

under the hill *Izarraiz*; pop. 4200. It is a walled place and has four gates. The Doric façade of the church San Sebastian was planned in 1767 by Ventura Rodriguez, and the heavy statue of the tutelar was carved by one Pedro Michel, who was no Michael Angelo. You may also look at the tomb of a Bishop of Tuy. Inside is the *Pila*, the font at which Loyola was baptized: the French, in 1794, carried off the silver cover: yet mothers flock here with their babies to have them christened *Ignacio*. Sterile women used to offer their shifts at this shrine in the hopes of becoming happy mothers: to what shifts must they now be put since the burly Jesuits are gone!

Make an excursion to the *Fundicion de Iraeta* and visit the iron-works; also to the ferruginous baths at *Cestona*; but the marvel of the locality is the large Jesuit college, which was built out of the residence formerly belonging to the family of Ignacio Loyola; being pleasantly placed under the heights, with a fertile plain in front, the site exactly suited an order which never was known to found a convent in a barren ground. The *santuario* was founded in 1671 by Mariana of Austria, from designs of Carlo Fontana, a Roman architect. The edifice is now untenanted, excepting by a chaplain

who shows it to visitors. The church is handsome, and enriched with jaspers from the hill *Izarraiz*, "the rock;" the *cimborio* or cupola supported by pillars is elegant: observe the marbles and mosaics. The entrance-hall to the monastery is noble, and the double corridor beyond is handsome; in a long low room up stairs San Ignacio was born in 1491, and now the sacred site is encased and venerated, like the house of the Virgin, which angels moved from Palestine to Loretto. This *Santa Casa*, in fact, is here compared to Bethlehem! and was made a temple, as used to be done in Pagan times (Mart. ix. 2); the *religio loci* was turned to profit. The chapel in which Loyola recovered from his wounds received at the siege of Pamplona—this "holiest of holies," to which St. Peter came down from heaven to attend this patient!—is divided by a *reja*, and is ornamented with bold carvings, some gilt and painted, which illustrate the authentic marvels and subjects in his life. Consult his '*Vida*,' &c., Pedro Ribadeneira, Duo., Mad., 1586; and see p. 424.

From *Azpeitia* to Tolosa is a charming pastoral, Swiss-like ride, especially the last four or five miles among the hills, wild woods, and long-leaved chesnuts.

SECTION XIII.

THE KINGDOM OF ARRAGON.

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The warm months are the best periods for visiting Arragon, and especially the Pyrenean districts. Zaragoza, Huesca, and Route 134 are the objects of chief interest.

El Reino de Aragon.—The kingdom of Arragon, once a separate and independent state, was, Castile alone excepted, the most warlike and powerful one in the Peninsula. It extends in length about 140 miles E. to W., and about 200 miles N. and S., and is encompassed by mountains on all sides—viz. the Pyrenees, the Sierras of Morella, Albarracin, Molina, and Soria. The Ebro, which might be made navigable, flows through the central basin, N.W. to S.E., and divides the kingdom almost equally. The climate varies according to locality and elevation: generally speaking, the province, from being so exposed to mountains, is much wind-blown; thus the plains over which the cutting blasts descend from the Moncayo, the home of Æolus, are most miserable. The chief winds are *El Cierzo*, the N.W., *El Bochorno*, the S.E., both of which are keen and cold, while *El Faqueno*, the W. (*Favonius*), brings showers, warmth, and fertility. The vegetable productions are varied, as the soil ranges from the snow-capt mountain to the sunny plain under the latitude 41. The botany and Flora of the Spanish Pyrenees, as well as the natural history, geology, and mineralogy, have yet to be properly investigated. The *Montes* abound with game, the hill lochs, *Ibones*, and hill streams with trout. The population is under a million, which is scanty for an area of 15,000 English miles. Accordingly, large tracts of fertile land are left in a state of nature, depopulated and uncultivated. Much, however, is of that hungry

description which, according to the old traveller in Purchas, produces little except "craggez and stonez, that maketh pilgrymez weary bonez." The Arragonese themselves consider *liberty* to have been the great compensation by which their ancestors were indemnified for such a hard soil and climate. This district, too ungenial for the Moors of the plain, was chiefly peopled by the Berber mountaineers, but they were soon expelled by the children of the Goth, who, so early as 819, united together in the fastnesses of *Sobrarbe*, where their primitive laws were drawn up, which became the model of the *Fueros* of many other cities. The government was conducted by *patres et Seniores*, heads of families, and elders, and from the latter word the Spanish term *Señor* or lord is derived. These *Fueros* were digested into a code by Vital, bishop of Huesca, and confirmed in that town in 1246, by Jaime I. The prerogatives of the kings, who were scarcely more than presidents, were much curtailed by these Arragonese Ephori, whose allegiance was but limited and conditional; thus the crown was but the coronet of the noble, with a somewhat richer jewellery, for each vassal singly held himself to be as good as his king, and all united held themselves to be better. About the year 1137 Petronilla, daughter of Ramon el Monge, and heiress of the crown, married Ramon Berenguer, sovereign count of Barcelona; thus military Arragon was incorporated with commercial Catalonia, and the united people extended their conquests and trade alike by sea and land, becoming masters of the Mediterranean, Naples, Sicily, and Valencia. All these acquisitions were carried to the crown of Castile by the marriage, in 1479, of Ferdinand, heir apparent of Arragon, with Isabella; thus the first link of their golden wedding-ring joined Arragon to Castile, and the last link connected the New World to Spain: all these consolidations descended from them to their grandson Charles V. As Ferdinand had jealously maintained his separate rights of a sovereign perfectly independent of Castile, the Arragonese, after his death, insisted on the continuance of their own peculiar laws and *Fueros*, which almost guaranteed republican institutions under an ostensible monarchy; but such was the peculiarity of most of the early Peninsular popular liberties, which were enjoyed to a greater extent than any other European nation, England not excepted.

The Arragonese *Fueros*, which almost guaranteed republican institutions under an ostensible monarchy, are now curiosities for legal antiquarians. The Parliament met in four *Brazos*, branches—the clergy, the nobility, the gentry, and the people—and each voted separately, the consent of all four being necessary to pass a law. The greatest jealousy against the monarch was exhibited in all matters of finance and personal liberty, while a high officer, called *el Justicia*, the impersonation of masculine Justice, Mr. Justice, was the guardian of the laws, and stood a *Juez medio* or go-between the king and the people. In all appeals when the *Fueros* were infringed, the appellant was said to be *manifestado*, &c.; his person was thus brought under the custody of the court, as by our Habeas Corpus, and his cause removed from ordinary tribunals, as by our writ of *quo warranto* and *certiorari*. The society at large was secured by the "*Union*," or a confederacy, whose members, in case the king violated the law, were absolved from allegiance. This element of disunion was abolished in 1348, when Pedro IV. cut the parchment to pieces with his dagger, and having wounded himself in his haste, exclaimed, *Tal fuero sangre de Rey habia costar*, "Such a charter must cost a king's blood:" hence he was called *El del Puñal*. The French destroyed, in 1808, his curious portrait in this attitude. In 1591 the notorious Antonio Perez fled to Zaragoza, and appealed to Juan Lanuza, the *Justicia*, whereupon Philip II. marched an army into Arragon, and hanged the judge, with whom perished this privilege; and whatever liberties were then respected were abolished in 1707 by Philip V. Zaragoza has now an *Audiencia* or *tribunal supremo de Justicia*, with a jurisdiction over more than 750,000 souls: the number of persons tried is usually about 1 in every 340.

For the ancient constitutional curiosities of Arragon consult its Coke, Geronimo Zurita; the early edition of his '*Anales*' is rare, 6 vols. fol. Zaragoza, 1562-80-85. It was republished in 7 vols. fol. in 1610-21, and continued by Vincencio Blasco de Lanuza, 2 vols. 1622, and by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, 1 vol. fol. 1630; '*Coronaciones*,' &c. Geronimo de Blancas, 4to. Zar. 1641; by Miguel Ramon Zapater, 1 vol. fol. 1663; by Diego de Sayas Rabanera y Ortuña, 1 vol. fol. 1666; by Diego Joseph Dormer, 1 vol. fol. 1697; and by José de Panyano, 1 vol. fol. 1705. All this series was printed at Zaragoza. '*Corona real del Pireneo*,' Domingo de la Ripa, 2 vols. fol. Zar. 1685; and his '*Defensa Historica de Sobrabe*,' fol. Zar. 1675. Consult also '*Anales de Arragon*,' B. L. Argensola, 1st part, fol. Zar. 1630; and 2nd part by Uztaroz, fol. Zar. 1663; '*Teatro Historico de las Iglesias de Arragon*,' Lamberto Zaragoza. Pamp. 1782-5, 4to. 4 vols. This excellent work was continued by Ramon de Huesca, 1785-1807, 5 vols. 4to.; the complete set is in 9 vols.: '*Los Reyes de Arragon*,' Pedro Abarca, 2 vols. fol. Mad. 1682-4, and '*Historia de la Economia Politica*,' D. J. de Asso, 4to. Zar. 1705. The best catalogue of works of Spanish constitutions and jurisprudence, and especially as regards Arragon and Catalonia, is '*Sacra Themidis Hispanæ Arcana*,' 8vo. Mad. 1780. This work was compiled by the learned Juan Lucas Cortes, but was purloined, and first published as his own, by a Dane, one Gerard de Frankenau. For Arragonese authors, consult '*La Tassu*,' 8 vols. 4to.

Arragon, a disagreeable province, is inhabited by a disagreeable people. *Obstinacy*, indeed, is the characteristic of the *testarudo* natives, who are said to drive nails into walls with their heads, into which when anything is driven, nothing can get it out. They have, however, a certain serious Spartan simplicity, and are fine, vigorous, active men, warlike, courageous, and enduring to the last. Like the Catalonians, they have the antipathies of position and the hankerings after former independence; they detest the Castilians and abhor the French, using them both for their own objects and then abusing them. Their costume differs from the Catalonian, as knee breeches take the place of pantaloons, and broad-brimmed slouching hats do of the red Phrygian cap or a handkerchief. The lower classes are fond of red and blue colours, and wear very broad silken sashes. The favourite national air and dance is *La Jota Aragonesa*, which is brisk and jerky, but highly spirit-stirring to the native, on whom, when afar from Arragon, it acts like the Ranz des Vaches on the Swiss, creating an irresistible Nostalgia or home-sickness. The arms of Arragon are "Or four bars gules," said to have been assumed by *Wifred el Velloso*, who, when wounded in battle, drew his bleeding fingers across his golden shield, a truly soldierlike blazon, cruor horrida tinxerat arma.

The finest portions of the Pyrenees lie in Arragon, and have yet to be investigated by geologists, botanists, artists, and sportsmen; while the French slope is full of summer watering-places, social, sensual, and civilized, the Spanish side is rude, savage, and Iberian, the lair of the smuggler, and of wild bird and beast. All who venture into the recesses must attend to the provend, and take a local guide.

This lofty range stretches far beyond the transversal spine, for the mountains of the Basque provinces, Asturias and Galicia, are but its continuation. The width of the range is narrowest to the E., being only about 20 miles across near *Figueras*, while the heights are the lowest at the W. extremity, seldom exceeding 9000 feet. The width opposite *Pamplona* ranges at about 40 miles. The average height of perpetual snow ranges between 8000 feet and 9000 feet, a datum which is useful in calculating elevations. In the Alps this line is at 6600 feet, in the Andes 14,000 feet.

The two best carriageable lines of intercommunication are placed at each extremity: that to the W. passes through *Irun*, that to the E. through *Figueras*. On these lines are the best towns and accommodations. The chief secondary

passes are the *Puerto de Maya* and *de Roncesvalles* in Navarre; those of *Canfranc*, *Panticosa*, *Gavarnir*, *Vielsa*, *Brecha de Roldan*, and *Marcaudan* in Arragon: and of *Plan de Ause*, *Puigcerda*, and the *Col de Pertus* in Catalonia. For more details on the Pyrenees, see p. 926.

ZARAGOZA is the time-honoured, immortal capital of Arragon: Inns, *Las Cuatro Naciones*; *Fonda de las Diligencias*; *el Leon de Oro*, Calle del Coso; *el Turco*, Calle Areocineja. There are good baths at *la Casa de Baños* and *del Huerva*.

Zaragoza was the Celtiberian *Sal-duba*; but when Augustus, A.C. 25, became its benefactor, it was called *Cæsarea Augusta*, *Καισαραυγουστα* (Strabo, iii. 225), of which the present name is a corruption; always a free city or *Colonia immunitis*, having its own charters; it was a *Conventus Juridicus*, or seat of judicial assizes. It had a mint, of which Florez ('Med.' i. 186) enumerates sixty-six coins, ranging from Augustus to Caligula. There are no remains of the Roman city, which Moors and Spaniards have used as a quarry, and whatever antiquities turn up in digging new foundations are reinterred as "useless old stones;" *Cean Berm. Sum.* 131.

Zaragoza set an early example of renouncing Paganism, and here Aulus Prudentius, the first Christian poet, was born, A.D. 348 (some, however, say at Calahorra). Then the city could boast of primitive martyrs and real Christianity, *Christus in totis habitat plateis*, *Christus ubique est* (Peris, iv. 71). Now, however, the Virgin reigns paramount. It is, and always has been, a city of relics; thus in 542, when besieged by the French, under Childebert, the burgesses carried the stole or *Estola* of San Vicente round the walls, which at once scared away the invaders ('*Esp. Sag.*' viii. 187; xxx. 127). But the French grew wiser in 1200 years; thus when the Duke of Orleans, in 1707, overran Arragon with troops, the Conde de Puebla assured the Zaragozans that there were no real French at all, but that their appearance was a "magical illusion;" so the old stole was brought

out against them in the old style, but the invaders took the town forthwith (Mahon, '*War of Suc.*' vi.).

Zaragoza was captured by the Moors in the eighth century, but the victors being chiefly of Berber extraction, soon waged war against the Kalif of Cordova. Thus their Sheikh, Suleyman Al-Arabi (the Ibn Alarabi of old Spanish Chronicles), went in 777 to Paderborn, to implore the aid of Charlemagne; but when this especial champion of Christian Europe against the Saracens, thus invited, entered Arragon in 778, the perverse people refused to admit their allies into their garrison, and rose upon them when returning to France by Roncesvalles. Zaragoza was recovered from the Moors in 1118 by Alonso *el batallador*, after a siege of five years, when the stubborn population had almost all perished from hunger. Nevertheless, as most things in Spain are accidental, in 1591, when Philip II. advanced on Zaragoza, the citizens "*committed themselves to such safety as their heels might procure them*, abandoning their guest, Antonio Perez, and presently after the city of Zaragoza" (Corneywayle in Somers Tracts, iii. 311). So in 1823 the Patriots swaggered stupendously, and forthwith surrendered to Molitor, Ballesteros being the first to seek safety in his heels. For the resistances of nobler renown, see post, p. 917.

Zaragoza is a dull, gloomy, and old-fashioned town: Pop. about 65,000. Being the capital of the province, it is the residence of a Captain-General, and chief military and civil authorities, and the seat of an *audiencia*. It has a theatre, museo, *circulo* or club, *Plaza de Toros*, and university, with the usual civil and military establishments; it is the see of an archbishop since 1318, whose suffragans are Huesca, Barbastro, Jaca, Tarazona, Al-

barracin, and Teruel. It is placed in a fertile plain which is irrigated by the Ebro; this river separates the city from its suburb, and is crossed by a good stone bridge; seen from outside, the town, with its slim towers and spires, has an imposing character from without, but inside it is full of beggars and poverty; the streets are mostly tortuous lanes, ill-paved and worse lighted, with the exception of the *Coso* or *Pozo* moat, which is the aorta of the town, and the great passage of circulation, or *el curso*, like the Corso at Rome. The houses are indeed castles, being built in solid masonry; but time-honoured Zaragoza has been battered by French bombs, and sacrificed to upstart Madrid; too many of the mansions of an absentee nobility are either left in a chancery-like dilapidation, or let to agriculturists, who talk about bullocks in stately saloons, and convert noble *Patios* into farmyards and dung-heaps. These rude rustics also block up the city lanes with their cumbersome primitive carts; these they moreover fill with dismal noises, of their own and their creaking wheels making, to which are added certain iron clanking cymbals, that give notice of their approach, as in very few streets can two vehicles pass; hence the din, dirt, stench, and insolent obstructions are intolerable. At Zaragoza the architect will fully comprehend the substantial style of Arragonese building; and observe the superbly carved soffits, rafters, and external cornices, the rich internal cinque-cento decorations, and the slim church belfry towers, which are usually constructed in brick, angular in form, and ornamented outside with an embroidered tracery. The artist may here study a school of painting which is little known in Spain, and quite unknown out of it. As the entire observations of Cean Bermudez were fortunately still in MS., the French not having a printed guide, did not know where to go for art-plunder, not but what their fatal bombs destroyed much of what they otherwise would have collected; consult Miñano's '*Diccionario*,

x. 80. The chief artists are *Ramon Torrente*, obt. 1323, and his pupil *Guillen Fort*; *Bonant de Ortiga*, who flourished in 1437; *Pedro de Aponte*, painter in 1479 to Ferdinand, and a pupil in Italy of Signorelli and Ghirlandajo; *Tomas Pelegret*, a co-pupil of Polidoro Caravaggio, who introduced the cinque-cento style, which *Damian Forment*, the Berruguete of Arragon, carried to such perfection in sculpture. *Antonio Galceran*, who painted so much at Barbastro, in 1588; *Geronimo de Mora*, who studied, in 1587, under F. Zuccaro, in the Escorial: *Francisco Ximenez*, obt. 1666, who painted in the *Seu* the life of San Pedro Arbues. Arragonese art ceased with Goya and Bayeu, being then strangled by the commonplace R. Academical. Zaragoza bears for arms "Gules, a lion rampant, or," granted, say the natives, by Augustus Cæsar. The lay of the old and smaller town is clearly marked out by those streets, which have since been built on the former boulevards or circumvallation: it began at the river, passed up the *Mercado Nuevo*, in the *Coso*, thence to the *Puerta del Sol*, where a few Roman ruins have been traced; here the rivulet Huerba flows into the Ebro; the south side is laid out in public walks, and long lines of poplar trees. The favourite *Alamedas* are *Santa Engracia*, the *Torrero*, and *Casa blanca*; the latter is especially frequented on June 24, *El día de San Juan*, and June 29, of *San Pedro*.

Zaragoza will not detain the traveller long, for here the invaders, as at Burgos, Salamanca, and Toledo, have ruined palaces, libraries, hospitals, churches, etc. For what the city was before that visitation, consult '*Tropheos y Antigüedades*,' Luis Lopez de Lino, 4to., Barcelona, 1639; '*Obelisco de Zaragoza*,' Juan Fr°. Andres, 4to., Zar., 1646; Ponz, '*Viaje*,' xv.: for Zaragozaan worthies, '*Inscripciones en la Real Sala de la Diputacion*,' Geronimo de Blancas, 4to., Zaragoza, 1680: for the ecclesiastical and hagiographical, Florez, '*Esp. Sag.*' xxx. xxxi., and '*Historia de Iglesia*,' Diego Murillo, 4to., Barcelona, 1616.

Commence sight-seeing at the noble

stone bridge which was thrown across the muddy Ebro in 1437. The two cathedrals now rise in front; for in Spain, that land of contrasts, this provincial city has two metropolitans, while the capital, Madrid, has none. The chapter reside alternately for six months in each of these cathedrals, which in exterior, interior, and creed, are also complete contrasts: one is an ancient severe church raised to the Saviour; the other a modern theatrical temple dedicated to the Great Diana, for now we are in the very Ephesus of Spanish Mariolatry. The former edifice rises to the S. or to the E., looking from the bridge, and is called the *Seu* (*Sedes*, See; *Cathedra*, Cathedral). The style is Gothic, but the exterior of the entrance unfortunately was modernised by Julian Yarza, in the pseudo style of 1683. The whitewashed frippery, pillars, and lumbering statues of apostles, by one Giral, contrast with portions of the original arabesque brick-work. One octangular belfry-tower, struck by lightning, April 7, 1850, is drawn out into four divisions like a telescope, and was finished by Juan Baptista Contini, with heavy ornaments; the other is unfinished. The gate of *La Pavorderia* is of the better period of Charles V. The *Pavorde* is peculiar to Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. The word has been derived by some from *pascor pavi*, because certain rations were furnished by this dignitary.

On entering, the noble spacious cathedral, in spite of the choir, shows very well from the W. end. Observe the red marble pavement, with rays in black, diverging from the bases of the piers, and the roof studded with gilt rosettes and wheels. The very rich *retablo* of the high altar was erected in 1456 by B. P. Dalmau de Mur; the three divisions are canopied by Gothic shrines. The singular mosaic work, Angels bearing Shields, the Adoration, Transfiguration, and Ascension, were wrought by Martinez de Donatelo. The under divisions are smaller and somewhat heavy. Observe the *sedilia* to the r. used by *El Sacerdote*, who consecrates the host, *El*

Diacono, who reads the gospel, and *El Subdiacono*, who reads the epistle. Near is the fine tomb and recumbent figure of Archbishop Juan, obt. 1531, and of Archbishop Alfonso, obt. 1520: to the l. is deposited the heart of Don Baltazar, son to Philip IV.; he was the Infante so often painted by Velazquez, who died here of small-pox, Oct. 9, 1616, aged 17. The octangular *Cimborio* was commenced by Benedict III., and finished, as a Gothic inscription records, in 1520. Here Ferdinand *el Catolico*, born at Sos in 1456, was baptised. The *Coro* is Gothic; observe the archbishop's throne; good *facistol*, 1413. The fine cinque-cento *trascoro* was executed in 1538 by Tudelilla of Tarazona, who had studied in Italy; and in it Catholicity struggles with Paganism, fauns with saints, satyrs with inquisitors, and cupids with martyrs; the materials are clay, stucco, and marble. The workmanship is coarse, but the general effect is strikingly rich. Observe the San Lorenzo with his gridiron, and the magnificent *Reja*, with figures, masks, and bold scroll-work. A tabernacle of black and white Salomonic pillars marks the spot where the Virgin spoke to the Canon Funes who kneels beside it; but the images of antiquity were even more loquacious. (Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 615: *Val. Max.* i. 8.)

Many of the portals inside this cathedral have quite a Moorish character. The chapels are generally enclosed in their own *puerclose*; among these *rejas* observe that of San Gabriel, which, although dark, is of excellent plateresque. The founder, Gabriel de Zaporta—obt. 1579—lies in the *Ca. de San Miguel*; his effigy, clad in his merchant robes, is of Italian sculpture, and savouring rather of the Pantheon than of a Christian cathedral; the *reja* is excellent. In *San Bernardo* observe the *retablo* and carving, especially the Circumcision, and the tutelar to whom the Virgin dictates a book, as Egeria did to Numa. This saint was an ultra-advocate of Mariolatry, in reward of which the Virgin suckled him, as Juno did Hercules, a subject which Murillo was fond of painting. Yet Bernardo was a very

severe saint, for, when her graven image spoke to him in the Cathedral of Spire, he replied, not over politely, *Mulier taceat in Ecclesiâ*. The superb sepulchre and recumbent figure of the founder, Archbishop Fernando, grandson of Ferdinand the Catholic, is by Diego Morlanes, son of Juan, an excellent Biscayan sculptor, who introduced the tedesque style into Zaragoza in the fifteenth century. Diego, who inherited his talent, adopted the cinque-cento, which was next the prevailing taste. The small alabaster "Resurrection" is by Becerra, who gave it to Diego, with whom he lived on his return from Italy; by Diego also is the enriched tomb opposite, of Anna Gurrea, mother of the prelate. It is placed rather too high to be well seen. The *Capilla Santiago* is churrigueresque, and in strange contrast with the preceding, especially the tomb of the founder, Archbishop Herrera; the stucco ornaments are ridiculous, the bad paintings by one Raviela. In that of *Maria la Blanca* are collected the grave-stones of early prelates, which were removed when the cathedral was repaved; observe also the arch and pilasters. The tutelar is San Pedro Arbues de Epila, who, like Thomas à Becket, was murdered by Vidal Duranso, Sept. 15, 1495; this deed, which has at least done fine art a good service, took place close to the column on the *Epistola* side; his body is buried under the *baldaquino* of black Salominic pillars. This ferocious inquisidor while alive had goaded the citizens to madness. His kneeling effigy is by José Ramirez, and the paintings by Francisco Ximenez of Tarazona. This martyrdom was chosen by Murillo for one of his finest pictures, just as Titian selected for his masterpiece another Dominican Peter, who was also a persecutor, and also a victim to popular revenge. Ferdinand caused the murderers of Arbues to be burnt alive, adding sundry combustible Jews to improve the bonfire. (Pulgar, Chro. chr. 95.) The opposition of the Zaragozans to the holy tribunal arose from there being very few rich Jews or Moors living among them, therefore

they suspected that this engine was aimed against their own persons and properties. For an account of this inquisidor, and his beatification by Alexander VII., April 17, 1664, see Llorente '*Histoire*,' i. 192. Paris edit., 1817. Now the Zaragozans hope to save their souls by appealing to a man who burnt their fathers' bodies, just as the simple Pagans did, "*Cæci et imprudentes in contrarium cadunt, adorant itaque hostes suos; interfectores suos, animas suas cum thure ipso cremandas aris detestabilibus imponunt.*" Lactantius de Just., v. 20.

Visit next the *Sacristia*, and observe the plateresque door. Here are some fine *ternos*; one, a *pontifical*, cost 14,000 dollars; also a *delante de una casulla*, embroidered with Adam and Eve, which was bought at our Reformation from the old Cathedral of St. Paul's, London. The church plate before the invasion was splendid, but very little escaped from Marshal Lannes and the French. Observe, however, an enamelled chalice of 1655, a plateresque and rather overcharged silver *custodia* of 1537; some silver busts, with enamel and Gothic inscriptions, given by Benedict XIII. The once splendid jewel-studded Gothic cross, presented by Archbishop Lope de Luna, and carried before the king at his coronation, was melted by the Liberals in 1820, who "took away that bauble." In the *Capilla del Nacimiento* is a classical *retablo*, and some pictures by Juan Galvan, who painted the cupola in fresco, and German looking. The *Seu* is also full of rich marbles, but unfortunately many alterations were made at a period when money was more plentiful than good taste. These old portals and *retablos* were removed for *desatinos, mamarrachadas y churriguerismo*; specimens of choice gilt gingerbread for grown-up children may be seen in the chapels of *San Vicente*, *San Valero*, and *Santa Elena*. In the *Sala Capitular* are some paintings by *Ribera*, and two fine Zurbarans: notice the drapery in the dead Christ. There is an account of the cathedral, '*Catedra Episcopal*,' Juan de Arruego, fol. Zar., 1653.

Leaving the Seu to the rt. is the vast archiepiscopal palace, which the invaders gutted and plundered. Near was the beautiful *Casa de Diputacion*, or Parliament-house, which was built in 1437-40 by Alonso V. The saloons were magnificent, and contained the rich national archives which came down from the earliest period, and the excellent library, while the walls were ornamented with portraits of Arragonese worthies; but almost everything was destroyed by the invaders, and a seminario was erected on the site in 1848. The inscriptions, now removed, are preserved in '*Inscripciones Latinas*,' Ger^o. Blancas, 4to. Zar., 1680. Opposite is the *Lonja*, the Exchange, built in 1551; remark the projecting and enriched soffit of this square brick edifice, and the heads of kings and warriors let into circular frames in a fine Holbein taste; the towers are tiled with white and green *Azulejo*. The interior is noble and solid; observe the Doric columns, the staircase, and ceilings. Turned to base purposes, it is fast decaying, and was used in 1846 as a shop for carpenters. Aldermen on their travels may inquire for the "Gigantes," the Gog and Magog of church and civil processions.

Next visit the second cathedral, *el Pilar*, so called from the identical pillar on which the Virgin descended from heaven; the clustering domes outside, roofed with green, yellow, and white glazed tiling, which glitter in the sun, have an Oriental harlequinade look; the edifice has been much modernised, and is still unfinished both inside and outside. These "improvements," begun in 1677, at a period of vilest taste, were planned by the presumptuous Herrera *el mozo*, and were not amended by the academical Ventura Rodriguez, who, in 1753, rebuilt portions, and left drawings for the façade. The building, spacious, lofty, and imposing from size, is in details tawdry and incongruous. It is quadrangular, in length about 500 feet, with three naves; the pillar and its image are placed at the end, and is thus enclosed, like the house of the Virgin which the angels moved from

Palestine to Loretto. The interior is unpleasing, as one half is left plain with whitewashed walls and heavy pilasters picked out in an unsightly blue and buff, and worthy of the poor Mariolatrous frescoes in some of the cupolas by Bayeu and Moya; the tomb of the *Duque de Montemar*, a general of Philip V., is the perfection of abominable rococo of 1763. The *retablo* in San Lorenzo is a poor performance of Ventura Rodriguez. The ancient *coro* is fine, and of better times; the *silleria* of 115 seats was admirably carved in oak by Juan Moreto of Florence, in 1542, with subjects principally connected with Mariolatrous legends. The superb *reja* is the masterpiece of Juan Celma, 1574. The Gothic *altar mayor* is composed of alabaster from the quarries of *Escatron*. It is composed of three grand canopied niches of the richest Gothic, with seven smaller compartments below. To the left, Santiago as a pilgrim, and San Braulio, who is buried here, keep watch and ward over the whole. The subjects are different events connected with the local miracle. The all-engrossing subject is the "Assumption of the Virgin;" the infinite forms and figures baffle pen or pencil. This, the masterpiece of Damian Forment (observe the medallion profile portrait of the sculptor), is certainly the finest thing of the kind in Arragon; but the detestable new colouring of parts of the cathedral makes this noble old work look somewhat dark and dingy. In the crypt beneath, the canons used to be buried, an arrangement common in the cathedrals of Arragon and Catalonia.

Zaragoza is the great pilgrim city of Arragon, as all flock in there from far and wide to see the *Pillar* and the image of the Virgin which came down from heaven and alighted on it, like the *Palladium* of Troy (Paus. i. 26, 6). While this prudent Pagan did not like to give an opinion on this fact, the modern miracle has been declared authentic by so many Popes, that Diego de Astorga, primate of Spain, excommunicated, Aug. 17, 1720, all who even *questioned* it; while Risco, writing in

1775, holds "its truth to be established on such firm grounds that nothing now can shake it." And now in 1850! Madoz (xvi. 569), the enlightened liberal, asserts, that as more than 90 foreign, and 400 Spanish, authors, *todos classicos*, maintain the legend, it cannot be apocryphal. We cite some church authorized books on this classical legend, as future ages will not believe the audacity which invented such pious frauds, or the extent of human gullability that could believe them: but so it always has been; and "the priests have rule by their means and my people love to have it so." (Jer. v. 31.) Lovers of modern Hagiology should consult 'Fundacion,' &c., Luiz Diaz de Aux., Zar. 1605; 'Fundacion Milagrosa,' Diego Murillo, Barcelona, 1616; 'Columna Immobiles,' Juan Lecana, 4to. Lug. Bat. 1661; 'Basa de la Tradicion,' Pab. de Osera, Mad. 1720. For official details, 'Compendio,' and Vilafane, Mad. 1740, pp. 406 to 437; 'Historia Cronologica,' Juan Andres, 4to. Zaragoza, 1766; 'Compendio de Milagros,' José Amada, 4to. Zar. 1780. Qui decipi vult, decipiatur.

The legend may soon be explained. When the Moors of Cordova cast off their allegiance from the kalif of the East, the reciprocal enmity which ensued rendered a pilgrimage to Mecca impossible; a substitute was therefore established at Cordova, in the *Ceca* of its mosque. Whereupon the imitating Castilians, unable to go to Jerusalem, set up their opposition sepulchre and holy place of pilgrimage at Santiago; but the Arragonese, who were then independent of Castile, did not choose to offer up prayers or gold at a *foreign* shrine, and accordingly they established one of their own, and selected their capital for obvious financial views. Nothing of all this had been attempted at Zaragoza during the Roman and Gothic periods, simply because, as there were then no Moors in Spain, no antagonistic Mecca was wanted; accordingly Prudentius, who wrote so largely on Zaragozan Christianity (Peris. iv. 71), omits the *Pilar* altogether, as does San Isidoro (Orig. xv. 1) when describing the geographical

and religious advantages of Zaragoza, "Locis amenitate et deliciis præstantius civitatibus Hispaniæ cunctis atque illustrius, *florens sanctorum martyrum sepulturis.*" The authorised history of the legend is printed at length in the 'Esp. Sag.,' xxx. 426; it states that Santiago, soon after the crucifixion, applied to the Virgin for *her permission* to preach the Gospel in Spain; having "kissed her hand," came to Zaragoza, converted eight Pagans, and fell asleep; then, Jan. 2, A.D. 40, the angels of heaven brought her alive to him from Palestine on a jasper pillar, and carried her back again, after she had desired him to raise a chapel on the spot. This he did, and to it the Virgin often came afterwards to mass as Minerva used to do (Od. iii. 435). These Pillars or *Baitulia* (Bethel, the house of God) are decidedly Oriental: compare that of the "mother of the gods" at Acrocorinth (Paus. ii. 46); that given by Minerva at Kysicos (Antho. Anath. vi. 342); or the golden one of Juno at Croto (Livy, xxiv. 3).

The *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or chapel of the *Pilar* or *Pillar*, is raised in the centre of the cathedral, a chapel as it were in a chapel, and covered over much as we do cucumbers. It is placed near the altar in the centre of a circular chapel; this oval adytum was designed by Rodriguez, and with its gilt *reja*, lamps always burning (compare the eternal fires of Vesta), shines like the plateau on a banquet table; it is open on three sides, while the roof being perforated admits the cupola above, on which the Virgin's descent is painted in poor fresco by one Antonio Velazquez, 1793, who was not even distantly connected with his immortal namesake. The pavement is of the richest marbles; the *retablo* is much overcharged with statuary and detail; observe among the medallions the Descent of the Virgin and Vision of Santiago, by José Ramirez; and some others by the poor academicians Manuel Alvarez. Among the ancients, men were not allowed to see the *Perantiquum Signum Veneris* (Cicero in Ver. iv. 45); which was also

waited on by women priests. So here the *Pilar* is too sacred to be wholly seen; but at the back there is a hole in the casing where the devout may peep, kneel, worship, and kiss the consecrated marble; and a large dent is worn by multitudinous labial devotion. The material, which from being covered with dust, looks like wood, is of the purest alabaster, as the hand of Santiago proves, cleansed by pious kisses, like the beard of Esculapius (Cic. in Ver. iv. 43), or the modern head of St. Peter on the bronze Jupiter at Rome. This kissing *ad os* is the essence of adoration. The marble steps are also osculated, as in the days of Apuleius, "exosculatis *Deo* vestigiis" (Met. xi. 251), and worn "*pedibus volgi*," as in the times of Lucretius (R. N. i. 309). To prevent impertinent curiosity, a railing keeps off the profane vulgar, inside which none may enter save kings, cardinals, and the appointed priests. Women are expressly prohibited, as they were in the temple of Hercules at Gades (Sil. Ital. iii. 22). The holy image itself is small, and graven—certainly not by Phidias—out of a resinous, almost black wood; but the most sacred representations of the Virgin, and especially those carved by St. Luke, are very dark-coloured, "black but comely" (Sol. Song, i. 3), and are said to have been designed when she was tanned during the flight into Egypt. Among the Pagans, the making a deity *atri coloris* was thought to be a puerile want of sense (Pliny, ii. 7). The figure holds the infant in one hand and collects its drapery with the other. As a work of art it is rude and second rate, but it inspires the natives with a conventional awe. Here, indeed, the worship of the Virgin is openly avowed and practised; but Oct. 12, the Anniversary of her Descent, is the great festival of Zaragoza, since Innocent III. announced that "God alone can count the miracles which are then performed here;" 50,000 pilgrims have been known to flock into the town. Then her shrine is crowded with all ages and sexes of peasants, chiefly from the villages—Pagani—who, like the Contadini at

Rome, sit, kneel, and pray, falling by pilgrim instinct into most picturesque groups.

This *Pillar*, the support of the populace during peace and war, is indeed "La gloriosa *Colonna* in cui s'appoggia nostra speranza." The battle hymn against the invaders ran thus—

*"La Virgen del Pilar dice
Que no quiere ser Francesa,
Que quiere ser capitana
De la gente Aragonesa!"*

This dog-grel, so little compatible with the reverence due to the Queen of Heaven, recalls the degradation which Plutarch (de Pyth. vii. 604, Reiske) lamented as resulting from scurrilous poetry of the βωμολοχον γένος towards the Pagan mother of the gods.

As at Valencia (p. 371), this Virgin was applied to for protection and victory (compare Val. Max. i. 2). "But they that have no knowledge set up the wood of their graven image, and pray unto a god that cannot save." (Isa. xlv. 20.) In Spain, however, this religious excitement and confidence in supernatural assistance is equal to brandy and double rations with colder Protestants. No wonder, therefore, that the great Jaime I., the conqueror, raised, as Saavedra says, 1000 churches, and all dedicated to the Virgin, and her universal worship here to this day disputes with that of tobacco and money: countless are the mendicants, the halt, blind, and lame, who cluster around her shrine as that of Minerva (Mart. iv. 53), and beg charity for her sake. She, in fact, is the Spanish *Ηπιονη*, who, according to Pausanias (ii. 27, 5), made patients better. The cures worked by this Minerva Medica are almost incredible, and the oil of her lamps is more efficacious than that of Macassar, since Cardinal Retz relates in his Mémoires (iii. 409) that he saw here in 1649 a man who had lost his leg, which grew again on being rubbed with it; and this portent was long celebrated, as well it deserved, by an especial holiday. The lamps are hung outside in order to preserve the "*simulacro*" (Ponz, xv. 8) from smoke, the "*nigra fado simulacra fumo*" to which Horace alludes (iii. Od. vi. 4): see also

Baruch vi. 21. Silver angels also holding candelabra decorate the dainty show. The 22nd of February is also a grand lamp-lighting-up day here. This candelmas is but a copy of the *η των λαμπραδων ημερα* in honour of Ceres, and of the Egyptian festival at Sain (Herod. ii. 62). Again, Pausanias (i. 26, 6) tells us that the "image of Minerva, which also came down from heaven," also had lamps—what are those of Aladdin to them?—whose oil burnt miraculously for a whole year without being replenished. These *Lychnauchi Pensiles* (Pliny, 'N. H.' xxiv. 3) and illuminations were, it is true, among the first Pagan superstitions which the primitive Christians put down, believing that idols when so lighted up, were animated by devils. The pious French accordingly removed most of the silver chandeliers; some, however, have been replaced by Zaragozan *Devotos á la Santisima*, and the scene is now very much that against which Jeremiah (xliv. 15) so much inveighed when "incense was offered to the Queen of Heaven," "to Diana the mooned Astaroth."

All around the shrine are suspended votive tablets, *Αναθηματα*, which consist, as in the East (1 Sam, vi), of offerings of models of the members afflicted and healed by the Virgin's intercession, e. g. eyes, noses, and legs, naturally enough here, but so it always was, "pendent tibi crura" (Ovid, 'Am.' iii. 2, 63, 'Fast.' iii. 268). Sometimes the cured parts are presented in silver, whereat the priests rejoice; but wax is the usual material, as being cheaper. In the neighbouring *plateria*, or silversmiths' quarter, *Pillars*, Virgins, Penates, &c., are made for the *Pagani*, or male and female villagers, just as they were at Ephesus and are at Santiago: see p. 611. Rudely engraved prints also are sold of the Virgin's Descent, which, when hung up in bed-rooms, among other *Dii cubiculares*, allure Morpheus, and expel Satan and the nightmare. All this indeed is the consecration and apotheosis of error, for such devotion is a sin, and such observance a wickedness.

To understand the literature of

Spanish female worship, consult Antonio (Bib. Nova, ii. 553), who enumerates 84 works on particular Virgins, and 430 works on her generally, for like his she is *μυριονομος*. This intolerable quantity of sack, with the half-penny worth of publications of real religion or of useful knowledge, bears in literature much the same ratio as reading and education did in our time, in Spanish cities, where one public library was allotted in proportion to 30 churches or convents.

The Spanish authorised biography of the Virgin is '*La Mystica Ciudad*,' fol. Mad. 1670, which Maria Coronel (*Santa Maria de Agreda*) was "inspired to write by a divine revelation." This work was so ultra absurd that the shrewd Sorbonne and Vatican condemned it, in spite of the efforts and protests of the Spanish ambassador.

The worship of Isis, Astarte, Salambo, and Diana, the invention of the sexual Oriental, was engrafted on the Iberian stock by its Phœnician colonisers, and is better suited to warm and southern latitudes than to chilly northern ones; so Marianism is practically the religion of the great bulk of the Spaniards; and notwithstanding that many of the higher classes venture to disbelieve "what Popes for gospel do receive," here, indeed, the honour and worship due to the Creator alone is transferred to the creature; here she rules triumphantly as Empress of heaven and earth, of angels and mortals; the stern doctrine of retribution for sin is melted down into a soft, easy dependence on this Esther with whom the celestial kingdom is partitioned; nay, the Deity has all but abdicated in her favour, having given to her all that he could; everything, in short, save his own essence. She is *La Señora de la Merced*, the Lady of Mercy; *La Señora* here being used in the sense of *El Señor*, the Lord God. She administers grace, equity, and remission of sins. Thus the Almighty is robbed of his prerogative, and his sceptre rendered barren, to the exclusion and derogation of the "only one name and none other." The Virgin, as *Regina et Conjux*, "calms the rage of

her heavenly husband," and tempers "an angry judge," whose only office is to punish; while as a mother she "commands and compels her son," to whom "she is superior by reason of his humanity, and because she as his mother has done more for him than he could have done for her." He saves chiefly by her intercession, for it is *she*, who in the Roman vulgate bruises the serpent's head; she has her rituals, litanies, creeds, offices, festivals, &c.; to her are dedicated almost all the cathedrals of Spain; her graven image, elevated above the high altars in the place of honour, is bowed down to and worshipped; it holds the Son either as a helpless babe or as a dying victim, for thus He is made subordinate in both respects, and dependent on her.

The Scriptures are utterly, and as it were prophetically, silent of everything which by possibility could raise the "handmaid" into the mistress. Thus even the scantiness of the holy word is instructive; the mystery of the Incarnation is indeed plainly revealed, but not one word of the Immaculate Conception, Death, Assumption, Coronation, &c. of the "woman," an expression used purposely, so thought Bishop Epiphanius, as if in anticipation of this anti-christian Mariolatry. To this foresight also has been referred the apparent neglect and marked distinction between the "Father" and the "woman;" the mother, not the parent; the vessel, the bringer forth of the Son of Man, of him who was God, which is observable in all the Son's language. She is Θεοτοκος, Deipara, and not Δευτερογε, or *Dei Mater*: compare Luke ii. 49; John ii. 4; Mathew xii. 48; Mark iii. 33; Luke xi. 28. Neither does St. John, after the crucifixion, ever mention the Virgin, nor was she ever present at any of the Saviour's appearances after the resurrection, although so many other females were; nor is any situation assigned her in the Apocalypse. For any deference or worship of her by the Apostles there is no shadow of foundation. "And I doubt not," says our old orthodox Barrow, "but if *ει τις αισθησις*—if she

from her seat of bliss doth behold these perverse services or absurd flatteries—she with holy regret and disdain doth distaste, loathe, and regret them, with a non nobis Domine—not unto us, Oh, Lord!—and, with the angel in the Apocalypse, *οσα μιν*—see thou do it not."

Mariolatry, utterly unknown in the primitive Christian church, began in Arabia, in the 4th century, where some women, like their mothers of old (Jeremiah xlv. 17), "made offerings" to her of cakes. This collyridian heresy was soon put down, but was revived in the 7th century. But how clearly the Romish worship of the Virgin is contrary to Scripture and the practice of the early church, has been proved to demonstration in the reverential, learned, and unanswerable work by Dr. Tyler, Lond. 1844.

The *Sugrario* of the Pillar contains the splendid wardrobe of the image, none of which of a verity came from her real wardrobe on earth; this, is more fitted for a Venus than for her who was so meek, modest, and lowly; the treasures in jewels and gold were once enormous, and rivalled those of Loretto, Montserrat, and Guadalupe: but they were plundered by the invaders, for no "Virgin interfered," as occurred when the old Gaul Brennus attempted to pillage the *Donarium* of Delphi (Cic. 'Div.' i. 37). Mellado (p. 366, ed. 1843) estimates at 129,411 dollars the "*obsequio*," or "complimentary gift," made by the chapter to Marshal Lannes: see also Toreno, vii. App. 6, and for the items and their value Madoz, xvi. 671. Look, however, in the *Sacristia* for a cinquecento frame and some relics in an oaken chest. A diamond necklace and cross, carefully concealed during the French visit, are among the finest things of this kind in Spain.

Leaving the *Pilar*, proceed to the *Plateria*, and purchase and pay for honestly a silver Virgin. Observe among the trinkets made for the peasantry the earrings, which are perfectly antique, especially those with three dropping petals made after the identical pattern on the Siracusan