

stiffness, scarcely allowing a single branch to grow as it wishes.

Not the least charm of this delightful place is the choir of songsters in the trees. They say they abound in nightingales, and at times I thought I distinguished them; for in Spain, it is said, they often sing in the day, but the blackbirds, thrushes, and some I could not recognise, were quite delightful. All the birds of Spain seem to have congregated together, leaving other places singularly destitute and are absolutely clamorous in the enjoyment of their liberty and security. The town of Aranjuez is evidently the offspring of royalty, consisting of wide streets and houses like barracks, uninteresting in the extreme. The Plaza de Toros, neater than usual, is outside the town, and on a conspicuous hill is a telegraph. The Four Nations is a tolerable, but dear inn; make your bargain before you enter, and do not ask the landlord to hire you carriages, though he is an Englishman, an unusual event in Spain.

We left Aranjuez at eight in the morning, hiring a conveyance for ourselves and Mr. L—— for twelve dollars. The rogue agreed first to take our heavy luggage; but, at the suggestion of our English landlord, he asked four dollars more for it. Avoiding this imposition by leaving our heavy boxes at Aranjuez, he then filled the cabriolet with other passengers, and we had no alternative

but consent to their remaining, or wait two days for a diligence. My indignation at being cheated in this way got the better of my discretion. I used a harder word to express my sense of their conduct than was prudent, a host of them attacked me in the street, and I had some difficulty in fighting my way into the inn.

Nothing can be more uninteresting than the drive to Toledo; except the first four miles through the magnificent avenue of elms—a splendid approach to a royal residence—the rest of the way was little better than a desert. On the arid hills, at a distance, we saw occasionally a few villages, and there was a large building like a convent. The Tagus might be traced from the vegetation on its banks, and was sometimes visible. Toledo looked imposing, even when first we distinguished it at a great distance, and the approach to it is remarkably fine. The general view of the city, with its lofty cathedral is splendid; the buildings picturesque in their appearance, rising terrace-like one above another on the slope of the steep hill, the Alcazar crowning the summit; the view crossing the bridge of

“The glen where Tagus rolls beneath his rocks,”

the Moorish castle and other ruins; and then the Plaza, the most picturesque in all Spain, which we passed through, on our way to the good Posada de los Caballeros, were all intensely interesting, and

fully realised our great expectations of this celebrated city. Well, indeed, might an Arab poet exclaim, "Toledo surpasses in beauty the most extravagant descriptions; she is indeed the city of pleasures and delights. God has lavished upon her all sorts of ornaments; he has given her walls for a turban, a river for her girdle, and the branches of trees for stars."*

* Mohammedan Dynasties, vol. 1, p. 48.

CHAPTER VII.

CAVE OF HERCULES—THE GOTHs—THE GOOD KING WAMBA—
THE COUNCILS OF TOLEDO—THE TALE OF FLORINDA—THE
ENCHANTED TOWER—THE MOORS—CAPTURE BY THE CHRIS-
TIANs—THE MUZARABIC RITES—ARABIC LANGUAGE—THE
CASTILIAN—PRESENT REDUCED STATE.

THE learned Salazar de Mendoza, in his history of the Cardinal Primate of Spain, states that this ancient city dates its existence almost from the time of the flood, claiming as its founder, Tubal, the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, and was the warrior hold of many generations and a strange diversity of races. Of all the marvels of Toledo, the most wonderful was the Cave of Hercules ; which, according to the learned Salazar, was first wrought out of the rock by Tubal, and afterwards repaired and greatly augmented by Hercules the Egyptian, who made it his habitation after he had erected his pillars at the Straits.

In 1546, Don Juan Martinez Siliceo explored this cave, which is said to extend three leagues beyond the Tagus, and to have found a chapel ornamented with bronzes, but from terror at the roaring, rushing sounds they heard, and the foul air, the explorers fell sick and died; and a like fate is said to have been the lot of many who have penetrated into it in search of the treasures the Romans are said to have left there.* Who can doubt this, as the cave really exists? The entrance to it is said to be in the church of St. Genes, and, as in duty bound, I went to see it; but the door was always locked, though a respectable-looking man assured me that the entrance to a cave was in the church, though now it was walled up. When the Romans conquered Toledo, 193 B.C., the city was small; but Leovigild made it the capital of his kingdom, and from that time Toledo was called a royal city, and considered the metropolis of the kingdom of the Goths.

There are few of the Gothic kings worthy of any notice, but there is one whose name is soon familiar to all strangers. If the guide is at a loss for the builder of any old wall, Wamba has immediately the credit of it. As Mr. Ford says, "En el tiempo del Rey Wamba, denotes a date beyond legal memory, as old as the hills; au temps ou la reine Berthe filait." It is extraordinary the fond tra-

* Legend of the Conquest of Spain, pp. 160 and 164.

ditionary love which is still retained for the good king Wamba, as if his reign was the only bright speck in the dark annals of their country beyond the hated period of Moorish domination. At the death of King Resessuinto, A.D. 672, the great men of the kingdom elected Wamba, a man of great power and consummate judgment, a brave warrior, and so modest that it is said he begged with tears in his eyes that they would not lay so heavy a charge upon him, and only consented to accept the crown when threatened with death if he refused. Navarre and the Court of Nismes would not acknowledge him; but the King waged war against them, with great valour subdued his enemies, and re-entered Toledo in triumph; the rebels mounted on camels with their beards and heads shaved, without shoes and miserably clad; Paul, whom they had elected for their King, with a crown of leather on his head.

Spain enjoyed a long peace under the prudent government of Wamba, and he beautified the kingdom, especially the royal city of Toledo with a new wall, and erected towers, which he adorned with marble statues of saints, the patrons of the city. The Moors even then were tempted by the rich harvest Spain offered them, and one hundred and seventy vessels were laying waste the Spanish coast; but Wamba ordered all to take arms, except the infirm, and women and children, and decreed

that every one should send to the war at least a twelfth of his people well-equipped, and the bishops and the priests were obliged to join the army with their forces. Wamba gained a great victory over the Moors, but this was the end of his glorious reign of more than eight years. Ervigius, a relation of the late King, but not so near as to have any claim to the throne, half-poisoned Wamba, and when in this state caused his head and his beard to be shaved like a priest's, so that he could not reign again, and then induced the monarch to nominate him as his successor. Wamba recovered, but finding Ervigius in possession of the crown, he did not deem the bauble worth an effort to recover it, but chose rather to retire into a convent, where he remained until his death, seven years afterwards.

The first of the celebrated councils of Toledo was held A.D. 400, and many of them, as described by Mariana, are curious and characteristic; and though they were generally occupied with events of little political importance, such as questions of ecclesiastical discipline, the appointing of fast-days, the reprovng of heresies, the reconciling and excommunicating bishops, condemning or approving the works of the learned, we find many subjects of great importance, particularly a series of decrees against the Jews, which may account for their hatred of Christians and their assisting the Moors in conquering the country.

In the sixth council, held in 637, they determined they would not give the crown to any one, unless he would swear to grant no favours to the Jews, and not to permit any person to enter the kingdom who was not a Christian.

At the eighth council, held in 653, the Jews presented a petition, from which it appears King Chinthila had obliged them to become Christians, and renounce their Sabbath and ancient laws; and all that the Jews requested was, that they might not be compelled to eat pork, which their stomachs could not digest, not being accustomed to such food, but offering to eat other meats prepared in the same way.

At the seventeenth council, A.D. 694, they considered, at the request of the King, whether the Jews should be driven from the kingdom, as the King proved that they had been concerting with the Moors to rebel, and deliver Spain into their hands. The prelates determined that all the Jews should be made slaves, their property confiscated, and their children taken from them at the age of seven, and given to Christians to educate.

During the reign of Witiza, a King remarkable for his cruelty and wickedness, the eighteenth was held, which was scarcely considered a council, as it disregarded the ancient laws, especially in allowing the Jews more liberty. The Gothic monarchy was becoming degenerate and corrupt. The

nobles, once so valiant, and capable of enduring every hardship, were effeminated, and revelled in sensual delights. Don Roderick, before his accession to the throne, promised to be a Wamba, but he proved to be a Witiza in cruelty and vices. All will recollect the tale of Florinda bathing in the Tagus, and Don Roderick from a window gazing at charms too powerful for such a licentious monarch to behold unmoved. When a king was the suitor, and an unprotected girl the victim, historians and poets may differ to eternity as to whether violence was resorted to by her Sovereign, in order to gratify his passions, or whether she was the wanton others represent Florinda to have been; the crime in either case was great; for her father, as was the custom of the Gothic nobles, had confided his daughter to the care of Don Roderick, and he abused the trust. All agree as to the remorse of Florinda, and the vengeance of Count Julian, except those who reject the tale altogether.

It seems monstrous for a Christian noble to abandon his religion, and betray his country to the great enemies of his faith, to revenge a private wrong, and one is naturally led to doubt the possibility of such apostasy; but it appears from the seventh council of Toledo, that Teodisco, a Christian Bishop of Toledo, had set him the example, and gone over into Africa, abandoning his country and religion; also for centuries afterwards the Spanish

kings, in their quarrels, often sought the assistance of the Moors, and Moslems and Christians fought in the same ranks, sometimes against Christians and sometimes against Moors.

Count Julian had married the sister of Witiza, and was naturally the partizan of his nephew, who had not only been deprived of the throne by Don Roderick, but was also cruelly persecuted by that monarch, and obliged to take refuge in Africa, having previously engaged his friends to assist him when an opportunity should occur. He may therefore have brought over the Moors to revenge his private wrong, and to set the rightful heir, his nephew, on the throne.

Condé says nothing of the tale of Florinda; and though the chronicles of the period may be silent on the subject, tradition is not to be rejected when connected with such an important event as the subjugation of Spain by the Moors; and in this land of romance, with the wild Tagus still rolling through its rocky bed, and monuments of Gothic power and Moorish dominion still existing to assure us that all is not a dream, one feels inclined to be credulous, and not reject altogether as a fiction what is gravely recorded in the standard histories of Spain, and is also the theme of the legendary ballads of the country.

The coming of the Moors may well have been prophesied, as the rich spoils of the Gothic kingdom

had already attracted the Moslems to the shores of Spain, the kingdom was become degenerated and more defenceless, and Roderick was not a Wamba; but never did prophecy assume so marvellous a shape, and yet Mariana gravely relates it.

Every one has heard of the wonder of Toledo, its lofty tower built on four brazen lions, with a massive iron gate covered with seventy locks; of Don Roderick's compelling the ancient guards to unlock the portal; of the gigantic figures with huge maces, who guarded the entrance; of the beautiful gems which decorated the interior, and the marvellous radiant light, though there were no windows; of the golden casket which none but a king could open, and the linen cloth he found, covered with drawings of Moors; of the dismay of the monarch when he read the inscription, that these were the men who would drive him from his throne: then how the linen cloth amplified into a vast transparent cloud, and a great battle was seen in the air between the Christians and Moors, the King observing his steed Orelia galloping about the field without a rider; how, next day, an eagle let fall a burning brand on the tower, and fanned the flame with its wings, until it was reduced to ashes; and how a mighty wind, created by a vast flight of birds, raised the ashes into the air, and all on whom they fell, perished in the great battle of Guadalete, when Spain was conquered by the Moors.

When the panic which paralysed all Spain, after the defeat of Don Roderick, reached Toledo, the Archbishop Urban, notwithstanding the strength of the city, fled into the Asturias, leaving behind him the five-and-twenty crowns of gold, set with precious stones, the splendid emerald table, and other treasures of the Gothic kings; but carrying with him all the sacred relics, that they might not be profaned by the enemies of their religion; the cassock the Virgin placed on the shoulders of St. Ildefonso; the chest of relics removed from Jerusalem, when it was taken by the Persian Chosraes; the holy books, the Bible and the works of the Saints Isidoro, Ildefonso and Julian, "models of learning and holiness, treasures more precious than gold and pearls." Don Palayo accompanied Urban, and, in order that these relics might be more free from danger, they placed them in a cave, two leagues from where the city of Oviedo (where they now are) was afterwards built.

The relics and the written works of saints,
Toledo's treasures, prized beyond all wealth,
Their living and their dead remains,
These to the mountain fastnesses he bore.—DON RODERICK.

It is impossible to ramble round Toledo, and see the noble Tagus rolling amongst the steep granite boulders, the strongest natural fortifications surrounding the city, except on one side, and the still exist-

ing lofty walls, towers and castle, without wondering how it was, the capital of the Goths, enjoying an almost impregnable situation, surrendered almost without a blow, her treasures, her liberty and her religious supremacy, to the small army Tarik commanded. It almost makes one believe that the legend of the enchanted tower was not a fiction of later ages, but that the people really believed they were bowing to the inevitable will of fate.

Some say that the Jews, without delay, opened the gates to the conquerors; and others that the Christians, though reduced in number, resisted for several months; but whilst they were engaged in a religious procession, commemorating the Passion of our Saviour, the Jews opened the gates to the Moors. If either of these accounts be correct, the city, through the instrumentality of the Jews, was taken by surprise, and yet the most liberal conditions were granted to the Christians. Those who wished might leave the city, taking with them their goods; and all who remained were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and seven churches granted to them for that purpose. The taxes were what they had been accustomed to pay to their own sovereigns, no new ones were imposed; and, a still greater privilege, they were governed by their own laws, electing their judges themselves.

We are accustomed to consider the religion of Mohammed as the religion of the sword, but the

terms granted to the vanquished Christians prove the liberality of a people who then excelled every other nation of the earth in their various attainments. What is still more creditable to the Moors, the conditions were honourably fulfilled, and not broken, as the Spaniards did those they granted, eight centuries later, to the Moors of Granada. The Spanish writers, it is true, make out a list of about forty Christian martyrs, during centuries of Moorish domination; but it is generally supposed that these were men who were determined to be martyrs, and their sufferings may be traced to political causes, and rather to their aggressions on the Moorish government and religion, and not to their adhering to their own opinions.

More than two centuries later, Toledo, under Giafar Ben Hafsun, made a long and brave defence against Abdurahman III.; and when famine raged within the walls, the gallant Moor, with four thousand followers, broke through the Caliph's army, and escaped.

Again, in 1085, Toledo was taken by Alonso VI., after a siege of several years. Besides that monarch's own subjects from Leon, the Basque provinces, Galicia and the Asturias, Don Sancho, King of Arragon and Navarre, with a large army, and others from Germany, Italy and France, hastened to participate in an enterprise which attracted the attention of the Christian world. Marvellous were

the skill and courage exhibited during this siege, and still more marvellous the vision of St. Isidoro appearing in a dream to Cyprian, Bishop of Leon, to announce to him that the city would be taken in fifteen days.

Famine rendered further resistance impossible, and honourable terms were granted to the Moors. The King, and all who chose to accompany him, were allowed to retire to Valencia; and those who remained enjoyed their property, and even for a while their Mezquita, contributing the taxes they had been accustomed to pay.

Soon after the conquest of Toledo by the Christians, a singular discussion arose as to whether the old Muzarabic missal and breviary, used in Spain from time immemorial, by the authority of the Saints Isidoro, Ildefonso and Julian, or the Gregorian mass, supported by the Legate of the Pope, should be used. The term Muzarabic is taken from the Arabic, *Must-Arab*, which means a man endeavouring, in language and manners, to be an Arab,* as later on the Moslems were called *Moros Latinados*, thus the Moor *Alfaraxi*, in the "Poema del Cid," is described: † "De tan buen entendimiento e era tan ladino que semejava Christiano."

The people were attached to their ancient rites,

* Mohammedan Dynasties, I, pp. vol. 419, 420.

† Ver. 266. Tickler, vol. III, p. 347.

and demanded that the question should be decided by arms, according to the custom of those times. A day was appointed, and two champions were chosen, when Juan Ruiz, who defended the ancient breviary, was victorious. Not satisfied with this result, a bonfire was made in the Plaza, and the two missals flung into the flames. The Roman leapt out, a little singed, but the Muzarabic remained in the fire a long time, without the least injury. The King, not altogether impartial, adjudged that both were pleasing to God, since neither were burnt. The Queen, the Primate, and the Legate, succeeded in establishing the Gregorian Mass, though the ancient rites were preserved in several Muzarabic churches; and a chapel ages afterwards was endowed by Ximenes, to preserve the memory of a ritual so ancient, and which is supposed to approach nearer than any other to the Apostolical primitive form.

The features of this ritual, Mr. Ford says, are its simplicity and earnest tone of devotion, and the absence of auricular confession. The prayers and collects are so beautiful, that many have been adopted in our Prayer-Book. The Host was divided into nine parts, which represent the Incarnation, Epiphany, Nativity, Circumcision, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Eternal Kingdom.

In Toledo, under the tolerant dominion of the Moors, the Muzarabs had six churches; and at

Cordova, where the King resided, they had at least as many public places of worship within the city, and more than ten monasteries and churches in places adjacent. They had a regular succession of bishops, and held several councils. Priests, monks, and nuns, walked about in public, in the habits of their orders. They had large schools, abounded in wealth, and held offices of honour and trust under government.*

Arabic was the common language, and the Latin scarcely used or known, so that John of Seville translated the Scriptures into that language; and Mariana adds, that in his day there were copies existing of this translation in different parts of Spain. Even down to the fourteenth century, public acts and documents were often written and signed in Arabic.

Toledo, when rescued from the dominion of the Moors, was consecrated as the ecclesiastical head of Christian Spain, and so loyal to the throne of Castile, that Alonso XI. exclaimed, when Burgos disputed the precedence of Toledo in the Cortes: "Let Burgos speak first; I will speak for Toledo, which always does what I wish."

Toledo was always celebrated for the superiority of her schools and learned men, and also for the purity and correctness of the Castilian language,

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 233.

which is still said to be spoken better there than in any other city in Spain. War, and more especially the destruction of the monasteries and convents, and appropriation of the Church revenues, have ruined Toledo; a population, once numbering two hundred thousand, is now sunk to only twelve or thirteen thousand souls; and yet for its locality, its historical associations, its cathedral, and still existing remains, it is still, with the exception of Granada, the most interesting city in Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATHEDRAL OF TOLEDO—SAN JUAN DE LOS REYES—
SAN TOMÉ—SANTA MARIA LA BLANCA—CONVENT OF LOS
SILOS—HOSPITAL DE LA CRUZ—THE ALCAZAR—EXCURSION
OUTSIDE THE WALLS—MOORISH REMAINS—THE HOSPITAL
DE AFUERA—ROMAN CIRCUS—EL CRISTO DE LA VEGA—
THE BATHS OF FLORINDA—MOORISH BRIDGE—FINE VIEWS
—MANUFACTORY OF ARMS—STREETS—HOUSES—MOORISH
PLAZA—PEASANTS—LADIES—ARRIVAL AT MADRID.

THE cathedral, the pride and glory of Toledo, where all the works of art, wealth and treasures of the city are now concentrated, is truly a museum requiring almost a volume of description. It was designed, says Mr. Ford, by Pedro Perez, and completed in 1492. The exterior is so built up and disfigured, that it has little to recommend it except one tower, three hundred and twenty-five feet high. The *façade* of the cathedral is tolerable, but would scarcely be so except for

this fine tower; the best view of that part of the exterior is from a corner near the archbishop's palace. La Puerta del Reloj would be good, if not disfigured and partly concealed by buildings. The bronze doorways with the carvings inside are beautiful. The Puerta de los Leones, opposite, is very fine, the pointed arch large and deep, and the niches on each side carried round it have a very rich appearance. The doors are splendid, the exterior of bronze with Raphaelesque ornaments, and those inside are of wood, beautifully carved, representing battle scenes.

The fine interior of the cathedral is about four hundred feet long, by two hundred wide: the central nave is one hundred and sixty feet high, the side aisles are low; but the general effect is good and rich, all the windows are full of stained glass of lighter tints than usual, but extremely beautiful in design and colouring. There is little to offend the eye in this cathedral, and a great deal to admire.

The Capilla Mayor, thanks to the great Cardinal Ximenes, is worthy of the church. The retablo is lofty and imposing, and the carvings, representing the life of the Saviour and the Virgin, are by Juan de Borgoña and others; but few of them seemed to be of much merit. This chapel contains the tombs of Alonso VII., Sancho el Deseado, Sancho el Bravo, and the Infante Don Pedro; but the sepulchre, which will entirely rivet the attention of the

visitor, is that of the great Cardinal Mendoza (ob. 1495), with two *façades*, one towards the chapel, the other fronting the aisle, plateresque in style, but good of the kind, and worthy of this splendid chapel and the King-Cardinal, *a tertius rex* even when Ferdinand and Isabella reigned, who were anything but cyphers.

The exterior of the chapel is as magnificent as the interior; the rows of figures at the sides are admirable and most effective from every point they are seen from. The transparente is abominably churrigueresque in style, though it cost two hundred thousand ducats. The reja in front of the grand altar is fine, and the pulpits of gilt metal, on marble columns, look very splendid.

The choir is a treasure of carving; the lower stalls are, Mr. Ford says, by Rodrigo, and represent the war of Granada, and the surrender of the Alhambra to Ferdinand and Isabella. The carving of the upper stalls, and the line of alabaster figures above are by Berruguete and Vigarny; those to the right on entering the choir, by the former, who also executed the throne of the Primate, and the immense Transfiguration above. These carvings are wonderful for expression, and admirable for the elegant draperies and designs, and it may truly be said such a choir does not exist in the world. The organs are in bad taste.

The ante-room of La Sala Capitular, with its

beautiful roof, contains wardrobes exquisitely carved by Gregorio Pardo, a pupil of Berruguete; and apparently from these works, which are quite Raphaellesque in style, almost equal in talent to his master. A doorway with Moorish decorations leads into the principal room, which is truly magnificent, with its splendid roof and excellent frescoes, by Juan de Borgona, who lived and died here early in the sixteenth century. The gift of the Casulla, the cassock with which the Virgin is clothing the Saint Ildefonso, is perhaps the best; but they are all deserving of praise, for the drawing and composition, and for colouring also, as may be seen from those on the side of the windows less exposed to the sun and light. Beneath is a series of portraits of the primates, and few dynasties of kings present a longer list of benefactors to their country than that of these Prince-Bishops. Many of them spent their enormous incomes in founding schools and universities; some in building bridges and making roads; others in erecting hospitals and forming charitable institutions, while again others headed victorious armies; and Mendoza and Ximenes were the most talented as well as the most powerful ministers Spain ever possessed. The good they did, and the numerous now dilapidated monuments of their wealth and charity, may well make the people doubt the wisdom of reforms which swept away the splendid incomes