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of utterance, should be warned watchfully to observe and mindfully to remember. But, furthermore, it is above all essential that they should be admonished to pray for the power of understanding. For in these very books, of which they are students, they read that, "the Lord giveth wisdom; out of His mouth cometh knowledge and understanding." The very desire to know His Word, if it be united to piety, they have received from Him.

T. P. BOULTBEE.

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## ART. II.—THE MOZARABIC RITUAL.

ON the right hand of the west door of the great Gothic cathedral of Toledo stands a small square chapel, presenting, as regards architecture and general decoration, but little to attract the visitor's attention. It is true that it possesses a large fresco, representing various incidents in the Conquest of Oran in 1509, by the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, which was painted a few years afterwards, in 1514, by a contemporary artist, Juan de Borgoña by name. The merit of the work is not of a very high order; it doubtless represents truthfully the dresses, arms, and accoutrements of the period, and is valuable on this account to the antiquarian as well as to the student of history. But the chief interest of the chapel lies in the fact that it was founded to preserve in all its purity the forms of the Gothic or Mozarabic ritual, which was used by the Mozarabs, or Goths, who, after the conquest of Spain by the Moors, in 711 A.D., agreed to live under Moslem rule, and were allowed to retain their own mode of Christian worship.

Many and various opinions have prevailed as to the origin of the word "Mozarabs," or "Muzarabs," by which name the Gothic Christians, living in subjection to the Moors, were called. Some have derived the term from *Mixti Arabes*, two Latin words signifying a mixture of the two peoples; while others say that *Muza*, in Arabic, means a Christian. Others again have sought for its etymology in the word *Mustarabá*, meaning thereby Arabs who were not so originally, but who, having adopted the Arab mode of life, became Arabs to all intents and purposes.

It will be remembered that, on the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom in Spain, the Christians who escaped the power of the victorious Tarik, took refuge in the secluded cavern of Covadonga in the mountains of the Asturias. They did not, however, all so escape. A considerable number were left behind; and their conquerors, setting an example of toleration, alas! too rare in history, were content only to exact a tribute from them, leaving

them the free exercise of their religion. Thus, during the seven centuries of Arab dominion in Spain, the ancient form of worship, first called the Gothic, and afterwards the Mozarabic ritual, was allowed to continue, and the liberty to use their accustomed rite, was, as may readily be supposed, highly esteemed by the vanquished Christians. But this harmonious state of affairs was not suffered to continue unopposed. The opposition came, however, not from Mahometan Arabs, but, as has often been the case before and since, from fellow Christians, who held substantially the same faith, and only differed with respect to minor details of ritual.

The Popes, annoyed because the form of public worship established at Rome had not been received universally in the western provinces of Europe, had been for some time past endeavouring to establish a perfect uniformity in every part of the Latin world. Early in the tenth century John X. sent a legate to Spain to inquire as to the truth of certain rumours that had reached the Court of Rome, to the effect that the treaty made between the Christians and the Moors had been the cause of introducing into the Gothic ritual variations contrary to the unity of the Faith. But the report made by the Legate on his return proved that the rumours which had been circulated were unfounded, and the Mozarabic "use" was sanctioned and confirmed by the College of Cardinals. In the following century fresh legates arrived, one after the other, with a view to negotiating for the suppression of the national form of worship, but they were forced to return to Rome without attaining the object of their mission. The opposition they encountered was so great that they decided to submit to Pope Alexander II., who now ruled the destinies of the Church, the Mozarabic Missal, Breviary and Liturgy. This was accordingly done, and the Pontiff, acting on a report made to him by the Cardinals he had nominated for that purpose, decided that the Office of the Church of Spain should be neither condemned nor altered in any way. But the popular cause was only destined to enjoy a temporary triumph. The machinations of the Vatican were merely withheld for a time, to be again renewed at a more convenient season.

The Castilians were conspicuous among the inhabitants of Spain for the tenacity with which they clung to their accustomed mode of worship. But in other parts of the country the opposition shown by the people had not been so obstinate, and rulers had less difficulty in bringing their subjects to acquiesce in the Papal views. Arragon and Catalonia yielded at last to the conditions sought to be imposed by the Vatican; and only Navarre and Castile, but especially the latter, were determined in their resistance, and the efforts of the Court of

Rome to carry out its designs in those provinces had been so far fruitless, owing to the resolute attitude assumed by the people.

The haughty Gregory VII. now (eleventh century) ascended the Pontifical throne. No sooner was he seated in the Papal chair than he began to employ all the zeal and energy of his character for the promotion of uniformity of worship in all countries professing Catholicism. He was well aware that in order to do so in Spain, it was necessary to abolish altogether the ancient National "use," in those provinces where it still prevailed, and establish the Roman form in its place. To this end he addressed sundry letters to Sancho V. of Navarre, and to Alfonso VI. of Castile. The latter monarch had married a French princess, Doña Constanza, and both Alfonso and his Queen were eager to satisfy the Pontifical claims, being influenced in that direction by the monks of Cluny, to whom they had handed the control of their consciences. The Romish rite was in consequence introduced into Burgos in the year 1077.

This, however, did not take place without considerable resistance on the part both of clergy and people, so much so that it was decided to submit the question to the *Judicium Dei*, or judgment of God, the favourite method of settling controversies in the Middle Ages. Two knights were chosen, one of whom was to fight for the Roman Liturgy, on behalf of the King and the Pope, the other for the Gothic, on behalf of the clergy and the people. The Mozarabic champion, whose name, Juan Ruiz de las Matanzas, has come down to us, overcame his opponent, and the point at issue was apparently settled in favour of the ancient Liturgy. But in spite of this decisive victory the objectionable rite was forced upon the Burgolese, not, however, without murmurs from the clergy and laity who beheld with dismay their ancient traditions trampled upon and set at naught.

Such was the state of the question when (May 25, 1085) the reconquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI. took place. Soon after this fatal blow to the Arab dominion in Spain, Alfonso, firm in his intention to suppress the national rite, began to use all his endeavours towards promoting the establishment of the Roman form in his newly acquired city. But the difficulties in the way were so great that, contrary to all the rules of chivalry, the matter was, by agreement between the king and the clergy, again submitted to a fresh trial for final decision.

The ordeal this time was to be by fire, and the missals themselves were now to be the champions. An immense pile of wood was built up in the Zocodover, the old Moorish square in the centre of the city, where the Toledan Arabs used in former days to celebrate their victories and triumphs in many a joust

and chivalric encounter. The King, surrounded by the flower of his nobility, and the Queen, attended by her ladies, were present to witness the approaching ceremony. The famous French Archbishop, Don Bernardo, was also there; and crowds of people were collected, anxiously awaiting the issue of the trial. On a signal from the King, the Archbishop placed the two breviaries on the pile, which, on being lighted, was instantly in a blaze. Deep silence prevailed around; nothing was to be heard but the crackling of the wood, and the hissing of the flames. On a sudden, as the story goes, the Gothic missal leaped forth from the blazing pile, and fell intact at the feet of the king—not a leaf being so much as scorched. The Roman book, on the other hand, was reduced to ashes in the fire. The king—so the story continues—arose, and followed by his courtiers, proceeded to his palace—the ancient building constructed by Wamba, and restored by the Arab kings of Toledo. The Queen, the Archbishop, and the other attendants, retired slowly from the scene. Amazement, not unmixed with fear, was depicted on their brows. The people, on the other hand, were elated beyond all bounds. They felt convinced that their cause had carried the day in spite of every obstacle. In this, however, they were mistaken. They had yet to learn that the caprice of a despot is not to be so easily defeated. Although their cause had triumphed, although Heaven seemed to favour the Liturgy they revered, and out of which they taught their children, although, too, the voice of popular indignation reached even the steps of the throne itself, Alfonso VI. was none the less determined to disregard the cherished wishes of his subjects. His recent victories over the Moors had doubtless inspired him with confidence, and he felt no inclination to incur the displeasure of the Papacy, whose support he had secured. He feared also to offend his wife Constanza, and to make enemies of the monks of Cluny, his spiritual advisers. Soon, therefore, after the event above recorded, he issued a decree abolishing the Gothic rite, and substituting the Roman form in its place. Thus, the influence of Rome prevailed. Spain became the chosen son of the Church, and the way was gradually paved for the introduction of the odious Inquisition. An independence which had lasted well-nigh from Apostolic times was lost. The national cult was dead, and Spain sunk eventually into a condition of torpor and inactivity, from which it has only begun to recover in recent years.

Out of this event arose, in that land of proverbs, the famous saying, *Allá van Leyes, donde Quieren Reyes* ("There the laws go, where kings show"), which seems to give utterance, in accents of despair, to the outraged feelings of the people.

The Mozarabic Christians were, however, allowed to retain six

churches in Toledo—viz., St. Eulalia, St. Sebastian, St. Marcos, St. Lucas,<sup>1</sup> St. Justa, and St. Torcato—and large privileges were conceded to them by Alfonso, who seemed thereby to wish to atone to some extent for his despotic conduct. But Time, that devourer of all things, caused the rite to decay, and to lose its importance even in the churches set apart for its celebration. At last a few solemnities were all that remained.

Then it was that Ximenes, who did not wish that this respectable relic of antiquity should be altogether lost, and who perhaps was not sorry to show some sign of spiritual independence of the Vatican, caused the chapel referred to at the beginning of this paper to be founded in the Cathedral of Toledo. He also had the Liturgy printed, and he instituted an order of chaplains for the performance of the service. It is only in this chapel that the ancient rite is now celebrated.

Having thus lightly touched upon the leading events in the history of this curious survival, it only remains to add a few remarks on the Liturgy itself.

Cardinal Ximenes, as has been stated above, caused the Liturgy to be printed; but, as the manuscript he used is considered to have been of a comparatively late date, it is not easy to ascertain now what parts of the service are or are not really ancient. Roman Catholic writers have gone so far as to ascribe this Liturgy to the apostles who converted Spain. But although we may not unreasonably refuse to subscribe to this assumption, its claims to antiquity must be admitted to be considerable. There seems, moreover, good reason to conclude that it was framed originally, whether by one hand or more is uncertain, in independence of the Roman Church. On examination, various points have been discovered closely establishing its connection with the Liturgies of the Oriental Churches.

The Liturgy also contains prayers by Leander, Isidore, Eugenio, Ildefonso, and Julian, famous Visigothic luminaries, which were added when the Gothic king, Recared, and his subjects forsook Arianism and embraced Catholicism.<sup>2</sup>

The service is now but indifferently attended, and has become to all intents and purposes a thing of the past. A Reformed

<sup>1</sup> In this church an ancient picture may still be seen representing the trial by fire of the two missals. The Virgin de la Esperanza is depicted as presiding over the ceremony, and a number of cavaliers in Moorish garb are also present.

<sup>2</sup> Those curious in liturgical matters are referred to the following works for full information on the subject:—Migne, vol. lxxxv., "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities;" Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ;" "Compendio del Toledo en la Mano," by Don Sixto Ramon Parro, as well as the larger work, "Toledo en la Mano," of which the "Compendio" is an abridgment; "Tradiciones de Toledo," by Señor Eugenio de Olavarria y Huarte, &c. &c.

Spanish Church has, however, recently sprung into existence; and the compilers of a new Liturgy, to be used in the service of that Church, have taken the ancient Mozarabic Liturgy as the basis of their operations. Thus, like a phoenix rising from its ashes, the old "use," or at all events some portions of it, may be destined to live on in Spain, and in the great Spanish colony of North America, for some time longer.

F. R. McCLINTOCK.

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### ART. III.—CHURCH COURTS.<sup>1</sup>

THIS subject is emphatically *the* Church subject of the day. Round it all the forces which, now for many years, have been engaged in the great Ritual struggle are collected. Here is the main point of attack and defence at the present time. Much more than a matter of merely historical interest is involved. The union of Church and State, and even our conception of the nature of the Church of England, cannot but be affected most seriously by the settlement of what is the proper constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The magnitude of the issues at stake is pleaded as at once the sole and the sufficient justification for the following pages.

I had no notion, when I prepared the paper which I read at the recent Church Congress, that Canon Trevor, who preceded me on the same subject, intended to occupy the audience with a review of my little book on Church Courts. Had I known this, I should probably have been tempted to take a different course; but, as it was, I thought I should best fulfil my task by trying to bring before the Congress one or two practical matters of common sense rather than controversy, and by repeating in public a suggestion which I had already made as a witness before the Royal Commission, with regard to the revival of the study of English Ecclesiastical Law (not merely Canon Law, as I have been supposed in some quarters to mean) at the Universities. But as it might be assumed that, because I did not reply to Canon Trevor's criticism, no reply was forthcoming, I am anxious, having regard to the importance of the matter, to avail myself of the earliest opportunity of saying what I have to say by way of rejoinder. Indeed, I am not sure that the subject is not more fitly treated in the columns of *THE CHURCHMAN* than on a Church Congress platform. I

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<sup>1</sup> "Church Courts." A Paper read at the Derby Church Congress, by Canon Trevor, D.D.