

and dastardly. The Spaniards, have, indeed, laboured hard to neutralise the gifts of a lavish nature, and to dwarf this once proud capital down to a paralysed provincial town. The Granadan native partakes more of the Murcian than the Andalucian, and has little in common with the Moor, whose dominion, nevertheless, lasted longer here than elsewhere in the Peninsula. The best time to visit Granada, and make excursions in the mountains, is from June to October.

The name Granada is a corruption from *Karnáttah*, the ancient fortress of Phœnician origin. The prefix *car* occurs in many "cities" built on an eminence, *e. g.* Carthago, Carteia, Carmona, Cartama. *Nata* has been interpreted by some as "stranger," the "city of the stranger," of "pilgrims" (Casiri, 'Bib. Esc.' ii. 247), and by others as the name of a local goddess. The town *Karnáttah*, at the Moorish invasion, was given by one of Tarik's lieutenants to the "Jews," and hence was called "*Karnáttah-al-Yahood*." It occupied the site of the present "*Torres Bermejas*," and ranged above the "*Campo del Principe*," being quite distinct from *Illiberis*, with which it has since been confounded. This *Illiberis*, which signifies in Basque the "new city" (Neapolis, Newtown, Neustadt, Villanueva), was built on the Sierra Elvira.

When the Umeyyah kalifate was broken up, *Illiberis* was seized by a Berber chief, whose nephew, *Habús Ibn Mákesen*, in 1019, removed his residence to the stronger position of *Karnáttah*, and then as usual destroyed the older town. "*Granada la Vieja*," employing the Phœnician and Roman remains as a quarry for his new buildings. The conquests of Jaime I. in Valencia, and of St. Ferdinand in Andalucia, ruinous elsewhere to the Moorish cause, created the prosperity of Granada, which became the asylum of every Moslem refugee from all other parts of Spain. The remnant of the Moors now fled to the rocky fastnesses of the *Alpujarras* before the triumphant cross, as the Goths had retired to the Asturias before the conquering crescent. *Ibnu-l-ahmar*, "the red man," the successful upstart ruler of Jaen, and reluctant vassal of St. Ferdinand, was the real founder of this kingdom. He was a prince eminent in every respect, and his talents (obt. 1273) were inherited by his two successors. Then was erected the *Alhambra*, the fortress palace, which Moors have delighted to adorn, and Spaniards to disfigure. The death of St. Ferdinand was the life to the infant monarchy of Granada, for his heir, Alonso, catching at shadows lost real substances, and wasted the gold of Spain, in his foolish ambition to become Emperor of Germany. The civil wars which clouded his later years, and weakened his successors, gave time to the Moorish kingdom to grow strong, as the Christians turned against each other those arms which might better have been employed against the common enemy, the infidel.

Granada, which under the Moors contained half a million souls, was most flourishing. The date of its ruin is Jan. 2, 1492, when the banner of Castile first floated on the towers of the *Alhambra*. Internal dissensions, by which *Ibnu-l-ahmar* was enabled to found the kingdom, led to its decline and ruin; and as *Cava* prepared the ruin of the Gothic monarchy, and opened the throne to the Moors, so a Christian woman now occasioned the Moslem downfall. Her name was *Isabel de Solis*, on whom *Martinez de la Rosa* wrote a poor novel. She was the daughter of the governor of *Martos*, and, being taken prisoner by the Moors, became the favourite wife of *Abú-l-hasan*, king of *Grañada*. Her Moorish appellation is *Zoraya*, "Morning Star," in allusion to her surpassing beauty, on account of which 'Ayesah, another wife and cousin of *Abú-l-hasan*, became jealous of her rival, and the court was divided into two parties. The *Zegrís* (*Thegrim*, the people who came from *Thegr* or *Arragon*) espoused her faction, and the *Abencerrages*, the *Beni Cerraj* (the children of the saddle, or palace), that of *Zorayah*. In June, 1482, *Abú-Abdillah*, son of 'Ayesah, 19th king, dethroned his father. His name was corrupted

by Spaniards into Boabdila, while the Moors also called him *As-Saghir*, the younger—the less (whence the Spanish term, *el Rey chico*), to distinguish him from Abú-l-hasan, his father, and often called *el Zogoibi*, the unfortunate. Thus the Moorish house was divided against itself, just when Castile and Arragon were united under Ferdinand and Isabella. On the *Rey chico's* being taken prisoner at Lucena in 1483, the old king returned, and, being blind, abdicated in favour of his brother, Mohamed XII., called *Az-zaghal*, the valiant. Boabdil now became a vassal of Ferdinand, and at length, after a long siege, surrendered himself and his kingdom. According to Arabian authors, he was treated harshly; certain it is that the Spaniards violated most of the pledges and capitulations. Cardinal Ximenez, deaf to the entreaties of the mild Ferdinand de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, proceeded to convert men by fire and sword, at which the Moors rebelled, and were then put down without mercy. Again similar ill usage, in 1570, drove them to arms; again they were crushed by John of Austria, and finally expelled, in 1610, by Philip III., as the Protestants afterwards were by Louis XIV. This great crime was then imputed to him as a glory, and made the subject of sundry second-rate poems; and, in fact, he was yelled on by all Spain, which thirsted for their blood and gold; now that the ill effects of this deed are evident, it is alleged in his excuse that the Moriscos, differing in blood and creed, were dangerous aliens on an exposed coast, and that they were always ready to join an invader, whether Moslem or Christian. In addition, the example of the Moors was quoted as a precedent against themselves; for when the Al-mu'ahidin, or Spanish Christians, who continued to live among them, invited Alonso I. of Arragon to invade Granada in 1122, they were in consequence banished to Western Africa (Moh. D. ii. 307). The Moors, when free and powerful, were feared, hated, and honoured by Spaniards, *Caballeros aun Moros*; when conquered they were termed *Moriscos*, "little Moors," a diminutive which implies contempt. *Væ victis!* for then they were converted, robbed, burnt, and finally banished.

The details of the conquest of Granada must be looked for in Prescott's able work. The effects are less understood. The possession of the Moors, the apparent weakness of Spain, was in fact the secret of her strength. Then all parties, as in their private juntas, united to pull down the holder of power, and when that was accomplished, fell to loggerheads with each other, quarrelling for the spoil. The struggle during the war, like a breeze upon a lake, kept fresh the energies of the nation. Thus while the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, which was thought by the infallible Pope to be a calamity and divine judgment, turned out to be a divine blessing, by the dispersion of classical lore, the harbinger of modern knowledge, the capture of Granada, which the same oracle pronounced to be a compensation for that infidel success, proved the cause of the ruin of Spain. It paved the way to the loss of all liberty, to apathy, corruption, and death; the mainspring which a war of eight centuries, *pro aris et focis*, had kept in motion ceased to vibrate when the great end was accomplished: a reaction ensued; a moral and physical stagnation came over the listless conquerors. Civil and religious despotism saw and seized the moment, so advantageous to itself, and whilst the people of Spain were giving loose to the disarmed intoxication of success, they were shorn of their strength, and awoke from the lascivious dream emasculated and enslaved. Castile, like her arid, tree-stripped plains, from the lack of the nutriment of wholesome institutions, withered away; a curse was on her womb; she became incapable of giving birth to men who should do deeds worthy to be had in remembrance, or to authors whose works posterity would not willingly let die. Read, therefore, in the *Alhambra*, the legend tales and ballad romances of the old days of Crusade. The melancholy retrogression of a once noble nation increases the interest of these relics of better times, which have drifted down like the spars of a storm-wrecked battle-ship. In this contrast between former pride of place and present nothingness, our sympathy, as we tread the lonely Alhambra, is

awakened by the *religio loci*, and the more when the change is borne with uncomplaining dignity; for bitter, in the words of Dante, is the pang "ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria." Spain, like a Porus, dethroned, yet conscious of innate royalty from which nought can derogate, looks down with self-respect on the changes and chances of fickle fortune. Although now the mock of Europe, which once grew pale at her name, Granada is still the chosen land of romance, where the present is forgotten in the past, and where, although her harp be unstrung, and her sword pointless, the tale of *Auld lang syne* still re-echoes through her bemyrtled courts, where, although her laurel-leaf be sere, the many flowers which still enamel the neglected Generalife attest that once a garden smiled.

The persecuted Moriscos were amply revenged by the French. The rout of Ocaña gave Granada to Sebastiani; then the strong mountain passes of *Alcalá el Real* were abandoned without firing a shot by Freire, the hero of San Marcial! and thus the invaders conquered the kingdom of Granada in fewer days than the Spaniards had employed centuries. The Granadine patriots, distinguished even in Andalucía for bragging and doing nothing, scarcely made a semblance of defence. Then the Alhambra was desolated, churches and palaces were pillaged, books and MSS. made into cartridges, prisoners and monks put to death, having been first tortured with an ingenuity of cruelty: see *e. g.* the execution of Moreno. Soult at last became jealous of Sebastiani, a colleague who collected pictures, "et qui (although by birth the son of a Corsican cooper) se faisait prince," and he procured his rival's dismissal. Sebastiani quitted Granada June 26, 1811, "avec un grand transport, sous escorte," "goods carefully removed," of all his treasures. The transports of the people were even greater: "Comme le nom de Murat est éternisé dans Madrid, le sien l'est à Granada," says Schepeler, who gives the details of lust, rapine, and butchery (iii. 112, 167-169), which, with this Corsican's collectings, are all blinked by Mons. Maison.

The local and county histories, and other works referring to the important events and "romance" of Granada, are infinite. For details of the final conquest in 1492, consult the eye-witnesses, '*Chronica de los Reyes*,' Hernando de Pulgar, folio, Montfort, Valencia, 1780; '*Decades*,' duo, Cælius Antonio Nebrissensis (Antonio de Lebrija), Granada, 1550, or folio, Gran., 1545; '*Opus Epistolarum*,' Petri Martyris Anglerii, folio, Alcalá de Henares, 1530, or the Elzevir reprint, folio, Amsterdam, 1670; the *Conquest of Granada*, by Mr. Irving; and the '*History of Ferdinand and Isabella*,' by Mr. Prescott, a work of first-rate excellence. For the "romance," the '*Guerras de Granada*,' 2 vols., a Moorish tale of 'sixty years since,' the prototype of the Waverley novels, and which has gone through as many editions, written by Gil Perez of Murcia, it was translated, or rather murdered, into French, by one A. M. Sané, Paris, 1809. The rapid and immediate deterioration of Granada under the Spaniards is told by an eye-witness in '*Il Viaggio Fatto in Spagna*,' Andrea Navagiero, Vinegia, 1563—a little gem. Consult the admirable '*Mohamedan Dynasties*' of Gayangos, not omitting his article on the Moors in the '*Penny Cyclopædia*;' for the rebellion of the Moriscos, '*Historia de la Rebellion*,' Luys de Marmol Carvajal, folio, Malaga, 1600, or the Sancha edition, 2 vols. 4to., Madrid, 1797, which contains a good map of Granada by Felix Prieto; also '*Las Guerras de Granada*,' by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; of this the editions are infinite. That of Mallen, Valencia, 1830, is convenient in form. Beware of the inaccurate French works of Florian and Châteaubriand, which can only mislead. For antiquities consult '*Antigüedades de Granada*,' Francisco Bermudez de Pedraza, 4to. Madrid, 1608; or the second and improved edition, folio, Gran. 1638. There is a modern reprint of a portion of it, 4to., by Francisco Gomez Espinosa de Monteros, Gran. s. d., but about 1819; '*Dialogos de las Cosas Notables de G.*,' Luys de la Cueva, 4to. Sevilla, 1603; '*Paseos por G.*,' Juan de Echeverria. These were first published in 1764, in weekly papers, under the name of Josef Romero Iranzo, and then

republished in 2 vols. 4to. Gran. 1814, by Julian Maria Perez. Echeverria was ignorant of Arabic, and not partial to truth. When our good friend, Canon Juan Soler, asked him why he did not continue the work, he replied, "*Estoy cansado de mentir*," I am tired of lying. '*Cartas del Sacristan de Pinos*, 4 vols. duo., Gran. 1761; but one of the best guides for the Alhambra is '*Nuevos Paseos*,' 3 vols. duo., Simon de Argote. The third volume is very scarce: the author never even saw it in print; it was only just put up in type when the French evacuated the city, and, as he was an *Afrancesado*, and a jackal of Sebastiani, he fled with his patrons. Then the *Granadinos*, who care for none of these things, sold the sheets for waste paper. *Viaje de España*, Nicolas de la Cruz, Cadiz, 1812, vol. 12, treats of Granada; for a Geological sketch of Granada and Murcia, Chas. Silvertop, 8vo. Lond. 1836. *El Libro del Viajero en G.*, Miguel Lafuente Alcantara, 8vo. Gran. 1843; and by the same author, *Historia de G.*, 4to. 4 vols. Gran. 1843, reprinted at Paris in 1851. *Manual del Artista*, José Gimenez Serrano, a poor duo. Gran. 1845.

There are several plans of the town, besides that of Felix Prieto. First, that drawn by Ambrosio de Vico, and engraved about 1624 by Francisco Heylan; next, that published in 1796 by Francisco Dalmau, which is excellent. Of engraved works of the Alhambra, the first was '*Antigüedades Arabes*,' 4to. s. d. about 1785; a second and folio edition was published in 1804. The Arabic inscriptions were poorly translated by Pablo Lozano. This work was badly copied by James Cavannah Murphy—'*Arabian Antiquities*,' London, 1816—a mere book-making job, and it is difficult to believe that Murphy was even ever on the spot. This is the book puffed with outrageous eulogiums by Dr. Dibdin in his '*Library Companion*,' but let no man about to form a '*Spanish*' library ever consult that doctor. The '*Souvenirs der Ganade*,' '*Essai*,' and other works, par M. Girault de Prangey, Paris, 1837; the '*Erinnerungen*' of Wilhelm von Gail, Munich; and even the splendid work of F. M. Hessemer, Berlin, 1836, 4to., fade before the English publication by Owen Jones, '*Plans of the Alhambra*,' London, 1842. The scrupulous architectural and artistic accuracy is rivalled by the gorgeous execution. The value of the engravings is enhanced by a masterly history of Granada, and by really accurate translations from the Arabic inscriptions by Gayangos. The substance of the former with woodcuts, and the whole of the latter, have been thrown by Owen Jones into his *Alhambra Handbook* for the Crystal Palace. The minor works, albums, lithographs, annuals, and so forth, scarcely deserve notice, beyond the charming poetical drawings of Roberts, which are pirated by Frenchmen in their '*Univers Pittoresque*,' and by M. Maison in his map, without whispering whence they stole their sweets.

GRANADA.—Among the best hotels are *La Amistad*, No. 39, Calle de San Anton, the host, Don Jose Vasquez, is an excellent Master also in Spanish; *La Minerva*, or *Parador de las Diligencias Generales*, No. 40, Acera del Darro, Carrera del Genil, is very fair. The charges are from 24 to 34 reals per day. Miguel Ramirez (Napoleon) is a capital guide for a ride round the *Alpujarras*. *Fonda del Leon de Oro*, No. 246, well placed on the Campillo or Plaza de Bailen; kept by Vigarai. *La Nueva*—the *Fonda del Comercio*, near the theatre and public

walk, is now merely a *Neveria*, or café and ice-shop: other and bad *posadas* are *de los Tres Reyes*, *La Cruz de Malta*, *San Rafael*, *La del Sol*. The *Café Suiso* is well spoken of. There are decent *Casas de Pupilos*, one in the Calle de las Arandas, at the corner opposite the Conde de Santa Ana: another *En los Tintes*, and near the San Espiritu, corner of *Calle sin Salida*; another in the Plazuela de Trovar; another in the Calle de las Sierpes. Good lodgings may be had near *El Campillo*, and *Carrera del Darro*. The

artist should live up in the Alhambra, where he will always find a lodging, and there is a tolerable *posada*, kept by Francisco Torriesta; indeed, the *real thing*, independently of the associations, is to live in the Alhambra. There everything is Moorish, while below, Granada is no better than any other Spanish town. Again, the *Cuesta* of the Alhambra is a toil to ascend, and those who do so come up heated and tired. "*Me coje siempre cansado*," said our poor old Dr. Tortosa, although he received a triple fee. To enjoy the Alhambra one must saunter about it when fresh and "in the vein," and especially by moonlight. (See p. 312.)

Granada, being much visited by foreigners, has its local guides which are hardly things of incurious Spain. Since *Mateo Ximenez*, the immortalised by Washington Irving, has come to grief, a legion of ignorant touters has sprung up, who mislead and plunder strangers. Those who do not wish to be led into ditches, should make a point of securing *Emmanuel Bensaken*, who is to be heard of at the Minerva. He speaks English and many languages, and knows the south of Spain perfectly; sometimes he is called *El Moro*. At all events, a Moor was a better lionizer of the Alhambra than Monsieur *Louis*, a Buonapartist deserter, who, like a true Frenchman, could not speak Spanish or comprehend Spaniards. *Eugenio Bensaken*, junior, his son, can also be most highly recommended as a travelling servant. The best guide up the *Sierra Nevada* is *Jose Villegas*, servant to *Juan Baltazar*, who lets horses. He knows every goat track in the hills.

Granada is the capital of its province; pop., about 60,000, having been about 400,000 under the Moors. It is the see of an archbishop, whose suffragans are Guadix, and Baza, and Almeria, the residence of a Captain-General, and of the civil and military provincial authorities. It long was the seat of the southern *Chancilleria*, or Supreme Court of Appeal, but a new *Audiencia* was formed at Albacete, in 1835, to the injury of Granada, by removing lawyers and clients. It has a

cathedral, 23 parishes, a university, Liceo, *Casino*, public library, *Plaza de Toros*, and Museo. The natives thus parody the proud boast of hated Seville, for the two cities abhor each other as in the time of the Moors:—

" *Quien no ha visto á Granãa  
No ha visto á nãa.*"

And certainly art and nature have combined to render Granada, with its alps, plain, and Alhambra, one of those few places which realize all previous favourable conceptions. The town is built on the spurs of the mountains which rise to the S.E. to their greatest altitude. Like Broussa, in Asia Minor, it has its Olympus, valley, and fortress palace. The city overlooks the *Vega*, and is about 2445 ft. above the level of the sea: this altitude, coupled with the snowy background, renders it a most delicious summer residence; while this bosom of snow furnishes a continual supply of water for irrigation; accordingly the *Vega* supplies every vegetable production, and is "a spot," said the Arabians, "superior in extent and fertility to the valley of Damascus;" they compared the white villas and farmhouses which sparkle amid the eternal verdure to "Oriental pearls set in a cup of emeralds." These dwellings are still called "*Carmenes*," from *Karm*, Arabic a vineyard. Granada is built on, and at the base of, several hills: the portion to the rt., which hangs over the Xenil, is called *Antequeruela*, the "Little Antequera," to which the natives of that town fled after its capture, in 1410. The Alhambra is built on a crowning height, that hangs over the Darro, which separates the *Antequeruela* from the *Albaicin* — *Rabad*-hu-l-Bayisin, "the suburb of those from Baeza," to whom it was assigned in 1227, when that city was conquered by the Christians: from this Arabic *Rabad* is derived the Spanish word "*Arrabal*," suburb. The best portion of the town lies at the base, while none but the poor live above. The *Granadinos* despise the Alhambra, as a *casa de ratones*, or rat's hole, which indeed they have made it.

The society of Granada is dull. To those who arrive from Seville, the inhabitants do not look either so well dressed, so gay, or intelligent. There are fewer *Majos*, and the women are inferior walkers and talkers; they want the real *meneo y gracia*, although they contend that "*Las Granadinas son muy finas*." The houses again are smaller and less Oriental, for Granada was built by impoverished defeated refugees, not like Seville, by the Moor in all his palmy pride: they have fewer marble-pillared *patios*; the *Zaguan* is smaller, and is paved with black and white stones; the fligree *Cancel* is changed into a heavy oak door. Square pilasters replace in shops and streets the pillared shafts of Seville, and the windows have more balconies and fewer *Rejas*.

Granada now stagnates in bookless ignorance; it has neither letters, arts, nor arms, that of cock-fighting excepted. Education is at the lowest ebb. The petty commerce is passive: there is a want of roads, whether leading to the seaboard or inland, by which it is isolated and kept poor; in short, like Cordova, from being an Athens under the Moors, it has become a Bœotia under the Spaniards of to-day; for in better times it was the birthplace of Fray Luis de Granada, one of the most eloquent and pathetic writers of Spain (consult his *Vida y Virtudes*, by Luis Muñoz, duo., Mad., 1711); of Lope de Rueda, the precursor of Lope de Vega and the dramatists; of the historians, Luis de Marmol and Hurtado Mendoza; of the sculptors, Juan Martinez Montañes and Alonso Cano.

The "canting" arms of Granada are a *pomegranate*, "Granada," stalked and proper: some, catching at sound, not sense, have derived Granada from this "*Granatum*," but the Moorish name was Karnattah, and they never would have taken a Latin word had they wished to call the town "Pomegranate," because the hills are divided somewhat like that fruit. They would have preferred their own word Roman, and to this day a salad made of pomegranates is called "Ensalada

*Romana*." It would be not less absurd to interpret this as *Roman* than to connect Karñattah with a pomegranate.

As the *Alhambra* is to our countrymen the emphatic attraction of *Granada*, and indeed we may say of Spain, its rise and decline may be briefly stated.

The Alhambra, the Acropolis, the Windsor Castle of Granada, is indeed a pearl of great price in the estimation of all travellers from *foreign* parts, for few *Granadinos* ever go there, or understand the all-absorbing interest, the concentrated devotion, which it excites in the stranger. Familiarity has bred in them the contempt with which the Bedouin regards the ruins of Palmyra, insensible alike to present beauty as to past poetry and romance; and most Spaniards, although not wearing turbans, have the true Oriental lack of the organs of veneration, and think of nothing beyond the present tense and the first person—self. The heaven, again, of hatred against their old rival the Moor and his works is not extinct, and affronted by this Moorish worship, they resent the preference shown by strangers to those relics which they have, Gothlike, disfigured, as implying Spanish inferiority. The admiration of European pilgrims have recently shamed the authorities into a somewhat more conservative feeling towards the Alhambra; but their good intentions are questionable, as they repair and beautify on churchwarden principles, and "restore" the ruins, as they do the old masters in the Madrid *Museo*, effacing the lines where beauty lingers. Even in this their tardy appreciation they look to the main chance: thus Mellado, in his *Guide*, 1843, p. 229, after lamenting that there should be no *Noticia* of the Alhambra, of which he speaks coldly, suggests, "as so many English visit it, that a descriptive work would be a *segura especulacion*,"—a safe speculation. Thus the poetry of the Moor is coined into the Spanish prose of profitable *pesetas*.

It was our fate during two summers, more than 20 years ago, to reside in the Alhambra itself, and hold constant converse with many aged chroniclers, *Hijos de la Alhambra*, who had seen many things with their own eyes, and

heard the past from their parents. These living organs of tradition are now scattered or dead, and memory once interrupted can never be recalled.

The building was commenced by Ibnu-l-ahmar, in 1248; it was continued by his son Abu'-abdillah, and finished by his grandson Mohammed III., about 1314. The founder, like Edward III. at Windsor, has everywhere introduced his motto, his "Honi soit qui mal y pense." The words *Wa la ghaliba illa Allah*—and "there is no conqueror but Allah," are to be seen in every portion of the *Turkish* and *Azulejo*. The origin is this: when he returned from the surrender of Seville, his subjects saluted him as *galib*—the conqueror, and he replied—adopting the *Tahlil*, or true Mussulman war-cry—"There is no conqueror but God." This motto also appears on his coat of arms, which is the banner of Castile, granted to him by St. Ferdinand, and the same as adopted by Don Pedro for the badge of his order of the *Vanda*, or Bend. This bend, once blue, was changed into "red" to compliment this Moorish William Rufus (Conde, iii. 38).

The great decorator was Yusuf I., who, although unsuccessful in war (see Salado, p. 149), was eminent in the arts of peace: so vast were his revenues, that he was imagined to possess the philosopher's stone; but his secret was quiet and industry, "et magnum vegetigal parsimonia." He regilt and repainted the palace, which then must have been a thing of the "Tales of the Genii;" now all is deserted and unfurnished, and the mere carcase. The colours are obliterated by Spanish whitewash, which destroys sharpness of outline and fills up open work, and the proportions are destroyed by centuries of ill-usage; yet time and the dry air of Spain have used it gently, treating it like a beautiful woman. What must it once have been—cum tales sunt reliquæ! Peter Martyr, an Italian of taste, thus wrote when he entered it in the train of the Gothic conquerors: "Alhambram, pro! dii immortales! qualem Regiam! unicam in orbe terrarum crede!"

The degradation of this Palatial fortress, this acropolis, this Windsor castle of the Moors, dates the very day of the Castilian conquest, when the "Purifications" of Isabella's monks, that is, the whitewashings and removals of Moslem symbols, commenced; then the iron forged at Gothic Toledo, shattered the gossamer fabric of the Moor. What Ferdinand and Isabella began, their grandson Charles V. carried out, who proceeded to remove by the wholesale "the ugly abominations of the Moors." He modernized and rebuilt portions, put up heavy ceilings, cut out over-wide fire-places, took down the Moorish *Tarkish*, ran up partitions, opened and blocked up passages, and converted the dwelling of an Oriental sybarite, into lodgings for a chilly Flemish gentleman. His son and the Philips simply neglected the Alhambra, which in the absence of damp would have stood for ages, for here scarcely the sepulchre is shrouded by a lichen. The palace shared in the decline of the monarchy, and was made in 1664 an extra-judicial asylum for debtors; thus poverty crept into the "rules" of the king's house. It was next given up to invalid soldiers, prisoners, and convicts, and, in a word, made a den of thieves.

The Alhambra, for the first 2 centuries after the conquest, scarcely attracted the attention of other European nations; indeed to travel, except on compulsion, was not then the fashion. The names of visitors begin to be inscribed on the walls about 1670. After nearly a century more of neglect, the Alhambra was put into a sort of repair by Richard Wall, the Irish ex-minister of Charles III. Unfortunately it was selected in 1792, at that king's death, as the prison of Aranda, who was displaced from the ministry to make way for the minion Godoy, when the apartments of Charles V. were whitewashed, and all the rich Italian arabesques obliterated. The governor at that time, one Savera, resided in the suite of rooms over the mosque, from which every vestige of Moorish taste was swept away. He placed his kitchen and filthiest appurtenances in a Moor-

ish mirador, where marble and gilding yet linger amid abominations indescribable. Charles IV. next gave this petty appointment to a Catalan named Don Luis Bucarelli, who had been wounded in a battle with the French, and was half-witted and bedridden. He had 5 daughters, who married paupers of other parts of the Alhambra, and were all quartered in it; they laid their hands on everything that could be moved or sold. In vain were representations made by foreigners to the wittol Charles IV.; he desired "that the old man should not be worried;" so plunder thus authorized did its worst during the remainder of Bucarelli's life. He was succeeded by Don Lorenzo Velasco y Navara, who, by endeavouring to correct some abuses, became unpopular with the *contador* or the treasurer, who, on Godoy's downfall, managed to effect his dismissal on the plea of his being a protégé of the examiner. The hereditary office of *contador* had been purchased by the Prado family of Philip V., and was held by one Don Jose Prado, 40 years, he being the worst holder ever known except his son *Antonio*. Albeit malpractices and petty larcenies are *venial* sins in most Spanish "unjust stewards," yet such were the *mortal* offences of the son, that he was actually turned out of the office. This family of caterpillars had pretty well eaten up the patrimony of the Alhambra, while the remaining sums destined for repairs, &c., were divided, as usual, by the other authorities. About 1808 Don Ignacio Montilla was appointed governor. His wife kept her donkey in the beautiful chapel, and made the *Patio de la Mezquita* a pen for her sheep. But Ocaña soon brought in the wolf, and Sebastiani arrived in January, 1810. Montilla, for the sole crime of not presenting himself to this potentate, was imprisoned in the Comares tower, and only saved from instant execution by some Poles who were quartered in the Alhambra. His friends then got "*La Panera*," at whose house Sebastiani was lodging, to intercede. The lady was rich and beautiful, so Mammon allied to Venus subdued the General's heart,

and in this rare instance he departed from "salutary rigour," and was guilty of clemency. To the Alhambra no mercy was shown. He first proceeded to convert it into a *place d'armes*, for which purpose countless houses were demolished; Moorish mosque and Christian churches alike turned into magazines, and convents into barracks; the Moorish pavement of blue and white in the Court of Lions was torn up to make a garden there, like that of a badaud guinguette at Paris. The shrubs blocked up size and space, and concealed beauties of every kind, while their roots injured the intricate vein-work of pipes by which the fountains played, and their watering destroyed the rooms below. Not contented with this, on evacuating the Alhambra, Sept. 17, 1812, the French mined the towers and blew up 8 in number, many of which were models of Moorish art; they intended to have destroyed them all at one fell swoop as their parting legacy, but their agent, Don Antonio Farses, an *Afrancesado*, took fright, and ran away after his protectors. They retreated at 9 in the morning, and Farses had, like an unpunctual Spaniard, only commenced the blowing up at 11; the fusees were put out by an invalid soldier named José García. Let these deeds be held in everlasting remembrance.

Montilla now returned; but no sooner had Ferdinand VII. reached Madrid than he left his post, like most Spaniards, to job for a better place. Then one Villa Ecusa was directed to collect all that the French had not taken away, for they had made the Alhambra their receiving-house. He was assisted in his commission by Don José Prado, the *contador*, and Antonio Maria Prieto y Venencio, the "*escribano*:" verbum sat. They gutted the Alhambra, they tore off door-locks and bolts, took out even panes of glass, and sold everything for themselves, and then, like good patriots, reported that the invaders had left nothing. The Court of Lions was now impassable from ruin; some of the animals were broken and thrown on the ground. Then stepped in the second founder of the Alhambra—not



a commissioner of taste—"rien, pas même académicien"—but an humble female peasant, Francisca de Molina, whom Montilla had appointed portress. She is the Doña or *Tia Antonia* of Washington Irving, and, with her niece *Dolores* and *Mateo Ximenez*, will live immortalized by his ingenious pen. As we lived with these ladies 2 summers we can vouch historically that the *Tia Frasquita* was cross and crabbed, *Dolores* ill-favoured and mercenary, and *Mateo* a chattering blockhead; out of such worthies genius has made heroes and heroines, for the power of romance can gild the basest metals. Montilla had granted to the *Tia* the use of the *Adarves* and the garden, and she made money by showing the place and dressing picnic dinners, until some ultra-bacchic festivities caused that permission to be withdrawn.

No sooner were the French troops ejected from the Alhambra, by the recoil of the Duke's victory at Salamanca, than this *Tia* went to work to repair their ravages. Labor ipse voluptas. She set the Lions on their legs, and cleared away the rubbish. At length the indignant remarks of foreign travellers shamed the authorities, who commenced some trifling restorations; but in 1821 an earthquake shattered the ancient pile, and the times were out of joint, and the *Constitucion* in force; then Montilla, being a royalist, and a gentleman by birth, was persecuted by the patriots, by whom one Juan Camerara was named governor, and as the city Junta seized for themselves the scanty funds of the *real patrimonio*, the Alhambra again hastened to decay. In 1823, when Ferdinand VII. was delivered, Montilla returned; but he resigned in 1827, and was succeeded by a Col. Francisco la Serna, whose great object was to find work for galley-slaves: in an evil hour he selected the Alhambra for their occupation. His first step was to try to expel the *Tia Frasquita*, who, having lived 60 years in the palace, was not only Lioniser, but its Lioness, Queen, and Cook, being nick-named *La Reyna Coquina*. La Serna next converted a

large portion of the Alhambra into stores for the salt-fish of his scoundrel charge; at this vandal work we beheld his worthy galériens working in chains for weeks, in 1831, tearing down and casting over the battlements the Moorish *lienços* and *azulejos*, quæque ipse miserrima vidi. In March of that fatal year, as if destruction were its rule, a large portion of the curtain or outer wall, hanging over the Darro, fell in, which has since been rebuilt. In that summer, however, Mr. Addington, the British ambassador, coming down from Madrid to visit our humble selves then living in the Alhambra, induced the authorities to remove a powder-magazine, which, as it had no conductor, not even a holy-week palm-branch, was liable, during any lightning storm, to vie with Vandals, foreign and domestic. Thus, as an *accident*, the moving power of things of Spain, prevented the complete destruction of the Alhambra towers by the French, the accidental visit of an Englishman may have preserved the remains of what Gaul and chance had spared.

When Ferdinand VII. died, and civil wars broke out, the Alhambra, in common with the Escorial Aranjuez, and everything royal, was left to go to ruin. In 1837 the governor cut up the Moorish doors of the *Sala de los Abencerrages*, and permitted another man of taste to "repair and beautify" *la Casa Sanchez*. This once, when inhabited by honest Sanchez, of whom Panza was the type, was one of the most picturesque and most Moorish of dwellings. During the panic occasioned by the incursion of the Carlists under Gomez, a good deal more mischief was done in what was called putting the place in a state of defence: at length, in 1842, Argüelles, tutor to the Queen, destined a small sum from the privy purse for absolute repairs, which have been tolerably done, and are continued slowly at present.

The first object of every English traveller is the Alhambra; ascend therefore the *Calle de los Gomeles*, and, passing under the gate *de las Granadas*, enter the magical jurisdiction of this

fairly palace. 3 paths diverge; that to the rt. leads to the *Torres Bermejas*, the "red towers," a sort of outwork, which deserves a subsequent visit. This, the most ancient portion of Granada, existed when Illiberis was the chief town, and is mentioned as "Kal-'at Al-hamra," "the red castle," by an Arabian poet, so early as A.D. 864. It was afterwards called *Medinah Al-hamra*, "the red city" (Casiri, 'Bib. Es.' ii. 249). Pedro de Alcalá, in his Arabo-Hispano dictionary of the time of the conquest, translates *Bermeja* by Amhar (*hamra* in the feminine), a name well applicable to the red ferruginous concrete *tapia* of which it is built. It may have existed even before the Romans; indeed, some antiquarians, who can see far into a milestone, pretend to recognize Phœnician work. Habus Ibn Makesen, when he removed from Illiberis in 1019, erected above this outwork the *Kassabah Al-hamra*, "the enclosure of the red," the present *Alcazaba*. This Ibnu-l-ahmar selected for his residence, and built the *Kasru-l-hamra*, the "Alcazar, or palace, of or in the red enclosure." The long lines of walls and towers crown the hill, and follow the curves and dips of the ground, just as an artist would have placed them: there is no attempt at symmetry or anything straight; hence, as at Jaen, *Xativa*, &c., the elegance and picturesqueness of these Oriental fortifications; they are the antitheses of the commonplace line and rule *places* of Vauban, which are as worthless to the artist as admirable to the engineer.

The Moorish towers rise like reddish cork models out of a girdle of trees, which contrasts with the stony sierras above. The centre walk leads to the public gardens, that to the l. to the Alhambra; the wooded slopes are kept green by watercourses, and tenanted by nightingales; although everything looks the work of nature, it is the creation of man, as the Moor changed the barren rock into an Eden; had the French intentions succeeded, all would have relapsed into barrenness, from their destruction of the supply of water: the elm-trees came from England, and

here being rare, are as much admired as palms would be with us; on reaching the height is a semi-circular barbican, and below it a fountain; wrought in the coarse stone of Elvira, in the Beruguete style. It was erected by the Alcaide Mendoza, whose arms, with those of Charles V., are sculptured on it. The river-gods represent the Genil, Darro, &c.: this monument has recently been barbarously repaired and "restored."

Granada is a city of fountains, which, a luxury with us, is a necessity here. The Darro and Xenil are drawn off in canals from high up near their sources, and thus the waters retain the original elevation above the town; columns are accordingly thrown up from fountains in great body and height.

A sharp turn conducts to the grand entrance, *La Torre de Justicia*, the "Porch," the "gate of judgment," the "Sublime Porte," at which the king or his kaid dispensed judgment, as in the East (Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Kings viii. 7), after an ancient fashion, which at least was more rapid and cheap, and possibly quite as equitable, as any modern Court of Chancery, either below the hill or elsewhere. This gate was erected in 1308 by Yusuf I., Abú-l-hajáj, a great decorator of the Alhambra. The Moors called it *Bábu-sh-shari'ah*, the "gate of the law." The inscription over the inner doorway records its elevation and the name of the founder. It ends, "May the Almighty make this [gate] a protecting bulwark, and write down its [erection] among the imperishable actions of the just." The Moorish diaper has been broken, to make a niche for a poor wooden image of the Virgin.

Over the outer horse-shoe arch is seen an open hand, which some consider an emblem of hospitality and generosity, the redeeming qualities of the Oriental. Others think it a type of the 5 principal commandments of the creed of Islam—"To keep the fast of Ramadan, pilgrimage to Mecca, almsgiving, ablution, and war against the infidel." Others refer it to the Hebrew *jadh*, the hand of God, the Oriental symbol of power and provi-

dence. But the true meaning of it is a talisman over the portal against the much dreaded "Evil Eye," at which Orientals and Spaniards have always and do still tremble. The Morisco women wore small hands of gold and silver round their necks, like the Neapolitans, and a substitute for the classical phallic symbol of defiance. Charles V., by a Pragmatica in 1525, forbid this usage. In the *Sala de los Embajadores* is an inscription to the same purport: "The best praise be given to God! I will remove all the effects of an evil eye upon our master Yusuf," &c.

Over the inner arch is a sculptured key, in which some see the Oriental symbol of power (Isa. xxii. 22), and others the "key of David" (Rev. iii. 7). Others, however, hold that it is allusive to the "power of the keys," by which the true prophet opened the gates of heaven and hell. Then it is said to be simply a badge of honour, like the keys worn by gentlemen of bed-chambers and titled menials; the key, however, was a symbolic sign among the Sûfis, denoting knowledge—"the key by which God opens the heart of believers." It occurs over many Andalusian castles, especially those built after the arrival of the Almohades, a word corrupted from *Al Muwâhedum*, or Unitarians, a domineering religious sect, who bore this particular badge on their banners. There is an idle tale, how the Moors boasted that this gate never would be opened to the Christians until the *hand* took the key.

The entrance is carried through a double gate: "David sat between the two gates" (2 Sam. xviii. 24). Here is a guard-room; and the intricate tortuous passages are contrived so as to obstruct an entering enemy. Now, instead of the well-appointed Mameluke and glittering Moor, or iron-clad champion of Tendilla, a few gaunt, bandit-looking invalids are huddled together.

Passing onwards, near a paltry altar-screen, is a Gothic inscription, coeval with the conquest, recording that event, and the appointment of Inigo Lopez de Mendoza as alcaide. The jurisdiction of the Alhambra is separate from that of Granada, and has

its own governor. The office was one of high honour, but is now altogether second rate. The Virgin and Child, in the *Retablo*, was painted by Saint Luke, to which, if any doubted, Mateo Ximenez would swear. In our time no donkeys were allowed to go through this passage, because some had grossly misbehaved themselves before the sacred painting. Hence a narrow wall-enclosed lane leads to the open place, *Plaza de los Algibes*, under which are the Moorish "cisterns," which are filled by the Darro; they are cleaned in January, and then can be visited. In summer an awning is erected over a well, whence a supply of cool water is sold to those who come up from Granada with donkeys. This Plaza divides the palace from the *Alcazaba-Kassâbah*, the citadel. The latter was formerly entered by the *Torre del Homenage*, of "Homage," which rises at the end of the *Pelota*, or fives-court, whose wall much disfigures the Plaza. Observe a Roman altar from Illiberis, imbedded by the Moors in this tower; it is inscribed by the grateful Valerius to his "most indulgent wife," Cornelia.

The present entrance to the l. was made by the French. The Alcazaba is now used as a prison for galley-slaves. The once most curious Moorish armoury was sold by its governor, Bucarelli, to defray the cost of a bull-fight. Ascend the *Torre de la Vela* by its narrow staircase. Here, as an inscription records, the Christian flag was first hoisted by the Cardinal Mendoza and his brother. The panorama is glorious. Below lies Granada, belted with plantations; beyond expands the Vega, about 30 m. in length by 25 in width, 70 in circumference, and guarded like an Eden by a wall of mountains. The basin was once a lake, through which the Xenil burst a way at Loja. The Vega is studded with villas and villages; every field has its battle, every rivulet its ballad. It is a scene for painters to sketch, and for poets to describe. To the l. rise the snowy Alpujarras, then the distant Sierra of Alhama, then the gorge of Loja in the distance, then the round

mountain of Parapanda, which is the barometer of the Vega, as Soracte was to Horace; for when its head is bonnetted with mists, so surely does rain fall: "*Cuando Parapanda se pone la montera, Lluève aunque Dios no lo quisiera.*" Nearer Granada is the *Sierra de Elvira*, the site of old Illiberis, and below the dark woods of the Duke of Wellington's *Soto de Roma*. To the rt. is the rocky defile of Moclin, and the distant chains of Jaen.

The *Torre de la Vela* is so called, because on this "*watch-tower*" hangs a silver-tongued bell, which, struck by the warder at certain times, is the primitive clock that gives notice to irrigators below. It is heard on a still night even at Loja, 30 m. off, and tender and touching are the feelings which the silver sound awakens. This bell is also rung every January 2, the anniversary of the surrender of Granada; on that day the Alhambra is visited by crowds of peasantry. Few maidens pass by without striking the bell, which ensures a husband, and a good one in proportion as the noise made, which it need not be said is continuous and considerable. The fête is altogether most national and picturesque. Ascend this *torre* just before the sun sets, to see what is his blaze of glory in these southern latitudes, when he incarnadines heaven and earth. Then, as darkness comes on, the long lines of burning weeds and stubble in the Vega run and sparkle, crackling like the battle flashes of infantry; and, in the old warder's remark, recall the last campaigns of the Moor and Christian.

The under line of bastions, or *adarves*, which extend to the Gate of Justice, were laid out by Charles V. in hanging gardens with fountains, busts, and cinque-cento sculpture. The cypresses seen everywhere from afar, are the sole constant mourners of the Moor. The vines, *Parrales*, are said to be of the time of Boabdil. Their boa-constrictor-like stems wind round the square pilasters. The outer bastions, below the Alcazaba, were destroyed by the French, and are now a weed-overgrown ruin.

In a small court of the *Alcazaba* is a marble sarcophagus or tank, with basso-relievos of animals; among them the "deer-slaying lion," which occurs so often in Greek art. It is difficult to say whether this rude sculpture be antique or Moorish. An Arabic inscription is carried round the border, but this may be later than the carving; at all events, *stags* are animals connected by Orientals with the fountain, "as the hart panteth for the water-brooks:" and the Spanish Moors, among other departures from strict Moslem rules, did not reject either paintings or carvings of living objects.

Returning to the *Plaza de los Aljibes*, is an isolated Moorish tower *La Torre del Vino*, built in 1345 by Yúsus I. Observe the elegant Moorish arch, and the *Azulejos*, with which Spanish filth and neglect contrast. This oratory was first turned into a temple of Bacchus when the Alhambra had a privilege of introducing wine; now it is sacred to Cloacina Granadina. The large palace opposite was begun by Charles V., and, symbol of himself and Spain, great in conception and impotent in conclusion, is unfinished and unroofed; yet to raise this edifice, which he could not complete, Charles destroyed large portions of what the Moors had finished. This palace is, however, what the Spaniards admire, and to this, *their* building, and not to the Alhambra, *that* of the Moors, do they direct the stranger's attention. The foundations were laid with an evil omen, and in the tears of a pillaged people. The funds were extorted from the Moriscos to buy off the dreaded inquisition, which, nevertheless, was let loose on them.

This true *Château en Espagne* was begun in 1526, progressed slowly until 1633, and was then abandoned. It consists of a square of 220 ft., with 3 elaborate façades, and was one of the first buildings erected in Spain in the Græco-Romano Bramante style. The ornaments of the grand portal and windows, ascribed to Berruguete, are by Pedro Machuca. As works of art, the basso-relievos are much overrated; and such is the poverty of invention,

that the same compositions are simply reversed. The creamy pudding-stone is called *Almendrado*, and comes from the quarries of *El Turro*. The interior is cut up with a disproportioned Doric and Ionic circular *patio*, which, however well contrived, if the emperor meant to use it as an arena for bull-fights, must destroy the proportions of all rooms near it. The court, however, has generally been made a working-place for galley-slaves. There was a notion of offering this huge shell to the Duke of Wellington, with hopes that he would finish it with English gold; but it ended in nothing. There was some talk also of Queen Christina taking it in hand, but *de lo dicho al hecho, va gran trecho*.

Before entering the Moorish palace look around at this Plaza, where everything is typical of the past and present. In front the massy towers of the Moors frown over ruins and neglect. The uneven weed-encumbered court is disfigured by invalids, beggars, and convicts, emblems of Spanish weakness and poverty. The clanking of the criminal's chain has replaced the cry of the Mueddin and the *Algara* of the Moorish knight. The unfinished palace of the Austrian which insults the half-destroyed abode of the Western Kalif—is a thing of Spain, of to-day, where old systems are overturned by rash innovators, who have been unable to raise any new ones in their place.

The present entrance to *la real casa Arabe* is of Spanish construction, and lies in an obscure corner; for Charles V., adding insult to injury, did not even set his new building in a parallel line with the older one, and destroyed altogether the previous and noble façade which opened to the south. Before entering it may be as well to say a word on the erection of this edifice, the Arabic inscriptions, colours, ceilings, and architectural peculiarities: its decay has already been recorded.

The severe, simple, almost forbidding exterior of the Alhambra, gives no promise of the Aladdin gorgeousness which once shone within, when the opening of a single door, as if by the tap of a fairy's wand, admitted the

stranger into an almost paradise. In common with other Moorish commanding Alcazares, it is built on the crest of a hill, and of *tapia*. The picturesque walls and towers, which fringe the heights, follow the natural lines of the uneven ground. This fortress-palace, the dwelling of an Oriental, was intended to awe the city below with the forbidding exterior of power, to keep out heat, enemies foreign and domestic, and to keep in women. The plain aspect was adopted to avert the effects of the evil eye, the bugbear of Orientals, which scowls on the over prosperous, and dogs their felicity. The interior voluptuousness and splendour was masked like the glittering spar is in a coarse pebble.

The internal arrangements were purely Oriental, with its colonnaded walks, the fountains, baths, the diaper-stucco *Turkish*, *Azulejo* dado, above which hung the rich *Artesonado* roof, gilded and starred like a heaven. "The architecture of the Arabs," says Owen Jones, "is essentially religious, and the offspring of the Koran, as Gothic architecture is of the Bible. The prohibition to represent animal life caused them to seek for other means of decoration—inscriptions from the Koran, interwoven with geometrical ornaments and flowers, not drawn decidedly from nature, but translated through the loom; for it would seem that the Arabs, in changing their wandering for a settled life, in striking the tent to plant it in a form more solid, had transferred the luxurious shawls and hangings of Cashmere, which had adorned their former dwellings, to their new, changing the tent-pole for a marble column, and the silken tissue for gilded plaster;" and certainly he might have added that the palm-tree was the type of the columns which they used in their *patios*. With regard to the Arabic inscriptions, these *epigrammata* are written in an ornate character, and are decorations of themselves; their usage was borrowed from the phylacteries, the *preservative* devices of the Jews. Gayangos observes of their import, that "They are of three sorts:—*Ayât*,