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A diligence starts from No. 10, *Plaza del Progreso*, Madrid. The road, if road it could be called, was long only a cart-track carried over desert-like plains, which in summer are clouded with dust and in winter are ankle-deep in mud; a new *carretera* has recently been *begun*, anno mundi 7053. Now, considering that according to Spanish historians, the sun at its beginning shone on Toledo, it must have done so both before the creation of Adam and of Mr. Macadam. The roads to and from the Imperial "navel of the world," have *always been* most disgraceful and antediluvian. Toledo, because not visited by the King, was never noticed by Spanish waywardens. It would seem that in Levitical Toledo, as at Santiago, the clergy were so intent on smoothing the ways to a better world, that they quite overlooked the unimportant ones in this.

Leaving the "Only Court" by the bridge of Toledo, after passing *Caravanchel de Arriba*, we reach *Getafe*: pop. 2500. This miserable specimen of a Castilian country town has an enormous *parroquia*, and a *retablo* filled with fine pictures of the life of Magdalen by Alonso Cano. *Illescas*, illic *non quiescas* say creeping things, is the now wretched place, in which a *quisado* of cat was served up to Gil Blas instead of a hare; and the thing is not yet impossible or unlikely. Pop. 1800. It has fallen from its former pride of place. The house in which François I. lived after his release from Madrid is shown. The *Santa Maria* has a fine Moorish belfry, which the natives have disfigured with a modern painted roof. The once superb Franciscan convent was gutted by the invaders, who must have thought, when they compared the pomp of the masonry-built churches to the mud hovels around, that Spanish laymen were only created to support priests. *Illescas* possesses a miraculous Virgin, called *la de la Caridad*, with a pillar: see a 4to. on its virtues, '*Manifiesto de la Co-*

*lumna*,' Gaspar Jesus Maria, Mad. 1709. The handsome chapel in the hospital has some pictures by El Greco, especially a fine *San Ildefonso* writing. Observe the Moorish entrance and the ornamental work in an upper room of the Casa de Rojas. The fair, held in the 1st week of September, is much frequented by picturesque gypsies.

About 2 L. from *Illescas* and 4 from Madrid, in the *despoblado de Humanejos*, between *Perla* and *Torrejoncillo de la Calzada*, is an interesting Moorish ruin with striated engrailed arches, such as occur in the *Mezquita* at Cordova. *Olias* resembles the preceding places in poverty and discomfort: here also is a hospital for those who sicken by the dreary way.

TOLEDO.—The best inns are *Posada del Mirador*, on the E. entrance, and in the town *Fonda de los Caballeros*, good and moderate. *Fonda de Lino*, where the diligence puts up; *Fonda de la Dominga*; *del Alcazar*.

Toledo is the capital of its district, whose hilly portions, *la Sierra* or *los Montes de Toledo*, divide the basins of the Tagus and Guadiana; these extend over 40 L., and were once covered with timber, which has been cut for building and fuel for Madrid, and never replanted. Full details will be found in the '*Memorias*' of Eugenio Larruga, vols. 5 to 10. Toledo, now slighted for upstart Madrid, was the chosen city of the early annalists and antiquarians. The best works to consult are, '*Summi Templi Toletani Descriptio*,' Blas Ortiz, duo., Tol. 1549; '*Hystoria y Descripcion*,' Pedro de Alcocer, fol., Tol. 1554; '*Descripcion de Toledo*,' by Francisco de Pisa, but edited by Tomas Tamaio de Vargas, fol., Tol. 1617; '*La Primacia de Toledo*,' Diego de Castejon y Fonseca, fol., 2 vols. Mad. 1645; '*Urbs et Roma Hispanica*,' &c., &c. Fer. de Herrera Yaca, 4to., Tol. 1664; '*De Antiquo Primatu*,' J. B. Ferrer, 12mo., 1728; '*Los Santos de Toledo*,' Antonio de Quintana Duesñas, fol., Tol. 1651; for their proper services see '*Officia Propria*,' &c., 8vo., Ant. 1616; '*Historia de Toledo*,' Pedro de Rojas, Conde de Mora, fol., 2 vols., Mad. 1654-63; '*Los Reyes*

*Nuevos de Toledo*, Christobal Lozano, 4to., 1667, or the later edition, 4to., Mad. 1764; '*Esp. Sag.*' v. vi.; Ponz, '*Viage*,' i.; and '*Toledo Pintoresca*,' José Amador de los Rios, Mad. 1845; '*Album Artístico de Toledo*,' Manual Assas, is valuable for the accurate translations from the Arabic by P. de Gayangos. There is a good bookseller, *Hernandez*, in the Cuatro Calles.

Imperial Toledo, the navel of the Peninsula, "the crown of Spain, the light of the whole world, free from the time of the mighty Goths," as its son Padilla addressed it, is a city of the past. Seen from afar, all is most imposing, but rottenness is in the core. This Durham of a once golden hierarchy offers a perfect contrast with Madrid the modern capital, for here everything is solid, venerable, and antique. It has not been run up by academicians to please the hurry of a king's caprice, but is built like a rock, and on a rock. Like Rome, it stands on seven hills, and is about 2400 feet above the level of the sea. The lordly Tagus, boiling through the rent or *Tajo* of the granite mountain, girdles it around, just leaving one approach by the land side, which is defended by Moorish towers and walls. Inside, the streets or rather wynds, are irregular, ill-paved, steep, and tortuous; but such intentional intricacy and narrowness rendered them easy to defend when attacked, and kept them cool in summer, however unpopular to travellers *not* in search of the picturesque. The houses are massive and Moorish-like, for the city was 350 years under their enlightened dominion. Each family lives in its own secluded castle, and not in flats or apartments as at Madrid. Here again we find the oriental *patio*, over which awnings are drawn in summer, as at Seville. Their areas are kept very neat, as the rain-water is collected from them for domestic uses. Toledo, although deficient in water, is a clean town; not, however, very healthy, and the length of life averages about 50 years. The climate is not agreeable, bitter cold in winter and hot in summer. The hills reflect back the sun's rays, but the river-meadows are pleasant; and the Tagus

is indeed a river, and not a dry ditch like the Manzanares. The Toledans, like their houses, are solid and trustworthy old Castilians, sober humdrum and *muy hombres de bien*. Here the glorious *Castellano* is spoken in all its purity of grammar and pronunciation, which is slow and guttural. To speak *en proprio Toledano*, has since the time of Cervantes been equivalent to "the best Spanish." ('*Viag. al Parn.*' vi. 253.)

In the heart of the city towers the cathedral, around which cluster multitudinous churches and convents, many now silent as tombs. Even *Salamanca*, a city of learning, was scarcely more hardly treated by the invaders—Victor and Soult especially—than was *Toledo*, the see of the primate. What the foreign foe began, the domestic reformer completed, as, by the appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues, the means were taken away by which this priestly capital, this Levite theocratic city, existed; they are only partly restored, the die is cast, and Toledo will decay and become a Thebes, in which the untenanted temples alone will remain. Formerly it contained, besides the cathedral, 20 parish and 6 Muzarabic churches, 9 chapels, 3 colleges, 14 convents, 23 nunneries, 9 hospitals for males, 1 for females, and 9 chapels, a tolerable spiritual provision for a population now dwindled down from 200,000 to 13,000. *Cosas de España*. All this is somewhat different from our Stockport, where 3 churches suffice for 60,000 busy souls, whose real divinity is *capital*. Let no cottonocrat, no mere man of money or pleasure, visit this gloomy, silent, and inert city, this ghost of a departed capital, which is without trade, industry, credit, or manufactures; but to the painter, poet, and antiquarian, this widowed capital of two dynasties is truly interesting, as it carries us away from the present; it is a living ruin, offering a semblance of existence struggling with decay, where the grand monuments of former prosperity now totter to a fall in mockery and contrast with present dilapidation. Here the voice of the Goth echoes amid Roman ruins, and

the step of the Christian treads on the heel of the Moor; here are palaces without nobles, churches without congregations, walks without people; the narrowness of the streets, by preventing carriage traffic, adds to that silence so peculiar to the ancient cities of Spain, and which at once, as Cervantes said (*Don Quix.* ii. 19), strikes the ear of the stranger. Toledo is in truth a perfect picture of social still-life, and we in our progressive activity find it difficult to realise the oriental stationary character of Spaniards, or the vitality of their resting so long on the "as you were" condition.

The foundation of Toledo is of course ascribed to Hercules, *i. e.* the Phœnicians; others, however, prefer Tubal, who built it 143 years, to a day, after the deluge; nor have its townfolk yet forgiven the Abbé de Vayrac for saying that they boasted that "Adam was the first king of Toledo, and that the newly created sun rose over this spot, because it was the centre and throne of the world;" much as the vain old Greeks predicated of their Athens. (*Athen.* i. 20). Be that as it may, Toledo, when taken by Marius Fulvius, U. C. 561, 193 B.C., was "urbis parva sed loco munita" (*Livy*, xxxv. 22). The name has been derived from *Toledoth*, the Hebrew "city of generations," as having been their place of refuge when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar. No doubt many Jews did fly to "Tarshish," to the "uttermost parts of the earth," in order to escape the calamities in Palestine; and certainly when Toledo was first taken by the Moors it was filled with Hebrews, or, as they called them, "Amalekites;" they, resenting the Gothic persecution, facilitated the progress of the Berbers, who themselves were half Jews and half Pagans. The extraordinary spoil, as detailed in 'Moh. D.' ii. 7, and Conde, i. 38, proves how rich the city then was.

Conde interprets Toledo, quasi Tolaitola, "alturâ perfectum," or *atalaya* grande, from the Arabic *attalah*, a place of look-out, and to this day the *Alcazar*, recently repaired, towers nobly over the city, its beacon and sentinel.

Leovigildo, under whom the Gothic monarchy was consolidated, removed his court from Seville, and made Toledo the capital of Spain. His successor, Recaredo, brought the Peninsula entirely into the Christian fold, and hence here were held so many of those important councils which give such insight into the spirit and condition of that age; they in reality were convocations and parliaments, as the sacerdotal aristocracy united social and civil supremacy. The best edition is '*Collectio Maxima*,' José Saenz de Aguirre, folio, 4 vols. Roma, 1693-4; or the new edition, folio, 6 vols. Roma, Jos. Catalani, 1753. The Goths, who have been so frequently stigmatised as destructive barbarians, repaired and improved the city bridges, and Roman walls; portions of their works yet exist, for Toledo was one of the few towns exempted from the decree of Witiza, by which so many others were simultaneously dismantled, as if to render conquest easier to the invader. But history in Spain is always reproducing itself; compare the similar policy of Cato (*App.* 'B. H.' 467; *Livy*, xxxiv. 17).

Wamba was the benefactor of Toledo, as is recorded in the inscription over the great gate, "Erexit fautore Deo rex inclytus urbem, Wamba." This was indeed "a long time ago," for Wamba is the Japetus of Spain, and the phrase *en el tiempo del Rey Wamba* proverbially denotes a date beyond legal memory, as "old as the hills," *au temps où la Reine Berthe filait*. Wamba was half poisoned in 687 by Ervigius, and, when supposed to be dead, was clad as usual in a monk's dress for burial; and, therefore, when he recovered, was compelled to continue the cowl, which, once put on, can never be taken off. The quarrels between the usurper and rightful heirs weakened the Gothic government, and enabled the Moors, in 714, to subdue the divided kingdom; so afterwards, in 1492, the dissensions of the Moslems paved the way to their final defeat by Ferdinand and Isabella. The Jews of Toledo, when their Moorish friends seized their money, turned to the

avenging Christian, and facilitated the conquest of the city, in 1085, by Alonso VI., who thereupon took the title of Emperor of Toledo; he gave "himself seated on an imperial throne" for the armorial bearing on its shield, naming the Cid as its first *Alcaide*. Toledo, honoured by the sovereign and made the primacy of a rich clergy, was always loyal; thus, when Burgos disputed its new precedence in Cortes, Alonso XI. exclaimed, "Let Burgos speak first; I will speak for Toledo, which will do what I wish."

First walk round this most picturesque old city, beginning at the north-eastern land approach; descend to the *Puerta del Sol*, a rich Moorish gate of granite horseshoe arches, with upper intersecting ones of red brick, and follow the old road which winds down by the church of *Santiago*; observe its courtyard, portico, and absis; thence pass on to the *Puerta de Visagra*, now blocked up, and therefore called *la Puerta Lodada*. With regard to the walls, there are two circumvallations; the inner, built by Wamba, runs up from the bridge of Alcantara under the Alcazar, by the gate of *Doce Cantos*, to the back of the Carmen calzado, to the bridge, to the gates of *Santa Cruz* and *Cambron*, and thence to the bridge of San Martin; the outer line, built in 1109 by Alonso VI., which also begins at the Alcantara bridge, keeps in the hollow by *Las Covachuelas* to the present new gate, continuing thence to the *Puerta Lodada*, and then joining the old wall near *El Nuncio*, and thus enclosing the former Moorish gate. The name *Visagra*, said by some to be *Via Sacra*, the road by which Alonso entered in triumph, is simply *Bib Sakra*, Arabicè "gate of the country;" and the rich cereal and pastoral district between Illescas and Aranjuez is still called *La Sagra*, Arabicè "the open country, the support." Others read in it the Hebrew *Sahar*, "bright," as being the E. gate, on which the rising sun would shine, and through which "those who went out early," *saharaim*, would pass.

The new gate was built in 1575 by Philip II., who adorned it with the

eagle and shield of Charles V., with the guardian St. Michael, and statues by Berruguete. Read Philip's inscription, the curious original Moorish one was pulled down by him to substitute this, which records how he restored the "Divos patronos urbis," and destroyed Moorish impieties. Wamba, at least, ascribed his buildings to the assistance of God, *Fautore Deo*: compare also Philip's Christian Latin, with a genuine Pagan dedication found here (*Cean, Sum<sup>o</sup>, 119*). *Herculi patrono, Endoval Tol. Divo Toletano, V. V. Osca deis tutel. &c.* The use of Latin of itself gives a Pagan turn to this sort of inscriptions, even if the purport were not so similar. Observe also the image of San Eugenio, one of the tutelars of the city: sent by St. Denis to Spain, A.D. 65, Eugenio became Bishop of Toledo, but, going back to France, was murdered at St. Denis. His body, however, was happily discovered by Ramon, a Frenchman, and the second archbishop of Toledo, who in 1156, brought the right arm from France; Philip II. obtained the rest from Charles IX. Thus the parts were reunited—to the unspeakable benefit of Toledo—Nov. 18, 1565, after 1468 years of separation (see *Pisa, 84*, and '*Esp. Sag.*' v. 224).

The *Alameda* outside this gate was planted in 1826 by the Corregidor Navarro, who laid out the gardens and *Plazuela de Marchan*, but the statues of Toledan kings are bad and heavy. In the suburb, *Las Covachuelas*, are some degraded Roman remains. Close by is the hospital of San Juan el Bautista, commonly called from being outside the walls *el Hospital de Afuera*; it was built with four façades by Bartholomé de Bustamente in 1542, for the Cardinal Primate Juan de Tavera, whose *Cronica* is written by Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, 8vo. Tol. 1603. The magnificence led the envious to reverse the remark of their prototypes in Matthew xxvi. 8, and say, "Why is so much given to the poor?" The façade is unfurnished, for, although the founder left the care and continuance of the hospital to his heir, he could not bequeath his spirit of beneficence, for it

remained many years before it was finished which the exterior is not yet. Enter the classical *patio*, and proceed by a colonaded portico to the Doric chapel, whose portal was built by Berruguete, the *retablo* was designed and painted by El Greco in 1509. Here lies the founder on a noble cinque-cento *urna*, the effigy is modelled from his actual body, and is guarded by the cardinal virtues, to which few cardinals were ever better entitled. The details of the whole are infinite, and this was the last but not the best work of Berruguete, who died in 1561 in the room under the clock; a fine silver chest and other church plate were saved from the invaders by the administrador Castañon.

Turn now to the rt., and observe the slits for arrows in the *Puerta Lodada*, and the horseshoe arches above: this gate was built by Moorish workmen for Alonso VI. A fine outline of convents and palaces, all ruined by the invader, crests the hill, running by the lunatic hospital, *el Nuncio*, to the pinnacled gate of *Cambron*. Below to the rt. the remains of a long, wide Roman *circus* can just be traced: adjoining to them was the prætorian temple, which was converted into a church by Sisebuto in 621; it is now called *el Cristo de la Vega*. Examine well this curious but much degraded basilica, with its absis and external round-headed sunken archwork. In it were buried the tutelars of Toledo, *San Ildefonso* and *Santa Leocadia*, the events of whose lives have been so much illustrated by Spanish artists and authors. Leocadia, born in 306, was cast down from the rocks above by Dacian: a chapel was raised on the site of her fall, in which many councils were held; during one of which, in 660, angels appeared and removed the stone from her sepulchre; she forthwith arose "clad in a mantilla," and informed the president San Ildefonso, that "her mistress lived through him." He had written a work in defence of the Virgin Mary (see p. 789). The author was so pleased that he borrowed the knife of the king Redecivintus, and cut off a corner of her veil, which was shown to Philip II. in 1587; the body,

according to some churchmen, ascended to heaven, while others assert that when the Moors invaded Toledo a Fleming carried it off to Flanders; this was a very pious act, if true, for few Braves Belges, when about to run away 1200 miles, would select as a portable gem a dead woman (but see '*Esp. Sag.*,' vi. 308, quoting Pisa). The corpse was rediscovered at San Gisleme, in 1500, when Philip I. obtained a portion of it for the chapter of Toledo; the rest was removed by the relicomaniac Philip II. when fearful that the heretics would conquer the Low Countries, and get possession of such a treasure as this. He received the remains at the cathedral in person, April 26, 1587. All this translation and carriage, the expenses of which were enormous, was managed by one Miguel Hernandez, a clever Jesuit, who published a duo. life of Leocadia at Toledo in 1591. Consult also her biography in Pisa, and the '*Esp. Sag.*,' v. 507, in which is printed an authentic account of the council scene, a proces-verbal, written in 775 by Cixila, archbishop of Toledo. The 26th of April is still a grand holiday in her honour. Her *urna* was wrought in silver by Fr<sup>o</sup>. Merino, 1587. The 10 basso-relievos represent the incidents of her life and removals of her body. Consult for her *Miracles* the duo. by *Juan Perianez*, Tol. 1591.

Above to the l., and growing, as it were, out of the rock, rise the remains of the palace castle, built by Wamba in 674, in order to command the W. approach of the city: the masonry is most massy. Below, on the river-bank, is a Moorish arched *alcoba*, with an Arabic inscription, which is called by some *los Baños de Florinda* (Arabice *Zoraida*), and more generally the baths of *La Cava*; this fair and frail one is said to have been bathing here when Roderick, the last of the Goths, beheld from his terrace above the charms of this Gothic Bathsheba. The sad results are matters of history (see p. 285). If her existence itself be a myth, it is also a misnomer to call a mere tower, a bath.

The bridge of San Martin below

binds rock to rock, and completes the picture. Now turn back, and ascend to the *Puerta del Cambron*, rebuilt in 1596, when the old Moorish gate was pulled down, and enter Toledo again; in the inside niche of this gate is a statue of Leocadia by Berruguete, which is Florentine in style, tender and beautiful in form, and sweet, gentle, and serious in expression: read the inscription, and the vain prayer that *Tædium*, *Bore*, *Ennui*, the genius of Toledo, may be expelled by her.

Advancing are the remains of the once splendid Franciscan convent, called *San Juan de los Reyes*, because dedicated to their tutelar apostle John by Ferdinand and Isabella, who built it in commemoration of the decisive victory at *Toro*; destined by the stern Ximenez for his reformed monks, it has recently been made a *parroquiá*. The site is well chosen, being truly royal and commanding. Observe badges and symbols of the Catholic kings, and the votive chains suspended outside by captives delivered from the infidel by the intervention of the Virgin, some of which have been used up for chain-posts! The portal, an exquisite gem, was finished by Alonso de Covarrubias for Philip II. This convent, which was one of the finest specimens of florid Gothic art in the world, was all but demolished by the invaders, who entirely gutted and burnt the quarters of the monks. The splendid chapel, now restored with vile tawdry decorations, escaped somewhat better, having been used as a stable for their horses; but Victor's troops whiled away their leisure by smashing the storied painted glass, and by mutilating the religious and heraldic ornaments, whose richness was once past all description, as those specimens which were out of reach still evince. Observe the shields, eagles, badges, ciphers, coronets, and the fringing inscription so common at this period. The exquisite cloisters, with fine pointed Gothic arches, deserve notice; a few vile Spanish repairs have been done here by plastering up arches, and making more hideous the previous French Vandalism: the space, which once

was a pretty garden, is now cursed with weeds, fit companions to the ruin all around; a portion has been recently made into a *Museo*. Among the rubbish in it look at one or two pictures by *Riberas*, and a Christ with *Maries* by *Tristan*. Opposite to this convent was the grand palace of the great Cardinal Ximenez, which the invaders first pillaged, and then destroyed.

Turn now to the l., and descend by narrow lanes to the former *Juderia*, or Jews' quarter, in which two most singular synagogues yet remain, although sadly degraded. The first, now called *la Santa Maria la Blanca*, was built in the ninth century; but in 1405 (see the inscription over the door), when the ferocious persecutor San Vicente de Ferrer goaded the mob on against the Jews, it was converted into a church; so it remained until the French degraded it into a storehouse. The architecture deserves much notice; the ground plan resembles that of a basilica. Observe the three aisles divided by polygonal pillars, which support horseshoe arches, springing from bastard Gothic capitals; remark the circular patterns in the spandrils, the stars, chequer-work, and engrailed Moorish arches. The building is somewhat too high in proportion to the width; the ceiling is said to be made from beams of the cedars of Lebanon, and the soil below the pavement was brought from Mount Zion.

The other synagogue, although less ancient, is finer and better preserved; although consecrated to *San Benito*, it is called *el Transito*, from a picture of the death of the Virgin, which has disappeared during recent reforms. It was built in 1357, by Samuel or Simel Levi, treasurer to Don Pedro the Cruel, and in fact his Joseph, his Mordecai. His royal master, however, in 1360, being in want of cash, and knowing the value of a Jew's eye, first tortured and then killed poor Levi, seizing his money-bags; all this rather pleased the Spaniards, who hated a Hebrew, whose strictness in tax-gathering had rendered him unpopular. (See for curious details, ch. 7, 15, and 30 of the '*Chronica de Don*

*Pedro.*) Levi had previously patronised the Jews, who soon became so rich and numerous that the former synagogue was too small, and this splendid "place of congregation," συναγωγή, the precise *jama* or mosque of the Moor, was built in a mixture of the Gothic, Moorish, and Hebrew style; it must indeed have once been gorgeous, but the Spaniards have disfigured the E. end with a trumpery gilt *retablo* that conceals the lace-like embroidery; a large crucifix now occupies the place of honour in the temple of those who put their Messiah to death: the upper parts, being out of reach, have escaped better, so observe, the honeycomb cornice, the rows of engrailed Moorish arches, and the superb *artesonado* roof. A broad band with foliage contains the arms of Leon and Castile, and is edged with the 84th Psalm and Hebrew characters, and a damaged inscription; this was translated by Juan José Heydeck in the '*Memorias de la Acad. Hist.*' (iii. 31), and printed in a separate form, folio, Mad. 1796; the correctness has been much disputed by Bayer and others. Isabella, in 1494, gave the building to the order of Calatrava: then the holy of holies was converted into an archive, and the galleries of the Jewesses are now into a dwelling of the animal who is called *el custodio* or *conserje*.

There is a poorish history of the *Sephardim* or Spanish Jews, by James Finn, 1841, and another, not much better, by E. H. Lindo, 8vo. London, 1848; some studies on them, have been written by Amador de los Rios, and also by Aldolfo de Castro, Cadiz, 1847, a work that has been translated by E. Kirwan; but none of these exhaust the subject which has yet to be worthily written; for the Hispano-Hebro Romancero, consult '*Die Religiöse poesie der Juden in Spanien*,' Michael Sachs, Berlin, 1845.

The Spanish Jews were of a very high caste; and although persecuted by Goth, Moor, and Spaniard, that is by followers of creeds both alike daughters of the Old Testament, they clung closely to their faith. Strange religion-

ists! who turned, when they were the sole depositaries of the real word of God, to every idolatry, worshipping a golden calf (and probably because it was *golden*), even under the thunders of Mount Sinai; and yet, when the true Messiah came to supersede the old law, they then clung doggedly to what they before abandoned. Spain (Tarshish) was always the favoured locality of the Jew when forced away from Palestine. Being men of peace and money, they were always persecuted by the men of war, who seldom can live on their pay. There was no end of fleecing them on one pretence or another. Such was the *Judaicus Fiscus* of Domitian (Suet. 12), such the policy of Tiberius, who banished all Jews from Italy who would not abjure their creed (Tac. 'Au.' ii. 85); the purification of religion was always made the pretext of appropriating avarice, so the Christian Goths, equally fond of money as the Romans, found an additional accusation in the guilt of the crucifixion. In 694, by the 17th council of Toledo, the Jews were ordered to be cut off with the "scythe of revenge," for corresponding with the "Filistins" of Barbary. It was then, when driven by persecutions, that the Jews called in the avenging Moors, and opened the gates of *Toledo*, it is said, on Palm Sunday, while the Christian garrison was worshipping at the tomb of Santa Leocadia. For this service they at first were favoured by the Moslems, and, being left in peace, soon again became so rich, that their heresies began to stink in Moham-medan nostrils, and they were either strangled or robbed. In this dilemma they turned to the avenging Christians, and let in Alonso VI., who also for a time encouraged and protected them. As they sided with Don Pedro (because they had lent him money) in the civil wars of 1369, they were treated as traitors by the successful Henrique II., who confiscated their cash. Then ensued the crusades of San Vicente de Ferrer, who imitated the great modern master of Jewish persecution, the perfidious *Philippe le Bel* of France, son of Saint Louis and executioner of two

popes. The Spanish Jews, having been long hunted like beasts and impoverished, were finally expelled from Spain under circumstances of most Iberian cruelty by Isabella in 1492, who therefore is called *Jesebel* in their chronicles. Vast numbers settled on the Mohammedan shores of the Mediterranean, where their descendants still speak Spanish. The Moors and the wisest of the early Spanish kings tolerated the industrious and intelligent Jews, who unable to become soldiers or land-owners, took to money making; they soon got rich by "spoiling the Egyptians" with whom they dwelt, but of whom they were not. They formed the ablest financiers and scribes, and made money easily when the legal rule of interest was  $33\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., *tres per quatro* (L. vi. Fuero Real): to kill them became naturally an easy and religious way of paying old debts with the good old Christian *Hidalgos*, who were hallooed on and absolved by a bigot church. Many Jews, however, remained in Spain, professing to be Christians, but in secret following their own religion and mammon. And some still exist, according to Mr. Borrow, but are quite unknown to Spaniards. "These genuine Jews," says he, "are quiet and in easy circumstances, trafficking in wool and *longanizas*, which they sell, but do not eat, as pork enters largely into this excellent sausage." Meantime from the long and close breeding in and in of this "peeled race," no ethnologist can mistake a physical type, which is as marked as the woolly head of the negro. The name Jew, *Judio* is still the *maledictio pessima*, the *Nimreseth*, the insult never to be forgiven, *anathema maranatha*. Sancho Panza, the type of lower classes, glories in his hating a Jew, a proof of his being a true Christian. (Don Quix. iii. 7). Spaniards, even in this century, were taught to think all foreigners to be heretics and Jews. The cry of *Judiada* is still a prelude to certain murder. "I hate oppression in every shape," said a Valencian *Liberal* to Lord Carnarvon; "I am a friend to the human race: if indeed there be a

Jew among us, burn him, I say, burn him, alive."

Next visit the adjoining church of *Santo Tome*, with a brick tower of Moorish character; inside at the W. end of the nave, to the r. of the principal door, is the much neglected and damaged masterpiece of *El Greco*. This Domenico Theotocupuli, so called because a Greek by birth, settled at Toledo about 1577, where he died in 1625, and lies buried in the *San Bartolomé*. He imitated Titian and Tintoretto, but was very unequal; thus what he did well was excellent, while what he did ill was worse than anything done by anybody else. He was often more lengthy and extravagant than Fuseli, and as leaden as cholera morbus. He was also a sculptor and an architect. This picture, which shows how well he could paint when he chose, represents the burial of Gonzalo Ruiz, a descendant of the great Alcaide *Esteban Illan*, Conde de Orgaz, in 1312. The deceased had repaired this church, and founded the convent of *San Augustin*, whereupon these two saints, Stephen and Augustine, came down to attend his exequies as special undertakers, pour encourager les autres Condes. The black and gold armour is equal to Titian; and the heads of the by-standers, the red brocades and copes of the saints, are admirable: less good are the Virgin, Saviour, and heavenly groups, which are lanky in drawing and coldly coloured. This event of this Descent remained forgotten for more than two centuries, until the town of Orgaz, in 1564, refused to pay the curate of *Santo Tome*, one Andrez Nuñez, certain due offerings of meat and wine; whereupon he put them into the chancery of Valladolid, beat them, and repaired the chapel, affixing the inscription, which read, as it records the miracle and lawsuit. Adjoining this church is the now degraded *Cuartel de Milicias*, once the palace of the Conde de Fuenzalida, in which Charles V. was lodged in 1537, and where his wife Isabel died. Close also to *Santo Tome* is a vacant space, on which stood the house of Juan de Padilla and of his noble wife Maria, the leaders of the *Comunero* insur-



rection. Charles V. ordered this house to be razed in 1522, when a granite pillar with a branding inscription was placed on the site; a memorial which in its turn has been destroyed by modern reformers, and a granite column with inscription in honour of Padilla erected.

Descend now to the Moorish bridge of *San Martin*, which was broken in 1368 by Henry of Trastamara, and repaired by Archbishop Tenorio, a kinsman of "Don Juan," and a true pontifex maximus. Observe in the tower a statue of *San Julian* by Berruete. The bridge is narrow and elevated on account of the occasional swellings of the river, which rushes down from a rocky gorge, on the r. crest of which towers the toppling city. The river, pleased to escape from its prison, meanders away amid *las Huertas del Rey*. Below all is repose, and the green meadow woos the lingering stream. There are some remains of the piers of an older and perhaps a Roman bridge. On the hills are the *cigarrales* or Toledan villas, not so called from the multitudinous *cigars* smoked therein, but from the Arabic *Zigarr*, *Cegarra*, "a place of trees." The correct Castilian term for a country villa is *Casa del Campo* or *quinta*, Arabicè *Chennat chint*, "a garden." In Galicia, they are called *Aldeas*, Arabicè *Aldaiá*, "a small place;" in Arragon and Catalonia the name is *Torres*; in Andalucia *Haciendas Cortijos*; in Granada *Carmenes*, Arabicè *Karm*, "a vine," and in Malaga they are called *Lagares* when there are wine presses in them.

The wild and melancholy Tagus rises in the *Albaracin* mountains, and disembogues into the sea at Lisbon, having flowed 375 miles in Spain, of which nature destined it to be the aorta. The Toledan chroniclers derive the name from Tagus, 5th king of Iberia; but Bochart traces it to *Dag*, Dagon a fish, as, besides being considered auriferous, both Strabo and Martial pronounced it to be piscatory, Πελουχθὺς, *piscosus*. Grains of gold are still found by amphibious paupers, called *artesilleros* from their baskets,

in which they collect the sand, which is passed through a sieve.

The Tagus, destined by nature as for the water communication of these localities, but now useless, might easily be made navigable to the sea, and then united to the Xarama, would connect Madrid and Lisbon, and facilitate importation of colonial produce, and exportation of wine and grain: such a work, which would confer more benefits on Spain than 50 paper constitutions, has frequently been contemplated by *foreigners*, the Spaniards looking idly on; thus in 1581, Antonelli, a Neapolitan, and Juanelo Turriano, a Milanese, suggested the scheme to Philip II., then master of Portugal; but money was wanting—the old story—for his revenues were wasted in relic-removing and in building the useless Escorial; so nothing was made except water parties, and odes to the "wise and great king" who *was* to do the deed, "*I'll do, I'll do, I'll do,*" for here the future is preferred to the present tense. The project dozed until 1641, when two other *foreigners*, Julio Martelli and Luigi Carduchi, endeavoured to rouse Philip IV., who soon after, losing Portugal itself, forthwith forgot the Tagus. Another century glided away, when Richard Wall, an Irishman, took the thing up in 1755; but Charles III., busy in waging French wars against England, wanted cash. The Tagus has ever since, as it has dashed over its rocky bed, like an untamed barb, laughed at the Toledan who dreamily angles for impossibilities on the bank, invoking Brunel, Hercules, and Rothschild, instead of putting his own shoulder to the water-wheel.

In 1808, the scheme was revived by Fr<sup>o</sup>. Xavier de Cabanes, who had studied in England our system of canals and coaches. He, who had before introduced diligences into Spain, now published a survey of the whole river; this folio '*Memoria sobre la Navegacion del Tajo*,' Mad. 1829, seems like the blue book of one discovering the source of the Niger, so desert-like are the unpeopled uncultivated districts between Toledo and Abrantes. Ferd. VII. thereupon issued an approv-

ing *paper* decree: and so the thing ended, although Cabanes had engaged with Messrs. Wallis and Mason for the machinery, &c. Recently the project has been renewed by Bermudez de Castro, an intelligent gentleman, who from long residence in England, has imbibed the schemes and energy of the foreigner.

*Verémos!* for hope is a good breakfast but a bad supper, says Bacon. Meantime this Tagus, a true thing of wild, racy, and romantic Spain, is made for the poet and artist; how stern, solemn, and striking the lonely unused river; no commerce ever made it a highway. Its rocks have witnessed battles rather than peace, have reflected castles and dungeons, instead of quays and warehouses; few cities have risen on its banks as on the Rhine, scarcely even a village. It flows away solitary and unseen; its waters without boats, its shores without life; no steamer has either civilised or cocknified its wild waters like those of the Rhone or Danube.

Tourists who have no objection to a good walk may now cross the bridge of *San Martin*, and ascend the steeps to the l., where, about 50 yards on, the geologist may observe "the gneiss almost perpendicular with magnificent veins of granite, crossing each other in every direction: in some the quartz, felspar, and mica occur in very large crystals: the quartz is often bluish, perhaps from kyanite. The veins are grey, and continue a long way to the l. on the heights above the river opposite the town: there are also very good specimens of graphic granite with large hexagonal crystals of mica." Soon town and river are lost in a valley of rocks: above is stretched a canopy of blue sky, and below trickles a rivulet, where damsels wash their linen, and colour the grey stones with sparkling patches, cheering the loneliness with songs. The rugged cliffs to the l. especially near *el Mirador*, said to have been the Tarpeian rock of Jewish executioners, command noble views. Follow the stream to the Tagus, and, having looked at the Moorish mills, reascend into a scene made for Salvator Rosa, until on reaching a chapel,

Toledo reappears with its emphatic huge square *Alcazar* towering over rock, ruins, and river; then clamber up to the shattered castle of *Cervantes*, a name which has nothing to do with the author of 'Don Quixote,' but is a corruption of *San Servando*; this sentinel outpost *guards* the approach to the bridge below, and commands a most glorious view of Toledo. To the r. below is the rose-planted *Alameda*, laid out at the beginning of the road to *Aranjuez*. The meadow opposite is a field of romance, and is still called to this day *la Huerta del Rey*, for here *Alonso* held a *cortes* when the *Cid* complained of his vile sons-in-law the Counts of *Carrion*: here some much-degraded ruins are still called *las Casas de la Reina*, being the supposed remains of a fabulous castle in the air, which *Galafre*, a king (who never ruled), built for his daughter *la bella Galiana*, (who never existed). This heroine of romance (see *Duran*, i. 5), was courted by *Charles Martel* (who never was in Spain), who slew in her presence his rival *Bradamante* (who also never existed): for the true history of this Moorish villa, see *Gayangos* (*Moh. D.* ii. 383). The ruins, now degraded into a farmhouse, scarcely deserve a visit: however, they contain some Moorish arches and *lienzos* of a *Cordovese* character. At all events here read '*La ilustre Fregona*' of *Cervantes*, and speculate on the mule's tail gambling '*Daca la Cola*.'

The bridge, like others over the Tagus, is called by pleonasm *el Puente de Alcantara*, the "bridge of the bridge." The Roman one was repaired in 687 by the Goth *Sala*: destroyed by an inundation, it was rebuilt in 871 by the *Alcaide Halaf*, repaired in 1258 by *Alonso el Sabio*, restored again by *Archbishop Tenorio* about 1380, and fortified in 1484 by *Andres Manrique*. Examine also the towers and *tête-du-pont*, and the statue by *Berruguete* of *San Ildefonso*, the *Divus tutelaris*, to whom *Philip II.* dedicated the bridge, as is stated in an inscription. From this point the city walls diverge, running to the r. in double line; the upper one being that built by *Wamba*, the under

and the more modern one that raised by Alonso VI. Ascend the hill to the l. and rest for a moment to look down on the roofless building erected for an *Ingenio*, the water-work engine, whose ruin seems made for artists. Toledo, built on a lofty rock, was badly supplied with water, whereupon the Romans stemmed the defile with a gigantic viaduct and aqueduct, which ran from the *Puerto de Yébenes*, distant 7 L. Some remains may be traced near *los siete cantos*, and under the convents Santa Sista and Santiago, and its line is still called *el Camino de Plata*, the "road of silver," a corruption of *via lata*. When the Moors conquered Toledo there was also an enormous *nàurah*, *noria*, or water-wheel, 90 cubits high, which forced up water by pipes. This was a work of the Jews, who introduced the hydraulics of the East, where water is the blood of the earth and the element of fertility: no people ever exercised greater power over this element than the Spanish Moors. The amphibious Moslem loved cool water; for ablutions inside and outside are both pleasant and religious under a torrid sun; so where a Greek put up a statue, and a Christian a crucifix, he constructed a fountain or dug a well.

The Toledan Moors were first-rate hydraulists (see 'Moh. D.' ii. 262): their king, Al-mámun, Ibn Dhi-a-nún, or Yahya, had a lake in his palace, and in the middle of his gardens a kiosk, from whence water descended on each side, thus enclosing him in the coolest of summer-houses, exactly like the device in the Kasr Dubarra, now existing at Cairo. Here also were made, by Az-Zarcal, the *clepsydræ*, or water-clocks, for the astronomical calculations of Alonso el Sabio, to study which Daniel Merlac came all the way from Oxford in 1185. Charles V., who delighted in mechanics, in 1565 caused some Greeks to descend in a diving-bell at Toledo, and the same year brought from Cremona a watchmaker named Juanelo Turriano, to repair the original *noria*; this, in 1568, forced up 600,000 buckets of water daily. Disputes, however, arose between the crown and the corporation as to who were the

legal "conservators of the river;" and between them both the Turriano family, being foreigners, were cheated and died beggars—*cosas de España*. Soon after the indignant Tagus damaged the engine, which the natives could not repair, and thereupon applied to an English company, who disliking the security offered for payment, judiciously declined, since when the ruin has been complete; and now Toledo, the "light of the world," obtains its water by the primitive machinery of donkeys, which are driven up and down by water-carriers, still called by their Arabic name *azacanes*. (See for details Cean Ber. 'Arch.' ii. 100.) In 1853 imperial and thirsty Toledo was astounded by a common hydraulic irrigating machine made by one Grousselle, which was to do the work of eight *norias*.

Next visit the Alcazar, the *Atalaya* of Tolaitola, the Mount Zion, or palace and fortress of a city which it once defended and now adorns. You must have an order from the *Comandante de las Armas*, which is readily granted. It was the Amalekite *Kassabah*, to which additions were made in 1085 by Alonso VI.: the oldest portions overlook the Tagus, as the castle of Presburg does the Danube. This Alcazar was much improved by Alvaro de Luna, and by Charles V. in 1548; he employed Henrique de Egas and Alonso de Covarrubias to add the fine façade and staircase, which Herrera completed for Philip II. The edifice was burnt in the war of succession, not by the English, as Cean Bermudez states, but by the Portuguese general Atalaya, who vented his hatred for Spanish things on his namesake castle: the ruins were repaired by Cardinal Lorenzana, a munificent patron of literature, and the last of the great and good primates of Toledo. He converted the building into a *Casa de Caridad*, in which paupers were employed in silk-weaving. This *ultimus Romanorum* devoted his whole life and income to good works: he supported the French exiled clergy, and, when the Pope was insulted at Rome by the invading republicans, hastened there to

offer them comfort, which the tormentors refused to permit. Torn from his spiritual chief, Lorenzana resigned his primacy, and died in 1804. But the invaders never forgave his assistance to their priests, and when they entered Toledo especially persecuted his works on earth, as he himself was beyond their reach, being in heaven. They ejected the paupers, seized the funds, converted the asylum into a barrack, which was burnt as a last legacy by Soult's troops when evacuating the half-ruined city; so Heidelberg had been treated by the hordes of Louis XIV. The crumbling walls of the quarters in which the vandal soldiers lodged were defiled with the most obscene writings and drawings, the "mark of the beast."

Observe the Buruguete façade, windows, the *patio* with granite pillars, the fine staircase, and upper gallery decked with heraldic ornaments in the spandrils of the arches, which the invaders mutilated. In the saloons overlooking the river the widow of Philip IV., the queen regent, was confined during the minority of Charles II.; her mode of life has been graphically described by Madame D'Aunoy, and Dunlop, ii. 123. She was first the tool of the low adventurer Nithard, and then of her base paramour Valenzuela. But there is little new in the doings of the Queens-Dowager of Spain.

Now proceed to the *Zocodover*, "the square market," a name which, to readers of Lazarillo de Tormes and Cervantes, recalls the haunt of rogues and of those proud and poor Don Whiskerandos who swaggered and starved with their *capas y espadas*. *Suk* in Arabic, *Zoco* in Spanish, and *Soke* in English, signify a "market-place" and a vicinity to cathedrals; for while commerce and religion went hand in hand, the shrine attracted multitudes and "money-changers," while its sanctity protected the cash. This *plaza* is most Moorish, with its irregular windows, balconies, blacksmiths, and picturesque peasantry, and in summer evenings is a fashionable promenade. It was for years the site of national sports

of fire and blood, of the auto de fé and the bull-fight; it was planted in 1840.

Now a long and almost the only widish street in Toledo leads to the Gothic cathedral, whose exterior is nowhere very beautiful nor symmetrical, while the N. entrance is blocked up: the best points of view are to the N.W., either from the *Plaza de San Yuste* or from that *del Ayuntamiento*, to which the grand façade looks. Only one tower is finished, which was begun by Card. Tenorio, and completed in 1535 by Card. Tavera. It rises 325 feet high from a square base to a Gothic middle story, ending with a thin spire encircled as with crowns of thorns. The cupola of the other tower is after designs of *El Greco*; the steps of the *Puerta del Perdon* are ascended and descended by pregnant women, in order to ensure an easy parturition.

The church chronicles state that this temple was erected to the Virgin while she was alive, and that she often came down from heaven to it, accompanied by St. Peter, St. Paul, and Santiago. Converted by the Moors into their grand mosque, Alonso VI., at the conquest, guaranteed it to them; but ere the ink was dry, Bernardo, the first archbishop, backed by the queen Constanza, a native of France like himself, the moment the king was absent, seized the mosque and dispossessed the Moors; then the *Alfaqui*, foreseeing that resistance was useless, interceded with Alonso, and procured their forgiveness; the building was pulled down in 1226 by St. Ferdinand, a great destroyer of mosques, who himself laid the first stone of the present cathedral. Designed by Pedro Perez, it was completed in 1492, plundered in 1521 by Padilla's mob, and again in 1808 by the invaders under Gen. La Houssaye, the sacker of the Escorial. Previously it was a mine of wealth and art; thus Cean Bermudez enumerates 149 artists, who, during six centuries, were employed by the richest prelates of Spain to make this a temple worthy of the primacy, a dignity which was long held by the master-mind of the day; for the religious profession was not

then a bar to office, but a recommendation; it was not a burden to politicians, a governmental difficulty, but a binding bond: now, indeed, religion is but a mere fragment of what it was when it was all and all in everything, and when the same intellect that ruled the church, sustained and governed the state.

The older archbishops of Toledo were great alike in peace and war; the *Rodrigos* headed victorious armies, the *Tenorios* built bridges, the *Fonseca*s founded colleges, the *Mendozas* and *Ximenez*, third kings and regents, founded universities; while the *Taveras* and *Lorenzanas* raised houses of charity and hospitals. These monuments, indeed, have been swept away by rude hands, foreign and domestic, but their memory abides, nor will the new lay appropriators easily either repair the outrages, or rival those works of piety and science, those offerings which the consecrated hands of old had laid on the altar. The prelates of Spain's chivalrous and mediæval period were bred in the cloister, then the only asylum of peace, learning, and of the arts which humanize. They had "leisure," without which, says the wisest of men, none can become wise. The church was the best school for ministers of state and for men of business, as the great laity then thought of nothing but war, or the chase, its mimic pursuit. But now a deferential mockery has bowed them out of the stirring things of this life, on the pretence that the temporal concerns of the world profane their sacred, spiritual calling. Now the service of God disqualifies its professors from serving their Queen and country; and so far from being ministers of state, they are degraded to be mere *ministri* of the altar, while even their paltry wages are unpaid.

The primate of Toledo has for suffragans, Cordova, Jaen, Cartagena, Cuenca, Sigüenza, Segovia, Osma, and Valladolid: the chapter was truly imperial, and consisted of nearly 100 dignitaries and prebendaries. Here, as at Leon and Burgos, the pope and king of Spain were canons, and the monarch was always fined 2000 ma-

ravedis for non-attendance *in coro* on the three days from Christmas to St. John the Evangelist.

Before entering, examine the exterior and gates. *La Puerta de los Leones*, at the extremity of the S. transept, is so called from the lions with shields placed on pillars. The deeply-recessed portal, with Gothic figures and niche-work, was wrought by el Maestre Egas in 1466, in a beautiful white stone, which, soft at first, hardens with time; the upper works were restored in bad taste in 1776, by Mariano Salvatierra, by whom is the "Assumption of the Virgin." The exteriors of the Michael Angelesque bronze doors were cast in 1545 by Francisco de Villalpando, and the insides were finely carved in wood in 1541 by Diego Copin, of Holland: but the tournaments, centaurs, &c., are scarcely suited for a Christian temple's entrance: the modern Ionic gate, on the S. side of the nave, is equally out of keeping with the Gothic style of the cathedral. The *Puerta del Reloj*, or *de la Feria*, at the end of the N. transept, is much blocked up by buildings, and is also disfigured by some modern red and gilt wood-work, which ill accords with the Gotho-tesdesque stone carvings; the bronze doors were cast to match those of the opposite gate; that to the l. is by Antonio Turreno, 1713; that to the r. by Antonio Dominguez. They are also ornamented with carvings inside, which are older in date and better in style; the *Puerta del Perdon*, the great W. door, has six niches on each side, which are carried all up round the arch; the style is the rich Gothic of the fifteenth century.

The interior, although fine, is inferior to the cathedral at Seville both in form and height. Here the lateral naves are somewhat low and crowded with piers, and fatal whitewash has been unsparingly laid on; the general style of the Gothic is simple and pointed. The painted windows are superb. Look at them about sunset, when, as the aisles darken, these storied panes brighten up like rubies and emeralds. The recent spoliations and ap-