

appropriations have tended to dim the former magnificence of this once splendid temple, which now lacks the spirit and movement of life, for here solitude and melancholy brood enshrined and sad is the livery of Toledo. The pomp and ceremonies used to be remarkable even in Spain, where a really *divine* service was performed; then the vast space was crowded with ant-like myriads, and the city of the sleeper awoke as by a touch of the wand, and filled the streets, changing into stir and crowds their usual death-like monotony.

The windows, some of the earliest in Spain, were painted chiefly by foreigners; by Dolfín, 1418, by Alberto de Holanda, Maestro Christobal, Juan Campa, Luis, Pedro Frances, and Vasco de Troya. The subjects are taken from the Bible and legends of local saints, interspersed with the shields of the donors.

Proceeding to details, there are five naves, supported by 84 piers; the length is 404 feet, the width 204; the central nave is the highest. The cloisters lie to the N., near the *Sagrario* and *Salas*, which contain the relics and pictures. The *coro*, as usual, is placed in the heart of the central nave, but, as the rich Gothic *trascoro* is not very high, the eye sweeps over it: the choir is a museum of sculpture; the under stalls, were carved in 1495, by el Maestro Rodrigo; enriched with grotesque tedesque ornaments, they represent the campaigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, much in the style of Mazolino de Panicale. The name of each locality occupied by its representative, is carved on each seat. Observe, particularly, in these authentic contemporary records of citadels, arms, and costume, the surrender of the Alhambra. The upper stalls are in a perfect classical contrast, being embroidered with a prodigality of ornament; above them, in alabaster, or in most ivory-looking marble, is the genealogy of Christ, while the niches are divided by candelabra pillars resting on heads of cherubs. The seats are separated by red marble columns. The inscription placed here by Cardinal

Tavera in 1543 tells the truth. "Signatum marmorea tum ligna cœlavere hinc Philippus Burgundio, ex adverso Berruguetus Hispanus; certaverunt tum artificum ingenia, certabant semper spectatorum judicia:" and in passing judgment it is not easy to distinguish the works of one master from those of the other; of the 70 stalls, the 35 on the *Lado de la Epistola* are by Vigarney, who died here in 1543, and was buried near his works. In criticising the two great sculptors it may be observed that Vigarney is simple and grand in draperies and expressions, the figures somewhat shorter and stiffer, while Berruguete is more elegant and Italianlike. The latter artist also carved the Primate's throne, and the Transfiguration over it, a subject which from its very nature is ill adapted for solid materials. In the *coro* observe the exquisite *atriles*, or reading-desks, of gilt metal, wrought with scriptural bas-relief divided by female figures, a truly Florentine-like masterpiece of Villalpando. The *facistol* or *lectern*, consists of an eagle on a Gothic tower, with statues in niches, and is excellent. The black wooden image of the Virgin before it is very ancient. The *reja*, the gilt pillars which support the curtains, and the candelabra, are of the cinquecento taste, and the works of Domingo de Cespedes. The modern organs are churrigueresque, and look sadly out of harmony when brought in juxtaposition with the works of the giants of old.

Passing the *Entre los dos Coros*, observe the two pulpits of metal gilt, placed on short marble columns, and of exquisite workmanship, like the richest plate. These, worthy of Cellini, were made from the bronze tomb raised for himself by Alvaro de Luna, and broken up in 1449 by Henry, Infante of Aragon, when soured by his defeat at Olmedo; whereupon Alvaro sent him a copy of verses on this paltry revenge, while Juan de Mena (Cop. 264) condemns the uncivilized Vandals, whose "hearts were harder than the bronze." What would he have said of the iconoclasts, native and foreign, of this century? The

metal figures were so articulated as to rise up and kneel when mass was said. The glorious *reja* was wrought in 1548 by Villalpando.

The *Capilla Mayor* was enlarged by Cardinal Ximenez; but the rich Gothic work at the sides is older, and formed part of the original work of Tenorio. The lofty Gothic *retablo*, which is ascended by jasper and coloured steps, with five divisions, contains carvings of the life of the Saviour and Virgin, executed about 1500, by Juan de Borgoña, Fernando Rincon, el Maestro Felipe, and others under the directions of Pedro Gumiel (*el honrado*, see Index). The whole is *estofado*, or enamelled and gilt. Here are the tombs of the *ancient kings*, *los Reyes Viejos*; to wit, of Alonso VII., Sancho *el Deseado*, Sancho *el Bravo*, and the *Infante* Don Pedro. Here also lies buried the Cardinal Mendoza, ob. 1495; for his life consult '*Cronica del Gran Cardenal*,' Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, fol. Tol. 1625. This high-born and great prelate of a mighty sacerdotacy, almost shared the sovereignty with Ferdinand and Isabella, whence he was called Tertius Rex; he indeed united religious with ministerial power, and his decrees ran like those in the East, "*Saul and Samuel*" (1 Sam. xi. 7). This was the *Ego et Rex meus* which our Wolsey imitated: and now, a king in life, he lies interred in death among kings, the rare privilege of Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiv. 16). His plate-resque tomb, heightened with white and gold, the work of Henrique de Egas, is worthy of this glorious high altar, where all around, front and sides, is most elaborate; observe the infinite details of pinnacles, winged angels, and statues in niches, and among them the statue of Alonso VIII., the conqueror, and *al Lado del Evangelio*, that of the bearded Shepherd (*San Isidro*, see p. 236) who led the Christians to victory at *las Navas de Tolosa*, and opposite that of the "good Alfagui," who interceded with the treaty-breaking Frenchman Bernardo (see p. 785).

Next observe the sober Gothic *Res-paldos del Coro*, erected by Archbishop Tenorio in the 14th century, which

contrast with the *transparente*, an abomination of the 18th century, but which is the boast of the Toledans, and their disgrace. This was wrought by Narciso Tome, a heresiarch of churriguerrism, who here tortured *solid* material into clouds, gilt rays of light, and into everything most aerial: observe a pair of legs with no body to them, kicking out of a solid cloud. This fricassee of marble cost 200,000 ducats. The Archbishop Porto Carrero imported quarries from Italy, and ought to have been called *Porto Carrara*; he was the prime mover of Philip V.'s succession; this king-maker lies buried near the *Capilla del Sagrario*, with the epitaph "*Hic jacet pulvis cinis et nihil*;" this cannot be predicated of this *transparente*, as it is so very huge and so white that it cannot be hid, but arrests the eye to the detriment of finer objects; it is the style of Louis XIV. gone mad, yet it was inaugurated with bull-fights, sermons, and sonnets. A monk, one Francisco Galan, wrote a poem on this "*Octava Maravilla*;" in spite, however, of its absurdities, it evinces much depraved invention, and great workmanship and mastery over material; unfortunately a fine old *retablo* and pictures were destroyed, as at Leon, to make room for this monstrosity in marble. It is, however, curious as a type of the taste of an epoch and of a fashion; the workmanship again is marvellous; Gibbons never cut cedar more nicely than the stone is here carved.

Next visit the adjoining chapel of *Santiago*, erected in 1442, in the richest flamboyant Gothic, during all his pride of place, by that great "imp of fame" the Constable Alvaro de Luna, as his family burial-place; as he was master of Santiago, the *Veneras* or scallop-shells abound, as also do his *canting* arms, "gules party azure, a crescent (Luna) reversed argent." The original bronze tombs, it is said, were converted into pulpits, and the present ones of alabaster were sculptured by Pablo Ortiz in 1489, and erected by Maria, daughter of Alvaro. The armed *Maestre*, who was executed at Valladolid, in 1451, by his ungrateful sovereign, lies with his sword between his

legs, while knights clad in hauberk mail kneel at each corner of the tomb; near him is the *urna* of his wife, Juana de Pimentel, ob. 1489, for the repose of whose soul two monks and two nuns at the opposite angles are praying; the portraits of the deceased being near the altar. Observe also the once gilt tomb of Juan de Zerezueta, Archbishop of Toledo, ob. 1442; he was half brother to the Constable, and whole brother to Benedict XIII.; the head is very fine. Opposite is the tomb of the Conde de Montalbo, who died in the Real de Toledo, under Alonso VI.; notice the head wreathed with laurel leaves almost like a turban.

Next visit the most beautiful *Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos*, the chapel of the *new* or later kings, as compared to those older ones buried near the high altar. The original tomb-house was built in 1374 by Henrique II.; it was reconstructed in 1531 for Cardinal Tavera, by Alonso de Covarrubias and Alvaro Monegro; heralds in tabards marshal the stranger into this chamber of departed royalty; here under white and gold niches of richest Cellini plateresque embroidery, repose Henrique II., ob. 1379, his wife Juana, ob. 1381, their son Juan I., ob. 1390, his wife Leonora, ob. 1382 (their effigies knelt at the *Presbiterio*), Henrique III., ob. 1407, his wife Catalina (daughter of our John of Gaunt), ob. 1419. Juan II., by whose orders the first chapel was built, lies buried at Miraflores, but his statue is placed here among his ancestors, kneeling on a bracket. Consult '*Los Reyes Nuevos de Toledo*,' Christobal Lozano, 4to. Mad., 1674 or 1764.

Every other chapel must be visited. In *San Eugenio* are some remains of the old mosque, with Cufic inscriptions, and an arch and tomb of elaborate *turkish* work. In the *Santa Lucia* some ancient monuments and inscriptions exist of the 13th century; notice a good painting of the martyrdom of St. Peter, and outside to the l. another of St. John with a lamb, and full of effect. In the *Capilla de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua*, observe the rich Gothic work of the deep-recessed niche of the Virgin's image. In *la Adoracion de*

los Santos Reyes, observe the stone portal painted in red, blue, and gold; the *retablo*, the *reja* with twisted bars, and the picture of the dead Saviour.

The chapel of *San Ildefonso* was founded by Rodrigo, Alonso VIII.'s fighting primate. It was much improved by Gil de Albornoz, who is buried here, ob. 1350. His tomb is a masterpiece of Gothic niche and statue work: then observe that of his nephew Alonso, Bishop of Avila, ob. 1514, which is a charming specimen of cinquecento, with a raised work of birds, fruit, &c., picked out in white and gold, which canopies the *urna* on which the prelate lies. Near in a niche is the sepulchre of Inigo Lopez Carrillo de Mendoza, with the curious cap and jewel of the period, he died in 1491 at the siege of Granada. Close by is the tomb of Archbishop Juan de Contreras and of Cardinal Gaspar Borja, ob. 1645. The modern altar, with its poor statuary, is by the commonplace Ventura Rodriguez. This noble Gothic chapel is also illustrated with sculpture relating to the tutelar San Ildefonso, whose legend has afforded subjects to Murillo and the best Spanish artists. He was born at Toledo in 690, became chaplain to San Isidoro, and wrote a book in defence of the perpetual virginity, of the *αει παρθενος*, which some French heretics had questioned. The book '*De Virginitate Sa. Maria*' was printed at Paris in 8vo., 1576; his sermon on this text is still extant (see '*Esp. Sag.*' v. 493); but some of the arguments, however fitted for a congregation of Goths, cannot well be here repeated. One morning the Virgin came down from heaven, and attended at matins in the cathedral, sitting in her champion's seat, as she did in Teresa's at Avila and as the gods of Greece, had often done before, but they preferred meat to mass (Od. i. 420, 435; Il. i. 424). No person has ever occupied her seat since Sisibertus, who, trying to do so, was instantly expelled by angels. The Queen of Heaven next, when she had chaunted the service, placed on her defender's shoulders *la casulla*, chesible or cassock, investing him, as with the garter; she

then, speaking like the Veian Juno's statue (Livy, v. 22), told him that "it came from the treasures of her son." For the original narrative, drawn up by Cixila in 780, see '*Esp. Sag.*' v. 509. She also visited this saint's chapel at Jaen, Saturday, June 10, 1430. At the Moorish invasion this cassoek was carried into the Asturias, and is said to be in the chest of Oviedo, invisible indeed to mortal eyes (see p. 637); nor could it be worn by any mortal save Ildefonso, for when his successor foolishly put it on, it nearly strangled him, like the maddening shirt given by Dejanira.

"*Prisóle la garganta como cadena dura,
Fue luego enfogado por su gran locura.*"

The female deities of the Pagans were equally liberal in their gifts, which also were articles of dress, like the *Peplum* of Minerva, or the *Cistus* of Venus. (Compare the Cinta given at Tortosa by the Virgin, p. 398.) Consult also '*Libro de la Descencion,*' Francisco Porto Carrero, 4to. Mad. 1616.

San Ildefonso (whose grand festival takes place here Jan. 22) became primate of Toledo, where he died in 617, and was buried at the feet of Santa Leocadia; his body at the Moorish invasion was also carried off, and also was long lost, until, about the year 1270, a Toledan shepherd was caught in the cathedral at Zamora; suspected of being a thief, he replied, "San Ildefonso appearing in person, led me here and vanished:" thereupon Alonso VIII. dug the site, and a body was found, a chapel was built, and miracles were daily worked; see the details in Ortiz (Chr. xiv.); consult also '*San Ildefonso defendido,*' Alonso Vasquez, 4to. Alcalá, 1625; and '*El glorioso Doctor,*' Salazar de Mendoza, 4to. Tol. 1618. As Zaragoza claimed the primacy of Aragon because the Virgin had come down from heaven to visit Santiago there, so Toledo owes its elevation in Castile from her coming down to this San Ildefonso; accordingly Cardinal Rojas erected a shrine over the exact spot, which rises in a lofty pyramidal pile of open gilt carved Gothic work; observe his arms and portrait. The beautiful basso-relievs

by Vigarny represent San Ildefonso preaching his remarkable sermon, and his receiving the *Casulla*; behind is the real slab on which the Virgin's feet really alighted: encased in red marble, it is railed off, and inscribed, "Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus." The older motto, according to Ortiz (67), ran thus—

"*Quando la Reina del cielo
Púso los pies en el suelo
En esta piedra los pusó;
De besarla tened uso
Para mas vuestro consuelo.*"

And this miracle is to this day gravely related as a true one! ('*Esp. Mon.*' iii. 32.)

The multitude thus taught by the church the consolation and comfort of kissing have actually worn away the stone, as at Zaragoza and Santiago: a friction of pious lips rivals that, which the idols of antiquity could not resist; but such is the nature of things, as Lucretius observes, '*De Rerum Natura,*' i. 317—

Tum portas propter ahenas
Signa manus dextras ostendunt attenuari
Sæpe salutantum tactu.

Thus also the *footsteps of their Goddess* were kissed, according to Apuleius (Met. xi. 251), *exosculatus deæ vestigiis*. But adamant itself cannot resist this continual wear and tear, or as Hudibras says, of

The marble statues rubbed in pieces
With gallantry and pilgrim's kisses.

Look also at the portrait of Esteban Illan, the renowned alcaide and faithful friend of Alonso XI.

Next visit the *Capilla Mozarabe*, the Muzarabic chapel, which is placed under the unfinished tower; the *retablo* is of the date 1508. This peculiar ritual was re-established here in 1512, by Ximenez, to give the Vatican a hint, that Spain had not forgotten her former spiritual independence; in fact, however ultra-Romanist the policy and practice of Spaniards has apparently been, they have always resisted the *real* dominion of the *foreign* pontiff; they hoisted his creed and dogma alike, in opposition to the *Koran* of the invading Moslem as against the *Bible* of the Reformation; but the Ca-

tholic king was the champion of the Pope chiefly for his own Spanish purposes; thus, so long as Rome stimulated his armies, and sustained his ambition and inquisition, he was the eldest and most dutiful son of the church, but when the *Italian* wanted to force on Spaniards *Italian* schemes and persons, then *Españolismo* took offence. So the Iberian of old bribed his gods, when favours were wanted and were granted, being ready, if rejected, to resort to defiance and ill-treatment; thus Clement VII. was imprisoned by Charles V., and the holy city was sacked by his troops, worse even than by Gaul, ancient or modern: again, in our times, when money, the *primum mobile* in Spain, was wanting, the property of the church has been "appropriated" without consulting Gregory XVI. or Pio Nono.

The Muzarabic ritual, that used by the Spanish Goths, was the oldest in Christendom, and the nearest approaching to the Apostolical primitive form which was once delivered to the Saints; it is to Spaniards what the Rito Ambrogiano is to the Milanese: the original text was first tampered with in 633 by San Isidoro and San Leandro; so these saints are compared to Ezra, who remodelled the Old Testament. Their new version was enjoined by the 4th Council of Toledo, as being directed against the Arian heretics. The ritual was preserved by the Christians, who, under the tolerant rule of the Moor, here retained six churches, which still exist on the same sites, and should be visited; they are Santa Eulalia, San Torcato, San Sebastián, San Marcos, San Lucas, and Santa Justa, names which prove their antiquity. The features of this ritual are its simplicity and earnest tone of devotion, and the absence of auricular confession. The prayers and collects are so beautiful that many have been adopted in our Prayer Book; the host was divided into nine parts, which represent the Incarnation, Epiphany, Nativity, Circumcision, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Eternal Kingdom.

The term *Mozarabe*, *Muzarab*, has been erroneously derived from Musa and his Arabs, and also from *mirti-*

Arabes, foolishly presuming that the Moors spoke Latin, and that they gave this name to the Christians who lived mixed with them; but the Arabic *Must-Arab* means men who have lived with and tried to imitate the Arab, men who were not true *Arab-al-Araba* like the Hebrew of the Hebrews (Moh. D. i. 420). The discontinuance of the Gothic ritual was the work of the French, who denationalised Spain by the introduction of ultra Romanism; for Bernardo, not content with dispossessing the Moslem, next assailed the Christians, and worked on his weak countrywoman, Queen Costanza, until she perverted her husband; so Ingunde, the French wife of Hermenegildo, induced her husband in 580 to prove false alike to his religion and father. Bernardo, however, had much difficulty in substituting the Gregorian mass-book in the place of the Gothic and national one; for his independent subjects, who abhorred foreign dictation and innovation, clung to their primitive ritual; they distinguished its rival as *el Rito Galico*, an epithet since given to other benefits derived from France: at last the change of mass-book was effected by judicial combat, each ritual having its armed champion; but when the Gothic defender, Juan Ruiz, defeated his Gallo-Papal opponent, the perfidious Bernardo refused to abide by the award of his self-sought trial, and appealed to the test of fire; then the two volumes were placed on a burning pile, when the Gothic one remained unconsumed, while the Gallo-Romano leapt out. In spite, however, of these two adverse verdicts, the French fashion, the irresistible *mode de Paris*, prevailed, and the antagonist rituals first were allowed a concurrent usage, until the intruder, by bribes and force, finally trampled down its rival; hence the proverb, *Donde quieren Reyes ahí van leyes*, or, "might makes right." The Gregorian mass was first chanted at Toledo, Oct. 5, 1086. Ximenez printed the original ritual at *Alcalá de Henares* in 1500; as the edition became very rare, it was reprinted by Lorenzana,

in 1770, at *Puebla de los Angeles*, in Mexico, and again by him, at Rome, in 1785-1804: consult for all details the prefaces in his editions; see also Ortiz, chapter 41; the '*Life of Ximenez*,' by Eugenio Robles, 4to. Toledo, 1604. This biography contains the best portrait of the Cardinal, a profile engraved in 1604 by Petrus Angelus: it gives his true ascetic monkish character and thin compressed lips; consult also the '*History of the Reformation in Spain*,' by M'Crie.

The walls of this chapel were painted in fresco by Juan de Borgoña, in 1514, and represent the campaign of Oran, which was planned, defrayed, and headed by Ximenez in person; hence the saying, "*Pluma, Purpura, y Espada, solo en Cisneros se halla.*" Remember that Spaniards generally call Ximenez, Cisneros. On the day that Oran was taken, May 18, 1508, the sun stood still; thus the whole system of the heavenly spheres was deranged, in order that a ferocious sack might be prolonged under the eyes of the Cardinal, who blessed the soldiers while rioting in blood and lust. These solar miracles, however, were always very common in Spain and Africa (see p. 218); so before Scipio's expedition to the latter, two suns shone out, but the historian (Livy, xxix. 14) attributed the belief to superstition, for men were then "*proni et ad nuncianda et credenda prodigia.*" Copernicus and Galileo were accordingly treated as heretics by infallible popes for saying that the sun did not stand still.

Next visit *la Sala Capitular de Invierno*, the winter chapterhouse: the ante-room is very Moorish. The square portal was executed by Bernardino Bonifacio, and the doorway by Antonio Gutierrez in 1504, after designs of Antonio Rodriguez, and defrayed by Ximenez. They are among the earliest specimens of the *renaissance* style in Spain; observe also the three elaborate niches with rich finials. The superb *artesonado* ceiling was painted by Francisco Lara. Observe particularly the elaborate carvings on the oldest wardrobes, which were

wrought in 1549-51, for the Archbishop Siliceo (tutor to Philip II.), by Gregorio Pardo, a pupil of Berruguete, to whom they are erroneously attributed. On entering the *sala* first look up and down at the pavement and glorious ceiling. The walls are decorated with a series of paintings, executed in 1511 for Cardinal Ximenez, by Juan de Borgoña, and which resemble Pietro Perugino in style. The best are the nativity of the Virgin—her meeting St. Elizabeth in a rocky scene—the Gift of the *Casulla*—and a pretty "Holy Family" near the throne. Above the seats are hung portraits of the primates—that of *Sandoval* is by Tristan—which, from Ximenez downwards, are genuine. Observe that of Arch. Carranza de Miranda, who figured at the Council of Trent, the Confessor of our Bloody Mary, who stood by the death-bed of Charles V., and died at Rome a victim of the Spanish Inquisition. The earlier are good and true men of master-mind, who bore their great commissions in their looks; but the church of Spain kept pace with the degradation of country and art, and the bathos is complete in the booby Bourbon baboon *infante* Luis, the personification of mitred imbecility.

Now visit the portion of the cathedral which contains the pictures, relics, &c., that are kept in the *Sagrario*, *Sacristia*, *Ochavo*, and other saloons; these were planned in 1588 by Cardinal Quiroga, begun in 1616 by Juan Bautista Monegro for Cardinal Rojas, and finished by Archbishop Moscoso in 1652-8. The grand entrance with coloured marbles to the *Capilla del Sagrario* was erected in 1610 by Cardinal Rojas, nephew to the Duke of Lerma, minister to Philip III. His family is buried in the *Capilla Santa Marina*: observe the tombs, inscriptions, roof, and frescoes by Caxes and Carducho. The ceiling of the *Salon de la Sacristia* is painted by Luca Giordano with the standing local miracle of the Virgin's gift of the *Casulla*: observe the artist's own portrait near the window to the l. of the altar. Among the best pictures are a Venetian-like Martyrdom of Santa

Leocadia by Orrente, with a fine figure in black near a pillar—*el Calvario*, or Christ bearing his Cross, by *El Greco*, somewhat raw; also by him a Nativity and an Adoration, and some apostles. Inquire particularly for a small *San Francisco*, a carved image of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, by Alonso Cano, which is a masterpiece of cadaverous extatic sentiment. In the *Vestuario* are other pictures, and among them a Julio II. equal to Vandyke; a Nativity and a Circumcision by Bassano; a sketch by Rubens of St. George and the Holy Family; an Entombment, by Bellino. The *Ochavo* is an octagon, completed in 1630 by a son of *El Greco*, with most precious marbles and a dome painted in fresco by F. Rico and Carreno. This is the Donarium or treasure-house of the Virgin: compare Apuleius Met., ix. 183. Here are kept her most splendid dresses—what a wardrobe the meek and lowly handmaid must have had! Notice also some of her milk, a bit of the true cross, and other most genuine relics; the quantity of church-plate once made this room rival that of Loreto; the chief articles were removed to Cadiz at the French invasion, just as the Toledans eleven centuries before sent away to the Asturias their penates and property, which thus escaped the infidel spoiler. How the things of Spain reproduce themselves! The invaders, however, gleaned pretty well, having taken about 23 cwt. of silver from this cathedral. The admirer of old plate will examine the silver-gilt urns, made for the bodies of San Eugenio and Santa Leocadia for Philip II., by Francisco Merino, 1566-87; a statue of St. Ferdinand in silver; a Gothic Custodia, a master-piece of Henrique de Arphe; the identical cross of Cardinal Mendoza, which was elevated in 1492 on the captured Alhambra; the sword of Alonso VI. the conqueror of Toledo. Notice also an *Incensario*, made in the shape of a ship (*navis, nave, nef*); a Gothic spire-shaped *relicario*, which branches out like an épergne and holds some well-preserved relics; a precious vessel encased with antique gems: the huge

silver allegories of the four quarters of the globe are more valuable from material than fine art. For its former glories consult '*Sagrario de Toledo*,' a poem by Joseph de Valdevieso. 8vo. Mad. 1616, and Barcelona 1618; and '*Descripcion de la Capilla del Sagrario*,' Pedro Herrera, 4to. Mad. 1617.

But the "Great Queen" here is the Virgin, her graven image is carved of black wood, *nigra sum sed formosa* (Song of Sol, i. 5.) It was saved (*se dice*) in 711 from the infidels by one Godman (Goodman), an Englishman, who hid it in a vault, from whence it reappeared at the reconquest of Toledo. It is seated on a silver throne made in 1674, under a silver-gilt canopy of rude gothic work, supported by pillars. Her crown is one mass of jewellery, with a remarkable emerald and dove of pearl hanging under a diamond cross; her wardrobe is kept in a smaller *Sacristia*. On grand occasions she is arrayed in brocade, stiff with gold and pearls, in order to display which the petticoat is widened out at the base, terminating in a point with her crown: her rings, necklaces, and trinkets are countless: sad, indeed, would be the lament of the Blessed Virgin, whose sweet charm was lowly simplicity, could she again revisit this cathedral, and see all this worldly pomp of female dress and vanity!

Next visit the elegant Gothic cloisters, which, full of sunshine and flowers, were erected by Archbishop Tenorio in 1389, on the site of the *Alcana* or Jews' market, whose smell (see p. 224) offended his orthodox nose, and whose room was better than their company. As they would not sell this coveted Naboth's vineyard, the pious prelate instigated the mob in his sermons to burn the houses of the unbelievers, and then raised this beautiful enclosure on their foundations. He caused the walls to be painted in fresco, in the style of Memmi and Gaddi, with subjects which are described by Ortiz (ch. 60). He particularly specifies groups of heretics burning, no doubt those Jew market-ers, whose obstinate souls were then

doomed to the same flames by which their dwellings on earth were consumed. Narbona, also in his '*Historia de D. P. Tenorio*,' 4to. Tol. 1623, gives at p. 104 a detailed account of these most curious frescoes, which were believed to be by *Ioto* (Giotto). Some fragments yet exist in the *Capilla San Blas*. The bulk of these precious relics of art of the 14th century, were effaced in 1775 by the barbarian chapter, who employed the feeble Bayeu and Maella to cover the spaces with their commonplace academical inanities, whose raw modern tones mar the sober Gothic all around. These daubs represent the miracles and legends of *San Eugenio*, *Santa Leocadia*, and other local tutelars. Opposite to that in which Philip II. translates Eugenio's body is let into the wall a most interesting Gothic inscription, which was found in 1581, in digging the foundations for *San Juan de la Penitencia*; this early record runs thus—"In nomine Dei consecrata est, Ecclesia Scte Marie, in catolico die primo idus Aprilis, anno feliciter primo regni Dni nostri gloriosissimi Fl. Recaredi Regis Era 625," *i. e.* A.D. 587.

Next proceed to the beautiful plateresque gate *del Niño Perdido*, "of the lost child," which was erected in 1565 by Toribio Rodriguez. See for *El Niño de Guardia*, p. 244. This little Cupid of Spanish mythology has been the theme of many a pen and pencil. The Toledan clergy, in order to infuriate the fanatical mob, used to accuse the rich Jews of crucifying a Christian boy at their Passovers, and of putting his heart into a *hostia*, as a charm against the holy Inquisition. One of the earliest calumnies of the Jews against the Christians, had been that they killed a Pagan child in order to dip in his blood the bread of their sacrament (Justin Mart. 'Dial.' 227); and to this day in the East, whenever the pious Moslem wishes to plunder the wealthy Jew, this crime of child murder is mooted: thus, in a just retribution, the children of the Christians once persecuted by the Jews retaliate the same charge against the descendants of those who ac-

cused and pillaged their forefathers. As *heresy*, a question of opinion, is too nice for mobs, social crimes which they can understand, must be alleged in order to inflame their passions; thus infamous offences have been imputed, and superstitions, which secret rites and closed Passovers rendered credible, for *omne ignotum pro nefando est*, and mystery implies atrocious guilt. Child murder is one of the oldest charges, because the most successful, as rousing mothers against the offender, and thus converting the fair sex, man's ruler, into positive furies.

Visit the *Capilla de San Blas*; in the *retablo* is a grand picture, painted in 1584 by Luis de Velasco, by whom also is the Incarnation, and not the work of Blas de Pardo; it represents the Virgin, Saints, and the armed infante Fernando, who refused the crown on the death of Henrique III.; the old frescoes inside the upper arches are of the thirteenth century, and very curious relics. In the elegant *urna* in the centre, the work of Fernan Gonzalez, lies the founder of the chapel, Archbishop Tenorio, obt. 1399.

Near lies Arias, bishop of Plasencia, and the friend of Tenorio; the David and Lion are painted by Jordan. You ascend to the upper portion of the cloisters, which were finished by Ximenez, by a magnificent staircase. A door to the E. leads to the *Sala Capitular de Verano*, the summer chapterhouse, in which used to be kept three excellent pictures, called *la Espada*, *el Pajaro*, and *el Pez*; these were painted in 1584 by Velasco, although they have long been erroneously attributed to Blas del Pardo: they are now in the chapel under the finished tower. The different gates or entrances to these cloisters deserve notice. The beautiful *Puerta de Santa Catalina*, with its recessed arch inside, was built by Gutierrez de Cardenas, who with his son are placed adoring the *Virgin de la Antigua*, his wife and daughter being opposite. Look then at the *Capilla de la Pila Bautismal*, where the font is made from part of the destroyed bronze of Luna. *La Puerta Nueva*, of the date 1565, is ex-

quisite, it was wrought in the transition style from the Gothic to the plateresque, by José Manzano; the Corinthian front has been, however, attributed to Berruguete. The *Puerta de los Canonigos* en la Capilla de la Torre, by Covarrubias, is in the same elegant transition style.

Next visit the chapter library, a treasure which, as in some Protestant cathedrals, is buried in a napkin, not open to the public, but left to the banquet of moths, *arcedianos*, and worms. In the ante-room are six fine pictures, of which the Judith and Goliath are the best. The library, a noble saloon, is fresh, well lighted, and free from dust, indeed little enters here save the light and air of heaven. The library contains a good collection of Greek, Latin, and Arabic MSS.; a Bible of San Isidoro; the works of St. Gregory, in 7 vols., of the thirteenth century; a fine Talmud and Koran; a Greek Bible of the tenth century; an Esther in Hebrew; some MSS. of the time of Dante; an illuminated Bible, given by St. Louis; a missal of Charles V.; and many others of the age of Leo X. The printed books, of which most are Italian, are said to exceed 7000 in number, and were given by Lorenzana, who bought them at Rome.

In the W. plaza of the cathedral is the archbishop's palace, the fine portal of which was made by order of Tavera for his *Hospital de Afuera*, but appropriated by his successor. There is here a library open to the public. The adjoining *Casa del Ayuntamiento* or mansion-house was built by Domenico Greco. On the fine staircase are some admirable verses addressed to the municipality, *desechad las oficiones, codicias, amor y miedo, &c.*, excellent theories on paper, most excellently neglected in Spanish practice. The architect will have much to observe in Toledo; one peculiarity is the arrangement of the house portals, the soffits, projecting door-posts, lintels, and cannon-ball ornaments. Visit once exquisite *la Casa de Vargas*, which overlooks the *Vega*, and was built for the secretary of Philip II. by Vergara,

as richly as a piece of Cellini plate. Observe the ruined façade, *patio*, and staircase. It had long been abandoned by its unworthy owner, the Conde de Mora, a *muñoz*, although a descendant of Toledo's historian; yet time had used it gently until Victor and Soult came, who, having pillaged the interior, burnt and destroyed the rest.

Near the *Zocodover* is the *Hospital de la Santa Cruz*, founded in 1504 by Pedro Mendoza, the great Cardinal de Santa Croce. The position overlooking the Tagus is glorious, and the building is one of the gems of the world; nor can any chasing of Cellini surpass the elegant portal, over which the Invention of the Cross is placed, with the kneeling founder and Santa Helena. The general style of the edifice is in the transition from florid Gothic to the classical and renaissance. It was finished in 1514 by Henrique de Egas, for whose exquisite chiselings the creamy stone, *la piedra blanca*, seems to have been created. A superb *patio* is enriched with the arms of the proud Mendoza, and their motto *Ave Maria gratia plena*. Observe particularly the two beautiful *patios*, the staircase, which, with its ceilings, balustrades, &c., baffles description. The chapel, one fine long nave, is unfinished, nor is the altar placed where it was originally intended. There are some bad pictures by L. Giordano, and a portrait of the founder. This edifice is now used as a foundling hospital: many of the large buildings in this overhanging corner of Toledo are said to occupy the site of the old Moorish palace of Galafre, and there is now a scheme of placing here the great *Colegio Militar*, or military school of Spain, to which purpose the huge square bald pile, the *Fonda del Arzobispo* or *Caridad*, is appropriated; that will be no loss to fine art, but one trembles for Santa Cruz, for Santiago, and other architectural gems. In the adjoining convent of *El Carmen* are the Berruguete noble tombs of Pedro Lopez de Ayala, obt. 1444, and of another Don Pedro, obt. 1599. Do not fail to visit the nunnery of *Santiago* or *Santa Fe*; the views from the *mirador* and *azotea* are charming; the

interior has two fine patios, enriched with pillars and porcelain tiles: the chapel is elaborately decorated, and has a semi-moro oratory near the *coro*. In the *Sala Capitular* are some pictures, and a dead Christ, attributed to Alonso Cano; but Monsieur Soult removed all the best. The nuns are noble ladies, *Caballeras*, and wear the white robes and red cross of the order of Santiago. Next visit the *San Juan de la Penitencia*, founded for the Franciscan order by Cardinal Ximenez in 1511; the chapel is plain, and has been unfortunately whitewashed; the ceiling is of Moorish artesonado character, but dilapidated. Here also is the fine tomb of Francisco Ruiz, Bishop of Avila, a friend of Ximenez, and by whom the edifice was completed. The hair of the seated females looks somewhat too large and turban-like, but the curtain raised by angels throws a fine sepulchral shadow over the prelate's effigy. The pillared *retablo* is filled with tedesque paintings, and the *reja* is good. The lovers of the fabulous may visit the cave of Hercules, in which Roderick, the last of the Goths, saw such portentous visions (see Southey's note, 54). The entrance lies near *San Gines*, and was opened in 1546 by Archbishop Siliceo, but it has never since been properly investigated. Inquire for and visit a dilapidated specimen of a Moorish house in the *Calle de las Tornarias*, near the church *San Cristobal*. It is called *el Taller del Moro*, because here (according to Pisa, iii. 6) Ambrou, the Moorish governor of Huesca, invited the refractory chiefs of Toledo to dinner, and, as each arrived, cut off their heads, to the tune of 400. Compare this with Mehemet Ali's murderous welcome of the Mamelukes, or with Maroto's sharp practice at Estrella (p. 956). The saloon was used by the chapter as a sort of store-room.

In the *Calle de Cristo de la Luz* is a very curious Moorish mosque, which was afterwards given to the Templars: the roof is supported by four low square pillars, each having different capitals, from whence spring double arches, like those in the Mezquita of Cordova. The ceiling is divided into 9 compartments,

with domes or *medias naranjas*; the suspended shield, "gules a cross or," was left here by Alonso VI., who paused here to say mass when he entered Toledo as its conqueror. In the same street is a gloomy pile with gratings, which was the prison of the penitents of the Inquisition. The corner house was the *Refugium parturientium*—the lying-in asylum for the unmarried mothers, an institution once very necessary in this city of rich levitical celibates. Navagiero (p. 8) thus sketches clerical life at Toledo in the time of Charles V.: "I Padroni di Toledo e delle donne precipue sono i preti, li quali hanno bonissime case e trionfano dandose la miglior vida del mondo, senza che alcuno li repretenda." No wonder that Cortes cautioned Charles V. not to send out such prelates and dignitaries to the New World, fearing that their *example* might bring Christianity into disrepute even among the untutored Indian savages. The *Bisoño* gentry, continues Navagiero (p. 10), had no "ducats," "ma in loco de quella suppliscono con superbia, o come dicono loro con fantasia, della qual sono si ricchi che si fussero equali le faculta no bastaria il mundo contra loro:" nor in regard to pretension and poverty has much change taken place.

The ecclesiologist should inquire for the beautiful Ionic chapel in the Bernardino convent *Los Silos*, and the fine Assumption of the Virgin by El Greco. In *San Roman*, especially in the tower, is some Moorish work and inscriptions, with singular arches and ancient pillars. From the tower Alonso VIII. was proclaimed. There are some strange mummies in the vaults. Near it, at *San Clemente*, is a fine cinquecento gate. In *San Pedro Martir* are some good statues of Faith and Charity, and one of the Dominican Martyr in black and white marble. Observe the brocal del Algive, with some Arabic inscriptions 1032.

The celebrated *fabrica de armas*, or manufactory of Toledan swords, is placed on the r. bank of the Tagus, about one mile S.W. of the city, not crossing the bridge; the view of Toledo from the doorway is fine. The huge

rectangular unsightly building was raised for Charles III. by Sabatini in 1788, and is well provided with forges, &c. The chapel is dedicated to Santa Barbara, the patroness of cannons. All the *armas blancas* for the army of Spain are made here: the choicest Toledan blades are of a fine temper and polish, and are so elastic, that they are sometimes packed up in boxes curled up like the mainspring of a watch, or "compassed," as Falstaff says, "like a good Bilboa, in the circumference of a peck, hilt to point, heel to head." Arms were the joy and life of the aboriginal Spaniards, nay dearer than life, for when they were taken from them, the disarmed committed suicide (Livy, xxxiv. 17; Sil. Ital. iii. 330; Justin, xlv. 2, 5).

The Spaniards always went armed; and this being provided with means of defence and of offence, fostered that reliance on self or personal prowess and independence, which at every period has formed a national characteristic. This custom of carrying a sword or knife, cold steel in some shape, this *το σιδηροφορεῖσθαι*, unusual among the civilized Greeks and Romans, was stigmatized by Thucydides (i. 5) as an evidence of barbarism and insecurity of person and property. The ancient Germans always went armed; thus the Goths brought their habit into a congenial soil. With the Gotho-Spaniard the hand was for the sword, and the heel for the spur.

The Iberian swords were adopted by the Romans for their *Velites*, who retained the *epithet* Spanish. Polybius (iii. 114) distinguishes between them and those of Gaul, while Diod. Siculus (v. 356) enlarges on their merits and mode of manufacture. Their double edge was no less fatal than the genuine Iberian dirk, the prototype of the modern *cuchillo*, which Cicero calls *pujunculus Hispaniensis*; the vernacular name was *daga* (dagger), which the Greeks rendered by *βραχυν*. Thus our "rare Ben Jonson" speaks of the modern rapier "as the *long* sword, the *father* of swords," an idea followed out by Hudibras,—

"This sword a dagger had, its page,
That was but little for its age."

Spain.—II.

From thus *attending* on the long sword, the short companion was also termed *παρὰξίφισ* and *εργχειρίδιον*, a little *handy* thing. This dagger, now replaced by the knife, became the helpmate never permitted to be divorced from its liege master. The weapons, time out of mind, have been inseparable. Thus the *hidalgo* was ordered by Philip II., in 1564, only to appear with his *espada* (spatha) and with his *broquel*; the use of the latter was to cut meat and despatch a prostrate foe, and hence it was called *misericordia*, as giving the *coup de grace*; it was worn by the Iberians in their girdles, as the *cuchillo* is now in the *fajas* (Livy, vii. 10). As the bayonet is the English weapon which decides her great victories, so this dagger and the *cuchillo* are the deadly tools of the *guerrilla*, and settle the little warfare. With this the Iberians slaughtered their enemies at Cannæ (App. 'B. An.' 562), as the Spaniards in our times massacred thousands of French stragglers and wounded. This again was the *sica*, the arm of the *Sicarii* or cut-throats of antiquity, as it was of the Miquelites of Cæsar Borgia, and is to this day the formidable weapon of the wild Berber Moors in the Ereefe mountains, and of the Spaniard from the Bidasoa to the Straits. On the Iberian Pugio see Mart. xiv. 33; Strabo, iii. 231; and Diod. Siculus, v. 356.

The identical mines worked by the ancients still produce the finest ores, for the soil of Spain is iron-pregnant. Those near *Calatayud* on the Jalon, the "steel-tempering" Bilbilis, rival the metals of the Basque provinces and the iron mountains of *Somorrostro* and *Mondragon*; (Pliny, 'N. H.' xxxiv. 14) the steel was buried in the earth in order that the baser portions might rust away; and the modern *hierro helado*, frozen iron, corresponds with the metal of old, dipped in the Jalon, qui ferrum gelat (Martial, i. 50, 12). The steel was tempered in winter, and the blade, when red hot, was whirled round in the cold air, and when reduced to a *cherry* heat (the *cerezado* of present practice) was put into oil or grease and then into boiling water (see *Mondragon*, R. 120).

The military Romans kept up the Iberian processes and manufactories, which were continued by the Goths. See San Isidoro (Or. xvi. 20), and *Gratius* (Cyn. 341) alludes to the peculiar *couteau de chasseur*, the *cultrum Toledanum*. The Moors introduced their Damascene system of additional ornament and tempering, and so early as 852 this identical *fabrica* at Toledo was in full work under Abd-r-rahman Ben Alhakem (Conde, i. 285). The Moors also made a large double-handed double-edged sword (Conde, i. 456), which became the model of the mediæval *montante*. The best marks are those of *El Morillo*, *el Moro de Zaragoza* (on some of these brands see Lett. 13 of 'Dillon's Travels in Spain;' and better far in the new catalogue of the *Armeria* of Madrid, where facsimiles are given). The next best were made by Italians, by Andre Ferrara, who settled at Zaragoza, and by whom were furnished those splendid blades which Ferdinand sent to Henry VIII. on his marriage with his daughter Catherine. These "trenchant swords" were the "Toledos trusty," of which, says Mercutio, "a soldier dreams." These were the weapons which Othello the Moor "kept in his chamber" like a treasure: "a sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper; a better never did itself sustain upon a soldier's thigh." Other good marks are *la loba*, and *el perrillo*, the little dog, a mark used at Toledo by a Moor named Julian del Rei.

The finest collection of historical swords in the world is in the *Armeria* at Madrid. The sword, the type and arm of chivalry, has always been honoured in Spain. The Moors petted and named them like children: Mahomet called his weapon, the "sword of God," Kaled Ben Walid. The *Tisona*, "the sparkling brand," and the *Colada* of the Cid were his *spolia opima* from Moorish kings. These were his *queridas prendas*, *caras prendas*, which he loved better than his wife and daughters, and which figure so much in his *Romancero* (Duran, v. 154). Many swords have mottoes indicative of the fine old Castilian spirit, e. g. *No me saques sin razon, no me envaines sin honor*; Do not draw me with-

out *cause*, do not sheath me without *honour*. The introduction of firearms dealt the first blow to Toledan swords, which then became the arm of cavalry, in which the Spaniards do not excel. The last blow was the fashion of the smaller French sword, which dispossessed the Spanish rapier. Consult the essay on ancient Spanish arms, the *Lancea*, *Gæsum*, *Olosideron*, &c. ('*Historia Literaria*,' Mohedano, iii. 336).

In Spanish the sword is called *cuchillo*, the blade *cuchilla*, a gash *cuchillada*, a stab *estocada*. Foils with buttons are called *negras*, those without them *blancas*. *Guerra á cuchillo*, or war to the knife, was the answer of Palafox to the summons of surrender; and generally follows the other national cry, *Mueran los Gavachos!* death to the miscreant French. For knives, see *Albacete*, p. 803.

The transition from old swords to old castles is easy: as Toledo was the capital of the S. frontier of Spain, it was well defended against the Moors by mediæval fortresses. The hilly lines of the *Montes de Toledo*, *Sierra del Duque*, &c., with the moat rivers of the Tagus and Guadiana, formed noble sites for defence. These wild and picturesque scenes, which never have been properly investigated, well deserve notice from the artist and antiquarian. Among the chief castles are those of *Montalban*, *Torrijos*, &c., described at p. 487.

On the road to *Montalban*, at the village of *Guadamur*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ L. from Toledo, and near *Potan*, is a very compact castle on a small scale, but externally well preserved, with bartizan angular turrets to the keep. The ruined rooms have some Gothic inscriptions. The arms of the Counts of Fuen-Salida, over the entrance, indicate Pedro Lope de Ayala, the first count and favourite of Enrique IV. (See Vargas, *Toledo*, v. 30).

The castles of *Almonacid* and *Orgaz* may be conveniently visited in the same riding tour; take a local guide, and attend to the provend; the former lies to the S.E., on the road to *Madridejos*, and is about 3 L. from Toledo.

The ruined fortress crowns the apex of a conical hill, and, from commanding the plain, was selected by its builder Archbishop Tenorio. It is of mixed *tapia* and masonry. Seen from afar, with the great keep rising above its walled enclosure, it is very picturesque; near it Sebastiani routed Venegas, Aug. 15, 1809, who, with 27,000 men, was to have co-operated with Cuesta at *Talavera*, but he kept away in consequence of secret instructions from the traitor *Junta* of Seville. Left single-handed, his whole conduct exhibited a gross ignorance of his profession; for on the 10th he ought to have attacked the French, who were far inferior in number; but he delayed until their reserves had arrived; and then, when he ought to have avoided a combat, courted one, and was utterly and instantaneously defeated, one charge sufficing to put his whole army to flight, he himself leading the way, which his ill-equipped dispirited troops could but follow. This miserable man was thereupon rewarded by being made governor of Cadiz, and was afterwards created Marques de la *Reunion* by Ferdinand VII. Thus the title of a *Belle Alliance* was conferred on a *delincuente honrado*, by whose failure of junction the allied cause was exposed at *Talavera* to such imminent peril. To complete these *cosas de España*, *Toreno* (ix.) imputes the disaster of *Almonacid* to one *Zolina*, who declined fighting in consequence of the bad omen of his horse having stumbled in the advance. According to Schepeler, this *Zolina* always had a chaplain at his side, and in battle never drew his sword, but counted his beads; and on another occasion refused to cross a murmuring brook, because it muttered Heaven's warning against the attempt.

Two *L.* on, is another castle on the hill of *Mora*; you may then make for *Orgaz*, 5 *L.* south of *Toledo*, and near the spurs of the *Montes*: pop. 2500. The parish church, *Santo Tomás*, although unfinished, is a superb specimen of the designs and masonry of *Herrera*, and with paintings by *Carreño*. The ruined castle of the *Condes*

is picturesque; for whom see p. 781. You can return to *Toledo* by another route through *Villaminaya*. If you go through *Jepes*—*Posada del Sol*—see the pictures by *Tristan* in the parish church.

ROUTE 104.—TOLEDO TO ARANJUEZ.

| | | |
|-----------------|---|------|
| Villamejor..... | 3 | |
| Aranjuez..... | 3 | .. 6 |

This carriageable road, made by Cardinal *Lorenzana*, and taken by the diligence, ascends the basin of the *Tagus*, which flows on the *L.*, sometimes near, sometimes at a distance, through the valley of *La Sagra*. Its green banks mark its course, winding like a snake in the desert. On crossing the bridge turn round, and look a last farewell on imperial and most picturesque *Toledo*. The country is truly desolate, and seems uninhabited, the scanty agricultural villagers who vegetate between the river and *Madrid* are genuine old *Castilians*, and have been drawn to the life by *Mr. Borrow*. Here exist the Arab love of tribe and hatred of neighbour, for *Vargas* and *Villaseca* hold no communion.

Villamejor was made a much worse hamlet by the invaders, who sacked it and ravaged the fine establishments raised there by *Charles III.* *Aranjuez* is approached by the *Campo Flamenco*, for here all is foreign. The road-sides for the last few miles are planted with English elms: now the groves and verdurous oasis show what might be done elsewhere by common sense and water. The diligence stops at *Aranjuez* at *la Posta*. *Las Cuatro Naciones* is kept by an Englishman, named *John Stradwick*, whose wife is a lively bustling Frenchwoman, who superintends and understands the cuisine: *Posada de la Parra* small but good. To see the palace and gardens an *esquela* ought to be had from *Madrid*. There is a '*Descripcion Historica*' by *Alvarez de Quindos*, 4to. *Mad.* 1804; a Guide published in 1824 by *Manuel de Aleas*; a '*Guia Pintoresco*,' by *E. de L. y R.*, *Mad.* 1844; and also some engraved