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During this interview, the monarchs held repeated conferences, at which none were present but the papal envoy, and Louis's favorite minister, D'Amboise. The subject of discussion can only be conjectured by the subsequent proceedings, which make it probable that it related to Italy; and that it was in this season of idle dalliance and festivity, that the two princes, who held the destinies of that country in their hands, matured the famous league of Cambray, so disastrous to Venice, and reflecting little credit on its projectors, either on the score of good faith or sound policy. But to this we shall have occasion to return hereafter.²¹

At length, after enjoying for four days the splendid hospitality of their royal entertainer, the king and queen of Aragon reëmbarked, and reached their own port of Valencia, after various detentions, on the 20th of July, 1507. Ferdinand, having rested a short time in his beautiful capital, pressed forward to Castile, where his presence was eagerly expected. On the borders, he was met by the dukes of Albuquerque and Medina Celi, his faithful follower the count of Cifuentes, and many other nobles and cavaliers. He was soon after joined by deputies from many of the principal cities in the kingdom, and, thus escorted, made his entry into it by the way of Monteagudo, on the 21st of August.

Gran Capitan, lib. 3, cap. 4. — moires, tom. xv. — Bernaldes, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 210.
 Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. iv. pp. 77, 78. — D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., ubi supra. — Quintana, Españoles Célebres, tom. i. p. 319. — Mémoires de Bayard, chap. 27, apud Petitot, Collection des Mé-
 moires, tom. xv. — Bernaldes, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 210.
²¹ D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., part. 3, chap. 38. — Buonaccorsi, Diario, p. 133. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 36.

The king's
reception in
Castile.

How different from the forlorn and outcast condition, in which he had quitted the country a short year before! He intimated the change in his own circumstances, by the greater state and show of authority which he now assumed. The residue of the old Italian army, just arrived under the celebrated Pedro Navarro, count of Oliveto,²² preceded him on the march; and he was personally attended by his alcaldes, alguazils, and kings-at-arms, with all the appropriate insignia of royal supremacy.²³

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At Tortoles he was met by the queen, his daughter, accompanied by Archbishop Ximenes. The interview between them had more of pain, than pleasure in it. The king was greatly shocked by Joanna's appearance; for her wild and haggard features, emaciated figure, and the mean, squalid attire in which she was dressed, made it difficult to recognise any trace of the daughter, from whom he had been so long separated. She discovered more sensibility on seeing him, than she had shown since her husband's death, and henceforth resigned herself to her father's will with little opposition. She was soon after induced by him to change her unsuitable residence for more commodious quarters at Tordesillas. Her husband's remains were laid in the monastery of Santa Clara, adjoining the palace,

Joanna's retirement.

²² King Ferdinand had granted him the title and territory of Oliveto in the kingdom of Naples, in recompense for his eminent services in the Italian wars. Aleson, *Annales de Navarre*, tom. v. p. 178. — *Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 190.

²³ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 210. — *Zurita, Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 8, cap. 4, 7. — *Peter Martyr, Opus Epist.*, epist. 358. — *Gomez, De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 74. — *Oviedo, Quincuagenas*, MS.

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from whose windows she could behold his sepulchre. From this period, although she survived forty-seven years, she never quitted the walls of her habitation. And, although her name appeared jointly with that of her son, Charles the Fifth, in all public acts, she never afterwards could be induced to sign a paper, or take part in any transactions of a public nature. She lingered out a half century of dreary existence, as completely dead to the world, as the remains which slept in the monastery of Santa Clara beside her.²⁴

Irregularity
of Ferdin-
and's pro-
ceedings.

From this time the Catholic king exercised an authority nearly as undisputed, and far less limited and defined than in the days of Isabella. So firm did he feel in his seat, indeed, that he omitted to obtain the constitutional warrant of cortes. He had greatly desired this at the late irregular meeting of that body. But it broke up, as we have seen, without effecting any thing; and, indeed, the disaffection of Burgos and some other principal cities at that time, must have made the success of such an application very doubtful. But the general cordiality, with which Ferdinand was greeted, gave no ground for apprehending such a result at present.

Many, indeed, of his partisans objected to any

²⁴ Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 75. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 363. — Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 8, cap. 49. — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 13.

Philip's remains were afterwards removed to the cathedral church of Granada; where they were depos-

ited, together with those of his wife Joanna, in a magnificent sepulchre erected by Charles V., near that of Ferdinand and Isabella. Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, lib. 3, cap. 7. — Colmenar, *Délices de l'Espagne et du Portugal*, (Leide, 1715,) tom. iii. p. 490.

intervention of the legislature in this matter, as superfluous; alleging that he held the regency as natural guardian of his daughter, nominated, moreover, by the queen's will, and confirmed by the cortes at Toro. These rights, they argued, were not disturbed by his resignation, which was a compulsory act, and had never received any express legislative sanction; and which, in any event, must be considered as intended only for Philip's lifetime, and to be necessarily determined with that.

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But, however plausible these views, the irregularity of Ferdinand's proceedings furnished an argument for disobedience on the part of discontented nobles, who maintained, that they knew no supreme authority but that of their queen, Joanna, till some other had been sanctioned by the legislature. The whole affair was finally settled, with more attention to constitutional forms, in the cortes held at Madrid, October 6th, 1510, when the king took the regular oaths as administrator of the realm in his daughter's name, and as guardian of her son.²⁵

²⁵ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 7, cap. 26, 34; lib. 9, cap. 20.

See the bold language of the protest of the marquis of Priego, against this assumption of the regency by the Catholic king. "En caso tan grande," he says, "que se trata de gobernacion de grandes reinos é señorios justa é razonable cosa fuera, é sería que fuéramos llamados é certificados de ello, porque yo é los otros caballeros grandes é las ciudades é alcaldes mayores vieramos lo que debiamos hacer é consentir como vasa-

llos é leales servidores de la reina nuestra señora, porque la administracion é gobernacion destes reinos se diera é concediera á quien las leyes destes reynos mandan que se den é encomienden en caso," &c. (MS. de la Biblioteca de la Real Acad. de Hist., apud Marina, Teoria, tom. ii. part. 2, cap. 18.) Marina, however, is not justified in regarding Ferdinand's subsequent convocation of cortes for this purpose, as a concession to the demands of the nation. (Teoria, ubi supra.) It was the result of the

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amnesty.

Ferdinand's deparment, on his first return, was distinguished by a most gracious clemency, evinced not so much, indeed, by any excessive remuneration of services, as by the politic oblivion of injuries. If he ever alluded to these, it was in a sportive way, implying that there was no rancour or ill-will at heart. "Who would have thought," he exclaimed one day to a courtier near him, "that you could so easily abandon your old master, for one so young and inexperienced?" "Who would have thought," replied the other with equal bluntness, "that my old master would have outlived my young one?"²⁶

With all this complaisance, however, the king did not neglect precautions for placing his authority on a sure basis, and fencing it round so as to screen it effectually from the insults, to which it had been formerly exposed. He retained in pay most of the old Italian levies, with the ostensible purpose of an African expedition. He took good care that the military orders should hold their troops in constant readiness, and that the militia of the kingdom should be in condition for instant service. He formed a body-guard to attend the royal person on all occasions. It consisted at first of only two hundred men, armed and drilled after the fashion of the Swiss ordonnance, and placed under the command of his chronicler, Ayora, an experienced

treaty of Blois, with Maximilian, guarantied by Louis XII., the object of which was to secure the succession to the archduke Charles. Zurita, Anales, lib. 8, cap. 47.

²⁶ Giovio, *Vite Illust. Virorum*, p. 282. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 3, cap. 4.

He estab-
lishes a
guard.

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martinet, who made some figure at the defence of Salsas. This institution probably was immediately suggested by the *garde du corps* of Louis the Twelfth, at Savona, which, altogether on a more formidable scale indeed, had excited his admiration by the magnificence of its appointments and its thorough discipline.²⁷

Notwithstanding the king's general popularity, there were still a few considerable persons, who regarded his resumption of authority with an evil eye. Of these, Don Juan Manuel had fled the kingdom before his approach, and taken refuge at the court of Maximilian, where the counsellors of that monarch took good care, that he should not acquire the ascendancy he had obtained over Philip. The duke of Najara, however, still remained in Castile, shutting himself up in his fortresses, and refusing all compromise or obedience. The king without hesitation commanded Navarro to march against him with his whole force. Najara was persuaded by his friends to tender his submission, without waiting the encounter; and he surrendered his strong-holds to the king, who, after detaining them some time in his keeping, delivered them over to the duke's eldest son.²⁸

With another offender he dealt more sternly.

²⁷ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 8, cap. 10. — MSS. de Torres y de Oviedo, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 6. — D'Auton, Hist. de Louys XII., part 3, chap. 38.

The Catholic king was very minute in his inquiries, according to Auton, "du fait et de l'estat des

gardes du Roy, et de ses Gentils-hommes, qu'il réputoit à grande chose, et triomphale ordonnance." Ubi supra.

²⁸ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 210. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 363. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 75. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 8, cap. 15.

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His excessive severity.

This was Don Pedro de Cordova, marquis of Priego, who, the reader may remember, when quite a boy, narrowly escaped the bloody fate of his father, Alonso de Aguilar, in the fatal slaughter of the Sierra Vermeja. This nobleman, in common with some other Andalusian lords, had taken umbrage at the little estimation and favor shown them, as they conceived, by Ferdinand, in comparison with the nobles of the north; and his temerity went so far, as not only to obstruct the proceedings of one of the royal officers, sent to Cordova to inquire into recent disturbances there, but to imprison him in the dungeons of his castle of Montilla.

This outrage on the person of his own servant exasperated the king beyond all bounds. He resolved at once to make such an example of the offender, as should strike terror into the disaffected nobles, and shield the royal authority from the repetition of similar indignities. As the marquis was one of the most potent and extensively allied grandees in the kingdom, Ferdinand made his preparations on a formidable scale, ordering in addition to the regular troops, a levy of all between the ages of twenty and seventy throughout Andalusia. Priego's friends, alarmed at these signs of the gathering tempest, besought him to avert it, if possible, by instant concession; and his uncle, the Great Captain, urged this most emphatically, as the only way of escaping utter ruin.

The rash young man, finding himself likely to receive no support in the unequal contest, accepted

the counsel, and hastened to Toledo, to throw himself at the king's feet. The indignant monarch, however, would not admit him into his presence, but ordered him to deliver up his fortresses, and to remove to the distance of five leagues from the court. The Great Captain soon after sent the king an inventory of his nephew's castles and estates, at the same time deprecating his wrath, in consideration of the youth and inexperience of the offender.

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Ferdinand, however, without heeding this, went on with his preparations, and having completed them, advanced rapidly to the south. When arrived at Cordova, he ordered the imprisonment of the marquis. A formal process was then instituted against him before the royal council, on the charge of high treason. He made no defence, but threw himself on the mercy of his sovereign. The court declared, that he had incurred the penalty of death, but that the king, in consideration of his submission, was graciously pleased to commute this for a fine of twenty millions of maravedies, perpetual banishment from Cordova and its district, and the delivery of his fortresses into the royal keeping, with the entire demolition of the offending castle of Montilla. This last, famous as the birth-place of the Great Captain, was one of the strongest and most beautiful buildings in all Andalusia.²⁹ Sen-

1508.
Sept.

²⁹ "Montiliana," writes Peter Martyr, "illa atria, quæ vidisti aliquando, multo auro, multoque ebore compta ornataque, proh dolor! funditus dirui sunt jussa." (Opus Epist., epist. 405.) He was well acquainted with the lordly halls of

Montilla, for he had been preceptor to their young master, who was a favorite pupil, to judge from the bitter wailings of the kind-hearted pedagogue over his fate. See epist. 404, 405.

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tence of death was at the same time pronounced against several cavaliers, and other inferior persons concerned in the affair, and was immediately executed.

Disgust of
the nobles.

The Castilian aristocracy, alarmed and disgusted by the severity of a sentence, which struck down one of the most considerable of their order, were open in their remonstrances to the king, beseeching him, if no other consideration moved him in favor of the young nobleman, to grant something to the distinguished services of his father and his uncle. The latter, as well as the grand constable, Velasco, who enjoyed the highest consideration at court, were equally pressing in their solicitations. Ferdinand, however, was inexorable; and the sentence was executed. The nobles chafed in vain; although the constable expostulated with the king in a tone, which no subject in Europe but a Castilian grandee would have ventured to assume. Gonsalvo coolly remarked, "It was crime enough in Don Pedro to be related to me."³⁰

Gonsalvo's
progress
through the
country.

This illustrious man had had good reason to feel, before this, that his credit at court was on the wane. On his return to Spain, he was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the nation. He was detained by illness a few days behind the court, and his journey towards Burgos to rejoin it, on his

³⁰ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 215. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 392, 393, 405. — Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum, p. 284. — Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 8, cap. 20, 21, 22. — Carbajal,

Anales, MS., año 1507. — Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 20, cap. 10. — Crónica del Gran Capitan, lib. 3, cap. 6. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 13.

recovery, was a triumphal procession the whole way. The roads were thronged with multitudes so numerous, that accommodations could scarcely be found for them in the towns on the route.³¹ For they came from the remotest parts of the country, all eager to catch a glimpse of the hero, whose name and exploits, the theme of story and of song, were familiar to the meanest peasant in Castile. In this way he made his entry into Burgos, amid the cheering acclamations of the people, and attended by a *cortege* of officers, who pompously displayed on their own persons, and the caparisons of their steeds, the rich spoils of Italian conquests. The old count of Ureña, his friend, who, with the whole court came out by Ferdinand's orders to receive him, exclaimed with a prophetic sigh, as he saw the splendid pageant come sweeping by, "This gallant ship, I fear, will require deeper water to ride in than she will find in Castile!"³²

Ferdinand showed his usual gracious manners in his reception of Gonsalvo. It was not long, however, before the latter found that this was all he was to expect. No allusion was made to the grand-mastership. When it was at length brought before the king, and he was reminded of his promises, he contrived to defer their performance under various pretexts; until, at length, it became too apparent, that it was his intention to evade them altogether.

Ferdinand
breaks his
word.

³¹ Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, MS., cap. 210. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, ubi supra. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 3, cap. 5.

³² Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*,

MS., cap. 210. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, ubi supra. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 3, cap. 5.

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coolness.

While the Great Captain and his friends were filled with an indignation, at this duplicity, which they could ill suppress, a circumstance occurred to increase the coldness arising in Ferdinand's mind towards his injured subject. This was the proposed marriage (a marriage which, from whatever cause, never took place³³) of Gonsalvo's daughter Elvira, to his friend the constable of Castile.³⁴ Ferdinand had designed to secure her large inheritance to his own family, by an alliance with his grandson, Juan de Aragon, son of the archbishop of Saragossa. His displeasure, at finding himself crossed in this, was further sharpened by the petulant spirit of his young queen. The constable, now a widower, had been formerly married to a natural daughter of Ferdinand, the Queen Germaine, adverting to his intended union with the lady Elvira, unceremoniously asked him, "If he did not feel it a degradation to accept the hand of a subject, after having wedded the daughter of a king?" "How can I feel it so," he replied, alluding to the

³³ Quintana errs in stating that Doña Elvira married the constable. (*Españoles Célebres*, tom. i. p. 321.) He had two wives, Doña Blanca de Herrera, and Doña Juana de Aragon, and at his death was laid by their side in the church of Santa Clara de Medina del Pomar. (*Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades*, lib. 3, cap. 21.) Elvira married the count of Cabra. Uloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, fol. 42.

³⁴ Bernardino de Velasco, *grand constable of Castile*, as he was called, *par excellence*, succeeded in 1492 to that dignity, which became hereditary in his family. He was third count of Haro, and was cre-

ated by the Catholic sovereigns, for his distinguished services, duke of Frias. He had large estates, chiefly in Old Castile, with a yearly revenue, according to L. Marineo, of 60,000 ducats. He appears to have possessed many noble and brilliant qualities, accompanied, however, with a haughtiness, which made him feared, rather than loved. He died in February, 1512, after a few hours' illness, as appears by a letter of Peter Martyr. *Opus Epist.*, epist. 479. — *Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades*, ubi supra. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 23.

king's marriage with her, "when so illustrious an example has been set me!" Germaine, who certainly could not boast the magnanimity of her predecessor, was so stung with the retort, that she not only never forgave the constable, but extended her petty resentment to Gonsalvo, who saw the duke of Alva from this time installed in the honors he had before exclusively enjoyed, of immediate attendance on her royal person whenever she appeared in public.³⁵

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However indifferent Gonsalvo may have been to the little mortifications inflicted by female spleen, he could no longer endure his residence at a court, where he had lost all consideration with the sovereign, and experienced nothing but duplicity and base ingratitude. He obtained leave, without difficulty, to withdraw to his own estates; where, not long after, the king, as if to make some amends for the gross violation of his promises, granted him the royal city of Loja, not many leagues from Granada. It was given to him for life, and Ferdinand had the effrontery to propose as a condition of making the grant perpetual to his heirs, that Gonsalvo should relinquish his claim to the grand-mastership of St. Jago. But the latter haughtily answered, "He would not give up the right of complaining of the injustice done him, for the finest city in the king's dominions."³⁶

Gonsalvo
withdraws
from court.

From this time he remained on his estates in the

³⁵ Giovio, Vita Magni Gonsalvi, pp. 282, 283. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 3, cap. 6.

³⁶ Giovio, Vita Illust. Virorum,

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Splendor of
his retire-
ment.

south, chiefly at Loja, with an occasional residence in Granada, where he enjoyed the society of his old friend and military instructor, the count of Tendilla. He found abundant occupation in schemes for improving the condition of his tenantry, and of the neighbouring districts. He took great interest in the fate of the unfortunate Moriscoes, numerous in this quarter, whom he shielded as far as possible from the merciless grasp of the Inquisition, while he supplied teachers and other enlightened means for converting them, or confirming them in a pure faith. He displayed the same magnificence and profuse hospitality in his living that he had always done. His house was visited by such intelligent foreigners as came to Spain, and by the most distinguished of his countrymen, especially the younger nobility and cavaliers, who resorted to it, as the best school of high-bred and knightly courtesy. He showed a lively curiosity in all that was going on abroad, keeping up his information by an extensive correspondence with agents, whom he regularly employed for the purpose in the principal European courts. When the league of Cambray was adjusted, the king of France and the pope were desirous of giving him the command of the allied armies. But Ferdinand had injured him too sensibly, to care to see him again at the head of a military force in Italy. He was as little desirous of employing him in public affairs at home, and suffered the remainder of his days to pass away in distant seclusion; a seclusion, however, not unpleasing to himself, nor unprofitable to oth-

ers.³⁷ The world called it disgrace; and the old count of Ureña exclaimed, "The good ship is stranded at last, as I predicted!" "Not so," said Gonsalvo, to whom the observation was reported, "she is still in excellent trim, and waits only the rising of the tide, to bear away as bravely as ever."³⁸

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³⁷ The inscription on Guicciardini's monument, might have been written on Gonsalvo's.

"Cujus negotium, an otium gloriosius incertum."

See Pignotti, *Storia della Toscana*, (Pisa, 1813,) tom. ix. p. 155.

³⁸ Quintana, *Españoles Célebres*, tom. i. pp. 322-334. — Giovio, *Vitæ Illust. Virorum*, p. 286. — *Crónica del Gran Capitan*, lib. 3, cap. 7-9. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 560. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. iv. pp. 77, 78.



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

CHAPTER XXI.

XIMENES.—CONQUESTS IN AFRICA.—UNIVERSITY OF
ALCALÁ.—POLYGLOT BIBLE.

1508 — 1510.

Enthusiasm of Ximenes.—His warlike Preparations.—He sends an Army to Africa.—Storms Oran.—His triumphant Entry.—The King's Distrust of Him.—He returns to Spain.—Navarro's African Conquests.—Magnificent Endowments of Ximenes.—University of Alcalá.—Complutensian Polyglot.

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Policy of
Ferdinand's
severity.

THE high-handed measures of Ferdinand, in regard to the marquis of Priego and some other nobles, excited general disgust among the jealous aristocracy of Castile. But they appear to have found more favor with the commons, who were probably not unwilling to see that haughty body humbled, which had so often trampled on the rights of its inferiors.¹ As a matter of policy, however, even with the nobles, this course does not seem to have been miscalculated; since it showed, that the king, whose talents they had always respected, was now possessed

¹ On his return from Cordova, he experienced a most loyal and enthusiastic reception from the ancient capital of Andalusia. The most interesting part of the pageant was the troops of children, gayly dressed, who came out to meet him, presenting the keys of the city and an imperial crown, after

which the whole procession moved under thirteen triumphal arches, each inscribed with the name of one of his victories. For a description of these civic honors, see Ber- naldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 216, and Zuñiga, *Annales de Se- villa*, año 1508.

of power to enforce obedience, and was fully resolved to exert it.

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Indeed, notwithstanding a few deviations, it must be allowed that Ferdinand's conduct on his return was extremely lenient and liberal; more especially, considering the subjects of provocation he had sustained, in the personal insults and desertion of those, on whom he had heaped so many favors. History affords few examples of similar moderation on the restoration of a banished prince, or party. In fact, a violent and tyrannical course would not have been agreeable to his character, in which passion, however strong by nature, was habitually subjected to reason. The present, as it would seem, excessive acts of severity are to be regarded, therefore, not as the sallies of personal resentment, but as the dictates of a calculating policy, intended to strike terror into the turbulent spirits, whom fear only could hold in check.

To this energetic course he was stimulated, as was said, by the counsels of Ximenes. This eminent prelate had now reached the highest ecclesiastical honors short of the papacy. Soon after Ferdinand's restoration, he received a cardinal's hat from Pope Julius the Second;² and this was followed by his appointment to the office of inquisitor general of Castile, in the place of Deza, archbishop of Seville. The important functions devolved on him by these offices, in conjunction with the primacy of

Enthusiasm
of Ximenes.

² He obtained this dignity at the king's solicitation, during his visit to Naples. See Ferdinand's letter, apud Quintanilla, copied from the archives of Alcalá. Archetypo, Apend. no. 15.

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Spain, might be supposed to furnish abundant subject and scope for his aspiring spirit. But his views, on the contrary, expanded with every step of his elevation, and now fell little short of those of an independent monarch. His zeal glowed fiercer than ever for the propagation of the Catholic faith. Had he lived in the age of the crusades, he would indubitably have headed one of those expeditions himself; for the spirit of the soldier burned strong and bright under his monastic weeds.³ Indeed, like Columbus, he had formed plans for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, even at this late day.⁴ But his zeal found a better direction in a crusade against the neighbouring Moslems of Africa, who had retaliated the wrongs of Granada by repeated descents on the southern coasts of the Peninsula, calling in vain for the interference of government. At the instigation and with the aid of Ximenes, an expedition had been fitted out soon after Isabella's death, which resulted in the capture of Mazarquivir, an important port, and formidable nest of pirates, on the Barbary coast, nearly opposite Carthagena.

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Sept. 13.

³ "Ego tamen dum universas ejus actiones comparo," says Alvaro Gomez, "magis ad bellica exercitia a naturâ effectum esse judico. Erat enim vir animi invicti et sublimis, omniaque in melius asserere conantis." *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 95.

⁴ From a letter of King Emanuel of Portugal, it appears that Ximenes had endeavoured to interest him, together with the kings of Aragon and England, in a crusade to the Holy Land. There was much method in his madness,

if we may judge from the careful survey he had procured of the coast, as well as his plan of operations. The Portuguese monarch praises in round terms the edifying zeal of the primate, but wisely confined himself to his own crusades in India, which were likely to make better returns, at least in this world, than those to Palestine. The letter is still preserved in the archives of Alcalá; see a copy in Quintanilla, *Archetypo*, Apend. no. 16.

He now meditated a more difficult enterprise, the conquest of Oran.⁵

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This place, situated about a league from the former, was one of the most considerable of the Moslem possessions in the Mediterranean, being a principal mart for the trade of the Levant. It contained about twenty thousand inhabitants, was strongly fortified, and had acquired a degree of opulence by its extensive commerce, which enabled it to maintain a swarm of cruisers, that swept this inland sea, and made fearful depredations on its populous borders.⁶

His designs
against
Oran.

No sooner was Ferdinand quietly established again in the government, than Ximenes urged him to undertake this new conquest. The king saw its importance, but objected the want of funds. The cardinal, who was prepared for this, replied, that "he was ready to loan whatever sums were necessary, and to take sole charge of the expedition, leading it, if the king pleased, in person." Ferdinand, who had no objection to this mode of making acquisitions, more especially as it would open a vent for the turbulent spirits of his subjects, readily acquiesced in the proposition.

The enterprise, however disproportionate it might seem to the resources of a private individual, was not beyond those of the cardinal. He had been carefully husbanding his revenues for some time

⁵ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. 15. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 77. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 17. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1507. — Mariana,

Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 28, cap. 15; lib. 29, cap. 9.

⁶ Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 418.

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past, with a view to this object; although he had occasionally broken in upon his appropriations, to redeem unfortunate Spaniards, who had been swept into slavery. He had obtained accurate surveys of the Barbary coast from an Italian engineer named Vianelli. He had advised, as to the best mode of conducting operations, with his friend Gonsalvo de Cordova, to whom, if it had been the king's pleasure, he would gladly have intrusted the conduct of the expedition. At his suggestion, that post was now assigned to the celebrated engineer, Count Pedro Navarro.⁷

No time was lost in completing the requisite preparations. Besides the Italian veterans, levies were drawn from all quarters of the country, especially from the cardinal's own diocese. The chapter of Toledo entered heartily into his views, furnishing liberal supplies, and offering to accompany the expedition in person. An ample train of ordnance was procured, with provisions and military stores for the maintenance of an army four months. Before the close of spring, in 1509, all was in readiness, and a fleet of ten galleys and eighty smaller vessels rode in the harbour of Carthage, having on board a force, amounting in all to four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. Such were the resources, activity, and energy, displayed by a man whose life, until within a very few years, had been

⁷ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 96-100. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 218. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 17. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 413. — Crónica del Gran Capitan, lib. 3, cap. 7.

His warlike
prepara-
tions.

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spent in cloistered solitudes, and in the quiet practices of religion, and who now, oppressed with infirmities more than usual, had passed the seventieth year of his age.

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In accomplishing all this, the cardinal had experienced greater obstacles than those arising from bodily infirmity or age. His plans had been constantly discouraged and thwarted by the nobles, who derided the idea of "a monk fighting the battles of Spain, while the Great Captain was left to stay at home, and count his beads like a hermit." The soldiers, especially those of Italy, as well as their commander Navarro, trained under the banners of Gonsalvo, showed little inclination to serve under their spiritual leader. The king himself was cooled by these various manifestations of discontent. But the storm, which prostrates the weaker spirit, serves only to root the stronger more firmly in its purpose; and the genius of Ximenes, rising with the obstacles it had to encounter, finally succeeded in triumphing over all, in reconciling the king, disappointing the nobles, and restoring obedience and discipline to the army.⁸

His perseverance.

On the 16th of May, 1509, the fleet weighed anchor, and on the following day reached the African port of Mazarquivir. No time was lost in disembarking; for the fires on the hill-tops showed that the country was already in alarm. It was proposed to direct the main attack against a lofty height, or ridge of land, rising between Mazarquivir and Oran,

Sends an army to Africa.

⁸ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 100-102.—Robles, Vida de Ximenez, ubi supra.—Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 19.—Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 218.

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so near the latter as entirely to command it. At the same time, the fleet was to drop down before the Moorish city, and by opening a brisk cannonade, divert the attention of the inhabitants from the principal point of assault.

Addresses
the troops.

As soon as the Spanish army had landed, and formed in order of battle, Ximenes mounted his mule, and rode along the ranks. He was dressed in his pontifical robes, with a belted sword at his side. A Franciscan friar rode before him, bearing aloft the massive silver cross, the archiepiscopal standard of Toledo. Around him were other brethren of the order, wearing their monastic frocks, with scimitars hanging from their girdles. As the ghostly cavalcade advanced, they raised the triumphant hymn of *Vexilla regis*, until at length the cardinal, ascending a rising ground, imposed silence, and made a brief, but animated harangue to his soldiers. He reminded them of the wrongs they had suffered from the Moslems, the devastation of their coasts, and their brethren dragged into merciless slavery. When he had sufficiently roused their resentment against the enemies of their country and religion, he stimulated their cupidity by dwelling on the golden spoil, which awaited them in the opulent city of Oran; and he concluded his discourse by declaring, that he had come to peril his own life in the good cause of the Cross, and to lead them on to battle, as his predecessors had often done before him.⁹

⁹ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., ubi supra. — Zurita, Anales,

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mand left to
Navarro.

The venerable aspect and heart-stirring eloquence of the primate kindled a deep, reverential enthusiasm in the bosoms of his martial audience, which showed itself by the profoundest silence. The officers, however, closed around him at the conclusion of the address, and besought him not to expose his sacred person to the hazard of the fight; reminding him, that his presence would probably do more harm than good, by drawing off the attention of the men to his personal safety. This last consideration moved the cardinal, who, though reluctantly, consented to relinquish the command to Navarro, and, after uttering his parting benediction over the prostrate ranks, he withdrew to the neighbouring fortress of Mazarquivir.

The day was now far spent, and dark clouds of the enemy were seen gathering along the tops of the sierra, which it was proposed first to attack. Navarro, seeing this post so strongly occupied, doubted whether his men would be able to carry it before nightfall, if indeed at all, without previous rest and refreshment, after the exhausting labors of the day. He returned, therefore, to Mazarquivir, to take counsel of Ximenes. The latter, whom he found at his devotions, besought him "not to falter at this hour, but to go forward in God's name, since both the blessed Saviour and the false prophet Mahomet conspired to deliver the enemy into his hands." The soldier's scruples vanished before the

tom. vi. lib. 8, cap. 30. — Gomez, do, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de
De Rebus Gestis, fol. 108. — Ovie- Ximenez.

PART
II.Battle be-
fore Oran.
May 18.

intrepid bearing of the prelate, and, returning to the army, he gave instant orders to advance.¹⁰

Slowly and silently the Spanish troops began their ascent up the steep sides of the sierra, under the friendly cover of a thick mist, which, rolling heavily down the skirts of the hills, shielded them for a time from the eye of the enemy. As soon as they emerged from it, however, they were saluted with showers of balls, arrows, and other deadly missiles, followed by the desperate charges of the Moors, who, rushing down, endeavoured to drive back the assailants. But they made no impression on the long pikes and deep ranks of the latter, which remained unshaken as a rock. Still the numbers of the enemy, fully equal to those of the Spaniards, and the advantages of their position enabled them to dispute the ground with fearful obstinacy. At length, Navarro got a small battery of heavy guns to operate on the flank of the Moors. The effect of this movement was soon visible. The exposed sides of the Moslem column, finding no shelter from the deadly volleys, were shaken and thrown into disorder. The confusion extended to the leading files, which now, pressed heavily by the iron array of spearmen in the Christian van, began to give ground. Retreat was soon quickened into a disorderly flight. The Spaniards pursued; many of them, especially the raw levies, breaking their ranks, and following up the flying foe without the

¹⁰ Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 108 - 110. — Quintanilla, *Arche-* typo, lib. 3, cap. 19. — Zurita, *Anales*, lib. 8, cap. 30.

least regard to the commands or menaces of their officers; a circumstance which might have proved fatal, had the Moors had strength or discipline to rally. As it was, the scattered numbers of the Christians, magnifying to the eye their real force, served only to increase the panic, and accelerate the speed of the fugitives. ¹¹

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While this was going on, the fleet had anchored before the city, and opened a very heavy cannonade, which was answered with equal spirit from sixty pieces of artillery which garnished the fortifications. The troops on board, however, made good their landing, and soon joined themselves to their victorious countrymen, descending from the sierra. They then pushed forward in all haste towards Oran, proposing to carry the place by escalade. They were poorly provided with ladders, but the desperate energy of the moment overleaped every obstacle; and planting their long pikes against the walls, or thrusting them into the crevices of the stones, they clambered up with incredible dexterity, although they were utterly unable to repeat the feat the next day in cold blood. The first who gained the summit was Sousa, captain of the cardinal's guard, who, shouting forth "St. Jago and Ximenes," unfurled his colors, emblazoned with the primate's arms on one side, and the Cross on the other, and planted them on the battlements. Six other banners were soon seen streaming from the

The city
stormed.

¹¹ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 110, 111. —
epist. 418. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 218. — Gomez, Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. rey 30, cap. 18.

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ramparts; and the soldiers leaping into the town got possession of the gates, and threw them open to their comrades. The whole army now rushed in, sweeping every thing before it. Some few of the Moors endeavoured to make head against the tide, but most fled into the houses and mosques for protection. Resistance and flight were alike unavailing. No mercy was shown; no respect for age or sex; and the soldiery abandoned themselves to all the brutal license and ferocity, which seem to stain religious wars above every other. It was in vain Navarro called them off. They returned like bloodhounds to the slaughter, and never slackened, till at last wearied with butchery, and gorged with the food and wine found in the houses, they sunk down to sleep promiscuously in the streets and public squares.¹²

The sun, which on the preceding morning had shed its rays on Oran, flourishing in all the pride of commercial opulence, and teeming with a free and industrious population, next rose on it a captive city, with its ferocious conquerors stretched in slumber on the heaps of their slaughtered victims.¹³ No less than four thousand Moors were said to have fallen in the battle, and from five to eight thousand

¹² Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, ubi supra. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 218. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 22. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., ubi supra. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 19. — Carbajal, Anales,, MS., año 1509. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 15.

¹³ "Sed tandem somnus ex labore et vino obortus eos oppressit, et cruentis hostium cadaveribus tantâ securitate et fiducia indormierunt, ut permulti in Oranis urbibus plateis ad multam diem stertuerint." Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 111.

Moorish
loss.

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eralife

were made prisoners. The loss of the Christians was inconsiderable. As soon as the Spanish commander had taken the necessary measures for cleansing the place from its foul and dismal impurities, he sent to the cardinal, and invited him to take possession of it. The latter embarked on board his galley, and, as he coasted along the margin of the city, and saw its gay pavilions and sparkling minarets reflected in the waters, his soul swelled with satisfaction at the glorious acquisition he had made for Christian Spain. It seemed incredible, that a town so strongly manned and fortified, should have been carried so easily.

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As Ximenes landed and entered the gates, attended by his train of monkish brethren, he was hailed with thundering acclamations by the army as the true victor of Oran, in whose behalf Heaven had condescended to repeat the stupendous miracle of Joshua, by stopping the sun in his career.¹⁴ But the cardinal humbly disclaiming all merits of his own, was heard to repeat aloud the sublime language of the Psalmist, "Non nobis, Domine, non

Ximenes enters Oran.

¹⁴ To accommodate the Christians, as the day was far advanced when the action began, the sun was permitted to stand still several hours; there is some discrepancy as to the precise number; most authorities, however, make it four. There is no miracle in the whole Roman Catholic budget, better vouched than this. It is recorded by four eyewitnesses, men of learning and character. It is attested, moreover, by a cloud of witnesses, who depose to have received it, some from tradition, others from

direct communication with their ancestors present in the action; and who all agree that it was matter of public notoriety and belief at the time. See the whole formidable array of evidence set forth by Quintanilla. (*Archetypo*, pp. 236 et seq. and *Apend.* p. 103.) It was scarcely to have been expected that so astounding a miracle should escape the notice of all Europe, where it must have been as apparent as at Oran. This universal silence may be thought, indeed, the greater miracle of the two.

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nobis," while he gave his benedictions to the soldiery. He was then conducted to the alcazar, and the keys of the fortress were put into his hand. The spoil of the captured city, amounting, as was said, to half a million of gold ducats, the fruit of long successful trade and piracy, was placed at his disposal for distribution. But that which gave most joy to his heart was the liberation of three hundred Christian captives, languishing in the dungeons of Oran. A few hours after the surrender, the *mezuar* of Tremecen arrived with a powerful reinforcement to its relief; but instantly retreated on learning the tidings. Fortunate, indeed, was it, that the battle had not been deferred to the succeeding day. This, which must be wholly ascribed to Ximenes, was by most referred to direct inspiration. Quite as probable an explanation may be found in the boldness and impetuous enthusiasm of the cardinal's character.¹⁵

Opposition
of his gen-
eral.

The conquest of Oran opened unbounded scope to the ambition of Ximenes; who saw in imagination the banner of the Cross floating triumphant from the walls of every Moslem city on the Mediterranean. He experienced, however, serious impediments to his further progress. Navarro, accustomed to an independent command, chafed in his present subordinate situation, especially under a spiritual leader, whose military science he justly

¹⁵ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 218. — Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 22. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 113. — Lanuza, *Historias*, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 22. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. — Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.*, tom. i. p. 15.

held in contempt. He was a rude, unlettered soldier, and bluntly spoke his mind to the primate. He told him, "his commission under him terminated with the capture of Oran; that two generals were too many in one army; that the cardinal should rest contented with the laurels he had already won, and, instead of playing the king, go home to his flock, and leave fighting to those to whom the trade belonged."¹⁶

But what troubled the prelate more than this insolence of his general, was a letter which fell into his hands, addressed by the king to Count Navarro, in which he requested him to be sure to find some pretence for detaining the cardinal in Africa, as long as his presence could be made any way serviceable. Ximenes had good reason before to feel that the royal favor to him flowed from selfishness, rather than from any personal regard. The king had always wished the archbishopric of Toledo for his favorite, and natural son, Alfonso of Aragon. After his return from Naples, he importuned Ximenes to resign his see, and exchange it for that of Saragossa, held by Alfonso; till, at length, the indignant prelate replied, "that he would never consent to barter away the dignities of the church; that if his Highness pressed him any further, he would indeed throw up the primacy, but it should be to bury himself in the friar's cell from which the queen had originally called him." Ferdinand,

His distrust
of Ferdi-
nand.

¹⁶ Fléchier, Histoire de Xi- Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. rey
menés, pp. 308, 309. — Abarca, 30, cap. 18.

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who, independently of the odium of such a proceeding, could ill afford to part with so able a minister, knew his inflexible temper too well ever to resume the subject.¹⁷

With some reason, therefore, for distrusting the good-will of his sovereign, Ximenes put the worst possible construction on the expressions in his letter. He saw himself a mere tool in Ferdinand's hands, to be used so long as occasion might serve, with the utmost indifference to his own interests or convenience. These humiliating suspicions, together with the arrogant bearing of his general, disgusted him with the further prosecution of the expedition; while he was confirmed in his purpose of returning to Spain, and found an obvious apology for it in the state of his own health, too infirm to encounter, with safety, the wasting heats of an African summer.

Ximenes re-
turns to
Spain.

May 22.

Before his departure, he summoned Navarro and his officers about him, and, after giving them much good counsel respecting the government and defence of their new acquisitions, he placed at their disposal an ample supply of funds and stores, for the maintenance of the army several months. He then embarked, not with the pompous array and circumstance of a hero returning from his conquests, but with a few domestics only, in an unarmed galley, showing, as it were, by this very act, the good

¹⁷ Giovio, Vita Magni Gonsalvi, lib. 3, p. 107. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 117. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 16. — "The worthy brother," says

Sandoval of the prelate, "thought his archbishopric worth more than the good graces of a covetous old monarch."

effects of his enterprise, in the security which it brought to the before perilous navigation of these inland seas.¹⁸ CHAPTER
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Splendid preparations were made for his reception in Spain, and he was invited to visit the court at Valladolid, to receive the homage and public testimonials due to his eminent services. But his ambition was of too noble a kind to be dazzled by the false lights of an ephemeral popularity. He had too much pride of character, indeed, to allow room for the indulgence of vanity. He declined these compliments, and hastened without loss of time to his favorite city of Alcalá. There, too, the citizens, anxious to do him honor, turned out under arms to receive him, and made a breach in the walls, that he might make his entry in a style worthy of a conqueror. But this also he declined, choosing to pass into the town by the regular avenue, with no peculiar circumstance attending his entrance, save only a small train of camels, led by African slaves, and laden with gold and silver plate from the mosques of Oran, and a precious collection of Arabian manuscripts; for the library of his infant university of Alcalá.

Refuses public honors.

He showed similar modesty and simplicity in his deportment and conversation. He made no allusion to the stirring scenes in which he had been so gloriously engaged; and, if others made any, turned the discourse into some other channel, particularly

¹⁸ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, Gestis, fol. 118. — Quintanilla, *Ar-epist.* 420. — Gomez, *De Rebus* chetypo, lib. 3, cap. 20.