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the Spaniards.

all their distresses, he yet refrained from uttering it, in stern obedience to what he regarded as the call of duty; and this, too, on his own responsibility, in opposition to the remonstrances of those on whose judgment he most relied.

Gonsalvo confided in the prudence, sobriety, and excellent constitution of the Spaniards, for resisting the bad effects of the climate. He relied too on their tried discipline, and their devotion to himself, for carrying them through any sacrifice he should demand of them. His experience at Barleta led him to anticipate results of a very opposite character with the French troops. The event justified his conclusions in both respects.

The French, as already noticed, occupied higher and more healthy ground, on the other side of the Garigliano, than their rivals. They were fortunate enough also to find more effectual protection from the weather in the remains of a spacious amphitheatre, and some other edifices, which still covered the site of Minturnæ. With all this, however, they suffered more severely from the inclement season than their robust adversaries. Numbers daily sickened and died. They were much straitened, moreover, from want of provisions, through the knavish péculations of the commissaries, who had charge of the magazines in Rome. Thus situated, the fiery spirits of the French soldiery, eager for prompt and decisive action, and impatient of delay, gradually sunk under the protracted miseries of a war, where the elements were the principal enemy, and where they saw themselves melting away like slaves



Situation of  
the French.

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in a prison-ship, without even the chance of winning an honorable death on the field of battle.<sup>29</sup>

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The discontent occasioned by these circumstances was further swelled by the imperfect success, which had attended their efforts, when allowed to measure weapons with the enemy.

At length the latent mass of disaffection found an object on which to vent itself, in the person of their commander-in-chief, the marquis of Mantua, never popular with the French soldiers. They now loudly taxed him with imbecility, accused him of a secret understanding with the enemy, and loaded him with the opprobrious epithets with which Transalpine insolence was accustomed to stigmatize the Italians. In all this, they were secretly supported by Ives d'Allègre, Sandricourt, and other French officers, who had always regarded with dissatisfaction the elevation of the Italian general; till at length the latter, finding that he had influence with neither officers nor soldiers, and unwilling to retain command where he had lost authority, availed himself of a temporary illness, under which he was laboring, to throw up his commission, and withdrew abruptly to his own estates.

Their insubordination.

He was succeeded by the marquis of Saluzzo, an Italian, indeed, by birth, being a native of Piedmont, but who had long served under the French banners, where he had been intrusted by Louis the

Saluzzo takes the command.

<sup>29</sup> Giovio, Vita Magni Gonsalvi, fol. 265. — Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. v. p. 445. — Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 59. — Buonaccorsi, Diario, fol. 85. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 22. — Varillas, Hist. de Louis XII., tom. i. pp. 401, 402.

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Twelfth with very important commands. He was not deficient in energy of character, or military science. But it required powers of a higher order than his to bring the army under subordination, and renew its confidence under present circumstances. The Italians, disgusted with the treatment of their former chief, deserted in great numbers. The great body of the French chivalry, impatient of their present unhealthy position, dispersed among the adjacent cities of Fondi, Itri, and Gaeta, leaving the low country around the Tower of the Garigliano to the care of the Swiss and German infantry. Thus, while the whole Spanish army lay within a mile of the river, under the immediate eye of their commander, prepared for instant service, the French were scattered over a country more than ten miles in extent, where, without regard to military discipline, they sought to relieve the dreary monotony of a camp, by all the relaxations which such comfortable quarters could afford.<sup>30</sup>

Heroism of  
Paredes and  
Bayard.

It must not be supposed, that the repose of the two armies was never broken by the sounds of war. More than one rencontre, on the contrary, with various fortune, took place, and more than one display of personal prowess by the knights of the two nations, as formerly at the siege of Barleta. The Spaniards made two unsuccessful efforts to burn the enemy's bridge; but they succeeded, on the other hand, in carrying the strong fortress of Rocca

<sup>30</sup> Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. p. 329. — Machiavelli, *Legazione v. pp. 440-443.* — Giovio, *Vitæ Prima a Roma*, let. 44. — St. Illust. *Virorum*, fol. 264, 265. — Gelais, *Hist. de Louys XII.*, pp. Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 6, 173, 174.

Guglielma, garrisoned by the French. Among the feats of individual heroism, the Castilian writers expatiate most complacently on that of their favorite cavalier, Diego de Paredes, who descended alone on the bridge against a body of French knights, all armed in proof, with a desperate hardihood worthy of Don Quixote; and would most probably have shared the usual fate of that renowned personage on such occasions, had he not been rescued by a sally of his own countrymen. The French find a counterpart to this adventure in that of the preux chevalier Bayard, who, with his single arm maintained the barriers of the bridge against two hundred Spaniards, for an hour or more.<sup>31</sup>

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Such feats, indeed, are more easily achieved with the pen than with the sword. It would be injustice, however, to the honest chronicler of the day to suppose that he did not himself fully

“ Believe the magic wonders that he sung.”

Every heart confessed the influence of a romantic age,—the dying age, indeed, of chivalry,—but when, with superior refinement, it had lost nothing of the enthusiasm and exaltation of its prime. A shadowy twilight of romance enveloped every object. Every day gave birth to such extravagances, not merely of sentiment, but of action, as made it difficult to discern the precise boundaries of fact

<sup>31</sup> *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, tom. i. p. 417.—*Quintana, Españoles Célebres*, tom. i. pp. 288–290. — *Machiavelli, Legazione Prima a Roma*, let. 39, 44. — *Varillas, Hist. de Louis XII.*,



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and fiction. The chronicler might innocently encroach sometimes on the province of the poet, and the poet occasionally draw the theme of his visions from the pages of the chronicler. Such, in fact, was the case; and the romantic Muse of Italy, then coming forth in her glory, did little more than give a brighter flush of color to the chimeras of real life. The characters of living heroes, a Bayard, a Paredes, and a La Palice, readily supplied her with the elements of those ideal combinations, in which she has so gracefully embodied the perfections of chivalry.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Compare the prose romances of D'Auton, of the "loyal serviteur" of Bayard, and the no less loyal biographer of the Great Captain, with the poetic

ones of Ariosto, Berni, and the like.

"Maganima menzogna! or quando è  
il vero  
Si bello, che si possa a te proporre?"

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## CHAPTER XV.

ITALIAN WARS.—ROUT OF THE GARIGLIANO.—TREATY WITH FRANCE.—GONSALVO'S MILITARY CONDUCT.

1503, 1504.

Gonsalvo crosses the River.—Consternation of the French.—Action near Gaeta.—Hotly contested.—The French defeated.—Gaeta surrenders.—Public Enthusiasm.—Treaty with France.—Review of Gonsalvo's Military Conduct.—Results of the Campaign.

SEVEN weeks had now elapsed, since the two armies had lain in sight of each other without any decided movement on either side. During this time, the Great Captain had made repeated efforts to strengthen himself, through the intervention of the Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Rojas,<sup>1</sup> by reinforcements from Rome. His negotiations were chiefly directed to secure the alliance of the Orsini, a powerful family, long involved in a bitter feud with the Colonnas, then in the Spanish service. A reconciliation between these noble houses was at length happily effected; and Bartolomeo d' Alviano, the head of the Orsini, agreed to enlist under

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Gonsalvo se-  
cures the  
Orsini.

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded Garcilasso de la Vega at the court of Rome. Oviedo says, in reference to the illustrious house of Rojas, "En todas las historias de España no se hallan tantos caballeros de un linage y

nombre notados por valerosos caballeros y valientes milites como deste nombre de Rojas." Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 8.

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the Spanish commander with three thousand men. This arrangement was finally brought about through the good offices of the Venetian minister at Rome, who even advanced a considerable sum of money towards the payment of the new levies.<sup>2</sup>

Assumes the  
offensive.

The appearance of this corps, with one of the most able and valiant of the Italian captains at its head, revived the drooping spirits of the camp. Soon after his arrival, Alviano strongly urged Gonzalvo to abandon his original plan of operations, and avail himself of his augmented strength to attack the enemy in his own quarters. The Spanish commander had intended to confine himself wholly to the defensive, and, too unequal in force to meet the French in the open field, as before noticed, had intrenched himself in his present strong position, with the fixed purpose of awaiting the enemy there. Circumstances had now greatly changed. The original inequality was diminished by the arrival of the Italian levies, and still further compensated by the present disorderly state of the French army. He knew, moreover, that in the most perilous enterprises, the assailing party gathers an enthusiasm and an impetus in its career, which counterbalance large numerical odds; while the party taken by surprise is proportionably disconcerted, and prepared, as it were, for defeat before a blow is struck. From these considerations, the cautious general acquiesced in Alviano's project to cross the Gari-

<sup>2</sup> Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. 48, 57. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragón*, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 14, sec. 4, 5. — Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, tom. iii. pp. 364, 365.

gliano, by establishing a bridge at a point opposite Suzio, a small place garrisoned by the French, on the right bank, about four miles above their headquarters. The time for the attack was fixed as soon as possible after the approaching Christmas, when the French, occupied with the festivities of the season, might be thrown off their guard.<sup>3</sup>

This day of general rejoicing to the Christian world at length arrived. It brought little joy to the Spaniards, buried in the depths of these dreary morasses, destitute of most of the necessaries of life, and with scarcely any other means of resisting the climate, than those afforded by their iron constitutions and invincible courage. They celebrated the day, however, with all the devotional feeling, and the imposing solemnities, with which it is commemorated by the Roman Catholic church; and the exercises of religion, rendered more impressive by their situation, served to exalt still higher the heroic constancy, which had sustained them under such unparalleled sufferings.

In the mean while, the materials for the bridge were collected, and the work went forward with such despatch, that on the 28th of December all was in readiness for carrying the plan of attack into execution. The task of laying the bridge across the river was intrusted to Alviano, who had charge of the van. The central and main division of the army under Gonsalvo was to cross at the same

Plan of attack.

<sup>3</sup> Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, pp. 267, 268. — Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, fol. 22. — Guicciardini, *istoria*, tom. i. lib. 6, pp. 329, 330. — Machiavelli, *Legazione Prima* a Roma, let. 36.

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point; while Andrada at the head of the rear-guard was to force a passage at the old bridge, lower down the stream, opposite to the Tower of the Garigliano.<sup>4</sup>

The night was dark and stormy. Alviano performed the duty intrusted to him with such silence and celerity, that the work was completed without attracting the enemy's notice. He then crossed over with the van-guard, consisting chiefly of cavalry, supported by Navarro, Paredes, and Pizarro; and, falling on the sleeping garrison of Suzio, cut to pieces all who offered resistance.

Consternation  
of the  
French.

The report of the Spaniards having passed the river spread far and wide, and soon reached the head-quarters of the marquis of Saluzzo, near the Tower of the Garigliano. The French commander-in-chief, who believed that the Spaniards were lying on the other side of the river, as torpid as the snakes in their own marshes, was as much astounded by the event, as if a thunderbolt had burst over his head from a cloudless sky. He lost no time, however, in rallying such of his scattered forces as he could assemble, and in the mean while despatched Ives d'Allègre with a body of horse to hold the enemy in check, till he could make good his own retreat on Gaeta. His first step was to demolish the bridge near his own quarters, cutting the moorings of the boats and turning them adrift down the

<sup>4</sup> *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 2, cap. 110. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 189. — Gio-  
vivo, *Vita Magni Gonsalvi*, lib. 3, fol. 266. — Zurita, *Historia del Rey*  
Hernando, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 60. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*,  
epist. 270. — Buonaccorsi, *Diario*,  
p. 84.

river. He abandoned his tents and baggage, together with nine of his heaviest cannon; leaving even the sick and wounded to the mercy of the enemy, rather than encumber himself with any thing that should retard his march. The remainder of the artillery he sent forward in the van. The infantry followed next, and the rear, in which Saluzzo took his own station, was brought up by the men-at-arms, to cover the retreat.

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Before Allègre could reach Suzio, the whole Spanish army had passed the Garigliano, and formed on the right bank. Unable to face such superior numbers, he fell back with precipitation, and joined himself to the main body of the French, now in full retreat on Gaeta.<sup>5</sup>

They retreat  
on Gaeta.

Gonsalvo, afraid the French might escape him, sent forward Prospero Colonna, with a corps of light horse, to annoy and retard their march until he could come up. Keeping the right bank of the river with the main body, he marched rapidly through the deserted camp of the enemy, leaving little leisure for his men to glean the rich spoil, which lay tempting them on every side. It was not long before he came up with the French, whose movements were greatly retarded by the difficulty of dragging their guns over the ground completely

<sup>5</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 189. — Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, fol. 22, 23. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, p. 330. — Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. v. pp. 448, 449. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 2, cap. 110. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 14, sec. 6. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 60. — Senarega, apud Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, tom. xxiv. p. 579.

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saturated with rain. The retreat was conducted, however, in excellent order; they were eminently favored by the narrowness of the road, which, allowing but a comparatively small body of troops on either side to come into action, made success chiefly depend on the relative merits of these. The French rear, as already stated, was made up of their men-at-arms, including Bayard, Sandricourt, La Fayette, and others of their bravest chivalry, who, armed at all points, found no great difficulty in beating off the light troops which formed the advance of the Spaniards. At every bridge, stream, and narrow pass, which afforded a favorable position, the French cavalry closed their ranks, and made a resolute stand to gain time for the columns in advance.

In this way, alternately halting and retreating, with perpetual skirmishes, though without much loss on either side, they reached the bridge before Mola di Gaeta. Here, some of the gun-carriages, breaking down or being overturned, occasioned considerable delay and confusion. The infantry pressing on, became entangled with the artillery. The marquis of Saluzzo endeavoured to avail himself of the strong position afforded by the bridge to restore order. A desperate struggle ensued. The French knights dashed boldly into the Spanish ranks, driving back for a time the tide of pursuit. The chevalier Bayard, who was seen as usual in the front of danger, had three horses killed under him; and, at length, carried forward by his ardor into the thickest of the enemy, was retrieved with

Action at  
the bridge of  
Mola.

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difficulty from their hands by a desperate charge of his friend Sandricourt.<sup>6</sup>

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The Spaniards, shaken by the violence of the assault, seemed for a moment to hesitate; but Gonsalvo had now time to bring up his men-at-arms, who sustained the faltering columns, and renewed the combat on more equal terms. He himself was in the hottest of the *mêlée*; and at one time was exposed to imminent hazard by his horse's losing his footing on the slippery soil, and coming with him to the ground. The general fortunately experienced no injury, and, quickly recovering himself, continued to animate his followers by his voice and intrepid bearing, as before.

Hotly con-  
tended.

The fight had now lasted two hours. The Spaniards, although still in excellent heart, were faint with fatigue and want of food, having travelled six leagues, without breaking their fast since the preceding evening. It was, therefore, with no little anxiety, that Gonsalvo looked for the coming up of his rear-guard, left, as the reader will remember, under Andrada at the lower bridge, to decide the fortune of the day.

The welcome spectacle at length presented itself. The dark columns of the Spaniards were seen, at first faint in the distance, by degrees growing more and more distinct to the eye. Andrada

Arrival of  
the Spanish  
rear.

<sup>6</sup> Guicciardini, *Istoria*, lib. 6, pp. 330, 331. — Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. v. pp. 449-451. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, ubi supra. — Varillas, *Hist. de Louis XII.*, tom. i. pp. 416-418. — Am-  
mirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, tom. iii. lib. 28, p. 273. — Summonte, *Hist. di Napoli*, tom. iii. p. 555. — Buonaccorsi, *Diario*, pp. 84, 85. — Giovio, *Vitæ Magni Gonsalvi*, fol. 268.



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had easily carried the French redoubt on his side of the Garigliano; but it was not without difficulty and delay, that he recovered the scattered boats which the French had set adrift down the stream, and finally succeeded in reëstablishing his communications with the opposite bank. Having accomplished this, he rapidly advanced by a more direct road, to the east of that lately traversed by Gonsalvo along the sea-side, in pursuit of the French. The latter beheld with dismay the arrival of this fresh body of troops, who seemed to have dropped from the clouds on the field of battle. They scarcely waited for the shock before they broke, and gave way in all directions. The disabled carriages of the artillery, which clogged up the avenues in the rear, increased the confusion among the fugitives, and the foot were trampled down without mercy under the heels of their own cavalry, in the eagerness of the latter to extricate themselves from their perilous situation. The Spanish light horse followed up their advantage with the alacrity of vengeance long delayed, inflicting bloody retribution for all they had so long suffered in the marshes of Sessa.

The French  
routed.

At no great distance from the bridge the road takes two directions, the one towards Itri, the other to Gaeta. The bewildered fugitives here separated; by far the greater part keeping the latter route. Gonsalvo sent forward a body of horse under Navarro and Pedro de la Paz, by a short cut across the country, to intercept their flight. A large number fell into his hands in consequence of this

manceuvre; but the greater part of those who escaped the sword succeeded in throwing themselves into Gaeta.<sup>7</sup>

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The Great Captain took up his quarters that night in the neighbouring village of Castellone. His brave followers had great need of refreshment, having fasted and fought through the whole day, and that under a driving storm of rain which had not ceased for a moment. Thus terminated the battle, or rout, as it is commonly called, of the Gargigliano, the most important in its results of all Gonsalvo's victories, and furnishing a suitable close to his brilliant military career.<sup>8</sup> The loss of the French is computed at from three to four thousand men, left dead on the field, together with all their baggage, colors, and splendid train of artillery. The Spaniards must have suffered severely during the sharp conflict on the bridge; but no estimate of their loss is to be met with, in any native or foreign writer.<sup>9</sup> It was observed that the 29th of

Their loss.

<sup>7</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 190. — Garnier, Hist. de France, tom. v. pp. 452, 453. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 23. — Guicciardini, Istoria, lib. 6, p. 331. — Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 16. — Chronica del Gran Capitan, ubi supra. — Buonaccorsi, Diario, pp. 84, 85. — Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine, ubi supra. — Varrillas, Hist. de Louis XII., tom. i. pp. 416-418.

<sup>8</sup> Soon after the rout of the Gargigliano, Bembo produced the following sonnet, which most critics agree was intended, although no name appears in it, for Gonsalvo de Cordova.

"Ben devria farvi onor d' eterno esempio  
Napoli vostra, e'n mezzo al suo bel monte  
Scolpirvi in lieta e coronata fronte,  
Già trionfando, e dar i voti al templo:  
Poi che l' avete all' orgoglioso ed empio  
Stuolo ritolta, e paregiate l' onte;  
Or ch' avea più la voglia e le man pronte  
A far d' Italia tutta acerbo scempio.  
Torcestel voi, Signor, dal corso ardito,  
E foste tal, ch' ancora esser vorrebbe  
A por di qua dall' Alpe nostra il piede.  
L' onda Tirrena del suo sangue crebbe,  
E di tronchi resto coperto il lito,  
E gli augelli ne fer seccare prede."  
Opere, tom. ii. p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> The Curate of Los Palacios sums up the loss of the French, from the time of Gonsalvo's occupation of Barleta to the surrender of Gaeta, in the following manner; 6000 prisoners, 14,000 killed in battle, a still greater number by exposure

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December, on which this battle was won, came on Friday, the same ominous day of the week, which had so often proved auspicious to the Spaniards under the present reign.<sup>10</sup>

Gallantry of  
their chival-  
ry.

The disparity of the forces actually engaged was probably not great, since the extent of country over which the French were quartered prevented many of them from coming up in time for action. Several corps, who succeeded in reaching the field at the close of the fight, were seized with such a panic as to throw down their arms without attempting resistance.<sup>11</sup> The admirable artillery, on which the French placed chief reliance, was not only of no service, but of infinite mischief to them, as we have seen. The brunt of the battle fell on their chivalry, which bore itself throughout the day with the spirit and gallantry worthy of its ancient renown; never flinching, till the arrival of the Spanish rear-guard fresh in the field, at so critical a juncture, turned the scale in their adversaries' favor.

Early on the following morning, Gonsalvo made preparations for storming the heights of mount Orlando, which overlooked the city of Gaeta. Such

and fatigue, besides a considerable body cut off by the peasantry. To balance this bloody roll, he computes the Spanish loss at two hundred slain in the field! Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 191.

<sup>10</sup> *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 2, cap. 110.—Zurita, *Anales*, ubi supra.—Garibay, *Compendio*, lib. 19, cap. 16.—Quintana, *Espanoles Célebres*, tom. i. pp. 296, 297.

Guicciardini, who has been followed in this by the French writers, fixes the date of the rout at the 28th of December. If, however, it occurred on Friday, as he, and every authority, indeed, asserts, it must have been on the 29th, as stated by the Spanish historians. *Istoria*, lib. 6, p. 330.

<sup>11</sup> *Giovio*, *Vita Magni Gonsalvi*, fol. 268.

was the despondency of its garrison, however, that this strong position, which bade defiance a few months before to the most desperate efforts of Spanish valor, was now surrendered without a struggle. The same feeling of despondency had communicated itself to the garrison of Gaeta; and, before Navarro could bring the batteries of mount Orlando to bear upon the city, a flag of truce arrived from the marquis of Saluzzo with proposals for capitulation.

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This was more than the Great Captain could have ventured to promise himself. The French were in great force; the fortifications of the place in excellent repair; it was well provided with artillery and ammunition, and with provisions for ten days at least; while their fleet, riding in the harbour, afforded the means of obtaining supplies from Leghorn, Genoa, and other friendly ports. But the French had lost all heart; they were sorely wasted by disease; their buoyant self-confidence was gone, and their spirits broken by the series of reverses, which had followed without interruption from the first hour of the campaign, to the last disastrous affair of the Garigliano. The very elements seemed to have leagued against them. Further efforts they deemed a fruitless struggle against destiny; and they now looked with melancholy longing to their native land, eager only to quit these ill-omened shores for ever.

Capitulation  
of Gaeta.

The Great Captain made no difficulty in granting such terms, as, while they had a show of liberality, secured him the most important fruits of victory.

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This suited his cautious temper far better than pressing a desperate foe to extremity. He was, moreover, with all his successes, in no condition to do so; he was without funds, and, as usual, deeply in arrears to his army; while there was scarcely a ration of bread, says an Italian historian, in his whole camp.<sup>12</sup>

1504. It was agreed by the terms of capitulation, January 1st, 1504, that the French should evacuate Gaeta at once, and deliver it up to the Spaniards with its artillery, munitions, and military stores of every description. The prisoners on both sides, including those taken in the preceding campaign, an arrangement greatly to the advantage of the enemy, were to be restored; and the army in Gaeta was to be allowed a free passage by land or sea, as they should prefer, to their own country.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Giovio, *Vita Magni Gonsalvi*, fol. 268, 269. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 2, cap. 111. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 270. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, lib. 6, p. 331. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 61. — Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. v. pp. 454, 455. — Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. xv. cap. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 61. — Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. v. pp. 454, 455. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 190. — Gianone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. 29, cap. 4.

No particular mention was made of the Italian allies in the capitulation. It so happened that several of the great Angevin lords, who had been taken in the preceding campaigns of Calabria, were found in arms in the place. (Giovio, *Vita*

*Magni Gonsalvi*, fol. 252, 253, 269.) Gonsalvo, in consequence of this manifest breach of faith, refusing to regard them as comprehended in the treaty, sent them all prisoners of state to the dungeons of Castel Nuovo in Naples. This action has brought on him much unmerited obloquy with the French writers. Indeed, before the treaty was signed, if we are to credit the Italian historians, Gonsalvo peremptorily refused to include the Neapolitan lords within it. Thus much is certain; that, after having been taken and released, they were now found under the French banners a second time. It seems not improbable, therefore, that the French, however naturally desirous they may have been of protection for their allies, finding themselves unable to enforce it, acquiesced in such an equivocal silence with re-

From the moment hostilities were brought to a close, Gonsalvo displayed such generous sympathy for his late enemies, and such humanity in relieving them, as to reflect more honor on his character than all his victories. He scrupulously enforced the faithful performance of the treaty, and severely punished any violence offered to the French by his own men. His benign and courteous demeanour towards the vanquished, so remote from the images of terror with which he had been hitherto associated in their minds, excited unqualified admiration; and they testified their sense of his amiable qualities, by speaking of him as the "gentil capitaine et gentil cavalier."<sup>14</sup>

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XV.Gonsalvo's  
courtesy.

The news of the rout of the Garigliano and the surrender of Gaeta diffused general gloom and consternation over France. There was scarcely a family of rank, says a writer of that country, that had not some one of its members involved in these sad disasters.<sup>15</sup> The court went into mourning. The king, mortified at the discomfiture of all his lofty

Chagrin of  
Louis XII.

spect to them as, without apparently compromising their own honor, left the whole affair to the discretion of the Great Captain.

With regard to the sweeping charge made by certain modern French historians against the Spanish general, of a similar severity to the other Italians indiscriminately found in the place, there is not the slightest foundation for it in any contemporary authority. See Gailard, *Rivalité*, tom. iv. p. 254. — Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. v. p. 456. — Varillas, *Hist. de Louis XII.*, tom. i. pp. 419, 420.

<sup>14</sup> Fleurange, *Mémoires*, chap.

5, apud Petitot, *Collection des Mémoires*, tom. xvi. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 190. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, fol. 269, 270. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, cap. 111.

<sup>15</sup> Brantôme, who visited the banks of the Garigliano, some fifty years after this, beheld them in imagination thronged with the shades of the illustrious dead, whose bones lay buried in its dreary and pestilent marshes. There is a sombre coloring in the vision of the old chronicler, not unpoetical. *Vies des Hommes Illustres*, disc. 6.

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schemes, by the foe whom he despised, shut himself up in his palace, refusing access to every one, until the agitation of his spirits threw him into an illness, which had wellnigh proved fatal.

Meanwhile his exasperated feelings found an object on which to vent themselves in the unfortunate garrison of Gaeta, who so pusillanimously abandoned their post to return to their own country. He commanded them to winter in Italy, and not to recross the Alps without further orders. He sentenced Sandricourt and Allègre to banishment for insubordination to their commander-in-chief; the latter, for his conduct, more particularly, before the battle of Cerignola; and he hanged up the commissaries of the army, whose infamous peculations had been a principal cause of its ruin.<sup>16</sup>

Sufferings of  
the French.

But the impotent wrath of their monarch was not needed to fill the bitter cup, which the French soldiers were now draining to the dregs. A large number of those, who embarked for Genoa, died of the maladies contracted during their long bivouac in the marshes of Minturnæ. The rest recrossed the Alps into France, too desperate to heed their master's prohibition. Those who took their way by land suffered still more severely from the Italian peasantry, who retaliated in full measure the barbarities they had so long endured from the French. They were seen wandering like spectres along the high roads and principal cities on the route, pining

<sup>16</sup> Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 6, v. pp. 456 - 458. — Giovin, *Vite* pp. 332, 337. — St. Gelais, *Hist. Illust. Virorum*, fol. 269, 270. — de Louys XII., p. 173.

with cold and famine; and all the hospitals in Rome, as well as the stables, sheds, and every other place, however mean, affording shelter, were filled with the wretched vagabonds, eager only to find some obscure retreat to die in.

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The chiefs of the expedition fared little better. Among others, the marquis of Saluzzo, soon after reaching Genoa, was carried off by a fever, caused by his distress of mind. Sandricourt, too haughty to endure disgrace, laid violent hands on himself. Allègre, more culpable, but more courageous, survived to be reconciled with his sovereign, and to die a soldier's death on the field of battle.<sup>17</sup>

Such are the dismal colors in which the French historians depict the last struggle made by their monarch for the recovery of Naples. Few military expeditions have commenced under more brilliant and imposing auspices; few have been conducted in so ill-advised a manner through their whole progress; and none attended in their close with more indiscriminate and overwhelming ruin.

On the 3d of January, 1504, Gonsalvo made his entry into Gaeta; and the thunders of his ordnance, now for the first time heard from its battlements, announced that this strong key to the dominions of Naples had passed into the hands of Aragon. After a short delay for the refreshment of his troops, he set out for the capital. But, amidst the general jubilee which greeted his return, he was seized

The Spaniards occupy Gaeta.

<sup>17</sup> Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 86. — cap. 190. — Giovio, Vita Illustr. Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 23. — Virorum, ubi supra. — Gaillard, Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., Rivalité, tom. iv. pp. 254-256.



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with a fever, brought on by the incessant fatigue and high mental excitement in which he had been kept for the last four months. The attack was severe, and the event for some time doubtful. During this state of suspense the public mind was in the deepest agitation. The popular manners of Gonsalvo had won the hearts of the giddy people of Naples, who transferred their affections, indeed, as readily as their allegiance; and prayers and vows for his restoration were offered up in all the churches and monasteries of the city. His excellent constitution at length got the better of his disease. As soon as this favorable result was ascertained, the whole population, rushing to the other extreme, abandoned itself to a delirium of joy; and, when he was sufficiently recovered to give them audience, men of all ranks thronged to Castel Nuovo to tender their congratulations, and obtain a sight of the hero, who now returned to their capital, for the third time, with the laurel of victory on his brow. Every tongue, says his enthusiastic biographer, was eloquent in his praise; some dwelling on his noble port, and the beauty of his countenance; others on the elegance and amenity of his manners; and all dazzled by a spirit of munificence, which would have become royalty itself.<sup>18</sup>

Public enthusiasm.

The tide of panegyric was swelled by more than one bard, who sought, though with indifferent suc-

<sup>18</sup> Giovio, Vita Magni Gonsalvi, fol. 270, 271. — Quintana, Españoles Célebres, tom. i. p. 298. — Chronica del Gran Capitan, lib. 3, cap. 1. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 359. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 190, 191.

cess, to catch inspiration from so glorious a theme ; trusting doubtless that his liberal hand would not stint the recompense to the precise measure of desert. Amid this general burst of adulation, the muse of Sannazaro, worth all his tribe, was alone silent ; for the trophies of the conqueror were raised on the ruins of that royal house, under which the bard had been so long sheltered ; and this silence, so rare in his tuneful brethren, must be admitted to reflect more credit on his name, than the best he ever sung.<sup>19</sup>

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The first business of Gonsalvo was to call together the different orders of the state, and receive their oaths of allegiance to King Ferdinand. He next occupied himself with the necessary arrangements for the reorganization of the government, and for reforming various abuses which had crept into the administration of justice, more particularly. In these attempts to introduce order, he was not a little thwarted, however, by the insubordination of his own soldiery. They loudly clamored for the discharge of the arrears, still shamefully protracted, till, their discontents swelling to open mutiny, they forcibly seized on two of the principal places in the kingdom as security for the payment. Gonsalvo chastised their insolence by disbanding several of the most refractory companies, and sending them home for punishment. He endeavoured to relieve them in part by raising contributions from the Neapolitans. But the soldiers took the matter into

Extortions  
of the Span-  
ish troops.<sup>19</sup> Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum, fol. 271.

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their own hands, oppressing the unfortunate people on whom they were quartered in a manner which rendered their condition scarcely more tolerable, than when exposed to the horrors of actual war.<sup>20</sup> This was the introduction, according to Guicciardini, of those systematic military exactions in time of peace, which became so common afterwards in Italy, adding an inconceivable amount to the long catalogue of woes, which afflicted that unhappy land.<sup>21</sup>

Gonsalvo's  
liberality to  
his officers.

Amidst his manifold duties, Gonsalvo did not forget the gallant officers who had borne with him the burdens of the war, and he requited their services in a princely style, better suited to his feelings than his interests, as subsequently appeared. Among them were Navarro, Mendoza, Andrada, Benavides, Leyva, the Italians Alviano and the two Colonnas, most of whom lived to display the lessons of tactics, which they imbibed under this great commander, on a still wider theatre of glory, in the reign of Charles the Fifth. He made them grants of cities, fortresses, and extensive lands, according to their various claims, to be held as fiefs of the crown. All this was done with the previous sanction of his royal master, Ferdinand the Catholic. They did some violence, however, to his more economical spirit, and he was heard somewhat

<sup>20</sup> "Servire per sempre, vincitrice o viata."

The Italians began at this early period to feel the pressure of those woes, which a century and a half later wrung out of Filicaja the beautiful lament, which has lost something of its touching graces,

even under the hand of Lord Byron.

<sup>21</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom v. lib. 5, cap. 64. — Guicciardini, Istoria, lib. 6, pp. 340, 341. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, ubi supra.

peevishly to exclaim, "It boots little for Gonsalvo de Cordova to have won a kingdom for me, if he lavishes it all away before it comes into my hands." It began to be perceived at court, that the Great Captain was too powerful for a subject.<sup>22</sup>

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Meanwhile, Louis the Twelfth was filled with serious apprehensions for the fate of his possessions in the north of Italy. His former allies, the emperor Maximilian and the republic of Venice, the latter more especially, had shown many indications, not merely of coldness to himself, but of a secret understanding with his rival, the king of Spain. The restless pope, Julius the Second, had schemes of his own, wholly independent of France. The republics of Pisa and Genoa, the latter one of her avowed dependencies, had entered into correspondence with the Great Captain, and invited him to assume their protection; while several of the disaffected party in Milan had assured him of their active support, in case he would march with a sufficient force to overturn the existing government. Indeed, not only France, but Europe in general, expected that the Spanish commander would avail himself of the present crisis, to push his victorious arms into upper Italy, revolutionize Tuscany in his way, and, wresting Milan from the French, drive them, crippled and disheartened by their late reverses, beyond the Alps.<sup>23</sup>

Apprehensions of  
Louis XII.

<sup>22</sup> Giovio, *Vite Illust. Virorum*, fol. 270, 271. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 3, cap. 1. — *Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V.*, fol. 24.

p. 338. — *Zurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 5, cap. 64. — *Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, rey 30, cap. 14.* — *Buonaccorsi, Diario*, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>23</sup> *Guicciardini, Istoria*, lib. 6,

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But Gonsalvo had occupation enough on his hands in settling the disordered state of Naples. King Ferdinand, his sovereign, notwithstanding the ambition of universal conquest absurdly imputed to him by the French writers, had no design to extend his acquisitions beyond what he could permanently maintain. His treasury, never overflowing, was too deeply drained by the late heavy demands on it, for him so soon to embark on another perilous enterprise, that must rouse anew the swarms of enemies, who seemed willing to rest in quiet after their long and exhausting struggle; nor is there any reason to suppose he sincerely contemplated such a movement for a moment.<sup>24</sup>

The apprehension of it, however, answered Ferdinand's purpose, by preparing the French monarch to arrange his differences with his rival, as the latter now earnestly desired, by negotiation. Indeed, two Spanish ministers had resided during the greater part of the war at the French court, with the view of improving the first opening that should occur for accomplishing this object; and by their agency a treaty was concluded, to continue for three years, which guaranteed to Aragon the undisturbed possession of her conquests during that period. The chief articles provided for the immediate cessation of hostilities between the belligerents, and

<sup>24</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 66.

The campaign against Louis XII. had cost the Spanish crown 331 *cuentos* or millions of maravedies, equivalent to 9,268,000 dollars of the present time. A moderate

charge enough for the conquest of a kingdom; and made still lighter to the Spaniards by one fifth of the whole being drawn from Naples itself. See Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 359.

the complete reëstablishment of their commercial relations and intercourse, with the exception of Naples, from which the French were to be excluded. The Spanish crown was to have full power to reduce all refractory places in that kingdom; and the contracting parties solemnly pledged themselves, each to render no assistance, secretly or openly, to the enemies of the other. The treaty, which was to run from the 25th of February, 1504, was signed by the French king and the Spanish plenipotentiaries at Lyons, on the 11th of that month, and ratified by Ferdinand and Isabella, at the convent of Santa Maria de la Mejorada, the 31st of March following.<sup>25</sup>

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There was still a small spot in the heart of Naples, comprehending Venosa and several adjoining towns, where Louis d'Ars and his brave associates yet held out against the Spanish arms. Although cut off by the operation of this treaty from the hope of further support from home, the French knight disdained to surrender; but sallied out at the head of his little troop of gallant veterans, and thus, armed at all points, says Brantôme, with lance in rest, took his way through Naples, and the centre of Italy. He marched in battle array, levying contributions for his support on the places through which he passed. In this manner he entered France, and presented himself before the court at Blois. The king and queen, delighted with his

Gallantry of  
Louis d'Ars.

<sup>25</sup> The treaty is to be found in Anales, tom. v. lib. 5, cap. 64. —  
Damont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. Machiavelli, Legazione Seconda a  
iv. no. 26, pp. 51-53. — Zurita, Francia, let. 9, Feb. 11.

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prowess, came forward to welcome him, and made good cheer, says the old chronicler, for himself and his companions, whom they recompensed with liberal largesses, proffering at the same time any boon to the brave knight, which he should demand for himself. The latter in return simply requested that his old comrade Ives d'Allègre should be recalled from exile. This trait of magnanimity, when contrasted with the general ferocity of the times, has something in it inexpressibly pleasing. It shows, like others recorded of the French gentlemen of that period, that the age of chivalry, — the chivalry of romance, indeed, had not wholly passed away.<sup>26</sup>

The pacification of Lyons sealed the fate of Naples; and, while it terminated the wars in that kingdom, closed the military career of Gonsalvo de Cordova. It is impossible to contemplate the magnitude of the results, achieved with such slender resources, and in the face of such overwhelming odds, without deep admiration for the genius of the man by whom they were accomplished.

His success, it is true, is imputable in part to the signal errors of his adversaries. The magnificent expedition of Charles the Eighth, failed to produce any permanent impression, chiefly in consequence of the precipitation with which it had been entered into, without sufficient concert with the Italian

Causes of  
the French  
failures.

<sup>26</sup> Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. ii. disc. 11. — Fleurange, Mémoires, chap. 5, apud Petitot, Collection des Mémoires, tom. xvi. — Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 85. — Gaillard, Rivalité, tom. iv. pp. 255-260.

See also Mémoires de Bayard, chap. 25; the good knight, "sans peur et sans reproche," made one of this intrepid little band, having joined Louis d'Ars after the capitulation of Gaeta.

states, who became a formidable enemy when united in his rear. He did not even avail himself of his temporary acquisition of Naples to gather support from the attachment of his new subjects. Far from incorporating with them, he was regarded as a foreigner and an enemy, and, as such, expelled by the joint action of all Italy from its bosom, as soon as it had recovered sufficient strength to rally.

Louis the Twelfth profited by the errors of his predecessor. His acquisitions in the Milanese formed a basis for future operations; and by negotiation and otherwise he secured the alliance and the interests of the various Italian governments on his side. These preliminary arrangements were followed by preparations every way commensurate with his object. He failed in the first campaign, however, by intrusting the command to incompetent hands, consulting birth rather than talent or experience.

In the succeeding campaigns, his failure, though partly chargeable on himself, was less so than on circumstances beyond his control. The first of these was the long detention of the army before Rome by cardinal D'Amboise, and its consequent exposure to the unexampled severity of the ensuing winter. A second was the fraudulent conduct of the commissaries, implying, no doubt, some degree of negligence in the person who appointed them; and lastly, the want of a suitable commander-in-chief of the army. La Tremouille being ill, and D'Aubigny a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, there appeared no one among the French



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qualified to cope with the Spanish general. The marquis of Mantua, independently of the disadvantage of being a foreigner, was too timid in council, and dilatory in conduct, to be any way competent to this difficult task.

If his enemies, however, committed great errors, it is altogether owing to Gonsalvo that he was in a situation to take advantage of them. Nothing could be more unpromising than his position on first entering Calabria. Military operations had been conducted in Spain on principles totally different from those which prevailed in the rest of Europe. This was the case especially in the late Moorish wars, where the old tactics and the character of the ground brought light cavalry chiefly into use. This, indeed, constituted his principal strength at this period; for his infantry, though accustomed to irregular service, was indifferently armed and disciplined. An important revolution, however, had occurred in the other parts of Europe. The infantry had there regained the superiority which it maintained in the days of the Greeks and Romans. The experiment had been made on more than one bloody field; and it was found, that the solid columns of Swiss and German pikes not only bore down all opposition in their onward march, but presented an impregnable barrier, not to be shaken by the most desperate charges of the best heavy-armed cavalry. It was against these dreaded battalions that Gonsalvo was now called to measure for the first time the bold, but rudely armed and

comparatively raw recruits from Galicia and the Asturias.

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He lost his first battle, into which it should be remembered he was precipitated against his will. He proceeded afterwards with the greatest caution, gradually familiarizing his men with the aspect and usages of the enemy whom they held in such awe, before bringing them again to a direct encounter. He put himself to school during this whole campaign, carefully acquainting himself with the tactics, discipline, and novel arms of his adversaries, and borrowing just so much as he could incorporate into the ancient system of the Spaniards, without discarding the latter altogether. Thus, while he retained the short sword and buckler of his countrymen, he fortified his battalions with a large number of spearmen, after the German fashion. The arrangement is highly commended by the sagacious Machiavelli, who considers it as combining the advantages of both systems; since, while the long spear served all the purposes of resistance, or even of attack on level ground, the short swords and targets enabled their wearers, as already noticed, to cut in under the dense array of hostile pikes, and bring the enemy to close quarters, where his formidable weapon was of no avail.<sup>27</sup>

His reform  
of the ser-  
vice.

While Gonsalvo made this innovation in the arms

<sup>27</sup> Machiavelli, *Arte della Guerra*, lib. 2. — Machiavelli considers the victory over D'Aubigny at Seminara as imputable in a great degree to the peculiar arms of the Spaniards, who, with their short swords and shields, gliding in

among the deep ranks of the Swiss spearmen, brought them to close combat, where the former had the whole advantage. Another instance of the kind occurred at the memorable battle of Ravenna some years later. *Ubi supra*.