

may well be compared to a sea in a storm, one mighty wave succeeding another. The Sierra Nevada, with its enormous peaks, forms the grand feature of the landscape, and is always magnificent, from the colouring, though the outline is not very fine. Some peasants were playing, with cimbals and triangles, wild tunes, very like what I have heard in Greece and in the East.

We entered one of the caves this evening, and it is by no means true that they are occupied by the poorest inhabitants. The one we saw evidently belonged to a person of some wealth. It had its stone front or portico, and the first room was surrounded with shelves, covered with jugs and earthenware of a curious description—some of the pieces very handsome. An arched doorway led into a large chamber, with a roof cut in the shape of an arch, and covered with nails, on which they hang the grapes. This was a store-room for wine and olives. An arched doorway, opposite the entrance of the cave, led into another very large chamber, used also as a store-room, the walls of which were ornamented with prints, and the floors covered with a very abundant provision of rice and flour. A larger arched doorway leads from the first room into a chamber, with an immense conical chimney at the end, exactly under which was the fire; so that when the pot was boiling, a man with a long stick and a hook at the end might from the top help

himself, or any mischievous urchin season it in a way they would not like. A picturesque group of women and children were warming themselves at an excellent fire. Two arched doorways lead from this chamber into the sleeping rooms.

License is required from the police for making a cave, but those who obtain permission are fortunate, for they are far more comfortable than the other houses, being always cool in summer, and warm in winter. This cave was also cleaner than some of the cottages I peeped into, which were not only dirty, but full of smoke.

Our beds in the posada were clean, though only mattresses on the floor.

We started in the morning before five o'clock, as it was doubtful whether our heavy conveyance could reach Granada before the custom-house closed. The first part of our road was by the rushy bank of a river. We then ascended a hill, which, from its steepness, and the depth of mud caused by the recent rains, was really terrible for the poor mules dragging our overloaded conveyance. We had a fine view of an extraordinary gorge, formed by the alluvial caprices I have before mentioned. Some parts seemed like habitations, but the caves were shallow, and only a few inhabited; other strata were as perpendicular as if hewn; but various and strange were the forms, often picturesque, the clay was moulded into.

When we reached the summit, our road lay over an extensive plain, the greater part of which seemed to be cultivated; and on our left it was bounded by the magnificent Sierra Nevada. About eight o'clock we passed through the village of Gayena, wildly situated amongst some rocks. We met there some scores of donkeys carrying grain to the less favoured districts. We have often, on this route, met similar caravans; and indeed grain seems to be the chief source of traffic. Some of the drivers were good-looking fellows, dressed in brown jackets and breeches, with conical hats and red *ceintures*, and many of them had guitars to cheer them on their journey. The tune they played was monotonous, and almost always the same, though sometimes more cheerful than the sad ditties the muleteers, mayorals, and zagals sing in praise of their mistresses, the places of their birth, and the different cities on the road; and the weather, hot and cold, was a favourite theme; reminding me of the songs of the Arab sailors and camel-drivers, always in the minor keys.

We afterwards passed through rocky scenery, valley after valley, generally wild, and often picturesque. After passing through the village of Al Falhu, we came in sight of the Vega of Granada; but the first sight was rather disappointing, I had heard and read so much of Granada, and then I compared it with San Felipe and Guadix, we had lately seen; but after passing the hamlet of Grili,

and coming suddenly in sight of the city, such treasonable thoughts vanished; and Granada, it must be confessed, is unrivalled in beauty. The plain is wonderfully rich, the darker tints of the oranges contrasting beautifully with the vivid colouring of the rising crops. All the trees are now bursting into foliage, and the bright light green of the mulberries, almonds, apricots, and other fruit-trees, were strikingly beautiful, contrasted with the sombre, cold tints of the olives. Some palm-trees were mingled with the other foliage, and I observed fields of the prickly pear.

The city of Granada has but few campaniles, only a few plain towers and a few domes being visible from this point; but still it looked well. The cathedral is imposing, and so many trees were mingled with the houses, the effect is picturesque. The red Alhambra lay on our left, a few plain towers and the *façade* alone visible, giving little promise of the magnificence within. The Sierra Nevada is the grand feature of the landscape, and it was curious, when we entered the town, to see its snow-clad summits rising above the white houses, and this under a burning sun. We passed some of the Moorish walls of tapia-work, and then entered the city through a pretty promenade; and after some custom-house delays, were comfortably settled in the Posada della Minerva.

The road to-day was horribly bad, and we suffered

a great deal from the pitching of our machine. Whoever wishes to know what roughing is in Spain, should travel on a road like this in a galera; but still it was bearable, and the inns are not such as should deter any one from taking this route, rather than go by sea, where nothing is to be seen. There is no danger of brigands, though we passed on our road many crosses erected in memory of persons killed, premeditatedly or in anger. To-day we saw one with an inscription, stating that Don Cristobal del Pin, aged sixty-six, had been murdered there in 1838, by four brigands, and requesting the prayers of all who should read the inscription.

With great grief I have to relate that the fatigue of this journey proved fatal to one of our party, poor M. B——. He had looked very ill for two days before arriving at Granada, and to escape the motion of the galera walked many miles every day, but as soon as he got into the machine, he invariably fell asleep, and when a stronger pitch than usual of the uneasy carriage awoke him, he slept again immediately. Such extraordinary somnolency evidently arose from extreme biliousness, yet his diet was most improper for a bilious person. He lived almost entirely on greasy omelets of eggs, and soups made perhaps of the best materials they could get, but such miserable detestable stuff, I never could touch it. A Spaniard must have his cigar, an Oriental his pipe, and a Frenchman his soup, though

he never could swallow it without making grimaces. I advised him to avoid such unwholesome food, and we often differed about our diet. I insisted on having fowls, the only things Mrs. H—— could eat, whenever I could get them, for our mid-day and evening meals; for tough as they were, with the addition of our good ham, we made a tolerable and at least a wholesome repast; but M. B——, and even M. L——, preferred the *soupe maigres* wretched as they were, and greasy omelets, to fowls, which certainly scarcely deserved the name, compared to the celebrated *volailles de Toulouse*, their native town.

At Granada they went to a Swiss house, particularly recommended to them, where they expected to find a kitchen more congenial to their tastes. I saw them the following day in the Alhambra, and thought M. B—— looking very ill, but did not apprehend anything serious. For several days afterwards we saw nothing of them, and though we were surprised we had not met them, or that they had not called, there is so much to occupy strangers in Granada, we only thought that they were as busy as we were ourselves. When one day M. L—— called in deep mourning and in great distress—his friend was dead. He had been seized with cholera the day after his arrival (from eating too much lettuce, said his Spanish doctor), which ended in fainting-fits, bilious fever, and death. As may be conceived, we were dreadfully shocked at this sudden demise

of a gentleman of great talent, not much older than myself, and apparently a stronger man.

I attributed his sinking under this attack to the bilious state he was in, to the fatigue of the journey, and still more to his unwholesome diet. Poor fellow! whenever our galera gave a lurch which would have shattered to pieces a lighter vehicle, he always exclaimed: "Ah! ce voyage à Grenade nous coûte fort cher," and well he might have said

"Que diable allais-je faire dans cette galère."

Mrs. H—— suffered much less from the fatigue of the tartana and galera than from riding, but all bilious persons should hire mules from San Felipe to Granada, and not trust to galeras, called diligences, or to finding mules at Lorca. M. B—— made his will, and delivered it sealed to M. L——, with directions for it not to be opened until his arrival in Toulouse; but at the same time told him that having only distant relations, he had left his fortune, which was considerable, to himself, being the oldest and most intimate friend he had in the world. M. L——, with a high feeling which did him great honour, and which I trust he will excuse my recording, resolutely declined the bequest, and another will was made to the exclusive benefit of a cousin, an ex-member of the late Provisional Government of France, M. L—— only accepting a small legacy.

## CHAPTER X.

GRANADA — MOORISH KINGS—WARS—FERDINAND AND ISABELLA—CONQUEST—MISFORTUNES OF THE MOORS.

THE Moorish territory of Granada, says Mr. Prescott, contained within a circuit of about one hundred and eighty leagues, all the physical resources of a great empire. Its broad valleys were intersected by mountains, rich in mineral wealth, whose hardy population supplied the State with husbandmen and soldiers. Its pastures were fed by abundant fountains, and its coasts studded with commodious ports, the principal marts in the Mediterranean. In the midst, and crowning the whole as with a diadem, rose the beautiful city of Granada.\* The Karnattah-al-Yahood, the Granada of the Jews, a strong fortress given to that nation, the friends and allies of the Moors, by one of

\* Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. 1.



Tarik's generals, was probably situated at the time of the conquest of Spain, on the site of the Alhambra, as it is not likely it would have been erected where the city of Granada stands, when so eligible a site for a strong castle was close at hand, and the old walls still existing, may be part of the ancient fortress.

For centuries Granada seems to have been a place of little importance, until early in the eleventh century, when Hábus Ibn Mákesen finding Elvira, the ancient Illiberis, too weak a place to maintain his independence of the Caliphs of Cordova, removed his Court to Karnattah, and erected fortifications of such extraordinary strength, as might well induce the Moors to fly there for refuge from the wars which raged in the adjoining kingdoms. Granada increased rapidly in population and wealth. The wars of the Almoravides and the Almohades, so destructive to the Moorish nation, must have benefitted a city, where within walls flanked by above a thousand towers, security and peace might be expected to be enjoyed; but the spirit of discord spread even to the Vega, and sometimes Granada was ruled by one chief, and then soon conquered by another. It was, however, to the religious war which has been correctly described as one of the sternest of those iron conflicts which have been celebrated under the name of holy wars, that Granada was indebted for the extraordinary growth of her population and her prosperity.

The conquests of the Cid at the latter end of the eleventh century, and of Don Jaime in the thirteenth century, driving the Moors from the Huertas of Valencia, and Murcia, and the victories of St. Ferdinand in Andalusia, would fill the kingdom of Granada with a wealthy and skilful agricultural population. Many of the Moorish kings who reigned there, were justly celebrated. Aben-l-Ahmar, who laid the foundations of the famous palace of the Alhambra, superintending it himself, and frequently visiting the architects, was one of the wisest and most enlightened of the Moslem kings. He not only made Granada impregnable, but also adorned the capital with useful monuments, establishing hospitals for invalids and the poor, inns for travellers, schools and colleges, public fairs, baths, fountains, and vast bazaars, and took care that the markets were abundantly and cheaply supplied; and in the country he caused aqueducts and canals to be constructed for the irrigation of the land. The arts flourished, and the soil, naturally fertile, was covered with rich harvests; and he gave great attention to the gold mines and silk manufactures. His subjects called him Gulib Conqueror, but to reprove them, he adopted the motto of "Wa le gulib ile Allah"—There is no conqueror but God,—so often inscribed on the Alhambra.\*

Mohammed II., who succeeded him in 1272, fol-

\* Condé, vol. III, p. 38.

lowed in the footsteps of his father, and not only encouraged the arts, continuing the building of the Alhambra, but was also indefatigable in extending the commerce, and encouraging the agriculture of the country, and his Court was an asylum where the learned were glad to find refuge in those troublesome times. Mohammed III., who succeeded him in 1302, continued the building of the Alhambra. After several reigns, revolutions, and murder of the usurpers,\* Yusuf I., when his brother was assassinated, succeeded in 1333, to the throne of Granada, and the population of the city was then estimated at four hundred and twenty thousand, and his wealth so immense, the credulous ascribed it to the transmutation of metals. He built the gates of al Justicia, and el Vino, at the Alhambra, and built, or at least decorated, the beautiful Halls of the Ambassadors, and of the Two Sisters, the Court of the Fish-pond, and the Baths, the most exquisite portions of that wonderful palace. Condé says he finished the buildings, and ordered them to be painted, and adorned with beautiful works.

The prosperity of Granada was not entirely owing to the elaborate cultivation of the plains over which the rivers of the kingdom are distributed by countless channels. During the reign of Mohammed V. (A.D. 1376), they carried on a vast commerce at Almeria and Malaga, which were the *entrepôts* for the

\* See Gayangos, Jones's Alhambra.

merchandise of the East, and the produce of Africa. Twenty different nations, Christians, Jews and Mussulmen, were seen there, who considered Granada as their common country; and merchants flocked to the capital from Syria, Egypt, Africa and Italy.\* The same intestine divisions which overthrew the thrones and the dynasties of the Umeyyah, the Almoravides and Almohades, were doubtless the destruction of Granada. Usurper after usurper seized the throne; † the first was Nusr, mentioned in the inscriptions.

Early in the fifteenth century (1432), the kingdom was divided into two parties, that of Jusuf Aben-l-Ahmar, proclaimed King by John, King of Castile, and al Hayzari, the actual King of Granada; and then another party, that of Aben Ismail, sprung up, proving still more formidable. When after the death of Ismail, his son, Abu-l-Hasan, a prince distinguished for his courage and love of glory, told the Ambassadors of Ferdinand and Isabella, that the kings of Granada, who paid tribute no longer, existed, and that Granada made nothing but sabres and the heads of lances for her enemies, ‡ war was inevitable, although the Catholic Sovereigns were for a while obliged to smother their resentment until they had made peace with Jean of Portugal. The last kingdom of the Moors had to

\* Condé, III, 166. † See Gayangos, Jones's Alhambra.

‡ Condé, III, 210.

contend against a more powerful enemy than those who had subdued the kings of Cordova and Seville. It was not merely Castile, but all Spain united under the strong government of her wisest and most powerful Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella; and yet at a period which required unanimity and devoted courage which might have enabled them, with their strong fortresses and cities, to have resisted all attacks, the inhabitants were divided into parties with opposite wishes and views, and thought of nothing but the triumph of the particular faction to which they belonged, without thinking of the general good, and their common defence against an enemy who threatened destruction to their country and their religion. The struggle for power between Abu Abdillah, sustained by the talent and treasures of his mother Ayeshah (jealous of Zoraya),\* and his father, the old king Abul-Hasan, unwilling after his long reign to be stripped of his crown by his own son, was the first and principal cause of the ruin of Granada. Many of the most illustrious warriors perished in this unnatural conflict. This civil war would have been prolonged with increased acrimony, for all had the death of relations or friends to revenge, but for the interposition of a fanatic, who had previously pro-

\* Formerly a Christian, Isabel de Solis, a daughter of the Governor of Martos. Having been taken prisoner by the Moors, she became the favourite wife of Hasan.

phesied the destruction of Granada, and now taking the best course to disprove his own words, persuaded the people to desist from this suicidal struggle, renounce both combatants, and elect El Zaghal (the valiant) for their king, undoubtedly the bravest and the most worthy of the Moorish princes. El Zaghal succeeded to his brother, Abu-l-Hasan, but Abdillah still held out, and condescended to receive assistance in this civil feud from Ferdinand, though it is said for every Christian soldier who entered his ranks, nine Moorish knights deserted his cause in disgust. The two rivals, afraid of each other, remained in Granada, while city after city were taken by the Christians. At last the people compelled them to sally forth, but it was too late, and both were equally unfortunate. The fall of Alhama, Ronda, Malaga, Baza, and the surrender of many strong places, such as Guadix and Almeria, without a struggle, paved the way for the attack on Granada. In 1491, Ferdinand encamped before the city with an army of forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and when the city of Santa Fè was built for a camp, and it was evident the Christians were determined to subdue the city by famine, fear fell on every heart but El Musa's who left the city in disgust, finding his eloquent reproaches were ineffectual to rouse the King and his people from their fears. All had less to lose than their monarch, and yet he was willing to yield. After eight months'

siege, and a religious war of nearly as many centuries, the Cross was planted in the last Spanish home of the Moors.\*

Honourable terms were granted by the Catholic Sovereigns, promising security to their persons, their property, their customs, and their religion, promises which, as Musa prophesied, were never kept. They were soon forbid the public exercise of their religion. Afterwards Ximenes, finding arguments and bribes ineffectual, proceeded without mercy to convert them by fire and sword, and many sought refuge in the mountains of the Alpujarras, where a revolution broke out, which required the presence of Ferdinand with a large army to subdue. The Moors were treated as rebels, and put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and the towns pillaged. The revolt in the Sierra of Ronda was still more formidable, and Alonzo de Aguilar, commanding a large force, was defeated with great slaughter by the Moors; but terrified at their own success, they yielded to Ferdinand, and baptism or exile was their sentence, the King providing vessels for such as chose to leave the country, on the payment of ten dollars a head. Every Moor in the kingdom of Granada, externally at least, became a Christian, and an ordinance appeared in 1502, ordering all the Moors in Leon and Castile, to leave the country, or embrace Christianity,

\* See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella.

under pain of death and confiscation of property ; and thus, after ten years' persecutions, the Moors became at least nominal Christians. Government after government persecuted the poor Moriscoes, who sometimes by means of large sums of money, purchased peace for a time, though bribes seemed but to act as incentives to further exactions. Eighty thousand ducats they paid to Charles V. Vexations and persecutions drove them again to revolt, and though Muley Abdillah for a long time set at defiance the power of Spain, Don John of Austria subdued him at last in 1570, more by artifice than by force, and the Moorish prisoners were scattered in the Asturias, Gallicia, and Castile. Numbers, however, remained in Murcia and Valencia ; when, forty years afterwards, the bigot, Philip III., regardless of the remonstrances of the Christian nobles, reluctant to lose their best workmen, transported them to Africa, and those in the interior of the kingdom, said to be two hundred thousand in number, were driven beyond the Pyrenees to the ports of Languedoc, whence they bade adieu to Europe. It is said that, at different times, two millions of Moors left Spain, carrying with them their wealth, their industry, and their arts. It is impossible to withhold one's sympathy from this brave and gallant nation. For centuries, and especially for the last ten years, they fought with the most heroic courage ; city after city taken, valley after valley laid



waste, privation after privation fearlessly encountered; and after suffering all the horrors of war, in defending one stronghold, not merely the perils of actual engagements, in which they delighted, but also famine, an evil hard to be borne by a people of their mercurial temperament, those brave men marched out with their arms to other cities, which they defended with the same high courage, the same prowess, dexterity and daring, and with the same unyielding resolution. They had Africa to retire to, and wealth to make life enjoyable; but the towers and fountains of their Alhambra were their pride and glory, the Vega their paradise, and they preferred death to exile from their beloved country; and nothing but this religious persecution would ever have driven them from Spain, the land of their birth.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE ALHAMBRA—LA TORRE DE JUSTICIA—PALACE OF CHARLES V.—PATIO DE LA ALBERCA—THE COMARES GALLERY—THE MEZQUITA—HALL OF THE AMBASSADORS—THE BATHS.

AFTER all we had read and heard of the Alhambra, we were of course impatient to visit this celebrated palace. A few minutes walk brought us to the Puerta de las Granadas, built by Charles V. Adjoining it is the palace of Gomarez, one of the great Moorish families, built of tapia-work. I observed in my way several houses of similar construction, and therefore evidently Moorish. This gate leads into a garden of young elms, now clad with their earliest and brightest foliage. Three avenues branch in different directions; taking the centre one until near the fountain and then turning sharp to the left we came to La Torre de Justicia. A cooler and more delightful ascent could not be imagined, and the constant shade prevents the least fatigue. These groves are tenanted with nightingales, or, as Bensaken our guide calls them, day-gales, as they differ,

he says, from the race in the South of England, and sing by day and not by night. The Torre de Justicia is a plain, simple, almost square tower, with a horse-shoe arch at the entrance, of tapia-work, over which is a hand, which is, I think, correctly thought a type of the five commandments of the law—to keep the feast of Ramedan, pilgrimage to Mecca, almsgiving, absolution, and war against the infidel; and may at the same time be a talisman against the evil eye, such as is now used in Morocco and Naples.

Similar hands, sufficiently small to wear round the neck are often found in Egypt, and were probably used by the ancient Egyptians for the same purpose. Over the arch is a cornice somewhat similar in appearance to an Egyptian cornice, but wanting its depth. The inner arch is more beautiful, and gives somewhat more promise of the splendour of the palace. Turning on the staircase, before the second doorway, the place is seen where the Judges sat in judgment between the gates. (“Judges shalt thou make in all thy gates.” “Then he made a porch where he might judge, even the porch of judgment,”) \* deciding, as is the custom now in the East, according to common sense, which, when there is no corruption, is a better guide, and more satisfactory to litigants, than the refined distinctions, delay, and immense expense of many of the courts of civilized Europe.

\* Deut. xvi, 18. I Kings vii, 7.

Over the second arch I should state there is a key, the symbol of knowledge. "The key of David that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth."\* And the tradition of the Alhambra is, that that the Moors believed that the gate would never be taken by the Christians until the hand grasped the key.

There is an image of the Virgin, now almost entirely covered up, which is said to be painted by St. Luke, and of course no one must doubt it, ; and an inscription recording the conquest and appointment of Lopez de Mendoza as alcaide. Passing this we arrived at the second door, which is of wood, the first being of iron. In the gateway were half a dozen soldiers keeping guard, very different from the brilliant host who once commanded it.

The Arabic inscription gives the name of the Sultan who built it, and the date of its erection, A.D. 1348. On the capital of the columns, on the right side, is an inscription, "Praise be to God," "There is no power or strength but in God ;" and on the left column, "There is no deity but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet."

We then came to *Ia Torre del Vino*, where, after the conquest, wine was sold, and which has its horse-shoe arch, and two smaller arches. This gate, and some houses adjoining, belonged to my friend Sir

\* Isaiah xxii.

Granville Temple. Here is the Plaza, the plain, simple, unpretending red towers of the Moors on our left, and the gorgeous palace of Charles V., on our right. The *façade* of the latter is not very bad, though I cannot say I admire it; the ground floor is too heavy Tuscan, the floor above is ornamented with Ionic pilasters, but the windows are heavy and too much ornamented, and in indifferent taste. The central entrance of the palace consists of three doors, over which are angels, and over the side-doors ovals, containing sculpture by Pedro Machuca, representing warriors on horseback, and combats with wild animals.

The doors are ornamented with double Doric columns, resting on pedestals, ornamented with better sculpture, representing the battles of Charles V.; warriors fighting in a very spirited manner, said to be the Spaniards beating the Germans, in one apparently with their left hands only. The horses are well executed, but all the faces are defaced. On the other pedestals are represented trophies of war, and figures of Fame blowing her trumpet. The palace is a mere shell, save a few of the rooms, and among others a dining-room with a roof carved, though not in the best taste; but what I chiefly admired was the circus or court, consisting of two corridors, the lower one ornamented with thirty-four Doric columns, and the corridor above with

as many Ionic columns. Without being quite Palladian, and far too large for the palace, this is really very good, and would be admired anywhere, though out of place in the Alhambra. The population of the Plaza, consisting of crowds of criminals in chains, is anything but attractive. They say there are two hundred of them, and many are here for murders, as they seldom execute prisoners for their first use of the knife, even when used with deliberation. It is now impossible to live in the Alhambra, or without danger visit it at night, as these men are divided into gangs of ten, under a corporal probably almost as bad as themselves, without any other control over them. If even honest, the corporal allows them to leave their quarters and ramble within the precincts of the Alhambra wherever they like, and any traveller known to take nocturnal rambles would run a great risk of being robbed if not murdered.

Charles V. destroyed the principal entrance into the Moorish Palace, and now a small humble door leads into the Patio de la Alberca, or the Court of the Fish-pond; so called from the piece of water about one hundred and twenty feet by twenty-five, full of gold-fish and neatly planted, which extends from the plain tower of Comares at one end of it, to a beautiful double corridor. Thin, graceful marble columns support exquisitely ornamented arches of singular lightness, covered with ornaments and

inscriptions as ornamental, from the extreme beauty of the Arabic and Coptic characters. Amongst other decorations, I observed the pomegranate; and the ornaments and scrolls in the gallery are of the most elegant description.

Through an open grated window we saw two of the boxes which contain the archives of the Alhambra. The locks are Moorish, and of a most complicated machinery, covering the whole of the exterior of the lids, and yet moveable with one key. There is in the same room a Moorish table, which they say is of marble, but it was so covered with dust that it was difficult to see; and there was also a splendid jar, made of baked clay, enamelled in blue, white, and gold, and said to have been found full of money.

Near this window a beautiful piece of work had been cut out of the wall, and the guide told us it had been done within eight days; and that the convicts were in the habit of committing these depredations, and selling the pieces to a person in Granada who sent them to London and Paris, or sold them to travellers. These robberies will be continued as long as the Government make the Alhambra a receptacle for thieves and brigands.

I was offered some nice pieces in Granada, and looked at them wistfully, as I might easily have sent them home in a case of pictures I had purchased, but I resisted the temptation, and trust all will