE: given to the library by Luigi Valenti Gonzaga (1725–1808) in 1802.

Digital version: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/Membr.11.21>

Library link: <https://opac.vatlib.it/inc/detail/11019144>

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, AAA.11.16, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), acquired in 1679; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, entered in 1902 with collection acquired by Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903).

Library link: <https://opac.vatlib.it/inc/detail/11019144>

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb. B.X.3, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), acquired in 1679; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, entered in 1902 with the collection acquired by Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903).

Library link: <https://opac.vatlib.it/stp/detail/10179847>

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 22.C.20, Breviary, on paper

PROVENANCE: Court and National Library; bookplate inside the front cover and a library stamp in the calendar.

Digital version: <https://viewer.onb.ac.at/1082CB1D/>

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ink 5.E.16, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, where it was given to Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727) 1690 (described

in inscription below the frontispiece) and sold by him to the Benedictines of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris by 1700; the sale is mentioned in Sparwenfeld's letter to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), dated 31 January 1700; the ex libris of Sainte-Geneviève has been added above the frontispiece.

Zaragoza, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular, 17–18, Missal, on paper

PROVENANCE: early provenance unknown; nineteenth- and twentieth-century library stamps.

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Index

- Acta sanctorum* 203, 204–207
 adventus 102
 Aillet, Cyrille 4n10, 52, 53, 82–83
 Alcalá
 Cisneros's residence 33, 97
 Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso 23–24, 138
 Complutense University 5
 Complutensian Polyglot 16
 Alcocer, Pedro de 71–72, 73, 74, 76, 86
 Aldrete, Bernardo de 80–81, 87
 Alemán, Rodrigo. *See under* Toledo Cathedral
 Alfonso VI 3, 72, 108, 132, 134
 Alfonso XIII 172
 annotations in Mozarabic editions 146,
 157–159, 162, 169, 176–178, 181–187, 190–
 193
 Antonio, Nicolás
 Bibliotheca Hispana vetus 198
 Censura de historias fabulosas 193, 206
 liturgical transcriptions 193
 Arévalo, Faustino 66n65, 181, 216, 217–222
 arms and letters 117–121; *see also* Cervantes
 Assmann, Aleida. *See* cultural memory
 auction catalogues 165, 166, 167, 171,
 174n139
 auctions 149, 156, 174n139, 230, 235
 Baronio, Cesare, *Martyrologium Romanum*
 206, 208
 Bayonne 150
 Bernard of Sahagún. *See* Toledo, archbishops
 Beyer, Augustus 150–151, 210
 Bianchini, Giuseppe 209, 219
 bibliophiles 136, 155–158, 162–163, 165–168,
 170, 173–174, 176; *see also* owners
 Biblioteca Corsiniana. *See* libraries
Bibliotheca patrum 147–148, 198
 Bollandists. *See* Pinius
 booksellers. *See* Baer; De Bure; Gheno; Leslie
 Borgoña, Juan de 23–24, 29n75, 98–102
 Botella Ordinas, Eva 91n9, 105, 224–
 225
 Bourbons, Spanish 122–123, 129, 164, 180,
 186, 200, 224
 Boym, Svetlana. *See* restorative nostalgia
 Burriel, Andrés Marcos
 and Alexander Lesley 210–211
 and Cardinal Antonio Lorenzana 215–
 216
 cited by Faustino Arévalo 220
 director of the Commission on the
 Archives 122–124
 liturgical research vii–viii, 158n83, 191,
 214–215, 221n133
 on introduction of the Roman rite 224
 study of saints 186, 204
caballeros. See Mozarabs
 Calatrava, Order of 142–143
 Camino y Velasco, Pedro 50, 136–137, 158,
 165n102, 203
 Cárcamo, Alonso de 188, 193
 Carrillo de Acuña, Alfonso. *See* Toledo, arch-
 bishops
 Catedral, Pedro 95; *see also* Herrera
 Catholic monarchs 14, 68, 89, 94, 108, 139
 and Cisneros 5n16, 33
 and conquest of Granada 34, 66, 102,
 109
 gifts of Mozarabic editions 136
 Mediterranean crusade 66, 68, 143
 neo-Gothicism 51
 see also Isabella of Castile; Ferdinand of
 Aragon
 Catlos, Brian. *See* *conveniencia*
 Cazalla, Juan de 92–94, 97, 98, 103, 108
 Cervantes, *Don Quixote* 119–120
 Chase, Nathan 31
 Chasuble, bestowal. *See* Ildefonsus of Toledo;
 Mary, Virgin
 Christina of Sweden 136, 154
 Cisneros, Francisco Jiménez de 5–8
 and conquest of Oran 89, 91, 97–103,
 106–107, 110–122; *see also* Oran
 as Aeneas 96, 111
 compared to Santiago Matamoros 106–
 107
 founder of Mozarabic chapel 33–35, 88
 iconography 23–25, 27, 98–100, 102
 reforms 33
 Civil War, Spanish 171

- Clavijo, battle of 107
 Coles, David 16
 collectors. *See* owners
 conciliarism 63–64
 Constantine, Emperor 94
 conversion 34, 68, 89, 94, 139
 conversos 55, 57, 68
conveniencia 56, 78
convivencia 56
 Corsini Library, Rome. *See* libraries
 Covarrubias, Sebastián de 80, 85–86, 87
Crónica del Cid Ruy Diaz 176–177
 Cross, True 93–94, 106; *see also* “Vexilla regis”
 crusade
 conquest of Orán as crusade 92, 96, 97, 105, 106, 107, 108
 crusading literature 65, 67, 105
 Mediterranean crusade 67, 68, 90, 91, 94, 107, 140, 143
 cultural memory 89, 179

 De Bure, Guillaume François 136, 162–163, 165, 174–176
 Devereux, Andrew 68n76, 90n8
dhimma 53, 78
dhimmi 53
 Dietrichstein, Franz von 144
 diplomacy 100, 141, 153, 199–201, 203, 216
 Ditchfield, Simon 180, 181
Divisiones decem nationum totius Christianitatis 61–68, 219, 220n129
 Dodds, Jerrilynn 3
 Dolphin, Erika 29n75, 89n6, 108
 duel 32, 53, 61, 117, 126, 128, 166, 177, 217, 223

 editing of texts 17–20
 empire, Spanish VII, 68, 76–77, 79, 105, 107, 124–125, 224
 Alfonso VI as Emperor of the Spains 72
 eschatological idea of universal empire 84, 89–91, 95, 110
Estoria de España 176, 223

 Fabián y Fuero, Francisco 125
 Farnese, Isabella 164, 165
 feasts, liturgical. *See* saints; Guardian Angel

 Ferdinand of Aragon 6, 84, 97, 104n52, 105, 106, 184; *see also* Catholic Monarchs
 as King of Jerusalem 90, 107
 Ferdinand VI 122, 123, 129, 186, 214
 Foxe, *Book of the Martyrs* 146
 frontispieces, Mozarabic editions. *See* Mozarabic editions

galero 47, 99, 106
 Gallican rite 154, 197, 209, 225
 Gamero, Antonio Martín, *Historia de la ciudad de Toledo* 87
 García de Villalpando, Antonio 92, 139
 Garcilaso de la Vega. *See* Vega.
 Garibay y Zamalloa, Esteban 72–74, 86
 Gómez de Castro, Alvar 23, 24, 31–32, 34, 41–47, 54–55
 Gonzalez de Mendoza, Pedro. *See* Toledo archbishops
 Gorricio, Melchior 7, 38, 41, 138, 139
 Goths. *See* Visigoths
 Goya y Lucientes, Francisco 222
 Granada 34–35, 66, 67, 80, 89, 91, 102–103, 109, 139
 Guardian Angel, feast 184
 Gudiel, Gonzalo Pérez. *See* Toledo, archbishops

 Hagembach (or Hagenbach), Peter 7, 34, 41
 Herrera, Martín de, *Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán* 67–68, 94–97
hidalgos 75–76
hidalguía 75, 78
 Higuera, Jerónimo Roman de la 69, 188–190, 193, 206
Historias de la Divinal Victoria de Orán. *See* Herrera, Martín de.
 Horace, *Satires* 116
 Hospitallers (Knights of Saint John) 96, 139, 140, 145
 humanism 14–16, 23, 92
 hymns
 Arévalo, *Hymnodia Hispanica* 217
 “Barcinon lete cucufate vernans” (Cucufas) 183
 “Exsulta nimum turba fidelium” (Thyrus) 187–193
 melodies 29n78, 183

- Nebrija, *Recognitio hymnorum* 14–16, 18*n*57
 “Pange lingua” 14*n*42, 183
 Prudentius 182–183
 “Sperati sancti martyris” 206–209
 “Vexilla regis” 106
- Ildefonsus of Toledo. *See* Toledo, archbishops
 imperiocentrism 225; *see also* Botella Ordinas
- In hoc signo vinces* (Lactantius) 94
 invention of tradition 35
 invention of rare books. *See* McKitterick
 Isabella of Castile 6, 16, 33, 34, 138; *see also* Catholic Monarchs
 Isidore of Seville 8, 9, 31, 36–37, 38, 39, 42–43, 131, 133, 198, 218
- Janini, José 18
 Jerusalem 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 106, 107
 Jews 50, 55, 59, 78
 Jesuit order, expulsion and suppression 215, 217
 Joffré de Loaysa 6
 Joanna of Castile 104*n*52
 Jover y Alcázar, Blas VIII, 199, 227–229
 Juan de Borgoña. *See* Borgoña
 Justinian, Emperor 106
- Kimmel, Seth 83
- Lactantius 94
 Las Navas de Tolosa 109
 Leander of Seville 9, 42, 43, 131, 133, 148
 Le Brun, Pierre 194–203
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 151, 153–155, 238
 Leopold II of Austria. *See* Pietro Leopoldo
 Lesley, Alexander 156, 210–214, 218*n*26, 220*n*131
 Le Tellier, Charles-Maurice 155, 234
- libraries
 Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek 173–174, 230
 Blois, Bibliothèque Abbé Grégoire 167, 230
 Cambridge, Emmanuel College 146–147, 230
 Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket 170–171, 230
 Córdoba, Biblioteca Capitulare 231
 Escorial, San Lorenzo de 151, 153, 154, 168, 227, 237
 Florence, Biblioteca Magliabecchiana 157, 231
 Florence, Biblioteca Palatina Mediceo-Lotharingia (Palazzo Pitti) 157, 231
 Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria 168, 231
 La Vid, Monasterio de Santa María 141, 231
 Leipzig, Ratsbibliothek (Senate Library) 150, 231
 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (University Library) 150, 231
 León, Real Colegio de San Isidoro, 231
 Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal 169, 231
 London, British Library 141, 169, 231, 232
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library 149, 232, 233
 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 183, 214, 232
 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana 150
 Montserrat, Biblioteca de la Abadía Benedictina 158–160, 233
 New York, Hispanic Society of America 9*n*33, 163, 233
 New York, Morgan Library 8*n*26, 163, 233
 Oxford, Bodleian Library 169, 233
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal 165, 234
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 234
 Paris, Bibliothèque royale 145, 198*n*63, 199, 234
 Paris, Sainte-Geneviève (library and former abbey) 153, 155, 168, 234, 238
 Pistoia, Biblioteca Fabroniana 156, 234
 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 169, 235
 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana 156–157, 235
 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket 170, 235
 Toledo, Biblioteca y Archivo Catedral 6, 41, 190, 191, 235–236
 Toledo, Biblioteca Castilla-La Mancha 161, 182, 236–237
 Vatican Library 168, 169, 237

- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 168, 237
- Zaragoza, Archivo y Biblioteca capítular 238
- lieux de mémoire* 88–89
- limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), 57, 69, 76
- liturgical erudition 193–222; *see also* Burriel, Le Brun, Lesley
- liturgy 95, 114, 129, 165, 180–181; *see also* Mozarabic rite; Old Hispanic rite; Visigothic rite
- López de Ayala, Diego 97
- Mabillon, Jean 204, 209, 219
- Mancius of Evora. *See* saints
- manuscripts
- London, British Library, Add. 30845 208
 - Madrid, BNE, MSS 6239–6240 193
 - Madrid, BNE, MS 10001 188*n*31, 192*n*47
 - Madrid, BNE, MS 10110 9–10
 - Madrid, BNE, MS 13015 158*n*83, 204*n*84, 208
 - Madrid, BNE, MS 13059 50*n*8, 124, 131–135
 - Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 30 188*n*31
 - Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Palacio, II/483 123*m*00
 - Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6298–6299 167*m*09
 - Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 6600 167*m*07
 - Paris, BnF, Baluze 212 149
 - Paris, BnF, Baluze 366 149
 - Paris, BnF, lat. 9427 209
 - Toledo, Archivo Catedral, 44.11 (olim 35.6) 204, 208
 - Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4758 62, 64
- Mariana, Juan de 51–52, 126, 177–178
- Marieta, Juan de 106
- Marranos 78–79
- Mary, Virgin 18, 20–28, 95, 103
- Master of San Ildefonso 24
- Mayans y Siscar, Gregorio VIII, 227–229
- Mazalquivir (Mers el Kébir) 99, 105, 106
- Mazarin, Cardinal 144–145
- McKitterick, David 88, 176
- Menocal, María Rosa. *See* *convivencia*
- Mercier de Saint-Léger, Barthélemy 155, 174–176, 220, 230
- mestizo* 78
- military orders 139, 143, 145; *see also* Calatrava, Hospitallers, Santiago (Knights)
- Milvian Bridge, battle 94
- Missale mixtum* (1500). *See* Missal, Mozarabic
- mixtiarabes* or *mixti arabes* 5, 53–55, 68, 70–81, 84–86, 165. *See also* Jiménez de Rada
- monasgillos* 172
- Moreno, Aaron 4, 49, 53, 59–60
- Moriscos 51, 55, 68, 69, 80, 81, 83, 122
- Mozarabic chapel, Toledo Cathedral
- cantorales* 29–30
 - chaplains 28, 47, 113–115, 162, 172, 177
 - foundation 28–31
 - frescoes of Conquest of Oran 88–91, 98–105
- Mozarabic editions 7–13; *see also* annotations; Ortiz (Alfonso;) owners; provenance
- Breviary 9–13, 19–20, 39–41
 - frontispieces 20–23, 27–28
 - Missal 17–18, 36–39, 55, 138, 213
 - Roman-rite elements 18–20, 196–198, 211–214, 221
- Mozarabic liturgical manuscripts in Toledo 5–6, 10–13, 203–204, 210, 214
- Mozarabic parishes, Toledo 3–4, 6, 31–32, 44–45, 48–50, 52; *see also* Mozarabs
- boundaries 45, 48
 - clergy 7, 31, 124, 133–135
 - lawsuits 49–50, 59, 75, 132, 134
 - Santa Eulalia 7, 162, 133, 230
 - Santa Justa and Rufina 7, 9, 131, 133, 171
 - San Lucas 7, 131, 133
 - San Marcos 74, 131, 133, 158, 161, 193, 236
 - tithes (*diezmos*) 49–50, 132, 134
- Mozarabic rite VII, 1, 5–7, 20, 30, 61, 123, 124
- See also* Mozarabic editions; Old Hispanic rite; neo-Mozarabic rite; Visigothic rite
- Mozarabs
- Arabizing VII, 4–5, 35, 36, 57–60, 82, 83
 - caballeros* 49
 - definition of name 1–2, 53–55, 68–87, 165
 - hybridity 51, 56, 81–82, 148
- Muratorì, Ludovico Antonio 150, 219

natio. See Divisiones decem nationum totius Christianitatis

national identity 53, 82, 123, 178, 181, 204–205, 223–224

Nava, José de 126–130

Navarro, Pedro 92, 99, 103

Nebrija, Elio Antonio de 14–16, 18*n*57

negotiation of heritage 1

neo-Gothicism 51, 123

neo-Mozarabic rite IX, 30, 35, 209

Noailles, Adrien-Maurice de VIII, 199, 201, 223, 227–228

nobleza 76

Nora, Pierre. *See lieux de mémoire*

notation, musical 8, 9

notes of possession 137, 142, 163, 173, 182, 234, 236

Old Hispanic rite 9–13, 27–28, 29*n*78, 30, 52, 61, 197, 198, 209–210

Olds, Katrina 69, 181, 188*n*27, 190*n*38, 193*n*48

Oran, conquest 89–108; *see also* Cisneros; Herrera

Ortiz, Alfonso (or Alonso) 7, 15–20, 36–40, 48, 70, 84, 192

Ortiz, Blas, *Summi Templi Toletani* 23, 70, 71, 84–85, 86, 163*n*92, 210

owners of Mozarabic editions

d'Argenson, comte 165, 234

Ashe, Simeon 146–147, 230

Baer, Joseph 230

Barberini, Francesco 147, 237

Barberini, Luigi Tommaso Sacchetti 168

Cabrera y Delgado, Antonio 172, 236

Colbert, Jacques-Nicolas 149, 167, 230, 232

Colbert, Jean-Baptiste 149, 167, 230, 232, 233

Corsini, Lorenzo (Pope Clement xii) 156–157, 235

Corsini, Neri Maria 156, 211*n*106

Dietrichstein, Adam von 142–145

Erthal, Friedrich Karl Joseph von 173–174

Fabroni, Carlo Agostino 156, 234

Fernández de Balboa, Juan 141, 145, 232, 241

Gaignat, Louis-Jean 163, 174, 175, 176, 233

Gheno, Angelo 169, 235

Girardot de Préfond 163–164, 233

Götze, Gottfried Christian 149–150

Gonzaga, Luigi Valenti 162, 168, 237

Gonzaga, Silvio Valenti 168*n*13, 211*n*106

Goyeneche, Juan de 164*n*97, 233

Harley, Edward 149, 232, 233

Hierta, Per 170, 235

Hoym, Charles-Henry de 167, 230

Huntington, Archer 164, 233

Huth, Alfred 171, 230

Huth, Henry 170–171, 230

Leo xiii (pope) 168, 237

Leslie, John 169

Mansilla Gutiérrez, José María 172, 236

Navas Vegas, Francisco 171, 236

Paulmy, marquis de 165–167, 234

Pietro Leopoldo, Grand Duke of Tuscany 157, 158, 231

Pontevès, Honoré de 139–141, 145, 234

Robinet, Pierre 164, 233

Seignelay, marquis de 149

Sparwenfeld, Johan Gabriel 151, 153–155, 237

Spencer, George 149, 232, 233

Thémines, Alexandre de Lauzières 167–168, 230

Vallière, duc de la 174, 230

Palomares, Christoval 190

Palomares, Francisco 123, 208*n*97, 214, 224, 227–229

Palomino, Alonso 117–121

passionary 191–192, 204; *see also* Madrid, BNE, MS 13015; Toledo, BCT, 44.11

patronato real VIII, 124, 133, 135

Pérez Bayer, Francisco 184–185, 232

Philip the Fair 30–31

Philip of Orléans (regent) 199, 201, 202

Philip v of Spain 50, 124, 132, 134, 164, 200, 202*n*76

Pinius, Joannes 191, 203–209

Pisa, Francisco de 75, 78, 86

pleitos 49–50, 132, 134

pliegos sueltos 93, 97

Polyglot Bible (Complutensian) 16

Popes

Clement x 185

Clement xii 156–157, 235

Clement xiv 215

- Gregory VII 3, 148
 Innocent XI 154
 Julius II 28, 33, 104n52
 Leo XIII 168, 237
 Nicholas V 57
 Paul III 138
 Pius VI 141, 216, 217, 234
 Pius VII 216
 Sixtus V 185
 Porreño, Baltasar 106–107
 print culture 97, 155, 156, 178, 181, 217; *see*
 also pliegos sueltas, relaciones de suce-
 sos
 provenance 136–178
 Prudentius 182–183
 Puebla de los Angeles 124–130, 216
 Pulgar, Fernando de 109
 purity of blood. *See limpieza de sangre*

 Reccared. *See* Visigothic kings
Recognitio hymnorum. *See* Nebrija
 regalism, Bourbon IX, 122, 164, 180
relaciones de sucesos 93
 restorative nostalgia 35
 rite, general definition 2
 Robles, Eugenio de 7, 35–36, 74, 85, 103–107,
 110–116, 211–213
 Roman rite
 compared to Old Hispanic rite 9–13, 19,
 196–198
 introduction in Castile 9
 printed liturgical books 8, 17

 saints
 Cucufas 183
 Ferdinand III 185–186
 Hermenegild 123, 124n101, 185, 186
 James. *See* Santiago
 Leocadia 185, 186, 189
 Mancius of Evora 184
 Nunilo and Alodia 187
 Speratus and companions (Scillitan mar-
 tyrs) 157, 204–208, 220–221
 Thysus 69, 187–193
 Salazar de Mendoza, Pedro 123, 190
 Salucio y Adorno, Agustín 77–79
 Santiago (Saint James the Major) 103, 106,
 125, 131, 133, 221
 Santiago Matamoros, iconography 107–108

 Santiago (Saint James), Knights of 107, 109,
 139
 Hospital in Toledo 141, 145, 231, 232
 Scillitan martyrs. *See* saints (Speratus and
 companions)
 Sherman, Bill 181–182
 Simonet, Francisco Javier 82

 Talavera, Hernando de 34, 89
 Tamayo de Salazar, Juan, *Martyrologium His-*
 panum 205–209
Ten Divisions. *See* *Divisiones decem*
 Toledo, archbishops
 Bernard of Sahagún 2, 223
 Carrillo de Acuña, Alfonso 6
 Cisneros, Francisco Jiménez de. *See* Cis-
 neros
 Cixila 188, 189–191
 Eugenius 131, 133
 González de Mendoza, Pedro 6, 109, 110
 Gudiel, Gonzalo Pérez 6
 Ildefonsus 9, 20, 23–24, 31, 34, 131, 133
 Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo 42, 51–52, 54,
 60, 68, 75, 84, 107, 223
 Julian 131, 133
 Lorenzana, Francisco Antonio 124–130,
 215–218, 220, 230
 Vázquez de Cepeda, Juan 6
 Toledo Cathedral
 altar mayor commissioned by Cisneros
 29n76
 chapter (canons) 33, 34, 117, 215, 228, 229
 chapter room 24, 29
 choirstalls by Rodrigo Alemán 109
 foundation 2
 Mozarabic Chapel of Corpus Christi. *See*
 Mozarabic Chapel
 Puerta del Perdón 23
 Toledo, church of Santa María de Alficín 2
 Toledo as imperial city VII, 72
 Tommasi, Giuseppe Maria 154, 219
 Toro, battle of 184
tradiciones jacobaeas 221
 Trent, Council of 125n106, 180–181
 trial by fire 32, 44–45, 53, 61, 117, 126–127,
 166, 177, 217, 223
 Trinitarian order 159

 use of books. *See* annotations; Sherman

- Vallejo, Juan de 31
 Vázquez de Cepeda, Juan. *See* Toledo, arch-
 bishops
 Vázquez Siruela, Martín de 193
 Vega, Garcilaso de la 120–121
 Venantius Fortunatus. *See* “Vexilla regis”
 Verona, Visigothic orationale 209–210, 219
 Virgil, *Aeneid* 13, 15, 96, 111
 Visigothic rite vii/2, 9, 31, 35, 197–198, 212;
 see also Old Hispanic rite; Verona
 Visigothic script 192
 ability to read 214, 216; *see also* Palo-
 mares
 difficulty 17, 200, 202, 204
 manuscripts in Toledo Cathedral 2, 5, 9,
 17, 31, 32, 41, 203–204, 211
 Visigoths; *see also* Visigothic rite
 kings 42, 51, 123, 124/1101
 liturgy 42, 130, 155, 163, 221
 people 5, 31, 41, 69, 82, 123, 154, 226
 Vitry, Jacques de, *Historia orientalis* 65–68,
 82, 83, 219
 Vogt, Johann, *Catalogus historico-criticus*
 librorum rariorum 149, 150, 158
 Voltaire, *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle* 166,
 223–224



Susan Boynton is Professor of Music at Columbia University. Among her publications on liturgy and music are *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (2006) and *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (2011).

Liturgy of Empire examines the European reception of the neo-Mozarabic rite created under the patronage of the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros (1495–1517), in relation to the history of the Mozarabs of Toledo, the development of bibliophilia and libraries, the scholarly study of medieval liturgy, and the crusading ideology of Spanish expansionism in the Mediterranean. During the emergence of Spain's global empire, the editions of the Mozarabic rite entered collections throughout Europe. The provenance of the copies (studied here for the first time) reveals their mediation of knowledge about Iberian history and the political contexts for their acquisition.

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