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Mariology in the Euchology of Advent and Christmas in the Hispanic-Mozarabic Rite

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Abstract: This article, dedicated to the Mariology of the Hispanic-Mozarabic Missal during the Advent and Christmas seasons, has two objectives. First, it is intended to make the Mozarabic dogmatic sensibility, which is virtually unknown to theologians, more accessible. Second, it aims to extract the original Hispanic/Mozarabic Mariology from the euchology and to present it in a synthetic form. The article will present the history of the formation of Marian feasts in the Visigothic rite and analyse, from the Mariological perspective, the euchology of the feasts of the Immaculate Conception of Mary (8 December) and of the Blessed Virgin Mary (18 December), as well as the forms of the mass for the Second Sunday of Advent and for Christmas Day. It ends with a summary that points to the restraint of the Mozarabic tradition with respect to the number of Marian feasts, which coexists with the theological and dogmatic richness of the forms for these feasts. In the Hispanic tradition, Mary is virtually always presented in the context of her mission of virgin motherhood. At the same time, the Hispanic tradition frequently juxtaposes the figures of Mary-Mother and Church-Mother, demonstrating, in the spirit of the Augustinian theology, that what was accomplished in Mary is surpassed in the Church.

Keywords: Hispanic-Mozarabic liturgy, Mary, Virgin, Mother of God, Christmas, Advent, Immaculate Conception

It seems that the Hispanic-Mozarabic rite remains the least recognisable among Western rites. This refers, above all, to the seldom discovered theological richness of the Hispanic euchology, as numerous dogmatic studies, following the principle lex orandi, lex credendi (see Porosło 2021, 496-99) often contain references to the Roman rite but hardly ever to other liturgical traditions of the West.

This article, which deals with the Mariology of the Hispanic-Mozarabic Missal, has two objectives. First, it is intended to make this particular Mozarabic dogmatic sensibility more accessible. Second, we will want to present the synthesis of the Mariology of the Hispanic rite as it is presented in the Missal, without superimposing interpretive paradigms of the 20th century on it, which is our objection to the numerous studies of the Mariology of the Hispanic rite published at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century in the reference literature written in Spanish. We have to mention here, above all, the monumental works, including articles and the subsequent monograph written on their basis, by Javier Ibañez and Fernando Mendoza (1971; 1974; 1975; 1990). Another very important point of reference for us will be the classic articles by Gonzalo Gironés Guillem (1964) and Jordi Pinell (1968), and the most recent of these, written by Juan-Miguel Ferrer (1997; 2012)



and Kati Ihnat (2019). In view of the abundance of studies, we would like to make it clear that this article does not claim to be an exhaustive presentation of the Hispanic-Mozarabic Mariology. This would be impossible even just due to the volume of this study. Moreover, we will make two important methodological reservations here: 1) we will only analyse orations of mass forms included in the new Hispanic-Mozarabic Missal published between 1991 and 1994 (without the office and orations included in other Hispanic manuscripts); 2) we will limit ourselves to the *strictly* Marian forms for the liturgical seasons of Advent and Christmas.

Therefore, in this article, we will present the history and the Mariological content of the forms for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December) and Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary (18 December), as well as the Mariological content of the mass for the Second Sunday of Advent and Christmas Day. The article will conclude with a summary in which we will bring out the most important features of Mariology in the Mozarabic liturgy of these periods.

1. The Restraint of Hispanic-Mozarabic Mariology

In the introduction, we presented the peculiar status quaestionis of Hispanic Mariology. It may be surprising to see the disproportionate number of studies of the subject in the 20th-century reference literature in relation to the number of Marian feasts in the Hispanic rite. If we look at the liturgical calendar itself, even more so if we compare it to the calendar of the Roman liturgy, the first impression may lead us to the hasty conclusion that the Mariology of the liturgy of the Iberian Peninsula is sparse. This impression may be due to the fact that only three Marian feasts are celebrated in the Hispanic liturgy: the Immaculate Conception of Mary, Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary (equivalent to the Annunciation), and the Assumption of Mary. Adolfo Ivorra goes as far as expressing the belief that this contrast between the number of articles devoted to Hispanic Mariology and the number of feasts in the Mozarabic calendar reveals "an anachronism in assessing the importance of Mary in the Visigothic rite" (Ivorra 2017, 219). Before we attempt to answer the question of whether the Mariology of the Visigothic rite is indeed very sparse, let us see how the celebration of Marian feasts of the Hispanic rite has been shaped throughout history.

The first direct reference to Mary in the Hispanic euchology is found in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol which, following the decision of the Third Council of Toledo (589 AD), is recited in preparation for the Holy Communion

To complete this status questionis please refer to the references, where virtually all publications dealing with the Hispanic-Mozarabic Mariology can be found.

before the Lord's Prayer during every Mass celebrated (Arocena 2017, can. 36). Then, we find that Marian themes are rather scattered throughout the euchology of individual feasts arising from the celebration of the Paschal Mystery of Christ and on some commemorations of saints.² Above all, we are referring to Christmas and Epiphany.³ It should be noted, however, that while in the Christmas form (which we will analyse in point 5. of the article) Marian themes are strongly present, in the euchology of the solemnity of the Epiphany, Mary's name is not mentioned even once (bearing in mind that the Hispanic Epiphany combines the themes of the bow of the Magi and the wedding at Cana, with Mary present in both these biblical scenes); meanwhile, the birth of Jesus from his Mother is mentioned only once (see Porosło 2017, 114). The Feast of the Circumcision of Christ celebrated on 1 January (let us add that in the Roman rite, the Solemnity of Mary, Mother of God, is celebrated on that day), which theologically combines the themes of the presentation of Jesus in the temple and the purification of Mary, and in the Hispanic rite is thoroughly Christological and focuses almost exclusively on the theology of the circumcision of Jesus and his presentation to the Lord (see Ivorra 2017, 138). We know, however, that in the Roman rite, mostly in the popular piety, the Feast of the Presentation of the Lord (celebrated on 2 February), became primarily the Feast of Candlemas.

In the Roman tradition, especially given the tradition of the Rorate Caeli mass in Poland, Advent has an eminently Marian character. The Hispanic Advent, the beginnings of which, according to some, date back even to the 4th century (see Sierra López 2012, 74–76),⁴ and which currently lasts six weeks, does not have such a profoundly Marian character, however. Only the form of the Second Sunday of Advent is primarily focused on the person of the Mother of God, which we will discuss in the next section of the article, while the other texts of the euchology of Advent place a much stronger emphasis on the person and mission of St. John the Baptist and the patriarchs and prophets than on Mary (see Sierra López 2012, 90–94; Ivorra 2017, 124–32; Ivorra 2010).⁵ A particular theological feature of the Hispanic Advent is the theme

² A Marian theme is found e.g. in the *Illatio* for the Feast of St. John Apostle and Evangelist celebrated on 29 December (*MHM II* 180–81).

A Marian theme is also to be found in the *Illatio* of the Mass for the Feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (*MHM II* 343–44) and in the second form for the *Ad Orationem Dominicam* Saturday in the octave of the Pascha (*MHM I* 472).

Some identify the first evidence of the Hispanic Advent in Canon 4 of the Council of Saragossa (380 AD), which orders the faithful to come to church for the three weeks preceding the solemnity of the Epiphany. It seems, however, that it was a time of preparation for baptism on the solemnity of Epiphany rather than Advent as we understand it today, that is, as a time of preparation for Christmas.

Although Juan Manuel Sierra López wrote about the Hispanic Advent in his article in the following terms: "Texts that refer to her [Mary] throughout Advent are numerous, although they differ significantly in length" (2012, 94–95), when it comes to commenting on specific texts relating to the person and role of Mary in Advent, he only refers to the euchology of the Second Sunday of Advent. The statement about numerous Advent texts relating to Mary is more wishful thinking than a reflection of the actual state of affairs.

of the first and second coming of Christ and the eschatological judgement (see Sierra López 2012, 79).

The virtually complete absence of references to Mary in the Eucharistic prayer of the Hispanic rite is equally telling. In light of the fairly popular belief that Mary's name is always mentioned in the anaphoras of the East and West, it is fair to say that this does not apply to the Mozarabic liturgy. Admittedly, it is true that the Hispanic anaphora does not contain any parts dedicated to the intercession of the saints, however, only very few Hispanic *Illatio* and *Post Pridie* prayers mention Mary in any way. It is generally the case only when the feast in question has a Marian theme.

We need to add to the facts mentioned here that until as late as the 7th century the Visigothic rite had no Marian feast of its own. The first one to appear in the liturgical calendar was the Sanctae Mariae solemnity, celebrated on 18 December. Some authors have suggested that the feast was originally celebrated on 17 December, as evidenced by the above-mentioned Canon 4 of the First Council of Saragossa held in 381 AD, which ordered the faithful to attend church for three weeks before Epiphany, that is since 17 December (Arocena 2017, can. 71). Yet, the text of the canon itself does not mention the name of Mary in any way that would justify linking the date to a feast celebrating the Mother of God. It was only Canon 1 of the Tenth Council of Toledo of 656 AD that provided a very precise explanation of the theological significance of the feast and mandated its celebration in the whole of Spain, on a single day in close proximity to the feast of Christmas, that is on 18 December (Arocena 2017, can. 66). The fact that the council addressed the issue and set a common date is a clear indication that the feast must have been established and celebrated before, though different dioceses celebrated it on different days. There is also a theory suggesting that a pre-existing feast of the Mother of God had a variable date of celebration, like, for example, Pascha (Ihnat 2019, 624-25; Pinell 1998, 129-35). Yet, this is the oldest source that confirms the existence of this feast. The aforementioned canon also reaffirms the Spanish tradition according to which no feasts should be celebrated during Lent, which would interrupt the penitential period. 25 March is therefore ruled out as the date of the feast of the Annunciation, which is accepted in the Roman rite as it precedes the date of Christmas Day (25 December) by nine months. Thus, Spanish bishops decided to set the date for the Feast of the Annunciation (which is called the Solemnity of the Blessed Virgin Mary) on a day that would not fall during the penitential period of the forty days of Lent and that would be in close proximity of Christmas. Ferrer points to the very old Roman tradition of O Antiphons which were sung at Vespers starting on the evening of 17 December, thus creating a kind of octave in preparation for Christmas. A similar direct preparation

⁶ For instance, Z. Janiec wrote: "Therefore, since ancient times, the Churches of the East and West have unanimously remembered Mary during the Eucharistic liturgy. [...] Mary is also present in all anaphoras, which are Eucharistic prayers that occupy a central place in the liturgy of the Church" (2009, 172–73).

was initiated in the Hispanic liturgy by the solemnity of *Sanctae Mariae*, which is why it was established on 18 December (see Ferrer 2012, 120).

Ibañez and Mendoza link the emergence of this solemnity in the liturgical calendar to the dogmatic sanctioning of the dogma of the Divine Motherhood of Mary at the Council of Ephesus (431 AD), and the dogma of the Perpetual Virginity of Mary, before, during, and after the birth of the Son of God, at the First Council of the Lateran (649 AD). They also point out the particularly intense development of Mariology in patristic literature approximately in this epoch (Ibañez and Mendoza 1990, 85). Thus, the Missal form for that solemnity was created slightly later than the feast itself emerged, and its creation is usually associated with St. Ildephonsus of Toledo (died in 667 AD),⁷ who was the author of the work *De Virginitate perpetua Sanctae Mariae*, which is highly significant for the theology of the perpetual virginity of Mary (see Ferrer 2008; Balleros Mateos 1985; Canal 1968).

In a recently published article, Ihnat attempts to demonstrate quite convincingly that the establishment of the oldest Marian feast in the Spanish liturgy and the setting of its celebration date on 18 December cannot be understood without considering the wider ecclesial context of the 7th century and the influence of the Roman and Byzantine traditions on the Iberian Peninsula (Ihnat 2019, 620). In her view, several factors can be listed that must have influenced Iberia:

- a) Around the same time, there was already a feast of the Annunciation celebrated during Advent in the liturgies of Ravenna, Rome, Milan, and Gaul (see Ihnat 2019, 626; Pinell 1998, 130).
- b) Around the mid-seventh century, four new Marian feasts were established in Rome (see Ihnat 2019, 628–29).
- c) The Council of the Lateran of 649 AD announced the dogma of the Perpetual Virginity of Mary. Although none of the Spanish bishops attended it, we know that in 649 AD abbot Taius, later bishop of Saragossa, was in Rome. He may have brought the information about the intensified Marian devotion back from the Eternal City (see Ihnat 2019, 620, 631–32).
- d) The establishment of a new feast celebrating, above all, the virginity of Mary, in 656 AD, following Tauis' return from Rome to Iberia.
- e) Perhaps Ildephonsus of Toledo extended his treatise *De virginitate beatae Mariae*, prepared for the Eighth Council of Toledo held in 653 AD with a second part concerned with the Virginity of Mary, following the establishment of the feast of 18 December (see Ihnat 2019, 624). Some manuscripts of that work contain liturgical rubrics, which is interpreted as an indication that the work was used as reading for the *matutinum* on the feast of 18 December (see Ihnat 2019, 623).

Complete or partial authorship of the form for the new Marian feast in Spain by Ildephonsus of Toledo is advocated, among others, by Brou 1950; Gironés Guillem 1964, 27. Ihnat believes that Ildephonsus may have been involved in the composition of liturgical texts for that feast, even if he was not their author (2019, 623).

f) It may be that the choice of 18 December as the date of the new Marian feast in Iberia was influenced by the Byzantine liturgy, as in Constantinople, a feast of Mary was celebrated at the church of Chalkoprateia on that day (see Ihnat 2019, 626; Krausmueller 2011; Shoemaker 2008). The church was built in the 5th century to honour the relic of the Virgin Mary's girdle.

Ihnat sums up her study, making the following statement: "In this context, the establishment of a Marian feast in Iberia is not an isolated event but seems to be a part of a pan-European movement of the 6th and 7th centuries. This does not rule out the role that factors specific and exclusive to Spain may have played in its emergence and development" (2019, 634).

The second Marian feast to be introduced into the liturgical calendar of the Hispanic rite is the solemnity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary which, as in the Roman rite, is celebrated on 15 August. Jordi Pinell believes that this feast was introduced only at the time of the decline of the Mozarabic era, not earlier than in the 9th century, and possibly even later. This is to be evidenced by the theological style of the euchology of this solemnity, which is markedly different from that of the 7th century (Pinell 1968, 170–71).

According to Adolfo Ivorra, the presence of these two solemnities in the liturgical calendar of the Hispanic rite in the first millennium would testify, on the one hand, to the influence of Eastern liturgies on the Hispanic liturgy, and, on the other hand, to a certain autonomy, as the Hispanic liturgy adopted only two feasts rather than the many Marian feasts present in the Eastern calendars (see Ivorra 2017, 220–21). This influence of the Byzantine liturgy on the Roman liturgy and, with some delay in reception, on the Hispanic liturgy, is illustrated in the table below (see Ivorra 2017, 221):

Century	Roman liturgy	Hispanic liturgy	Byzantine liturgy
6th			Annunciation Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
7th	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Presentation Annunciation Assumption	Blessed Virgin Mary (Annunciation)	Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Presentation Dormition (Assumption)
8th-9th		Assumption	

We know that with the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslim hands in the 11th century there was a suspension of the Hispanic rite, which was preserved, by way of privilege, only in six parishes of Toledo (see Ivorra 2017, 39–41;

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Roszak 2015, 42–44). This abolition of the Hispanic rite meant that in the second millennium, with a few exceptions, the rite virtually ceased to develop in its ritual forms which, as a consequence for our topic, means that it was immune to the wave of new Marian feasts, which emerged in the Roman rite in the second millennium. Juxtaposing the current Roman and Hispanic calendars we can observe the reticence of Marian liturgical devotion in comparison to the Roman tradition:

Commemoration/feast/solemnity	Hispanic Missal	Roman Missal ⁸	
Mary, Mother of God	-	1 January	
Our Lady of Lourdes	-	11 February	
Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary	18 December ⁹	25 March ¹⁰	
Our Lady of Fatima	-	13 May	
Visitation	-	31 May	
Our Lady of Mount Carmel	-	16 July	
Dedication of the Basilica of Saint Mary	-	5 August	
Assumption	15 August	15 August	
Our Virgin Mary, Queen	-	22 August	
Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	-	8 September	
The Most Holy Name of Mary	-	12 September	
Our Lady of Sorrows	-	15 September	
Our Lady of the Rosary	-	7 October	
Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary	-	21 November	
Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary	8 December	8 December	
Our Lady, Mother of the Church	-	Monday after Pentecost	
Immaculate Heart of Mary	- Saturday after the solemnity of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus		

Although we said that following its abolition in the 11th century, the rite virtually ceased to develop, one new Marian feast has nevertheless appeared in the liturgical calendar. It was introduced by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros in the 16th century as the solemnity of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, celebrated on 8 December, as in the Roman rite. The current missal form for this solemnity was not approved by the Holy See until 1866 (see Vadillo 2005, 76, 82) which was several years after the announcement in the *Ineffabilis Deus* papal bull issued by Pope

⁸ Here we can add the solemnities observed in the Polish Church: 3 May – Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of Poland, and 26 August – Feast of Our Lady of Czestochowa. In addition to that, there are a number of commemorations related to the local veneration of Mary.

⁹ As solemnity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In the Roman rite, the solemnity of the Annunciation has a Christological character, which is the reason why it is called the Annunciation of the Lord rather than the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Pius IX of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1854. It is worth noting, however, as Gabriel Ramis points out, that when the relevant Commission was working on the new Hispanic-Mozarabic Missal, the feast and the form of the Immaculate Conception of Mary were initially not taken into account because its date, 8 December, is closely related to the feast celebrated nine months later, that is the Nativity of Mary, unknown to the Hispanic liturgy (Ramis 2009, 124). Ramis and Ivorra therefore conclude that the form for the solemnity of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was introduced into the new Missal at the last moment, without presentation to the entire Commission, and was seen more as a feast of an idea/veneration than as a feast from the point of view of salvation history (see Ivorra 2017, 229).

May the final element of this introduction, before we proceed straight to the analysis of euchology, be an excerpt of Marian terminology from the new Hispanic/Mozarabic Missal, providing the number of occurrences of each term.

Mary's name is mentioned 92 times: Maria - 40, Mariae - 34, Mariam - 18 (CMHM 643). The expression 'mother' is featured 75 times: mater - 20, matre - 6, matrem - 20, matris - 29 (CMHM 645-46), 'Lady' (dominam) - 2 times (CMHM 451), with the term 'Virgin' occurring the most frequently - 244 times: virgine - 32, virginem - 54, virginis - 105, virgo - 53 (CMHM 939-41). It must be remembered, however, that this term in the Missal refers not only to Virgin Mary but also to other holy virgins commemorated throughout the liturgical year. As many as 189 out of the total of 244 occurrences of that term are found in forms for individual and common masses on Saints, while only 55 are found in masses for liturgical periods and for the common mass on the Mother of God. On the one hand, these numbers may seem large, on the other hand, however, we need to consider them in relation to a point of reference. The first one may be the occurrence of the name 'Jesus' and the title 'Lord': domine - 1043, domini - 323, domino - 279, dominum - 283, dominus - 520 (CMHM 452-57), Iesu - 237, Iesum - 131, Iesus - 190 (CMHM 560-61). The very terminology clearly points to the Christological rather than Mariological character of the Hispanic liturgy. The second point of reference may be the number of occurrences of the name 'Mary' and the title 'mother' in the current Roman Missal: Maria - 55, Mariae - 66, Mariam - 27; mater - 21, matre - 8, matrem - 10, matris - 7 (Sodi and Toniolo 2002, 980-82, 985-86). Considering how many more Marian feasts there are in the Roman Missal compared to the Hispanic Missal, we have to admit that the prevalence of occurrences of Marian terms is no longer so decisive.

We can sum up this brief presentation of the history of the development of Marian feasts and Marian terminology in the Hispanic/Mozarabic rite with preliminary conclusions. Comparing the number of Marian feasts in the Roman rite and the Hispanic rite, one undoubtedly gets the impression that Mariology in the latter rite is very sparse. Yet, the term 'sparse' in this case is negatively charged. This is especially true, given that the compilation of the occurrences of Marian terminology prompts

us to be more cautious in speaking too rashly about the 'sparse' Mariology in the Hispanic tradition. Perhaps it would be better to follow Ivorra (2017, 221) in speaking about a certain restraint (*sobriedad*) of Marian piety, which is also one of the characteristics of the genius of the Hispanic rite. Virtually all of the attention of the authors of the Visigothic and Mozarabic euchology focuses on the saving work of Jesus and His mediatory mission; thus, Mary is mentioned only when her person and actions relate directly to the saving work of Jesus. In the Hispanic liturgy, we will not find an autonomous presentation of Mary that would be in any way separate from the saving work of Her Son. Perhaps the most accurate summary of this was offered by José Aldazábal, who wrote:

The first observation about the Virgin Mary is that we could see an undeniable focus on the mystery of Christ in the Hispanic liturgy. During Advent, Christmas, and Pascha, there are many more prayers that concern the mystery of Christ without alluding to His Mother. Thus, the role of the Virgin Mary in the Church is clearly perceived within the framework of the whole Christian mystery of salvation rather than in itself. At the same time, it is treated with discretion and richness of perspectives (Aldazábal 1985, 30).

This richness of perspectives is revealed in the specific orations in mass forms, which we will now analyse.

2. Mass In secundo Dominico de Adventu Domini

Although the first Mariological reference is to be found in the *Ad pacem* oration of the Mass *In primo Dominico de Adventu* (*MHM I* 95), it is essentially only the form for the mass of the Second Sunday of Advent (*MHM I* 99–106) that is filled with Marian themes which we can find in the following orations: *Oratio admonitionis*, *Alia*, and, above all, *Illatio*; a short mention of the birth of the Virgin (*natus de virgine*) is also to be found in the *Benedictio* (*MHM I* 105).

The *Oratio admonitionis* (*MHM I* 101–2), referring directly to Matt 3:11 points out that in the celebrated Eucharist, the coming of the Son of God is announced in the same way as was done by St. John the Baptist and by the Prince of the heavenly host (*princeps angelicae militiae*), that is Archangel Gabriel, who announced that the Son of God would come to the world through the womb of the Holy Virgin (*Filius Dei* [...] *per uterum virginis sacrae in mundum annuntiavit venire*).

A beautiful Mariology is revealed by the prayer *Alia* (*MHM I* 102), which introduces the faithful to the intercessory prayer of the diptychs. The whole prayer speaks about the work of salvation of the world, which is a plan that God accomplishes through the mediation of Mary (this mediatory role is mentioned twice).

The oration, referring to Ps 96:11–12, calls on the whole of heaven and earth, sea, mountains, and forests to rejoice because the coming of the Lord has released the entire earth from the bondage in which it remained due to Adam's transgression. This was accomplished through the work of the incarnation, as the Word became flesh and came to dwell in the womb (literally "in the entrails") of the Holy Virgin (*Verbum caro factum habitat in sacrae virginis membris*), as the Lord was willing to come from heaven to the earth through the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Dominus homo dignatur per uterum beatae Virginis Mariae de caelo in mundum venire*). Ferrer interprets this oration, speaking about "Mary's sacramental mediation" (1997, 28–29), as the event that happened in history when the Son of God became man in Mary's womb is now happening at the sacramental level in the liturgy of the Church. His redemptive coming in the celebration of the Eucharist is also accomplished through the mediation of Mary and achieves the same effects. In the *Alia* we ask that the coming of the Lord (this time meaning the sacramental coming) may release our weak bodies from the bondage of sin.

Yet, the most beautiful Mariology of the Hispanic Advent is to be found in the poetic *Illatio* prayer (which is the equivalent of the Roman preface), which marks the beginning of the Eucharistic Prayer (*MHM I* 103–4). Before the liturgy summons the whole congregation to join the Angels, Thrones, Dominions, and Powers in singing *Sanctus* three times, it cites the most important reason for giving thanks to God; namely, the "wonders of the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*Domini nostri Iesu Christi adventum in mirabilibus praedicare*). The greatest of these wonders is the incarnation, accomplished in the angelic Annunciation to the Virgin Mary. The whole of *Illatio* is a story about that event which happened in Nazareth, as if now the Church, in the Eucharist it is celebrating, was receiving Angel Gabriel with his message of the incarnation and expected to see the same work of the Holy Spirit, which filled the Virgin's womb. The oration shows a close cooperation between the Angel, Mary, and the Holy Spirit in the incarnation; the Angel's promise is fulfilled through Mary's faith and the work of the Holy Spirit (*Gabriele pollicente, Maria credente, Dei vero Spiritu cooperante*).

The central part of the oration focuses on Mary's unwavering faith, which is presented in the context of the dogma of the Perpetual Virginity of Mary. Mary believes before the annunciation, during the annunciation, and after the annunciation, just as she is a virgin before, during, and after the birth of Jesus Christ (*Virgo ante conceptum, virgo semper futura post partum*) (see Ferrer 1997, 29). In this oration we can find St. Augustine's theology of the annunciation (Augustinus, *Sermo* 25,7 [PL 46, 937]; Augustinus, *Sermo* 293,1 [PL 38, 1327]). He pointed out that Mary conceived the Son of God in her heart/mind (*mente*) first, "receiving in faith, and not doubting, the word of God said by the Angel" (*sed quia hoc credando, non dubitando respondit, implevit Spiritus Sanctus quod Angelus spopondit*). Only later, as a consequence of this, she conceived the Son of God in her womb, where the Word

became flesh. The prayer ends with the statement that she who is full of grace (*virgo plena gratia Dei*), being the first to receive the Word of God into her womb, received the salvation offered to the world, and therefore she truly is the Mother of the Son of God (*vera Mater Filii Dei*).

The Mariology of Advent masses focuses, above all, on the scene of the annunciation and the faith of Mary, who accepts the message of the Angel without doubt. Her faith is shown, above all, in the context of the virgin conception of the Son of God. She conceived Him and gave birth to Him as a Virgin, because all of this was accomplished through the power of the Most High; at the same time, however, Her virginity signifies the purity of faith that is not tainted by any doubt. She is the Mother, because She is a Virgin; She is a Virgin, because she trusts God with unwavering certainty.

3. Mass In diem conceptionis Sanctae Mariae Virginis (8 December)

We have already mentioned that the form for the solemnity of the Conception of Mary was approved very late, namely, in the second half of the 19th century. In its style, we can immediately distinguish the characteristics of a more modern theological reflection, which is strongly influenced by the Roman tradition, rather than traces of poetic texts written by an early-medieval Spanish Father. Especially, as the first traces of the teaching about the Immaculate Conception of Mary in the Hispanic-Latin tradition can be found in the poetry of Prudentius and Sedulius (see Sotillo 1954, 167-68). Doubtlessly, the euchology of this solemnity was also influenced by the text of the papal bull *Ineffabilis Deus* issued by Pope Pius IX. Eduardo Vadillo Romero argues, however, that, despite being composed late, these texts do not diverge far from the ancient Mozarabic tradition and therefore it would be a mistake to treat them only as a late addition (2005, 76, 83). On the one hand, one can agree with him, as the literary style of these prayers clearly refers to compositions dating back to the first millennium and is characterised by great effusiveness, which is significantly different from the restrained Roman style. On the other hand, however, one should remember that none of the earlier Hispanic texts refers directly to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, even though we may seek some traces of the presence of this dogma in the Hispanic euchology (see Vadillo 2005, 76–82).

The first oration in the form, *Oratio admonitionis* (MHM II 114), is not a new composition; it was taken from the matutinum of the office celebrating St. Leocadia (Vives and Claveras 1946, 142–46), who is venerated one day later, on 9 December. The only change in it was the removal of the mention of the saint, which was replaced by a passage relating to the solemnity of the Immaculate Conception (*Immaculatae Conceptionis gloriosae Virginis Mariae celebrantes festum*). The text of this prayer

does not especially elaborate on the theology of the Immaculate Conception, but it speaks of the trust in God and the need for God's help in escaping eternal punishment (see Vadillo 2005, 83).

Contrary to the oration discussed above, the next one, which is the Alia (MHM II 114-15), presents the classic theology of the preservation of Mary from the stain of original sin by God and features all elements of a dogmatic pronouncement. It is also telling that the oration begins with the words Ineffabilis Deus Immaculatam Virginem Mariam, just like the papal bull issued by Pius IX, which announced the dogma. The oration speaks about the eternal selection of Mary by God (electa fuit aeternaliter), about it being proper (contulit) that the one who would be the Mother of God was prepared by grace (gratia anteverteret naturam), about Mary being perfect/suitable (idonea) from the moment she was first conceived, and her being preserved from the stain of original sin by virtue of the prospective merit of Jesus Christ (hoc Christi meritum) and a special privilege (hoc Mariae triumphus et privilegium). The oration also contains a reference to the Protoevangelium (Gen 3:15) which speaks of the enmity between the woman and the serpent and between their offspring. The Alia faithfully repeats the error propagated by the Vulgate, according to which Mary would crush the head of the serpent (ipsa conteret caput tuum). Meanwhile, the text of the Hebrew Bible states that "Her offspring will crush your head." 11

The *Post Nomina* (*MHM II* 115) oration is an adaptation of a very similar prayer taken from the form for the *Sanctae Mariae* solemnity (*MHM II* 139). The only difference is that instead of the mystery of the incarnation and virgin conception, it mentions the abundance of grace and the preservation of Mary from original sin (see Vadillo 2005, 84). The prayer praises the eternal Son of God for preserving in Mary the sweetness of goodness and abundance of mercy (*beatam Virginem Mariam dulcedine bonitatis et misericordiae abundantia praevenisti*), which makes her free from the contagion of nature (*contagione naturae*) that is the original sin.

The prayer *Ad pacem* (*MHM II* 116) asks for the gift of peace to be granted to the faithful the way Mary was filled with the gift of the Holy Spirit (*Spiritus Sancti replevisti dono*) in being immaculately conceived.

The longest and the most developed is the *Illatio* (*MHM II* 116–18), which clearly differs from other orations of the Hispanic liturgy in its style. At times, it has the character of a worship hymn, other times a catechesis, and other times yet it has the character of a wonderful story told by grandparents to their grandchildren. This practice is mentioned in the oration itself, which refers to the centuries-old tradition of people in Spain greeting each other with the formula: "Ave María Purísima, sin pecado concebida" (*Ave Purissima Maria sine peccati labe concepta*), which children are taught while still in the cradle (*ab incunabulis nos omnes accepimus*, *et patres*

The theme of Mary's victory over the serpent can also be found in the *Illatio* of the form of the common Mass *De Virginibus* (*MHM II* 735).

nostri tradiderunt nobis). This is how the oration also points to the sensus fidelium with reference to that dogma (see Vadillo 2005, 85). Virtually every sentence of this prayer, which praises the Ineffable God (ineffabilis Deus), who is worthy of the admiration of the saints, and even more so in the mystery of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Qui mirabilis in Sanctis tuis, mirabilior es in Immaculata Conceptione beatae Mariae Virginis), is composed of the contents of the dogmatic bull of Pope Pius IX. Suffice it to mention here the part of the bull in which the Pope pointed to the seminal expression of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception present in the deposit of the revelation, in the Old Testament figures of the Immaculate, and in the prophets. The oration also refers to these prophecies (praefiguratum mysteriis, oraculis annuntiatum propheticis et in plenitudine temporis adimpletum), which were fulfilled in Mary.

In the final part of that oration we find, like in the *Alia*, a direct reference to the Protoevangelium, culminating in the joy at the fact that Mary crushes the head of the serpent and that she is triumphant from the very first moment of her life, because she is full of grace, grounded in holiness, adorned with virtues, composed in her movements, purer than the angels, and so much more perfect than the rest of the creation that it is impossible to imagine that anyone more perfect could be created (*gratia plena*, *iustitia condita*, *virtutibus ornata*, *motibus composita*, *pura super Cherubim et Seraphim*, *perfectior denique omni creatura*, *ut nulla alia melior ipsa possit creari*).

The oration emphasises that Mary is exempt from the regular order of things and exalted in such a way that while all descendants of Adam fell, Mary alone still stood (omnium hominum Adami propago ruerit, sola steterit Maria). In this symbolic manner, speaking of the standing position, the oration introduces the theme of Mary's preservation from the original sin due to the fact that God prepared her to be the Mother of His beloved Son. God the Father, who is called the Source of Goodness (bonitatis fons) in the prayer, was looking for a suitable and worthy mother for His Son (diligens ad tanti Filii Dei idoneam et dignam Matrem). He prepared her for this role through the immaculate conception (Numquid non dedecus Filio, quod Mater particeps culpae fuerit, cum caro Filii sit Matris caro?). This is how the prayer develops the theology of the gift of the virgin conception of Mary, owing to which Her Son could be born of Her also free from original sin that is passed on through conception and birth. Here we can see a developed form of Irenaeus' theology of the "Virgin Earth," from which the New Adam was born. In the work of Irenaeus, this served to show that the virgin earth at the time of the creation of the first man foreshadowed the virgin motherhood of Mary (see Częsz 2009, 75). Here, the purpose of Mary's immaculate conception is to make sure that the Son of God is born free of the stain of sin. This theme will be developed especially in the *Illatio* of the *In VI feria Pas*chae Mass, where it is made clear that the Son of God was born free from all sin because He took on flesh from Mary, who was free from the contagion of Adam's sin (MHM I 458–59. See: Sotillo 1954, 170–71). Our oration sums up the entire passage

with these words: "the glory of children are their parents" (*Gloria filiorum parentes eorum*). This emphasises that Jesus also shone with the glory of His Mother, who was immaculately conceived.

The *Post Sanctus* oration (*MHM II* 504–5) is a plea to God to liberate us from all guilt through Mary's intercession (*ita eius intercessione a culpis omnibus liberi inhaerere mereamur*). Mary was the first to experience liberation from all sin by way of an extraordinary privilege (the oration literally speaks of immunity to sin: *ab omni labe immunem*) by virtue of the merit of the passion of Christ. Our justification from sins has the same source (*merito passionis Filii tui iustificas peccatores*). Here, the oration illustrates two dimensions of the work of grace: anticipatory grace protects us from sin (*tua gratia praeveniente*), while justifying and sanctifying grace makes us pleasing to God by forgiving our sins and making us more like the Son of God (see Vadillo 2005, 86).

It is unusual in other anaphoras in the Western tradition to address any part of the Eucharistic prayer to Mary. The *Post Pridie* (*MHM II* 118) oration for the discussed solemnity, which plays the role of the anamnesis and epiclesis, is all addressed to the Virgin Mary, whose Immaculate Conception we are celebrating (*Virgo Dei Genitrix, cuius hodie veram Immaculatam Conceptionem celebramus*). This oration is an adaptation of the *Post Pridie* for the solemnity of the Assumption of Mary (*MHM II* 504–5). Only the passage concerning the mystery being celebrated was changed. The unworthy and sinful (*indigni et peccatores*) members of the liturgical congregation ask Mary for intercession, so that they may be cleansed of the stain of sin (*abluti a contagione facinorum*) for her sake, become worthy of participation in this holy sacrifice (*sancta libamina digne sumere*), and one day be admitted to the angelic glory in the heavenly kingdom (*post gloriae Angelorum compotes esse in caelestibus regnis*).

The final prayer in the form is the *Ad Orationem Dominicam (MHM II* 119), in which the addressee is again called *Ineffabilis Deus*. The oration refers to the honouring (*honorificare*) of Mary in this world by God through the fact that the Holy Spirit revealed the mystery of the Immaculate Conception (*mysterium Immaculatae Conceptionis ipsius Virginis Mariae*) to us, the unworthy (*Spiritum Sanctum revelares indignis*). It contains a plea that the faithful be given the grace of faith required to receive that mystery.

To sum up, we can say that the form for the solemnity of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hispanic liturgy is largely based on the dogmatic bull *Ineffabilis Deus*. In the orations, we can frequently find all elements of the formula proclaiming this dogma on Mary being preserved from original sin. In the synthesis of the teaching on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in the Hispanic-Mozarabic liturgy, Vadillo Romero remarks that Mary's mission in the work of salvation implies the need for special holiness that separates her from sin. Over the centuries, this distance separating Mary from the consequences of sin

has been emphasised more and more strongly in orations. This process culminated in the modern form of the solemnity of the Immaculate Conception that we discussed, which *explicite* conveys the dogmatic teaching of Pope Pius IX (see Vadillo 2005, 87).

4. Mass In diem Sanctae Mariae (18 December)

As we mentioned above, it is widely believed that the form of the Mass for the Sanctae Mariae solemnity was written by St. Ildephonsus of Toledo. Ferrer notes that, without any doubt, this form is a "masterpiece of Hispanic theology and Marian devotion, which portrays the relationship between the mystery of the Son and the Mother in a poetic and eloquent manner" (2012, 120). According to the scholar from Toledo, the Oratio Admonitionis prayer (MHM II 137–38) takes the form close to a "homily" with an anti-Arian character, which also points to an influence of St. Ildephonsus' writing (see Ferrer 1997, 32). Ibañez and Mendoza again emphasise the beauty of the literary structure of the prayer (e.g. the sequence of sentences beginning with the participle «sic») and poetic expressions that cannot be rendered in a translation (1975, 165). The entire oration is a beautiful catechesis on the dual nature of the Son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary. The oration encourages us to join in giving glory to Jesus and His Mother, who is exalted as a Virgin and rewarded as a Mother. The oration presents Mary using a number of different titles: Virgo, Matrem, gerentem, genetricem. She is also called the cause of universal joy (quae omnium gaud*ia pariebat*) and the source of all joy (*origo exultationis*).

Christ is referred to both as the Son of Mary and a gift to Her because being conceived in Her womb, He "gave Her what She was lacking and being born of Her did not take away from Her what He has given Her." The prayer develops this theme further demonstrating that Mary's motherhood is, on the one hand, real, and therefore ordinary, but on the other hand, it is miraculous, due to the power of God working in Her. This extraordinary character of it is related to the fact that Mary, being free from sin, was through the grace of God spared the pain of childbirth which, according to the Bible, is the consequence of original sin (see Gen 3:16; Ferrer 2012, 123). Here we can see the first Hispanic traces of the teaching on Mary's freedom from original sin (see Vadillo 2005, 80). The issues discussed above can be illustrated in the following table:

Real motherhood	Miraculous motherhood
He does not deprive Her of the honour of carrying Him in Her womb	He does not cause her the distress of birth pains
He allows Her to express Her tenderness for the newborn child	He silences the mother's moans as she is about to give birth

The next theological theme addressed in this prayer-catechesis is Mary's faith, which enabled the conception and birth of the Son of God. The oration says that Mary accepted the Angel's annunciation in the depths of Her heart and through her ears thanks to the faith in which there was no room for doubting that God would have the power to fulfill what He has promised to do (*In recessu pectoris sermonem credulitas calefacit, indubitatumque verbum instringit auditus, et ad virtutem Dei spem repromissionis fides secura conglutinat*). In this oration, we can find a trace of patristic theology (present, for example, in St. Augustine's writings) *concepcio per aurem*, which was especially pronounced in medieval representations of the Annunciation scene (see Salvador-González 2015). Piotr Roszak sums it up with these words: "It was Mary's faith, combined with God's power, that enabled the conception of the Saviour. It is an original Visigothic observation that Mary's faith was the 'place' in which Christ rests. He wishes to meet humanity in this way and chooses the path of Mary's faith to become incarnate" (Roszak 2009, 97).

The following part of the prayer praises God's extraordinary act (*O ineffabilia divinitatis opera*), which is the exceptional conception and birth of Jesus that preserved the virginity of His Mother. It was not affected by the conception or by the birth of Christ, as the prayer compares Mary's womb to a gate or door that was not opened during conception and birth; and that was, moreover, sealed with the divine power of Her Son (*Unigenitus Filius Dei in maternis visceribus pariendi viam nec invenit, nec reliquit. Sic conceptus atque editus: signat virginis uterum, non designat*).

The final passage of the prayer has a soteriological dimension and presents the consequences of the incarnation for our salvation. The oration points to the victory of human nature in the fierce fight against Satan, who realises upon the birth of the Son of God that the One who has come has the power to rule and give people the life that he has of himself (*Talis itaque homo habet vitae potestatem, qua alios muneretur, qui eam non accepit aliunde, qua utitur*). He who is born of Mary as a man has, at the same time, from eternity been the maker of man and lord (the text literally states that he is the one who is "in possession") of those whom He redeemed.

The two remaining prayers, significantly shorter than the *Oratio Admonitionis*, that are included in the solemn intercessory prayer; namely, the *Alia (MHM II* 138–39) and *Post Nomina (MHM II* 139), also accentuate Mary's divine Motherhood and virginity. In both these orations we can find the same motive as in the prayer discussed above: the Eternal Son of God enters Mary's womb without violating or damaging Her virginity and without breaking the seal that was on it (*Domine Iesu Christe* [...] *ut et conceptionem tui virginalis uterus Altissimi obumbratione susciperet, et ad pariendum te porta materni corporis non pateret; Aeterne Dei Filius, qui virgineae matris uterum sic intrasti ne rumperes, sic aperuisti ne signata ullo modo violares).* Interestingly, a similar theology is to be found not only in the West but also in Eastern theology, for example, in the writings of Hesychius of Jerusalem from the 5th century (Hesychius Hierosolymitanus, *Sermo* 5 [PG 93, 1459–63]). In the writings of some

Fathers, Mary is called a "closed door" through which the Sun/light, that is Jesus Christ, enters (see Salvador-González 2022, 43–44, 48). Moreover, the *Alia* makes a parallel between Mary's virgin womb and the pure souls of the faithful in which the Son of God may dwell, as he dwelt under Mary's heart. This mystical presence of Jesus in man (*perpetuus habitator*) has two consequences: it purifies the soul (*puritatem... perfeceris*) and protects against sin (*operis tui custos*) (see Ibañez and Mendoza 1975, 168).

The *Illatio* (*MHM II* 140) is another beautiful dogmatic catechesis with an anti-Arian message. Its central theme is the parallel between the virgin motherhood and the theandric nature of Christ. The prayer speaks about the dual birth of the Son of God; the eternal birth from the Father (without distinction or division, not through adoption but through begetting, not through grace but by nature) and in time, owing to God's mercy for the sinful creation, from a Virgin who was sanctified and holy (*sanctificatae ac sanctae Virginis*). Vadillo sees this as one of the earliest traces of the theology of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, though not explicitly expressed as yet. Although there is no mention of when and how the sanctification of Mary took place, the oration still emphasises Her extraordinary holiness (see Vadillo 2005, 77).

The oration further points out that the birth from Mary is "indescribable" (ineffabiliter natus) because the Son of God was conceived in Her and born of Her without any taint of sin. It is stressed four times in the oration that it is the conception and birth of the Saviour who came to defeat sin and death; therefore they are not tainted by the stain of sin or corruption (natus sine ullo peccato [...] sine ulla corruptione). The oration also presents us with three stages of that process: the Angel's annunciation of the conception, conception in the mystery of Mary's faith (conceptus fidei singularis arcano) and birth without sin. The Illatio calls the child born of Mary's virgin womb 'Immaculate' (de secreto uteri virginalis immaculatus emicuit). In later theology, we have been accustomed to associate this title with Mary, who was immaculately conceived.

The remaining two variable orations that make up the anaphora for the solemnity of the Blessed Virgin Mary are very short and their Mariological aspect focuses on presenting Mary as a Mother and Virgin. The *Post Sanctus* (*MHM II* 141) portrays Mary as one who was given the grace of purity and preserved by Jesus from losing the glory of virginity (*castitatem contulit Virgini*, *et virginitatis decus non abstulit Matri*). There is also a beautiful parallel in the final phrase of the prayer, introduced by the structure *et... et* which illustrates that both the birth of Christ from Mary, and His death, which He did not hesitate to accept, were intended for our salvation (*qui et pro nobis ex eadem dignatus est nasci*, *et pro nostra redemptione non abhorruit suscipere mortem*). The *Post Pridie* (*MHM II* 141), which serves as the anamnesis and epiclesis in the Mozarabic anaphora, juxtaposes the event of the virgin conception and giving birth to Jesus by Mary (*Genetrici praestitisti ut mater esset et virgo*) with

the saving effect of the Eucharist, in which the Church is given the grace of faith, through which it will become sinless, and the grace of purity, through which it will become fruitful (*tribuas Ecclesiae tuae ut sit fide incorrupta et castitate fecunda*).

The Ad Orationem Dominicam (MHM II 141–42) also presents us with a parallel between the scene of the Annunciation and the public recitation of the Lord's Prayer. As in the annunciation, the Virgin, whom the Father chose to give birth to His Son (Pater, qui nasci Filium suum voluit ex utero virginis matris), was covered with the divine shadow to conceive and give birth to the Son of God (sicut divina obumbratione concepit Virgo ut pareret), so the congregation during liturgy receives Divine inspiration (divina inspiratione accensi), so that the community of the Church may, in a sense, be fruitful with what the Holy Spirit conceives in its womb (conceptum Sancti Spiritus) and what it will publicly proclaim as it was instructed to do by our Lord Jesus Christ (see Ibañez and Mendoza 1975, 175). In both cases we can see the pattern of Divine inspiration, internal conception, and birth/proclamation to the outside world.

To conclude, we may say that virtually the entire form for the *Sanctae Mariae* solemnity is a beautiful theological meditation on the mystery of Mary's virgin motherhood. At its centre lies the theme of conception in the Annunciation scene and of the birth that did not violate Mary's virginity. Mary's womb was and remained a window through which Divine light shone into the world, and a sealed gate through which the light of the Word passed without breaking the seal.

5. Mary and the Church in the Christmas Day Mass (25 December)

The last of the forms that we will analyse is the one intended for the Feast of the Nativity celebrated on 25 December (*MHM I* 135–45). Paradoxically, in the Hispanic liturgy, its character is not *strictly* Marian. Some of the orations included in the form do not mention Mary at all (e.g. *Ad pacem*, *Post Sanctus*, *Ad Orationem Dominicam*) or mention her very briefly, by merely making the remark that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary (*Oratio post Gloriam*).

The central part of the *Post pridie* oration (*MHM I* 144) combines the mystery of the incarnation accomplished through the work of the Holy Spirit with His sanctifying influence over the sacrifice offered on the altar (*eodem spiritu quo te in carne virginitas incorrupta concepit, has hostias Trinitas indivisa sanctificet). Ignacio Tomás Cánovas comments on it in the following manner: "The effect of the epiclesis is the sanctification of the sacrifice; thus what is sacramentally accomplished in it, owing to the work of the Holy Spirit, is the same as what was accomplished in the Virgin Mary; namely, the conception of the Son" (Tomás Cánovas 2003, 257). The same theological idea is conveyed in the <i>Alia* prayer (*MHM I* 139). The prayer

asks for the same thing that was accomplished in the flesh and in an extraordinary manner in Mary to be accomplished now in the spirit in the Church (*Quod praestitum est carnaliter sed singulariter tunc Mariae*, *nunc spiritaliter praestetur Ecclesiae*). This strictly theological link between the incarnation and Eucharistic epiclesis can be noticed in the writings of many Fathers, but also in nearly all liturgical traditions, in the form of symbolic gestures accompanying the epiclesis, such as stretching the hands over the gifts and bowing the body deeply so as to cast a shadow over the gifts, as the Holy Spirit did over the Virgin during the angelic annunciation (Luke 1:35). This mature theology of the epiclesis in conjunction with the mystery of the incarnation appears in the encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* by St. John Paul II: "At the Annunciation Mary conceived the Son of God in the physical reality of his body and blood, thus anticipating within herself what to some degree happens sacramentally in every believer who receives, under the signs of bread and wine, the Lord's body and blood" (*EE* 55)

From the Mariological point of view, the most important oration of Christmas Day is the *Illatio* (MHM I 142–43), which is among the longest in the entire Missal. It has profound poetic beauty and contains an original theology. The entire oration is constructed in such a way that it juxtaposes two Mothers: Mary and the Church, in a beautiful parallel. The beginning of the prayer, addressed to the most gracious Father (clementissime Pater) praises the double birth of the Son of God; the eternal begetting from the Father and the birth in time, after many long centuries (post multa tempora), from Mary, through which He who was the Lord of His Mother became the son of His Servant (factus est ancillae suae filius, Dominus matris suae, partus Mariae, fructus Ecclesiae). In this way, the prayer goes on to present this beautiful parallel between the birth of Jesus from His Mother-Mary and His continual birth from His Mother-Church. Here we can speak of, as was suggested, for example, by Ferrer, about Mary who is the image and type of the Church (see Ferrer 1997, 18). The same Toledo-based theologian goes on to claim that in this Christmas Day preface, Mary is portrayed as the "root of the Church" more than a model or type. Mary is the beginning, as if through germination, of the things that will reach their heights and fulfillment in the Church. In Mary, the relationship with Christ takes the form of Virgin motherhood, while in the Church it takes the form of married love, with the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit creating an extraordinary family that encompasses all continents, peoples, and languages. The most perfect fruits of this marriage (between Christ and the Church) are to be found in the martyrs and virgins, with Mary as the crowning of them all (see Ferrer 1997, 43). In this sense, the *Illatio* portrays the Church as the ripe fruit of what was sown in Mary, at the same time emphasising that without Mary as the beginning, this flourishing would not have been possible at all. The prayer seeks to draw attention to the global dimension of God's triumph in the world, which was first accomplished locally in Mary. We go back again to the St. Augustine's extraordinary homily which demonstrates that

Mary, while being the most perfect part of the Church, is still just a part of it, and thus the whole of the Church is something greater than one of its parts (see Augustinus, *Sermo* 25,7 [PL 46, 937]; Augustinus, *Sermo* 293,1 [PL 38, 1327]).

In the following table, we will include a list of characteristic features of the birth from Mother-Mary and from Mother-Church featured in the *Illatio*, juxtaposing them on the basis of the *Illa* ... *haec/ista* literary construction.

The first part of the prayer concludes with the phrase indicating that Christ charmed His Mother-Mary with the joy of a child, while His relationship with the Church was one of a pure exchange of beautiful love (*pretiosi amoris incorrupta commercia*), as he saw the Church as His Bride. The second part of the prayer is therefore a meditation on this biblical image of the love that Christ- the Groom, feels for the Church-His Bride (see Aldazábal 1985, 23).

The *Illatio* states that the Groom (even though it is the woman who brings the dowry into a marriage) presents the Bride with a "dowry" (*dotem*) of the spoils stolen from death that He accepted and defeated: waters of baptism, anointment with chrism, the Eucharistic table, the ornament of holiness, and the promise of future reign with Him in heaven (see Aldazábal 1985, 24).

According to José Aldazábal, Mother-Mary was not forgotten though. The gifts offered to the Church can be understood better when they are juxtaposed with the gifts offered to the Virgin Mary. After all, says the oration, God gives to the Church what He first gave to His Mother: being fruitful without having Her virginity violated; giving birth while remaining intact; being a Bride in a beautiful marriage bed and multiplying offspring in the womb of mercy; being fruitful in offspring without being tainted by lust. We may say that they both receive the same gift, which was given to

Mary at one time, and continues unceasingly in the Church; namely, the gift of fruitful virginity (see Aldazábal 1985, 24–25).

The "dowry" that the Church brings into this marital relationship with Christ is extraordinary too, although it is built on the model of "giving what it had first received." The *Illatio* emphasises that the Bride offers Jesus the gifts that she received from Him, as if these were her own possessions (*Sic et ipsa in ipso per ipsum dives effecta, sponso ac Domino suo humilia refert munera, hoc ei de proprio suo offerendo quod credidit*); these include roses – martyrs, lillies – virgins, violets – continents, the service of His ministers (the apostolic service) whom He established for the Church (*haec ad illum, per ministros voluntatis eius apostolos, confecta operi sui pensa transmisit*).

It is very interesting that the euchology of the Christmas Day Mass does not focus on the biblical account of the birth of Jesus from Mary in the cave in Bethlehem and the adoration of the shepherds, but instead very strongly emphasises the link between the birth from Mary and the birth from Mother-Church. Thus, the liturgy focuses on the spiritual and sacramental dimensions of Christmas Day, showing how, through the liturgy of the Church, we can experience the saving effects of the birth of the Son of God in us today.

Conclusions

The analysis of orations of the Hispanic-Mozarabic Missal for the periods of Advent and Christmas has enabled us to arrive at three main conclusions regarding Mariology in this rite.

The very small number of Marian feasts in the Hispanic-Mozarabic rite could suggest that Mariology in this rite is sparse. However, an analysis of these forms clearly indicates that it is better to speak about restraint of the Marian devotion in the Hispanic rite rather than about its sparsity. After all, the theology of the analysed forms is profoundly beautiful and rich in motives that are not to be found in the Roman tradition. We can find in it numerous biblical references (mostly to the Protoevangelium in Gen 3:15 and the annunciation scene in Luke 1:26–38), as well as references to the teachings about Mary originating from the councils and the Pope (Council of Ephesus, First Council of the Lateran, *Ineffabilis Deus* bull issued by Pius IX) and, above all, patristic references, chiefly to St. Augustine and to St. Ildephonsus of Toledo (see Ferrer 1997, 22; Balleros Mateos 1985, 36–37).

Without a doubt, this restraint of Mariology in the Hispanic euchology can be explained in two ways. First of all, the huge rise in devotional Marian piety, which gave rise to numerous Marian commemorations and feasts in the Roman calendar that are not found in the Hispanic rite, took place in the second millennium. As we

well know, this was the time when the Hispanic rite was suspended (1080 AD) and preserved only in a few centres (mainly Toledo), while its subsequent development was severely limited (also with respect to the emergence of new euchologies).

The second factor, perhaps even more significant from the theological point of view, was the development of the rite and the composition of the Hispanic euchology in the 7th and 8th centuries, following the conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism to Catholicism during the Third Council of Toledo in 589 AD. The euchology developed at that time had very strongly pronounced anti-Arian characteristics. Visigothic Arianism, though never strong enough to effect a lasting change in the faith of the Iberian Peninsula, which was powerfully illustrated by the adoption of Catholicism by the Visigothic elites during the Third Council of Toledo, still poured doubt about the true divinity of Jesus Christ into the minds and hearts of Spanish believers. Thus, it undermined the unity and equality of the Holy Trinity and made the Saviour into a "lesser God." As Ferrer notes, until the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in 711, crypto-Arianism and even stronger cultural and religious influences of Judaism acted as a powerful background influence on the shaping of theology in the Hispanic rite, including its Mariology. As a consequence of this, the Hispanic liturgy is, above all, characterised by very strong Christocentrism, which aims to shape the correct belief in the two natures in one person of Christ in the Catholics. The representation of Mary is also inseparably connected with the person of Her Divine Son and His work of salvation. Mary is worshipped as a Virgin and Mother of Jesus Christ, who is a true God and a true man. For this reason, the very historical and doctrinal context of the development of Marian devotion and worship in Spain, in which texts on Mary's virginity and Divine motherhood were written, clearly marked their theological and pastoral features. Their purpose was to eradicate traces of Arianism and theological influences of Judaism from the minds and hearts of the faithful (see Ferrer 2012, 112-13).

The original Hispanic Mariology focused on portraying Mary in Her saving role of the Mother of God, who was prepared for this task by God through the special grace of being and remaining a Virgin before, during, and after giving birth to the Son of God. Thus, the Hispanic liturgy shows Mary virtually always and inseparably in the mystery of her virgin motherhood. This is also indicated by the Marian terminology that we find in the Hispanic-Mozarabic Missal. It is significant that until this day in large parts of Spain, Mary is referred to not by her name but, above all, by the term 'Virgin' (*la Virgen*). This is not the case in the entire Christian world; suffice it to say that the Italians use the term *Madonna*, while the French refer to Mary by the title *Notre Dame*. Ferrer also points to an interesting fact; namely, that in the territory of the present-day Catalonia, which at the time belonged to the so-called Marca Hispanica, where celebrations in the Hispanic rite were discontinued two centuries earlier than in the other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, Mary is mostly referred to by the title *Madre de Dios* (Mother of God), which might be an indication that the most

dynamic development of piety related to Mary's Virginity took place during the Mozarabic period and the period between the 8th and 10th centuries (Ferrer 2012, 119).

A proper feature of the Hispanic Mariology is also its close connection with ecclesiology. In orations, Mary is frequently portrayed as the type of the Church. It is even better to say that she is portrayed in a close association with the Church, as what happened once in Mary's Virgin womb in the scenes of the Annunciation and Nativity, is to happen at the spiritual level, in a mysterious and sacramental manner, in the womb of the Church that is a Virgin-Mother, pure and fruitful. However, I fully agree with Ivorra that one needs to be careful not to impose the paradigm of Mariology of the second millennium onto these ancient and early-medieval texts (see Ivorra 2017, 223), and interpret these texts in the same spirit as did Tomás Cánovas or, even more so, Gironés Guillem, when they wrote about identifying Mary with the Church or her being the exemplary cause for the Church's motherhood.¹² It is clearly demonstrated in the Hispanic liturgy that this parallelism is not equal but that the things accomplished in Mary's body were surpassed by the Church. As we have already mentioned, we find here an Augustinian theology, as the Hispanic liturgy, aware of Mary's greatness and role, emphasises the significance and role of the Church in relation to Christ (see Ivorra 2017, 222-24). Finally, it is worth emphasising that the dogmatic conclusions presented here can be of great service to the formation of proper Marian piety, especially in the Polish Church, where it sometimes takes quite grotesque forms. The Hispanic liturgy teaches how to distribute the accents properly, showing that Marian devotion should always be modulated from the Christological and ecclesiological point of view.

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[&]quot;We can synthesise this theological presentation in the following manner: Mary and the Church are identified with each other. [...] Both Mary and the Church give life and salvation through the special personal relationship that they have with the Saviour" (Tomás Cánovas 2003, 251). "Mary's motherhood is the exemplary cause and the root cause of the Church's motherhood" (Gironés Guillem 1964, 68).

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