

PART
II.

barons of the Aragonese faction, who were most numerous as well as most powerful in the northern section of the kingdom, which had been assigned to the French. He was particularly fortunate in gaining over the two Colonnas, whose authority, powerful connexions, and large military experience proved of inestimable value to him.¹³

With all the resources he could command, however, Gonsalvo found himself, as before noticed, unequal to the contest, though it was impossible to defer it, after the peremptory summons of the French viceroy to surrender the Capitanate. To this he unhesitatingly answered, that "the Capitanate belonged of right to his own master; and that, with the blessing of God, he would make good its defence against the French king, or any other who should invade it."

Notwithstanding the bold front put on his affairs, however, he did not choose to abide the assault of the French in his present position. He instantly drew off with the greater part of his force to Barleta, a fortified seaport on the confines of Apulia, on the Adriatic, the situation of which would enable him either to receive supplies from abroad, or to effect a retreat, if necessary, on board the Spanish fleet, which still kept the coast of Calabria.

Gonsalvo retires to Barleta.

1502.
July.

¹³ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, lib. 4, cap. 62, 65. — *Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 230.

Prospero Colonna, in particular, was distinguished not only for his military science, but his fondness for letters and the arts, of which he is commemorated by Tiraboschi as a munificent patron. (*Letteratura Italiana*, tom. viii. p. 77.)

Paolo Giovio has introduced his portrait among the effigies of illustrious men, who, it must be confessed, are more indebted in his work to the hand of the historian than the artist. *Elogia Virorum Bellicâ Virtute Illustrium*, (Basiliæ, 1578,) lib. 5.

The remainder of his army he distributed in Bari, Andria, Canosa, and other adjacent towns; where he confidently hoped to maintain himself, till the arrival of reinforcements, which he solicited in the most pressing manner from Spain and Sicily, should enable him to take the field on more equal terms against his adversary.¹⁴

CHAPTER
XL

The French officers, in the mean time, were divided in opinion as to the best mode of conducting the war. Some were for besieging Bari, held by the illustrious and unfortunate Isabella of Aragon;¹⁵ others, in a more chivalrous spirit, opposed the attack of a place defended by a female, and advised an immediate assault on Barleta itself, whose old and dilapidated works might easily be forced, if it did not at once surrender. The duke of Nemours, deciding on a middle course, determined to invest the last-mentioned town; and, cutting off all communication with the surrounding country, to reduce it by regular blockade. This plan was unquestionably the least eligible of all, as it would allow time for the enthusiasm of the French, the *furia Francese*, as it was called in Italy, which carried them victorious over so many obstacles, to evaporate, while it brought into play the

¹⁴ D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., part. 2, chap. 8. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 10. — Chronica del Gran Capitan, cap. 42. — Summonte, Hist. di Napoli, tom. iii. p. 541.

¹⁵ This beautiful and high-spirited lady, whose fate has led Boccacini, in his whimsical satire of the "Ragguagli di Parnasso," to call

her the most unfortunate female on record, had seen her father, Alfonso II., and her husband Galeazzo Sforza, driven from their thrones by the French, while her son still remained in captivity in their hands. No wonder they revolted from accumulating new woes on her devoted head.

PART
II.Siege of
Canosa.1502.
July 12.

stern resolve, the calm, unflinching endurance, which distinguished the Spanish soldier.¹⁶

One of the first operations of the French viceroy was the siege of Canosa, a strongly fortified place west of Barleta, garrisoned by six hundred picked men under the engineer Pedro Navarro. The defence of the place justified the reputation of this gallant soldier. He beat off two successive assaults of the enemy, led on by Bayard, La Palice, and the flower of their chivalry. He had prepared to sustain a third, resolved to bury himself under the ruins of the town rather than surrender. But Gonsalvo, unable to relieve it, commanded him to make the best terms he could, saying "the place was of far less value, than the lives of the brave men who defended it." Navarro found no difficulty in obtaining an honorable capitulation; and the little garrison, dwindled to one third of its original number, marched out through the enemy's camp, with colors flying and music playing, as if in derision of the powerful force it had so nobly kept at bay.¹⁷

After the capture of Canosa, D'Aubigny, whose misunderstanding with Nemours still continued,

¹⁶ Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 237. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, lib. 5, pp. 282, 283. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 14. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 249. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 168.

¹⁷ *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, cap. 47. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 4, cap. 69. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, tom. i. p. 241. — D'Auton, part. 2, chap. 11. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 247.

Martyr says, that the Spaniards marched through the enemy's camp, shouting "España, España, viva España!" (ubi supra.) Their gallantry in the defence of Canosa elicits a hearty eulogium from Jean D'Auton, the loyal historiographer of Louis XII. "Je ne veux donc par ma Chronique mettre les biens-faits des Espagnols en oubly, mais dire que pour vertueuse defence, doibuent auoir louange honorable." *Hist. de Louys XII.*, chap. 11.

was despatched with a small force into the south, to overrun the two Calabrias. The viceroy, in the mean while, having fruitlessly attempted the reduction of several strong places held by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Barleta, endeavoured to straiten the garrison there by desolating the surrounding country, and sweeping off the flocks and herds which grazed in its fertile pastures. The Spaniards, however, did not remain idle within their defences, but, sallying out in small detachments, occasionally retrieved the spoil from the hands of the enemy, or annoyed him with desultory attacks, ambuscades, and other irregular movements of *guerilla* warfare, in which the French were comparatively unpractised.¹⁸

The war now began to assume many of the romantic features of that of Granada. The knights on both sides, not content with the usual military rencontres, defied one another to jousts and tourneys, eager to establish their prowess in the noble exercises of chivalry. One of the most remarkable of these meetings took place between eleven Spanish and as many French knights, in consequence of some disparaging remarks of the latter on the cavalry of their enemies, which they affirmed inferior to their own. The Venetians gave the parties a fair field of combat in the neutral territory under their own walls of Trani. A gallant array of well-armed knights of both nations guarded the lists, and maintained the order of the fight. On the ap-

Chivalrous
character of
the war.

¹⁸ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, Carlo V., fol. 10. — Crónica del MS., cap. 169. — Ulloa, Vita di Gran Capitan, cap. 66.

PART
II.1502.
Sept. 20.

pointed day, the champions appeared in the field, armed at all points, with horses richly caparisoned, and barbed or covered with steel panoply like their masters. The roofs and battlements of Trani were covered with spectators, while the lists were thronged with the French and Spanish chivalry, each staking in some degree the national honor on the issue of the contest. Among the Castilians were Diego de Paredes and Diego de Vera, while the good knight Bayard was most conspicuous on the other side.

Tournament
near Trani.

As the trumpets sounded the appointed signal, the hostile parties rushed to the encounter. Three Spaniards were borne from their saddles by the rudeness of the shock, and four of their antagonists' horses slain. The fight, which began at ten in the morning was not to be protracted beyond sunset. Long before that hour, all the French save two, one of them the chevalier Bayard, had been dismounted, and their horses, at which the Spaniards had aimed more than at the riders, disabled or slain. The Spaniards, seven of whom were still on horseback, pressed hard on their adversaries, leaving little doubt of the fortune of the day. The latter, however, intrenching themselves behind the carcasses of their dead horses, made good their defence against the Spaniards, who in vain tried to spur their terrified steeds over the barrier. In this way the fight was protracted till sunset; and, as both parties continued to keep possession of the field, the palm of victory was adjudged to neither, while

both were pronounced to have demeaned themselves like good and valiant knights.¹⁹

The tourney being ended, the combatants met in the centre of the lists, and embraced each other in the true companionship of chivalry, "making good cheer together," says an old chronicler, before they separated. The Great Captain was not satisfied with the issue of the fight. "We have, at least," said one of his champions, "disproved the taunt of the Frenchmen, and shown ourselves as good horsemen as they." "I sent you for better," coldly retorted Gonsalvo.²⁰

A more tragic termination befell a combat à l'outrance between the chevalier Bayard and a Spanish cavalier, named Alonso de Sotomayor, who had accused the former of uncourteous treatment of him, while his prisoner. Bayard denied the charge, and defied the Spaniard to prove it in single fight, on horse or on foot, as he best liked. Sotomayor, aware of his antagonist's uncommon horsemanship, preferred the latter alternative.

Duel between Bayard and Sotomayor.

At the day and hour appointed, the two knights entered the lists, armed with sword and dagger,

1503.
Feb. 2.

¹⁹ Crónica del Gran Capitan, cap. 53.—D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., part. 2, chap. 26.—Giovio, Vita Illust. Virorum, pp. 238, 239.—Mémoires de Bayard par le Loyal Serviteur, chap. 23, apud Petitot, Collection des Mémoires, tom. xv.—Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. iii. disc. 77.

This celebrated tourney, its causes, and all the details of the action, are told in as many different ways as there are narrators; and

this, notwithstanding it was fought in the presence of a crowd of witnesses, who had nothing to do but look on, and note what passed before their eyes. The only facts in which all agree, are, that there was such a tournament, and that neither party gained the advantage. So much for history!

²⁰ D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., ubi supra.—Quintana, Españoles Célebres, tom. ii. p. 263.

PART
II.

and sheathed in complete harness ; although, with a degree of temerity unusual in these combats, they wore their visors up. Both combatants knelt down in silent prayer for a few moments, and then rising and crossing themselves, advanced straight against each other ; " the good knight Bayard," says Brantôme, " moving as light of step, as if he were going to lead some fair lady down the dance."

The Spaniard was of a large and powerful frame, and endeavoured to crush his enemy by weight of blows, or to close with him and bring him to the ground. The latter, naturally inferior in strength, was rendered still weaker by a fever, from which he had not entirely recovered. He was more light and agile than his adversary, however, and superior dexterity enabled him not only to parry his enemy's strokes, but to deal him occasionally one of his own, while he sorely distressed him by the rapidity of his movements. At length, as the Spaniard was somewhat thrown off his balance by an ill-directed blow, Bayard struck him so sharply on the gorget, that it gave way, and the sword entered his throat. Furious with the agony of the wound, Sotomayor collected all his strength for a last struggle, and grasping his antagonist in his arms, they both rolled in the dust together. Before either could extricate himself, the quick-eyed Bayard, who had retained his poniard in his left hand during the whole combat, while the Spaniard's had remained in his belt, drove the steel with such convulsive strength under his enemy's eye, that it pierced quite through the brain. After the judges had

awarded the honors of the day to Bayard, the minstrels as usual began to pour forth triumphant strains in praise of the victor; but the good knight commanded them to desist, and, having first prostrated himself on his knees in gratitude for his victory, walked slowly out of the lists, expressing a wish that the combat had had a different termination, so that his honor had been saved.²¹

In these jousts and tourneys, described with sufficient prolixity, but in a truly heart-stirring tone, by the chroniclers of the day, we may discern the last gleams of the light of chivalry, which illuminated the darkness of the middle ages; and, although rough in comparison with the pastimes of more polished times, they called forth such displays of magnificence, courtesy, and knightly honor, as throw something like the grace of civilization over the ferocious features of the age.

While the Spaniards, cooped up within the old town of Barleta, sought to vary the monotony of their existence by these chivalrous exercises, or an occasional foray into the neighbouring country, they suffered greatly from the want of military stores, food, clothing, and the most common necessaries of life. It seemed as if their master had abandoned them to their fate on this forlorn outpost, without a struggle in their behalf.²² How different from

Distress of
the Spaniards.

²¹ Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. vi. Discours sur les Duels.—D'Aunton, Hist. de Louys XII., part. 2, chap. 27.—Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 11.—Mémoires de Bayard, chap.

²², apud Collection des Mémoires.—Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum, p. 240.

²² According to Martyr, the besieged had been so severely pressed

PART
II.

the parental care with which Isabella watched over the welfare of her soldiers in the long war of Granada! The queen appears to have taken no part in the management of these wars, which, notwithstanding the number of her own immediate subjects embarked in them, she probably regarded, from the first, as appertaining to Aragon, as exclusively as the conquests in the New World did to Castile. Indeed, whatever degree of interest she may have felt in their success, the declining state of her health at this period would not have allowed her to take any part in the conduct of them.

Gonsalvo was not wanting to himself in this trying emergency, and his noble spirit seemed to rise as all outward and visible resources failed. He cheered his troops with promises of speedy relief, talking confidently of the supplies of grain he expected from Sicily, and the men and money he was to receive from Spain and Venice. He contrived, too, says Giovio, that a report should get abroad, that a ponderous coffer lying in his apartment was filled with gold, which he could draw upon in the last extremity. The old campaigners, indeed, according to the same authority, shook their heads at these and other agreeable fictions of their general,

by famine for some time before this, that Gonsalvo entertained serious thoughts of embarking the whole of his little garrison on board the fleet, and abandoning the place to the enemy. "Barlettæ inclusos fame pesteque urgeri graviter aiunt. Vicina ipsorum omnia Galli occu-

pant, et nostros quotidie magis ac magis premunt. Ita obsessi undique, de relinquendâ etiam Barlettâ sæpius iniere consilium. Ut mari terga dent hostibus, ne fame pesteque pereant, sæpe cedit in deliberationem." Opus Epist., epist. 249.

with a very skeptical air. They derived some confirmation, however, from the arrival soon after of a Sicilian bark, laden with corn, and another from Venice with various serviceable stores and wearing apparel, which Gonsalvo bought on his own credit and that of his principal officers, and distributed gratuitously among his destitute soldiers.²³

CHAPTER
XI.

At this time he received the unwelcome tidings that a small force which had been sent from Spain to his assistance, under Don Manuel de Benavides, and which had effected a junction with one much larger from Sicily under Hugo de Cardona, was surprised by D'Aubigny near Terranova, and totally defeated. This disaster was followed by the reduction of all Calabria, which the latter general, at the head of his French and Scottish gendarmerie, rode over from one extremity to the other without opposition.²⁴

The French
reduce Cala-
bria.1502.
Dec. 25.

The prospect now grew darker and darker around the little garrison of Barleta. The discomfiture of Benavides excluded hopes of relief in that direction. The gradual occupation of most of the strong places in Apulia by the duke of Nemours cut off all communication with the neighbouring country; and a French fleet cruising in the Adriatic rendered the arrival of further stores and reinforcements extremely precarious. Gonsalvo, however, maintained the

Constancy
of the Span-
iards.

²³ Gioivo, *Vite Illust. Virorum*, p. 242. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 4. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 167. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, p. 233.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, lib. 5, p. 294. — D'Anton, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, part 2, chap. 22. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, cap. 63.

PART
II.

same unruffled cheerfulness as before, and endeavoured to infuse it into the hearts of others. He perfectly understood the character of his countrymen, knew all their resources, and tried to rouse every latent principle of honor, loyalty, pride, and national feeling; and such was the authority which he acquired over their minds, and so deep the affection which he inspired, by the amenity of his manners and the generosity of his disposition, that not a murmur or symptom of insubordination escaped them during the whole of this long and painful siege. But neither the excellence of his troops, nor the resources of his own genius, would have been sufficient to extricate Gonsalvo from the difficulties of his situation, without the most flagrant errors on the part of his opponent. The Spanish general, who understood the character of the French commander perfectly well, lay patiently awaiting his opportunity, like a skilful fencer, ready to make a decisive thrust at the first vulnerable point that should be presented. Such an occasion at length offered itself early in the following year.²⁵

Nemours
defies the
Spaniards.

1503.
January.

The French, no less weary than their adversaries of their long inaction, sallied out from Canosa, where the viceroy had established his head-quarters, and crossing the Ofanto, marched up directly under the walls of Barleta, with the intention of drawing out the garrison from the "old den," as they called it, and deciding the quarrel in a pitched battle. The

²⁵ Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 11. — Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum, tom. i. p. 247. — Zurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 9.

duke of Nemours, accordingly, having taken up his position, sent a trumpet into the place to defy the Great Captain to the encounter; but the latter returned for answer, that "he was accustomed to choose his own place and time for fighting, and would thank the French general to wait till his men found time to shoe their horses, and burnish up their arms." At length, Nemours, after remaining some days, and finding there was no chance of decoying his wily foe from his defences, broke up his camp and retired, satisfied with the empty honors of his gasconade.

No sooner had he fairly turned his back, than Gonsalvo, whose soldiers had been restrained with difficulty from sallying out on their insolent foe, ordered the whole strength of his cavalry under the command of Diego de Mendoza, flanked by two corps of infantry, to issue forth and pursue the French. Mendoza executed these orders so promptly, that he brought up his horse, which were somewhat in advance of the foot, on the rear-guard of the French, before it had got many miles from Barleta. The latter instantly halted to receive the charge of the Spaniards, and, after a lively skirmish of no great duration, Mendoza retreated, followed by the incautious enemy, who, in consequence of their irregular and straggling march, were detached from the main body of their army. In the mean time, the advancing columns of the Spanish infantry, which had now come up with the retreating horse, unexpectedly closing on the enemy's flanks, threw them into some disorder, which became complete

Rout of the
French rear-
guard.

PART
II.

when the flying cavalry of the Spaniards, suddenly wheeling round in the rapid style of the Moorish tactics, charged them boldly in front. All was now confusion. Some made resistance, but most sought only to escape; a few effected it, but the greater part of those who did not fall on the field were carried prisoners to Barleta; where Mendoza found the Great Captain with his whole army drawn up under the walls in order of battle, ready to support him in person, if necessary. The whole affair passed so expeditiously, that the viceroy, who, as has been said, conducted his retreat in a most disorderly manner, and in fact, had already dispersed several battalions of his infantry to the different towns from which he had drawn them, knew nothing of the rencontre, till his men were securely lodged within the walls of Barleta.²⁶

The arrival of a Venetian trader at this time, with a cargo of grain, brought temporary relief to the pressing necessities of the garrison.²⁷ This was

²⁶ Giovo, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, pp. 243, 244. — Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, fol. 11, 12. A dispute arose, soon after this affair, between a French officer and some Italian gentlemen at Gonsalvo's table, in consequence of certain injurious reflections made by the former on the bravery of the Italian nation. The quarrel was settled by a combat à l'outrance between thirteen knights on each side, fought under the protection of the Great Captain, who took a lively interest in the success of his allies. It terminated in the discomfiture and capture of all the French. The tourney covers more pages in the Italian historians than the longest

battle, and is told with pride and a swell of exultation, which show, that this insult of the French cut more deeply than all the injuries inflicted by them. Giovo, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, pp. 244 — 247. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, pp. 296 — 298. — Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. 29, cap. 4. — Summonte, *Hist. di Napoli*, tom. iii. pp. 542 — 552. — et al.

²⁷ This supply was owing to the avarice of the French general Alègre, who, having got possession of a magazine of corn in Foggia, sold it to the Venetian merchant, instead of reserving it, where it was most needed, for his own army.

Arrival of
supplies.

followed by the welcome intelligence of the total discomfiture of the French fleet under M. de Préjan by the Spanish admiral Lezcano, in an action off Otranto, which consequently left the seas open for the supplies daily expected from Sicily. Fortune seemed now in the giving vein; for in a few days a convoy of seven transports from that island, laden with grain, meat, and other stores, came safe into Barleta, and supplied abundant means for recruiting the health and spirits of its famished inmates.²⁸

Thus restored, the Spaniards began to look forward with eager confidence to the achievement of some new enterprise. The temerity of the viceroy soon afforded an opportunity. The people of Castellaneta, a town near Tarento, were driven by the insolent and licentious behaviour of the French garrison to betray the place into the hands of the Spaniards. The duke of Nemours, enraged at this defection, prepared to march at once with his whole force, and take signal vengeance on the devoted little town; and this, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his officers against a step, which must inevitably expose the unprotected garrisons in the neighbourhood to the assault of their vigilant enemy in Barleta. The event justified these apprehensions.²⁹

No sooner had Gonsalvo learned the departure of Nemours on a distant expedition, than he resolved at

Design on
Ruvo.

²⁸ D'Auton, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, part. 1, chap. 72. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 254. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 242.

²⁹ Guicciardini, *Istoria*, lib. 5, p. 296. — D'Auton, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, part. 2, chap. 31.

PART
II.1503.
Feb. 22.

once to make an attack on the town of Ruvo, about twelve miles distant, and defended by the brave La Palice, with a corps of three hundred French lances, and as many foot. With his usual promptness, the Spanish general quitted the walls of Barleta the same night on which he received the news, taking with him his whole effective force, amounting to about three thousand infantry and one thousand light and heavy armed horse. So few, indeed, remained to guard the city, that he thought it prudent to take some of the principal inhabitants as hostages to insure its fidelity in his absence.

Gonsalvo
storms and
takes it.

At break of day, the little army arrived before Ruvo. Gonsalvo immediately opened a lively cannonade on the old ramparts, which in less than four hours effected a considerable breach. He then led his men to the assault, taking charge himself of those who were to storm the breach, while another division, armed with ladders for scaling the walls, was intrusted to the adventurous cavalier Diego de Paredes.

The assailants experienced more resolute resistance than they had anticipated from the inconsiderable number of the garrison. La Palice, throwing himself into the breach with his iron band of dismounted gendarmes, drove back the Spaniards as often as they attempted to set foot on the broken ramparts; while the Gascon archery showered down volleys of arrows thick as hail, from the battlements, on the exposed persons of the assailants. The latter, however, soon rallied under the eye of their general, and returned with fresh fury

to the charge, until the overwhelming tide of numbers bore down all opposition, and they poured in through the breach and over the walls with irresistible fury. The brave little garrison were driven before them; still, however, occasionally making fight in the streets and houses. Their intrepid young commander, La Palice, retreated facing the enemy, who pressed thick and close upon him, till, his further progress being arrested by a wall, he placed his back against it, and kept them at bay, making a wide circle around him with the deadly sweep of his battle-axe. But the odds were too much for him; and at length, after repeated wounds, having been brought to the ground by a deep cut in the head, he was made prisoner; not, however, before he had flung his sword far over the heads of the assailants, disdaining, in the true spirit of a knight-errant, to yield it to the rabble around him.³⁰

All resistance was now at an end. The women of the place had fled like so many frightened deer, to one of the principal churches; and Gonsalvo, with more humanity than was usual in these barbarous wars, placed a guard over their persons, which effectually secured them from the insults of the

³⁰ Gioivo, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, pp. 248, 249. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, p. 296. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 175. — D'Auton, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, part. 2, chap. 31. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, cap. 72.

The gallant behaviour of La Palice, and indeed the whole siege of Ruvo, is told by Jean D'Auton in a truly heart-stirring tone, quite worthy of the chivalrous pen of old

Froissart. There is an inexpressible charm imparted to the French memoirs and chronicles of this ancient date, not only from the picturesque character of the details, but from a gentle tinge of romance shed over them, which calls to mind the doughty feats of

"prowest knights,
Both Paynim and the peers of Charlemagne."

PART
II.

soldiery. After a short time spent in gathering up the booty and securing his prisoners, the Spanish general, having achieved the object of his expedition, set out on his homeward march, and arrived without interruption at Barleta.

The duke of Nemours had scarcely appeared before Castellaneta, before he received tidings of the attack on Ruvo. He put himself, without losing a moment, at the head of his gendarmes, supported by the Swiss pikemen, hoping to reach the beleaguered town in time to raise the siege. Great was his astonishment, therefore, on arriving before it, to find no trace of an enemy, except the ensigns of Spain unfurled from the deserted battlements. Mortified and dejected, he made no further attempt to recover Castellaneta, but silently drew off to hide his chagrin in the walls of Canosa.³¹

Among the prisoners were several persons of distinguished rank. Gonsalvo treated them with his usual courtesy, and especially La Palice, whom he provided with his own surgeon and all the appliances for rendering his situation as comfortable as possible. For the common file, however, he showed no such sympathy; but condemned them all to serve in the Spanish admiral's galleys, where they continued to the close of the campaign. An unfortunate misunderstanding had long subsisted between the French and Spanish commanders respecting the ransom and exchange of prisoners; and Gonsalvo was probably led to this severe meas-

³¹ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, Carlo V., fol. 16. — *Crónica del MS.*, ubi supra. — Úlloa, *Vita di Gran Capitan*, cap. 72.

ure, so different from his usual clemency, by an unwillingness to encumber himself with a superfluous population in the besieged city.³² But, in truth, such a proceeding, however offensive to humanity, was not at all repugnant to the haughty spirit of chivalry, which, reserving its courtesies exclusively for those of gentle blood and high degree, cared little for the inferior orders, whether soldier or peasant, whom it abandoned without remorse to all the caprices and cruelties of military license.

CHAPTER
XI.

The capture of Ruvo was attended with important consequences to the Spaniards. Besides a valuable booty of clothes, jewels, and money, they brought back with them nearly a thousand horses, which furnished Gonsalvo with the means of augmenting his cavalry, the small number of which had hitherto materially crippled his operations. He accordingly selected seven hundred of his best troops and mounted them on the French horses; thus providing himself with a corps, burning with zeal to approve itself worthy of the distinguished honor conferred on it.³³

A few weeks after, the general received an important accession of strength from the arrival of two thousand German mercenaries, which Don Juan Manuel, the Spanish minister at the Austrian court, had been permitted to raise in the emperor's dominions. This event determined the Great Cap-

Prepares to
leave Bar-
leta.

³² D'Auton, *Hist. de Louys* p. 270. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey XII*, ubi supra. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 249. — Quintana, *Españoles Célebres*, tom. ii.

Hernando, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 14.

³³ Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 249.

PART
II.

tain on a step which he had been some time meditating. The new levies placed him in a condition for assuming the offensive. His stock of provisions, moreover, already much reduced, would be obviously insufficient long to maintain his increased numbers. He resolved, therefore, to sally out of the old walls of Barleta, and, availing himself of the high spirits in which the late successes had put his troops, to bring the enemy at once to battle.³⁴

³⁴ Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. cap. 16. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., lib. 19, cap. 15. — Zurita, Hist. fol. 17. del Rey Hernando, tom. i. lib. 5,



JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalif
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

CHAPTER XII.

ITALIAN WARS.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH FRANCE.—VICTORY
OF CERIGNOLA.—SURRENDER OF NAPLES.

1503.

Birth of Charles V.—Philip and Joanna visit Spain.—Treaty of Lyons.—The Great Captain refuses to comply with it.—Encamps before Cerignola.—Battle, and Rout of the French.—Triumphant Entry of Gonsalvo into Naples.

BEFORE accompanying the Great Captain further in his warlike operations, it will be necessary to take a rapid glance at what was passing in the French and Spanish courts, where negotiations were in train for putting a stop to them altogether.

The reader has been made acquainted in a preceding chapter with the marriage of the infanta Joanna, second daughter of the Catholic sovereigns, with the archduke Philip, son of the emperor Maximilian, and sovereign, in right of his mother, of the Low Countries. The first fruit of this marriage was the celebrated Charles the Fifth, born at Ghent, February 24th, 1500, whose birth was no sooner announced to Queen Isabella, than she predicted that to this infant would one day descend the rich inheritance of the Spanish monarchy.¹ The prema-

CHAPTER
XII.

Birth of
Charles V.

¹ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1500.—Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 2.

The queen expressed herself in the language of Scripture, "Sors cecidit super Mathiam," in allusion

PART
II.

ture death of the heir apparent, Prince Miguel, not long after, prepared the way for this event by devolving the succession on Joanna, Charles's mother. From that moment the sovereigns were pressing in their entreaties that the archduke and his wife would visit Spain, that they might receive the customary oaths of allegiance, and that the former might become acquainted with the character and institutions of his future subjects. The giddy young prince, however, thought too much of present pleasure to heed the call of ambition or duty, and suffered more than a year to glide away, before he complied with the summons of his royal parents.

In the latter part of 1501, Philip and Joanna, attended by a numerous suite of Flemish courtiers, set out on their journey, proposing to take their way through France. They were entertained with profuse magnificence and hospitality at the French court, where the politic attentions of Louis the Twelfth, not only effaced the recollection of ancient injuries to the house of Burgundy,² but left impressions of the most agreeable character on the mind of the young prince.³ After some weeks

to the circumstance of Charles being born on that saint's day; a day, which, if we are to believe Garibay, was fortunate to him through the whole course of his life. Compendio; tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 9.

² Charles VIII., Louis's predecessor, had contrived to secure the hand of Anne of Bretagne, notwithstanding she was already married by proxy to Philip's father, the emperor Maximilian; and this, too, in contempt of his own engagements to Margaret, the emperor's

daughter, to whom he had been affianced from her infancy. This twofold insult, which sunk deep into the heart of Maximilian, seems to have made no impression on the volatile spirits of his son.

³ Mariana, *Hist. de España*, lib. 27, cap. 11. — St. Gelais describes the cordial reception of Philip and Joanna by the Court at Blois, where he was probably present himself. The historian shows his own opinion of the effect produced on their young minds by these flattering at-



Philip and
Joanna visit
Spain.

JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

passed in a succession of splendid *fêtes* and amusements at Blois, where the archduke confirmed the treaty of Trent recently made between his father, the emperor, and the French king, stipulating the marriage of Louis's eldest daughter, the princess Claude, with Philip's son Charles, the royal pair resumed their journey towards Spain, which they entered by the way of Fontarabia, January 29th, 1502.⁴

Magnificent preparations had been made for their reception. The grand constable of Castile, the duke of Naxara, and many other of the principal grandees waited on the borders to receive them. Brilliant *fêtes* and illuminations, and all the usual marks of public rejoicing, greeted their progress through the principal cities of the north; and a *pragmática* relaxing the simplicity, or rather severity, of the sumptuary laws of the period, so far as to allow the use of silks and various-colored apparel, shows the attention of the sovereigns to every circumstance, however trifling, which could affect the minds of the young princes agreeably, and diffuse an air of cheerfulness over the scene.⁵

tentions, by remarking, "Le roy leur monstra si très grand semblant d'amour, que par noblesse et honnesteté de cœur il les obligeoit envers luy de leur en souvenir toute leur vie." Hist. de Louys XII., pp. 164, 165.

In passing through Paris, Philip took his seat in the parliament as peer of France, and subsequently did homage to Louis XII., as his suzerain for his estates in Flanders; an acknowledgment of inferiority not at all palatable to the

Spanish historians, who insist with much satisfaction, on the haughty refusal of his wife, the archduchess, to take part in the ceremony. Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 4, cap. 55. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1502. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 13, sec. 1. — Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part. 1, p. 17.

⁴ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1502. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 5.

⁵ Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 4,

PART
II.

Ferdinand and Isabella, who were occupied with the affairs of Andalusia at this period, no sooner heard of the arrival of Philip and Joanna, than they hastened to the north. They reached Toledo towards the end of April, and in a few days, the queen, who paid the usual penalties of royalty, in seeing her children, one after another, removed far from her into distant lands, had the satisfaction of again folding her beloved daughter in her arms.

Recognised
by cortes.

On the 22d of the ensuing month, the archduke and his wife received the usual oaths of fealty from the cortes duly convoked for the purpose at Toledo.⁶ King Ferdinand, not long after, made a journey into Aragon, in which the queen's feeble health would not permit her to accompany him, in order to prepare the way for a similar recognition by the estates of that realm. We are not informed what arguments the sagacious monarch made use of to dispel the scruples formerly entertained by that independent body; on a similar application in behalf of his daughter, the late queen of Portugal.⁷ They

cap. 55. — Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 220.

This extreme simplicity of attire, in which Zurita discerns "the modesty of the times," was enforced by laws, the policy of which, whatever be thought of their moral import, may well be doubted in an economical view. I shall have occasion to draw the reader's attention to them hereafter.

⁶ The writ is dated at Llerena, March 8. It was extracted by Marina from the archives of Toledo. Teoria, tom. ii. p. 18.

⁷ It is remarkable that the Aragonese writers, generally so inquisi-

tive on all points touching the constitutional history of their country, should have omitted to notice the grounds on which the cortes thought proper to reverse its former decision in the analogous case of the infanta Isabella. There seems to have been even less reason for departing from ancient usage in the present instance, since Joanna had a son, to whom the cortes might lawfully have tendered its oath of recognition; for a female, although excluded from the throne in her own person, was regarded as competent to transmit the title unimpaird to her male heirs. Blancas

were completely successful, however; and Philip and Joanna, having ascertained the favorable disposition of cortes, made their entrance in great state into the ancient city of Saragossa, in the month of October. On the 27th, having first made oath before the Justice, to observe the laws and liberties of the realm, Joanna as future queen proprietor, and Philip as her husband, were solemnly recognised by the four *arms* of Aragon as successors to the crown, in default of male issue of King Ferdinand. The circumstance is memorable, as affording the first example of the parliamentary recognition of a female heir apparent in Aragonese history.⁸

CHAPTER
XII.

Amidst all the honors so liberally lavished on Philip, his bosom secretly swelled with discontent, fomented still further by his followers, who pressed him to hasten his return to Flanders, where the free and social manners of the people were much more congenial to their tastes, than the reserve and state-

Philip's dis-
content.

suggests no explanation of the affair, (Coronaciones, lib. 3, cap. 20, and Commentarii, pp. 274, 511,) and Zurita quietly dismisses it with the remark, that "there was some opposition raised, but *the king had managed it so discreetly beforehand*, that there was not the same difficulty as formerly." (Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 5.) It is curious to see with what effrontery the prothonotary of the cortes, in the desire to varnish over the departure from constitutional precedent, declares, in the opening address, "the princess Joanna, true and lawful heir to the crown, to whom, in default of male heirs, the usage and law of the land require the oath of allegiance." Coronaciones, ubi supra.

⁸ Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1500. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 12, sec. 6. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, p. 126. — Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 14. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 5.

Petronilla, the only female who ever sat, in her own right, on the throne of Aragon, never received the homage of cortes as heir apparent; the custom not having been established at that time, the middle of the twelfth century. (Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 5.) Blancas has described the ceremony of Joanna's recognition with quite as much circumstantiality as the novelty of the case could warrant. Coronaciones, lib. 3, cap. 20.

PART
II.

ly ceremonial of the Spanish court. The young prince shared in these feelings, to which, indeed, the love of pleasure, and an instinctive aversion to any thing like serious occupation, naturally disposed him. Ferdinand and Isabella saw with regret the frivolous disposition of their son-in-law, who, in the indulgence of selfish and effeminate ease, was willing to repose on others all the important duties of government. They beheld with mortification his indifference to Joanna, who could boast few personal attractions,⁹ and who cooled the affections of her husband by alternations of excessive fondness and irritable jealousy, for which last the levity of his conduct gave her too much occasion.

Shortly after the ceremony at Saragossa, the archduke announced his intention of an immediate return to the Netherlands, by the way of France. The sovereigns, astonished at this abrupt determination, used every argument to dissuade him from it. They represented the ill effects it might occasion the princess Joanna, then too far advanced in a state of pregnancy to accompany him. They pointed out the impropriety, as well as danger, of committing himself to the hands of the French king, with whom they were now at open war; and they finally insisted on the importance of Philip's remaining long enough in the kingdom to become familiar with the usages, and establish himself in the affections, of the people over whom he would one day be called to reign.

⁹ "Simplex est femina," says a tantâ muliere progenita." Opus Martyr, speaking of Joanna, "licet Epist., epist. 250.

CHAPTER
XII.Leaves
Spain for
France.

All these arguments were ineffectual; the inflexible prince, turning a deaf ear alike to the entreaties of his unhappy wife, and the remonstrances of the Aragonese cortes still in session, set out from Madrid, with the whole of his Flemish suite, in the month of December. He left Ferdinand and Isabella disgusted with the levity of his conduct, and the queen, in particular, filled with mournful solicitude for the welfare of the daughter, with whom his destinies were united.¹⁰

Before his departure for France, Philip, anxious to reestablish harmony between that country and Spain, offered his services to his father-in-law in negotiating with Louis the Twelfth, if possible, a settlement of the differences respecting Naples. Ferdinand showed some reluctance at intrusting so delicate a commission to an envoy, in whose discretion he placed small reliance, which was not augmented by the known partiality which Philip entertained for the French monarch.¹¹ Before the archduke had crossed the frontier, however, he was overtaken by a Spanish ecclesiastic named Bernaldo Boyl, abbot of St. Miguel de Cuxa, who brought full powers to Philip from the king for concluding a treaty with France, accompanied at the same time with private instructions of the most strict and

¹⁰ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, ubi supra. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 10. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 44. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1502.

¹¹ Such manifest partiality for the French court and manners was shown by Philip and his Flemish

followers, that the Spaniards very generally believed the latter were in the pay of Louis XII. See Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 44. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 23. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 253. — Lanuza, *Historias*, cap. 16.

PART
II.

limited nature. He was enjoined, moreover, to take no step without the advice of his reverend coadjutor, and to inform the Spanish court at once, if different propositions were submitted from those contemplated by his instructions.¹²

Negotiates a
treaty with
Louis XII.

Thus fortified, the archduke Philip made his appearance at the French court in Lyons, where he was received by Louis with the same lively expressions of regard as before. With these amiable dispositions, the negotiations were not long in resulting in a definitive treaty, arranged to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, though in violation of the private instructions of the archduke. In the progress of the discussions, Ferdinand, according to the Spanish historians, received advices from his envoy, the abate Boyl, that Philip was transcending his commission; in consequence of which the king sent an express to France, urging his son-in-law to adhere to the strict letter of his instructions. Before the messenger reached Lyons, however, the treaty was executed. Such is the Spanish account of this blind transaction.¹³

Treaty of
Lyons.

The treaty, which was signed at Lyons, April

¹² Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 10. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragón, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 13, sec. 2. — Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 15. — D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., part. 1, chap. 32.

¹³ Zurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 23. — St. Gelais, Hist. de Louys XII., pp. 170, 171. — Claude de Seyssel, Histoire de Louys XII., (Paris, 1615,) p. 108. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragón, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 13,

sec. 3. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 690, 691. — Lanuza, Historias, tom. i. cap. 16.

Some of the French historians speak of two agents besides Philip employed in the negotiations. Father Boyl is the only one named by the Spanish writers, as regularly commissioned for the purpose, although it is not improbable that Gralla, the resident minister at Louis's court, took part in the discussions.

5th, 1503, was arranged on the basis of the marriage of Charles, the infant son of Philip, and Claude, princess of France; a marriage, which, settled by three several treaties, was destined never to take place. The royal infants were immediately to assume the titles of King and Queen of Naples, and Duke and Duchess of Calabria. Until the consummation of the marriage, the French division of the kingdom was to be placed under the administration of some suitable person named by Louis the Twelfth, and the Spanish under that of the archduke Philip, or some other deputy appointed by Ferdinand. All places unlawfully seized by either party were to be restored; and lastly it was settled, with regard to the disputed province of the Capitanate, that the portion held by the French should be governed by an agent of King Louis, and the Spanish by the archduke Philip on behalf of Ferdinand."¹⁴

Such in substance was the treaty of Lyons; a treaty, which, while it seemed to consult the interests of Ferdinand, by securing the throne of Naples eventually to his posterity, was in fact far more accommodated to those of Louis, by placing the immediate control of the Spanish moiety under a prince, over whom that monarch held entire influence. It is impossible that so shrewd a statesman as Ferdinand could, from the mere consideration of advantages so remote to himself and dependent on so precarious a contingency as the marriage of two

¹⁴ See the treaty, apud Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. pp. 27-29.

PART
II.

infants, then in their cradles, have seriously contemplated an arrangement, which surrendered all the actual power into the hands of his rival; and that too at the moment when his large armament, so long preparing for Calabria, had reached that country, and when the Great Captain, on the other quarter, had received such accessions of strength as enabled him to assume the offensive, on at least equal terms with the enemy.

The Great
Captain re-
fuses to com-
ply with it.

No misgivings on this head, however, appear to have entered the minds of the signers of the treaty, which was celebrated by the court at Lyons with every show of public rejoicing, and particularly with tourneys and tilts of reeds, in imitation of the Spanish chivalry. At the same time, the French king countermanded the embarkation of fresh troops on board a fleet equipping at the port of Genoa for Naples, and sent orders to his generals in Italy to desist from further operations. The archduke forwarded similar instructions to Gonsalvo, accompanied with a copy of the powers intrusted to him by Ferdinand. That prudent officer, however, whether in obedience to previous directions from the king, as Spanish writers affirm, or on his own responsibility, from a very natural sense of duty, refused to comply with the ambassador's orders; declaring "he knew no authority but that of his own sovereigns, and that he felt bound to prosecute the war with all his ability, till he received their commands to the contrary."¹⁵

¹⁵ Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 13, sec. 3. — 29, cap. 4. — St. Gelais, Hist. de

Indeed, the archduke's despatches arrived at the very time when the Spanish general, having strengthened himself by a reinforcement from the neighbouring garrison of Tarento under Pedro Navarro, was prepared to sally forth, and try his fortune in battle with the enemy. Without further delay, he put his purpose into execution, and on Friday the 28th of April, marched out with his whole army from the ancient walls of Barleta; a spot ever memorable in history as the scene of the extraordinary sufferings, and indomitable constancy, of the Spanish soldier.

CHAPTER
XII.Marches out
of Barleta.

1503.

The road lay across the field of Cannæ, where, seventeen centuries before, the pride of Rome had been humbled by the victorious arms of Han-

Louys XII., p. 171. — Buonaccorsi, *Diario*, p. 75. — D'Auton, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, part 2, chap. 32.

According to the Aragonese historians, Ferdinand, on the archduke's departure, informed Gonsalvo of the intended negotiations with France, cautioning the general at the same time not to heed any instructions of the archduke till confirmed by him. This circumstance the French writers regard as unequivocal proof of the king's insincerity in entering into the negotiation. It wears this aspect at first, certainly; but, on a nearer view, admits of a very different construction. Ferdinand had no confidence in the discretion of his envoy, whom, if we are to believe the Spanish writers, he employed in the affair more from accident than choice; and, notwithstanding the full powers intrusted to him, he did not consider himself bound to recognise the validity of any treaty which the other should sign, until first ratified by himself. With

these views, founded on principles now universally recognised in European diplomacy, it was natural to caution his general against any unauthorized interference on the part of his envoy, which the rash and presumptuous character of the latter, acting, moreover, under an undue influence of the French monarch, gave him good reason to fear.

As to the Great Captain, who has borne a liberal share of censure on this occasion, it is not easy to see how he could have acted otherwise than he did, even in the event of no special instructions from Ferdinand. For he would scarcely have been justified in abandoning a sure prospect of advantage on the authority of one, the validity of whose powers he could not determine, and which, in fact, do not appear to have warranted such interference. The only authority he knew, was that from which he held his commission, and to which he was responsible for the faithful discharge of it.