

PART
II.

to the condition of his college, its discipline, and literary progress, which, with the great project for the publication of his famous Polyglot Bible, seemed now almost wholly to absorb his attention.¹⁹

His first care, however, was to visit the families in his diocese, and minister consolation and relief, which he did in the most benevolent manner, to those who were suffering from the loss of friends, whether by death or absence, in the late campaign. Nor did he in his academical retreat lose sight of the great object which had so deeply interested him, of extending the empire of the Cross over Africa. From time to time he remitted supplies for the maintenance of Oran; and he lost no opportunity of stimulating Ferdinand to prosecute his conquests.

The Catholic king, however, felt too sensibly the importance of his new possessions to require such admonition; and Count Pedro Navarro was furnished with ample resources of every kind, and, above all, with the veterans formed under the eye of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Thus placed on an independent field of conquest, the Spanish general was not slow in pushing his advantages. His first enterprise was against Bugia, whose king, at the head of a powerful army, he routed in two pitched battles, and got possession of his flourishing capital. Algiers, Tennes, Tremecen, and other cities on the Barbary coast, submitted one after another to the Spanish

Navarro's
African con-
quests.

1510.

Jan. 13.

Jan. 31.

¹⁹ Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 20.—Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 119, 120.—Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 8, cap. 30.—Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 22.

arms. The inhabitants were received as vassals of the Catholic king, engaging to pay the taxes usually imposed by their Moslem princes, and to serve him in war, with the addition of the whimsical provision, so often found in the old Granadine treaties, to attend him in cortes. They guaranteed, moreover, the liberation of all Christian captives in their dominions; for which the Algerines, however, took care to indemnify themselves, by extorting the full ransom from their Jewish residents. It was of little moment to the wretched Israelite which party won the day, Christian or Mussulman; he was sure to be stripped in either case.²⁰

On the 26th of July, 1510, the ancient city of Tripoli, after a most bloody and desperate defence, surrendered to the arms of the victorious general, whose name had now become terrible along the whole northern borders of Africa. In the following month, however, he met with a serious discomfiture in the island of Gelves, where four thousand of his men were slain or made prisoners.²¹ This check

Aug. 23.

²⁰ Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 9, cap. 1, 2, 4, 13. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 435-437. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 20. — Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. 29, cap. 22. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 122-124. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 222. — Zurita gives at length the capitulation with Algiers, lib. 9, cap. 13.

²¹ Chénier, Recherches sur les Maures, tom. ii. pp. 355, 356. — It is but just to state, that this disaster was imputable to Don Garcia de Toledo, who had charge of the expedition, and who expiated his

temerity with his life. He was eldest son of the old duke of Alva, and father of that nobleman, who subsequently acquired such gloomy celebrity by his conquests and cruelties in the Netherlands. The tender poet, Garcilasso de la Vega, offers sweet incense to the house of Toledo, in one of his pastorals, in which he mourns over the disastrous day of Gelves;

“O patria lagrimosa, ¡ como buelves
los ojos a los Gelves sospirando! ”

The death of the young nobleman is veiled under a beautiful simile, which challenges comparison with the great masters of Latin and

PART
II

in the brilliant career of Count Navarro, put a final stop to the progress of the Castilian arms in Africa under Ferdinand.²²

The results already obtained, however, were of great importance, whether we consider the value of the acquisitions, being some of the most opulent marts on the Barbary coast, or the security gained for commerce, by sweeping the Mediterranean of the pestilent hordes of marauders, which had so long infested it. Most of the new conquests escaped from the Spanish crown in later times, through the imbecility or indolence of Ferdinand's successors. The conquests of Ximenes, however, were placed in so strong a posture of defence, as to resist

Italian song, from whom the Castilian bard derived it.

"Puso en el duro suelo la hermosa cara, como la rosa matutina, cuando ya el sol declina 1 medio día; que pierde su alegría, i marchitando va la color mudando; o en el campo cual queda el lirio blanco, qu' el arado crudamente cortado al passar dexa; del cual aun no s' alexa presuroso aquel color hermoso, o se destierra; mas ya la madre tierra descuidada, no l' administra nada de su aliento, qu' era el sustentamiento i vigor suyo; tal está el rostro tuyo en el arena, fresca rosa, açucena blanca i pura."

Garcilasso de la Vega, Obras, ed. de Herrera, pp. 507, 508.

²² The reader may feel some curiosity respecting the fate of count Pedro Navarro. He soon after this went to Italy, where he held a high command, and maintained his reputation in the wars of that country, until he was taken by the French in the great battle of Ravenna. Through the carelessness or coldness of Ferdinand he was permitted to languish in captivity, till he took his revenge by enlisting in the service of the French monarch. Before doing this, however,

he resigned his Neapolitan estates, and formally renounced his allegiance to the Catholic king; of whom, being a Navarese by birth, he was not a native subject. He unfortunately fell into the hands of his own countrymen in one of the subsequent actions in Italy, and was imprisoned at Naples, in Castel Nuovo, which he had himself formerly gained from the French. Here he soon after died; if we are to believe Brantôme, being privately despatched by command of Charles V.; or, as other writers intimate, by his own hand. His remains, first deposited in an obscure corner of the church of Santa Maria, were afterwards removed to the chapel of the great Gonsalvo, and a superb mausoleum was erected over them by the prince of Sessa, grandson of the hero. Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 124. — Aleson, Annales de Navarra, tom. v. pp. 226, 289, 406. — Brantôme, Vies des Hommes Illustres, disc. 9. — Giovio, Vita Illust. Virorum, pp. 190—193.

every attempt for their recovery by the enemy, and to remain permanently incorporated with the Spanish empire.²³

CHAPTER
XXI.

This illustrious prelate, in the mean while, was busily occupied, in his retirement at Alcalá de Henares, with watching over the interests and rapid developement of his infant university. This institution was too important in itself, and exercised too large an influence over the intellectual progress of the country, to pass unnoticed in a history of the present reign.

College of
Ximenes at
Alcalá.

As far back as 1497, Ximenes had conceived the idea of establishing a university in the ancient town of Alcalá, where the salubrity of the air, and the sober, tranquil complexion of the scenery, on the beautiful borders of the Henares, seemed well suit-

²³ Ximenes continued to watch over the city which he had so valiantly won, long after his death. He never failed to be present in seasons of extraordinary peril. At least the gaunt, gigantic figure of a monk, dressed in the robes of his order, and wearing a cardinal's hat, was seen, sometimes stalking along the battlements at midnight, and, at others, mounted on a white charger and brandishing a naked sword in the thick of the fight. His last appearance was in 1643, when Oran was closely beleaguered by the Algerines. A sentinel on duty saw a figure moving along the parapet one clear, moonlight night, dressed in a Franciscan frock, with a general's baton in his hand. As soon as it was hailed by the terrified soldier, it called to him to "tell the garrison to be of good heart, for the enemy should not prevail against them." Having

uttered these words, the apparition vanished without ceremony. It repeated its visit in the same manner on the following night, and, a few days after, its assurance was verified by the total discomfiture of the Algerines, in a bloody battle under the walls. See the evidence of these various apparitions, as collected, for the edification of the court of Rome, by that prince of miracle-mongers, Quintanilla. (Archetypo, pp. 317, 335, 338, 340.) Bishop Fléchier appears to have no misgivings as to the truth of these old wives' tales. (*Histoire de Ximenes*, liv. 6.)

Oran, after resisting repeated assaults by the Moors, was at length so much damaged by an earthquake, in 1790, that it was abandoned, and its Spanish garrison and population were transferred to the neighbouring city of Mazarquivir.

PART
II.

ed to academic study and meditation. He even went so far as to obtain plans at this time for his buildings from a celebrated architect. Other engagements, however, postponed the commencement of the work till 1500, when the cardinal himself laid the corner-stone of the principal college, with a solemn ceremonial,²⁴ and invocation of the blessing of Heaven on his designs. From that hour, amidst all the engrossing cares of church and state, he never lost sight of this great object. When at Alcalá, he might be frequently seen on the ground, with the rule in his hand, taking the admeasurements of the buildings, and stimulating the industry of the workmen by seasonable rewards.²⁵

The plans were too extensive, however, to admit of being speedily accomplished. Besides the principal college of San Ildefonso, named in honor of the patron saint of Toledo, there were nine others, together with an hospital for the reception of invalids at the university. These edifices were built in the most substantial manner, and such parts as admitted of it, as the libraries, refectories, and chapels, were finished with elegance, and even splendor. The city of Alcalá underwent many important and expensive alterations, in order to render it more worthy of being the seat of a great and

²⁴ The custom, familiar at the present day, of depositing coins and other tokens, with inscriptions bearing the names of the architect and founder and date of the building, under the corner-stone, was

observed on this occasion, where it is noticed as of ancient usage, *more prisco*. Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 28.

²⁵ Fléchier, *Histoire de Ximenes*, p. 597.

Its magnificence.

JUNTA DE ANDALU

flourishing university. The stagnant water was carried off by drains, the streets were paved, old buildings removed, and new and spacious avenues thrown open.²⁶

CHAPTER
XXI.

At the expiration of eight years, the cardinal had the satisfaction of seeing the whole of his vast design completed, and every apartment of the spacious pile carefully furnished with all that was requisite for the comfort and accommodation of the student. It was, indeed, a noble enterprise, more particularly when viewed as the work of a private individual. As such it raised the deepest admiration in Francis the First, when he visited the spot, a few years after the cardinal's death. "Your Ximenes," said he, "has executed more than I should have dared to conceive; he has done, with his single hand, what in France it has cost a line of kings to accomplish."²⁷

The erection of the buildings, however, did not terminate the labors of the primate, who now assumed the task of digesting a scheme of instruction and discipline for his infant seminary. In doing this, he sought light wherever it was to be found; and borrowed many useful hints from the venerable university of Paris. His system was of the most enlightened kind, being directed to call all the

Provisions
for educa-
tion.

²⁶ Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS. — Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 16. — Quintanilla, *Archetipo*, p. 178. — Colmenar, *Delices de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. pp. 308-310. — Navagiero, *Viaggio*, fol. 7, — who notices particularly the library, "piena di molti libri et Latini et Greci et Hebraici."

The good people accused the

cardinal of too great a passion for building; and punningly said, "The church of Toledo had never had a bishop of greater *edification*, in every sense, than Ximenes." Fléchier, *Histoire de Ximenes*, p. 597.

²⁷ Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 79.

PART
II.

powers of the student into action, and not to leave him a mere passive recipient in the hands of his teachers. Besides daily recitations and lectures, he was required to take part in public examinations and discussions, so conducted as to prove effectually his talent and acquisitions. In these gladiatorial displays, Ximenes took the deepest interest, and often encouraged the generous emulation of the scholar by attending in person.

Two provisions may be noticed as characteristic of the man. One, that the salary of a professor should be regulated by the number of his disciples. Another, that every professor should be reëligible at the expiration of every four years. It was impossible, that any servant of Ximenes should sleep on his post.²⁶

Liberal foundations were made for indigent students, especially in divinity. Indeed, theological studies, or rather such a general course of study as should properly enter into the education of a Christian minister, was the avowed object of the institution. For the Spanish clergy up to this period, as before noticed, were too often deficient in the most common elements of learning. But in this preparatory discipline, the comprehensive mind of Ximenes embraced nearly the whole circle of sciences taught in other universities. Out of the forty-two chairs, indeed, twelve only were dedicated to divinity and the canon law; while fourteen were appropriated to grammar, rhetoric, and the

²⁶ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 83-84.

ancient classics; studies, which probably found especial favor with the cardinal, as furnishing the only keys to a correct criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures.²⁹

Having completed his arrangements, the cardinal sought the most competent agents for carrying his plans into execution; and this indifferently from abroad and at home. His mind was too lofty for narrow local prejudices, and the tree of knowledge, he knew, bore fruit in every clime.³⁰ He took especial care, that the emolument should be sufficient to tempt talent from obscurity, and from quarters however remote, where it was to be found. In this he was perfectly successful, and we find the university catalogue at this time inscribed with the names of the most distinguished scholars in their various departments, many of whom we are enabled to appreciate by the enduring memorials of erudition, which they have bequeathed to us.³¹

²⁹ Navagiero says, it was prescribed the lectures should be in Latin. *Viaggio*, fol. 7. — Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 16.

Of these professorships, six were appropriated to theology; six to canon law; four to medicine; one to anatomy; one to surgery; eight to the arts, as they were called, embracing logic, physics, and metaphysics; one to ethics; one to mathematics; four to the ancient languages; four to rhetoric; and six to grammar. One is struck with the disproportion of the mathematical studies to the rest. Though an important part of general education, and consequently of the course embraced in most universities, it had too little reference to a religious one, to find much favor with the cardinal.

³⁰ Lampillas, in his usual patriotic vein, stoutly maintains that the chairs of the university were all supplied by native Spaniards. "Trovo in Spagna," he says of the cardinal, "tutta quella scelta copia di grandi uomini, quali richiedeva la grande impresa," &c. (*Letteratura Spagnuola*, tom. i. part. 2, p. 160.) Alvaro Gomez, who flourished two centuries earlier, and personally knew the professors, is the better authority. *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 80-82.

³¹ L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 13.

Alvaro Gomez knew several of these *savans*, whose scholarship (and he was a competent judge) he notices with liberal panegyric. *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 80 et seq.

PART
II.

In July, 1508, the cardinal received the welcome intelligence, that his academy was opened for the admission of pupils; and in the following month the first lecture, being on Aristotle's Ethics, was publicly delivered. Students soon flocked to the new university, attracted by the reputation of its professors, its ample apparatus, its thorough system of instruction, and above all, its splendid patronage, and the high character of its founder. We have no information of their number in Ximenes's lifetime; but it must have been very considerable, since no less than seven thousand came out to receive Francis the First, on his visit to the university, within twenty years after it was opened.³²

Five years after this period, in 1513, King Ferdinand, in an excursion made for the benefit of his declining health, paid a visit to Alcalá. Ever since his return from Oran, the cardinal, disgusted with public life, had remained with a few brief exceptions in his own diocese, devoted solely to his personal and professional duties. It was with proud satisfaction that he now received his sovereign, and exhibited to him the noble testimony of the great objects, to which his retirement had been consecrated. The king, whose naturally inquisitive mind no illness could damp, visited every part of the establishment, and attended the examinations, and listened to the public disputations of the scholars with interest. With little learning of his own, he had been made too often sensible of his

³² Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 17.

deficiencies not to appreciate it in others. His acute perception readily discerned the immense benefit to his kingdom, and the glory conferred on his reign by the labors of his ancient minister, and he did ample justice to them in the unqualified terms of his commendation.

It was on this occasion that the rector of San Ildefonso, the head of the university, came out to receive the king, preceded by his usual train of attendants, with their maces, or wands of office. The royal guard, at this exhibition, called out to them to lay aside these insignia, as unbecoming any subject in the presence of his sovereign. "Not so," said Ferdinand, who had the good sense to perceive that majesty could not be degraded by its homage to letters; "not so; this is the seat of the Muses, and those, who are initiated in their mysteries, have the best right to reign here."³³

In the midst of his pressing duties, Ximenes found time for the execution of another work, which would alone have been sufficient to render his name immortal in the republic of letters. This was his famous Bible, or Complutensian Polyglot, as usually termed, from the place where it was printed.³⁴ It was on the plan, first conceived by Origen, of exhibiting in one view the Scriptures in

Polyglot
edition of
the Bible.

³³ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 86.

The reader will readily call to mind the familiar anecdote of King Charles and Dr. Busby.

³⁴ "Alcalá de Henares," says Martyr in one of his early letters, "quæ dicitur esse Complutum. Sit, vel ne, nil mihi curæ." (Opus

Epist., epist. 254.) These irreverent doubts were uttered before it had gained its literary celebrity. L. Marineo derives the name *Complutum* from the abundant fruitfulness of the soil, — "cumplumiento que tiene de cada cosa." Cosas Memorables, fol. 13.

PART
II.

their various ancient languages. It was a work of surpassing difficulty, demanding an extensive and critical acquaintance with the most ancient, and consequently the rarest manuscripts. The character and station of the cardinal afforded him; it is true, uncommon facilities. The precious collection of the Vatican was liberally thrown open to him, especially under Leo the Tenth, whose munificent spirit delighted in the undertaking.³⁵ He obtained copies, in like manner, of whatever was of value in the other libraries of Italy, and, indeed, of Europe generally; and Spain supplied him with editions of the Old Testament of great antiquity, which had been treasured up by the banished Israelites.³⁶ Some idea may be formed of the lavish expenditure in this way, from the fact that four thousand gold crowns were paid for seven foreign manuscripts, which, however, came too late to be of use in the compilation.³⁷

The conduct of the work was intrusted to nine scholars, well skilled in the ancient tongues, as most of them had evinced by works of critical acuteness and erudition. After the labors of the day, these

³⁵ Ximenes acknowledges his obligations to his Holiness, in particular for the Greek MSS. "Atque ex ipsis [exemplaribus] quidem Græca Sanctitati tuæ debemus; qui ex istâ Apostolicâ bibliothecâ antiquissimos tam Veteris quam Novi codices perquam humane ad nos misisti." *Biblia Polyglotta*, (Compluti, 1514 - 17,) Prólogo.

³⁶ "Maximam," says the cardinal in his Preface, "laboris nostri partem in eo præcipue fuisse versatam; ut et virorum in linguarum

cognitione eminentissimorum operâ uteremur, et castigatissima omni ex parte vetustissimaque exemplaria pro archetypis haberemus; quorum quidem, tam Hebræorum quam Græcorum ac Latinorum, multiplicem copiam, variis ex locis, non sine summo labore acquisivimus." *Biblia Polyglotta*, Compluti, Prólogo.

³⁷ Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 39. — Quintanilla, *Archetypo*, lib. 3, cap. 10.

learned sages were accustomed to meet, in order to settle the doubts and difficulties which had arisen in the course of their researches, and, in short, to compare the results of their observations. Ximenes, who, however limited his attainments in general literature,³⁸ was an excellent biblical critic, frequently presided, and took a prominent part in these deliberations. "Lose no time, my friends," he would say, "in the prosecution of our glorious work; lest, in the casualties of life, you should lose your patron, or I have to lament the loss of those, whose services are of more price in my eyes than wealth and worldly honors."³⁹

The difficulties of the undertaking were sensibly increased by those of the printing. The art was then in its infancy, and there were no types in Spain, if indeed in any part of Europe, in the oriental character. Ximenes, however, careful to have the whole executed under his own eye, imported artists from Germany, and had types cast in the

Difficulties
of the task.

³⁸ Martyr speaks of Ximenes, in one of his epistles, as "doctrinâ singulari oppletum." (Opus Epist., epist. 108.) He speaks with more distrust in another; "Aiunt esse virum, si non literis, morum tamen sanctitate egregium." (Epist. 160.) This was written some years later, when he had better knowledge of him.

³⁹ Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 10. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 38.

The scholars employed in the compilation were the venerable Lebrija, the learned Nuñez, or Pinchano, of whom the reader has had

some account, Lopez de Zuñiga, a controversialist of Erasmus, Bartholomeo de Castro, the famous Greek Demetrius Cretensis, and Juan de Vergara; — all thorough linguists, especially in the Greek and Latin. To these were joined Paulo Coronel, Alfonso a physician, and Alfonso Zamora, converted Jews, and familiar with the oriental languages. Zamora has the merit of the philological compilations relative to the Hebrew and Chaldaic, in the last volume. *Iidem* auct. ut supra; et Suma de la Vida de Cisneros, MS.

PART
II.

various languages required, in his founderies at Alcalá.⁴⁰

The work when completed occupied six volumes folio;⁴¹ the first four devoted to the Old Testament, the fifth to the New; the last containing a Hebrew and Chaldaic vocabulary, with other elementary treatises of singular labor and learning. It was not brought to an end till 1517, fifteen years after its commencement, and a few months only before the death of its illustrious projector. Alvaro Gomez relates, that he had often heard John Broccario, the son of the printer,⁴² say, that when the last sheet was struck off, he, then a child, was dressed in his best attire, and sent with a copy to the cardinal. The latter, as he took it, raised his eyes to Heaven, and devoutly offered up his thanks, for being spared to the completion of this good work. Then, turning to his friends who were present, he said, that "of all the acts which distinguished his administration, there was none, however arduous, better entitled to their congratulation than this."⁴³

⁴⁰ Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 10.

⁴¹ The work was originally put at the extremely low price of six ducats and a half a copy. (Biblia Polyglotta Compluti, Præfix.) As only 600 copies, however, were struck off, it has become exceedingly rare and valuable. According to Brunet, it has been sold as high as £63.

⁴² "Industria et solertia honorabilis viri Arnaldi Guillelmi de Broccario, artis impressoris Magistri. Anno Domini 1517. Julii die decimo." Biblia Polyglotta Compluti. Postscript to 4th and last part of Vetus Test.

⁴³ Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 38.

The part devoted to the Old Testament contains the Hebrew original with the Latin Vulgate, the Septuagint version, and the Chaldaic paraphrase, with Latin translations by the Spanish scholars. The New Testament was printed in the original Greek, with the Vulgate of Jerome. After the completion of this work, the cardinal projected an edition of Aristotle on the same scale, which was unfortunately defeated, by his death. Ibid., fol. 39.

This is not the place, if I were competent, to discuss the merits of this great work, the reputation of which is familiar to every scholar. Critics, indeed, have disputed the antiquity of the manuscripts used in the compilation, as well as the correctness and value of the emendations.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the destruction of the original manuscripts, in a manner which forms one of the most whimsical anecdotes in literary history, makes it impossible to settle the question satisfactorily.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, many blemishes may be charged on it, necessarily incident to an age when the science of criticism was imperfectly understood,⁴⁶ and the stock of ma-

⁴⁴ The principal controversy on this subject, was carried on in Germany between Wetstein and Goeze; the former impugning, the latter defending the Complutensian Bible. The cautious and candid Michaelis, whose prepossessions appear to have been on the side of Goeze, decides ultimately, after his own examination, in favor of Wetstein, as regards the value of the MSS. employed; not however as relates to the grave charge of wilfully accommodating the Greek text to the Vulgate. See the grounds and merits of the controversy, apud Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Marsh, vol. ii. part 1, chap. 12, sec. 1; part 2, notes.

⁴⁵ Professor Moldenhawer, of Germany, visited Alcalá in 1784, for the interesting purpose of examining the MSS. used in the Complutensian Polyglot. He there learned that they had all been disposed of, as so much waste paper, (*membranas inutiles*) by the librarian of that time to a rocket-maker of the town, who soon worked them up in the regular way of his

vocation! He assigns no reason for doubting the truth of the story. The name of the librarian, unfortunately, is not recorded. It would have been as imperishable as that of Omar. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part 1, chap. 12, sec. 1, note.

⁴⁶ The celebrated text of "the three witnesses," of such moment in the Trinitarian controversy, and which Porson so completely overturned, rests in part on what Gibbon calls "the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors." One of the three Greek manuscripts, in which that text is found, is a forgery from the Polyglot of Alcalá, according to Mr. Norton, in his recent work, "The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels," (Boston, 1837, vol. i. Additional Notes, p. xxxix.),—a work which few can be fully competent to criticize, but which no person can peruse without confessing the acuteness and strength of its reasoning, the nice discrimination of its criticism, and the precision and purity of its diction. Whatever difference of opinion may be formed as to some of its conclu-

PART
II.

terials much more limited, or at least more difficult of access, than at the present day.⁴⁷ After every deduction, however, the cardinal's Bible has the merit of being the first successful attempt at a polyglot version of the Scriptures, and consequently of facilitating, even by its errors, the execution of more perfect and later works of the kind.⁴⁸ Nor can we look at it in connexion with the age, and the auspices under which it was accomplished, without regarding it as a noble monument of piety, learning, and magnificence, which entitles its author to the gratitude of the whole Christian world.

Such were the gigantic projects which amused the leisure hours of this great prelate. Though gigantic, they were neither beyond his strength to execute, nor beyond the demands of his age and country. They were not like those works, which, forced into being by whim, or transitory impulse, perish with the breath that made them; but, taking deep root, were cherished and invigorated by the

Grand projects of Ximenes.

sions, no one will deny, that the originality and importance of its views make it a substantial accession to theological science; and that, within the range permitted by the subject, it presents, on the whole, one of the noblest specimens of scholarship, and elegance of composition, to be found in our youthful literature.

⁴⁷ "Accedit," say the editors of the Polyglot, adverting to the blunders of early transcribers, "ubique Latinorum codicum varietas est, aut depravata lectionis suspitio (id quod librariorum imperitiâ simul et negligentia frequentissimè accidere videmus), ad primam Scrip-

turæ originem recurrendum est." *Biblia Polyglotta, Compluti, Prólogo.*

⁴⁸ Tiraboschi adduces a Psalter, published in four of the ancient tongues, at Genoa, in 1516, as the first essay of a polyglot version. (*Letteratura Italiana, tom. viii. p. 191.*) Lampillas does not fail to add this enormity to the black catalogue which he has mustered against the librarian of Modena. (*Letteratura Spagnuola, tom. ii. part. 2, p. 290.*) The first three volumes of the Complutensian Bible were printed before 1516, although the whole work did not pass the press till the following year.

national sentiment, so as to bear rich fruit for posterity. This was particularly the case with the institution at Alcalá. It soon became the subject of royal and private benefaction. Its founder bequeathed it, at his death, a clear revenue of fourteen thousand ducats. By the middle of the seventeenth century, this had increased to forty-two thousand, and the colleges had multiplied from ten to thirty-five.⁴⁹

The rising reputation of the new academy, which attracted students from every quarter of the Peninsula to its halls, threatened to eclipse the glories of the ancient seminary at Salamanca, and occasioned bitter jealousies between them. The field of letters, however, was wide enough for both, especially as the one was more immediately devoted to theological preparation, to the entire exclusion of civil jurisprudence, which formed a prominent branch of instruction at the other. In this state of things, their rivalry, far from being productive of mischief, might be regarded as salutary, by quickening literary ardor, too prone to languish without the spur of competition. Side by side the sister universities went forward, dividing the public patronage and estimation. As long as the good era of letters lasted in Spain, the academy of Ximenes, under the influence of its admirable discipline, maintained a reputation inferior to none other in the Penin-

⁴⁹ Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 3, cap. 17. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS., dial. de Ximeni. Ferdinand and Isabella conceded

liberal grants and immunities to Alcalá on more than one occasion. Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 43, 45.

PART
II.

sula,⁵⁰ and continued to send forth its sons to occupy the most exalted posts in church and state, and shed the light of genius and science over their own and future ages.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Erasmus, in a letter to his friend Vergara, in 1527, perpetrates a Greek pun on the classic name of Alcalá, intimating the highest opinion of the state of science there. "Gratulor tibi, ornatisime adolescens, gratulor vestrae Hispaniæ ad pristinum eruditionis laudem veluti postliminio reflorescenti. Gratulor Compluto, quod duorum præsulum Francisci et Al-

fonsi felicibus auspiciis sic efflorescit omni genere studiorum, ut jure optimo *καμψυλον* appellare possimus." *Epistolæ*, p. 771.

⁵¹ Quintanilla is for passing the sum total of the good works of these worthies of Alcalá to the credit of its founder. They might serve as a makeweight to turn the scale in favor of his beatification. *Archetypo*, lib. 3, cap. 17.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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

CHAPTER XXII.

WARS AND POLITICS OF ITALY.

1508—1513.

League of Cambray. — Alarm of Ferdinand. — Holy League. — Battle of Ravenna. — Death of Gaston de Foix. — Retreat of the French. — The Spaniards victorious.

THE domestic history of Spain, after Ferdinand's resumption of the regency, contains few remarkable events. Its foreign relations were more important. Those with Africa have been already noticed, and we must now turn to Italy and Navarre. CHAPTER
XXII.

The possession of Naples necessarily brought Ferdinand within the sphere of Italian politics. He showed little disposition, however, to avail himself of it for the further extension of his conquests. Gonsalvo, indeed, during his administration, meditated various schemes for the overthrow of the French power in Italy, but with a view rather to the preservation than enlargement of his present acquisitions. After the treaty with Louis the Twelfth, even these designs were abandoned, and the Catholic monarch seemed wholly occupied with the internal affairs of his kingdom, and the establishment of his rising empire in Africa.¹

¹ Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. iii. Zurita, *Anales*, tom. vi. lib. 6, cap. lib. 5, p. 257. ed. Milano, 1803. — 7, 9, et alibi.

PART
II.
Projects
against
Venice.

The craving appetite of Louis the Twelfth, on the other hand, sharpened by the loss of Naples, sought to indemnify itself by more ample acquisitions in the north. As far back as 1504, he had arranged a plan with the emperor for the partition of the continental possessions of Venice, introducing it into one of those abortive treaties at Blois for the marriage of his daughter.² The scheme is said to have been communicated to Ferdinand in the royal interview at Savona. No immediate action followed, and it seems probable that the latter monarch, with his usual circumspection, reserved his decision until he should be more clearly satisfied of the advantages to himself.³

League of
Cambrai.
1508.
Dec. 10.

At length the projected partition was definitely settled by the celebrated treaty of Cambrai, December 10th, 1508, between Louis the Twelfth and the emperor Maximilian, in which the pope, King Ferdinand, and all princes who had any claims for spoiliations by the Venetians, were invited to take part. The share of the spoil assigned to the Catholic monarch was the five Neapolitan cities, Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, Pulignano, and Otranto, pledged to Venice for considerable sums advanced by her during the late war.⁴ The Spanish court, and, not long after, Julius the Second ratified the treaty, although it was in direct contravention of

² Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv. part. 1, no. 30. — Flassan, *Diplomatie Française*, tom. i. pp. 282, 283.

³ Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. iv. p. 78.

⁴ Flassan, *Diplomatie Française*, tom. i. lib. 2, p. 283. — Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv. part 1, no. 52.

the avowed purpose of the pontiff, to chase the *barbarians* from Italy. It was his bold policy, however, to make use of them first for the aggrandizement of the church, and then to trust to his augmented strength and more favorable opportunities for eradicating them altogether.

Never was there a project more destitute of principle, or sound policy. There was not one of the contracting parties, who was not at that very time in close alliance with the state, the dismemberment of which he was plotting. As a matter of policy, it went to break down the principal barrier, on which each of these powers could rely for keeping in check the overweening ambition of its neighbours, and maintaining the balance of Italy.⁵ The alarm of Venice was quieted for a time by assurances from the courts of France and Spain, that the league was solely directed against the Turks, accompanied by the most hypocritical professions of good-will, and amicable offers to the republic.⁶

The preamble of the treaty declares, that, it being the intention of the allies to support the pope in a crusade against the infidel, they first proposed to recover from Venice the territories of which she had despoiled the church and other powers, to the manifest hindrance of these pious designs. The more flagitious the meditated enterprise, the deeper was

Its origin.

⁵ This argument, used by Machiavelli against Louis's rupture with Venice, applies with more or less force to all the other allies. Opere, Il Principe, cap. 3.

⁶ Du Bos, Ligue de Cambray,

tom. i. pp. 66, 67. — Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V., fol. 36, 37. Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. iv. p. 141. — Bembo, Istoria Viniziana, tom. ii. lib. 7.

PART
II.

the veil of hypocrisy thrown over it in this corrupt age. The true reasons for the confederacy are to be found in a speech delivered at the German diet, some time after, by the French minister Hélian. "We," he remarks, after enumerating various enormities of the republic, "we wear no fine purple; feast from no sumptuous services of plate; have no coffers overflowing with gold. We are barbarians. Surely," he continues in another place, "if it is derogatory to princes to act the part of merchants, it is unbecoming in merchants to assume the state of princes."⁷ This, then, was the true key to the conspiracy against Venice; envy of her superior wealth and magnificence, hatred engendered by her too arrogant bearing, and lastly the evil eye, with which kings naturally regard the movements of an active, aspiring republic.⁸

To secure the coöperation of Florence, the kings of France and Spain agreed to withdraw their protection from Pisa, for a stipulated sum of money. There is nothing in the whole history of the merchant princes of Venice so mercenary and base, as this bartering away for gold the independence, for

⁷ See a liberal extract from this harangue, apud Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, tom. iii. liv. 23, — also apud Du Bos, *Ligue de Cambray*, tom. i. p. 240 et seq. — The old poet, Jean Marot, sums up the sins of the republic in the following verse;

"Autre Dieu n'ont que l'or, c'est leur
créance."
*Œuvres de Clement Marot, avec
les Ouvrages de Jean Marot, (La
Haye, 1731.) tom. v. p. 71.*

⁸ See the undisguised satisfac-

tion, with which Martyr, a Milanese, predicts (*Opus Epist.*, epist. 410.), and Guicciardini, a Florentine, records, the humiliation of Venice. (*Istoria*, lib. 4, p. 137.) The arrogance of the rival republic does not escape the satirical lash of Machiavelli;

"San Marco, impetuoso ed importuno,
Credendosi haver sempre il vento in poppa,
Non si curò di rovinare ognuno;
Nè vidde come la potenza troppa
Era nociva."

Dell' Asino d' Oro, cap. 5.

which this little republic had been so nobly contending for more than fourteen years.⁹

CHAPTER
XXII.

Early in April, 1509, Louis the Twelfth crossed the Alps at the head of a force which bore down all opposition. City and castle fell before him, and his demeanor to the vanquished, over whom he had no rights beyond the ordinary ones of war, was that of an incensed master taking vengeance on his rebellious vassals. In revenge for his detention before Peschiera, he hung the Venetian governor and his son from the battlements. This was an outrage on the laws of chivalry, which, however hard they bore on the peasant, respected those of high degree. Louis's rank, and his heart it seems, unhappily, raised him equally above sympathy with either class.¹⁰

Louis XII.
invades
Italy.

On the 14th of May was fought the bloody battle of Agnadel, which broke the power of Venice, and at once decided the fate of the war.¹¹ Ferdinand

1509.

⁹ Mariana, *Hist. de España*, lib. 29, cap. 15. — Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, tom. iii. lib. 28, p. 286. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 423.

Louis XII. was in alliance with Florence, but insisted on 100,000 ducats as the price of his acquiescence in her recovery of Pisa. Ferdinand, or rather his general, Gonsalvo de Cordova, had taken Pisa under his protection, and the king insisted on 50,000 ducats for his abandonment of her. This honorable transaction resulted in the payment of the respective amounts to the royal jobbers; the 50,000 excess of Louis's portion being kept a profound secret from Ferdinand, who was made to believe by the parties, that his ally

received only a like sum with himself. Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. iv. pp. 78, 80, 156, 157.

¹⁰ *Mémoires de Bayard*, chap. 30. — Fleurange, *Mémoires*, chap. 8. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. iv. p. 183.

Jean Marot describes the execution in the following cool and summary style.

"Ce chastelain de là, aussi le capitaine,
Pour la derrision et response vilaine
Qu'ils firent au hérault, furent pris et sanglez
Puis devant tout le monde pendus et estranglez.

(*Œuvres*, tom. v. p. 158.)

¹¹ The fullest account, probably, of the action is in the "*Voyage de Venise*," of Jean Marot. (*Œuvres*, tom. v. pp. 124-139.) This pioneer of French song, since eclipsed

PART
II.

had contributed nothing to these operations, except by his diversion on the side of Naples, where he possessed himself without difficulty of the cities allotted to his share. They were the cheapest, and if not the most valuable, were the most permanent acquisitions of the war, being reincorporated in the monarchy of Naples.

Resolution
of Venice.

Then followed the memorable decree, by which Venice released her continental provinces from their allegiance, authorizing them to provide in any way they could for their safety; a measure, which, whether originating in panic or policy, was perfectly consonant with the latter.¹² The confederates, who had remained united during the chase, soon quarrelled over the division of the spoil. Ancient jealousies revived. The republic, with cool and consummate diplomacy, availed herself of this state of feeling.

Pope Julius, who had gained all that he had proposed, and was satisfied with the humiliation of Venice, now felt all his former antipathies and distrust of the French return in full force. The rising flame was diligently fanned by the artful emissaries of the republic, who at length effected a reconcilia-

by his more polished son, accompanied his master, Louis XII., on his Italian expedition, as his poet chronicler; and the subject has elicited occasionally some sparks of poetic fire, though struck out with a rude hand. The poem is so conscientious in its facts and dates, that it is commended by a French critic, as the most exact record of the Italian campaign. *Ibid.* Remarques, p. 16.

¹² Foreign historians impute this measure to the former motive, the Venetians to the latter. The cool and deliberate conduct of this government, from which all passion, to use the language of the abbé Du Bos, seems to have been banished, may authorize our acquiescence in the statement most flattering to the national vanity. See the discussion apud Ligue de Cambray, pp. 126 et seq.

tion on her behalf with the haughty pontiff. The latter, having taken this direction, went forward in it with his usual impetuosity. He planned a new coalition for the expulsion of the French, calling on the other allies to take part in it. Louis retaliated by summoning a council to inquire into the pope's conduct, and by marching his troops into the territories of the church.¹³

CHAPTER
XXII.

The advance of the French, who had now got possession of Bologna, alarmed Ferdinand. He had secured the objects for which he had entered into the war, and was loath to be diverted from enterprises in which he was interested nearer home. "I know not," writes Peter Martyr, at this time, "on what the king will decide. He is intent on following up his African conquests. He feels natural reluctance at breaking with his French ally. But I do not well see how he can avoid supporting the pope and the church, not only as the cause of religion, but of freedom. For if the French get possession of Rome, the liberties of all Italy and of every state in Europe are in peril."¹⁴

Alarm of
Ferdinand.
1511.
May 21.

The Catholic king viewed it in this light, and sent repeated and earnest remonstrances to Louis the Twelfth, against his aggressions on the church, beseeching him not to interrupt the peace of Chris-

¹³ Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 221. — Fleurange, *Mémoires*, chap. 7. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 416. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. iv. pp. 178, 179, 190, 191; tom. v. pp. 71, 82-86. — Bembo, *Istoria Viniziana*, lib. 7, 9, 10.

¹⁴ *Opus Epist.*, epist. 465. — *Mémoires de Bayard*, chap. 46. — Fleurange, *Mémoires*, chap. 26. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 225.

PART
II.

tendom, and his own pious purpose, more particularly, of spreading the banners of the Cross over the infidel regions of Africa. The very sweet and fraternal tone of these communications filled the king of France, says Guicciardini, with much distrust of his royal brother; and he was heard to say, in allusion to the great preparations which the Spanish monarch was making by sea and land, "I am the Saracen against whom they are directed."¹⁵

Investiture
of Naples.

To secure Ferdinand more to his interests, the pope granted him the investiture, so long withheld, of Naples, on the same easy terms on which it was formerly held by the Aragonese line. His Holiness further released him from the obligation of his marriage treaty, by which the moiety of Naples was to revert to the French crown, in case of Germaine's dying without issue. This dispensing power of the successors of St. Peter, so convenient for princes in their good graces, is undoubtedly the severest tax ever levied by superstition on human reason.¹⁶

¹⁵ Istoria, lib. 9, p. 135. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1511. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 225. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 465.

Machiavelli's friend Vettori, in one of his letters, speaks of the Catholic king as the principal author of the new coalition against France, and notices three hundred lances which he furnished the pope in advance, for this purpose. (Machiavelli, Opere, Lettere Famigliari, no. 8.) He does not seem to understand that these lances were part of the services due for the fief of Naples. The letter above quoted of Martyr, a more competent and

unsuspicious authority, shows Ferdinand's sincere aversion to a rupture with Louis at the present juncture; and a subsequent passage of the same epistle shows him too much in earnest in his dissuasives, to be open to the charge of insincerity. "Ut mitibus verbis ipsum, Reginam ejus uxorem, ut consiliarios omnes Cabanillas alloquatur, ut agant apud regem suum de pace, dat in frequentibus mandatis." Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., ubi supra. — See further, epist. 454.

¹⁶ Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., no. 441. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 29, cap. 24. — Giovio, Vitæ Illust. Virorum, p.

On the 4th of October, 1511, a treaty was concluded between Julius the Second, Ferdinand, and Venice, with the avowed object of protecting the church, — in other words, driving the French out of Italy¹⁷ From the pious purpose to which it was devoted, it was called the Holy League. The quota to be furnished by the king of Aragon was twelve hundred heavy and one thousand light cavalry, ten thousand foot, and a squadron of eleven galleys, to act in concert with the Venetian fleet. The combined forces were to be placed under the command of Hugo de Cardona, viceroy of Naples, a person of polished and engaging address, but without the resolution or experience requisite to military success. The rough old pope sarcastically nicknamed him “Lady Cardona.” It was an appointment, that would certainly have never been made by Queen Isabella. Indeed, the favor shown this nobleman on this and other occasions was so much beyond his deserts, as to raise a suspicion in many, that he was more nearly allied by blood to Ferdinand, than was usually imagined.¹⁸

164. — Sandoval, Hist. del Emp. Carlos V., tom. i. p. 18.

The act of investiture was dated July 3d, 1510. In the following August, the pontiff remitted the feudal services for the annual tribute of a white palfrey, and the aid of 300 lances when the estates of the church should be invaded. (Zurita, Anales, tom. vi. lib. 9, cap. 11.) The pope had hitherto refused the investiture, except on the most exorbitant terms; which so much disgusted Ferdinand, that he passed by Ostia on his return

from Naples, without condescending to meet his Holiness, who was waiting there for a personal interview with him. Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 353. — Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. iv. p. 73.

¹⁷ Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. v. lib. 10, p. 207. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 30, cap. 5. — Rymer, Fœdera, tom. xiii. pp. 305 — 308.

¹⁸ Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. v. lib. 10, p. 208. — Bembo, Istoria Viniziana, tom. ii. lib. 12. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib.

PART
II.Gaston de
Foix

Early in 1512, France, by great exertions and without a single confederate out of Italy, save the false and fluctuating emperor, got an army into the field superior to that of the allies in point of numbers, and still more so in the character of its commander. This was Gaston de Foix, duke de Nemours, and brother of the queen of Aragon. Though a boy in years, for he was but twenty-two, he was ripe in understanding, and possessed consummate military talents. He introduced a severer discipline into his army, and an entirely new system of tactics. He looked forward to his results with stern indifference to the means by which they were to be effected. He disregarded the difficulties of the roads, and the inclemency of the season, which had hitherto put a check on military operations. Through the midst of frightful morasses, or in the depth of winter snows, he performed his marches with a celerity unknown in the warfare of that age. In less than a fortnight after leaving Milan, he relieved Bologna then besieged by the allies, made a countermarch on Brescia, defeated a detachment by the way, and the whole Venetian army under its walls; and, on the same day with the last event, succeeded in carrying the

February 5.

30, cap. 5, 14. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 483.

Vettori, it seems, gave credence to the same suggestion. "Spagna ha sempre amato assai questo suo Vicerè, e per errore che abbia fatto non l'ha gastigato, ma più presto fatto più grande, e si può pensare, come molti dicono, che *sia suo figlio, e che abbia in pensiero lasciarlo*

Re di Napoli." Machiavelli, *Opere*, let. di 16 Maggio, 1514.

According to Aleson, the king would have appointed Navarro to the post of commander-in-chief, had not his low birth disqualified him for it in the eyes of the allies. *Annales de Navarra*, tom. v. lib. 35, cap. 12.

place by storm. After a few weeks' dissipation of the carnival, he again put himself in motion, and, descending on Ravenna, succeeded in bringing the allied army to a decisive action under its walls. Ferdinand, well understanding the peculiar characters of the French and of the Spanish soldier, had cautioned his general to adopt the Fabian policy of Gonsalvo, and avoid a close encounter as long as possible.¹⁹

This battle, fought with the greatest numbers, was also the most murderous, which had stained the fair soil of Italy for a century. No less than eighteen or twenty thousand, according to authentic accounts, fell in it, comprehending the best blood of France and Italy.²⁰ The viceroy Cardona went off somewhat too early for his reputation. But the Spanish infantry, under the count Pedro Navarro, behaved in a style worthy of the school of Gonsalvo. During the early part of the day, they lay on the ground, in a position which sheltered them from the deadly artillery of Este, then the best mounted and best served of any in Europe. When at length, as the tide of battle was going against them, they were brought into the field, Navarro led them at once against a deep column of landsknechts, who, armed with the long German pike, were bearing

CHAPTER
XXII.Battle of Ra-
venna.1512.
April 11.

¹⁹ Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 230, 231. — Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. v. lib. 10, pp. 260-272. — Giovio, Vita Leonis X., apud Vita Illust. Virorum, lib. 2, pp. 37, 38. — Mémoires de Bayard, chap. 48. — Fleurange, Mémoires, chap. 26-28.

²⁰ Ariosto introduces the bloody

route of Ravenna among the visions of Melissa; in which the courtly prophetess (or rather poet) predicts the glories of the house of Este.

“Nuoteranno i destrier fino alla pancia
Nel sangue uman per tutta la campagna;
Ch' a seppellire il popol verrà manco
Tedesco, Ispano, Greco, Italo, e Franco.”
Orlando Furioso, canto 3, st. 55.

PART
II.

down all before them. The Spaniards received the shock of this formidable weapon on the mailed panoply with which their bodies were covered, and dexterously gliding into the hostile ranks, contrived with their short swords to do such execution on the enemy, unprotected except by corselets in front, and incapable of availing themselves of their long weapon, that they were thrown into confusion, and totally discomfited. It was repeating the experiment more than once made during these wars, but never on so great a scale, and it fully established the superiority of the Spanish arms.²¹

The Italian infantry, which had fallen back before the landsknechts, now rallied under cover of the Spanish charge; until at length the overwhelming clouds of French gendarmes, headed by Ives d'Alègre, who lost his own life in the *mêlée*, compelled the allies to give ground. The retreat of the Spaniards, however, was conducted with admirable order, and they preserved their ranks unbroken, as they repeatedly turned to drive back the tide of pursuit. At this crisis, Gaston de Foix, flushed with success, was so exasperated by the sight of this valiant corps going off in so cool and orderly a manner from the field, that he made a desperate

Death of
Gaston de
Foix.

²¹ Brantôme, *Vies des Hommes Illustres*, disc. 6. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. v. lib. 10, pp. 290–305. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 231, 233. — *Mémoires de Bayard*, chap. 54. — Du Bellay, *Mémoires*, apud Petitot, *Collection des Mémoires*, tom. xvii. p. 234. — Fleurange, *Mémoires*, chap. 29, 30. — Bembo, *Istoria Viniziana*, tom. ii. lib. 12.

Machiavelli does justice to the gallantry of this valiant corps, whose conduct on this occasion furnishes him with a pertinent illustration, in estimating the comparative value of the Spanish, or rather Roman arms, and the German. *Opere*, tom. iv., *Arte della Guerra*, lib. 2, p. 67.

charge at the head of his chivalry, in hopes of breaking it. Unfortunately, his wounded horse fell under him. It was in vain his followers called out, "It is our viceroy, the brother of your queen!" The words had no charm for a Spanish ear, and he was despatched with a multitude of wounds. He received fourteen or fifteen in the face; good proof, says the *loyal serviteur*, "that the gentle prince had never turned his back."²²

There are few instances in history, if indeed there be any, of so brief, and at the same time so brilliant a military career, as that of Gaston de Foix; and it well entitled him to the epithet his countrymen gave him of the "thunderbolt of Italy."²³ He had not merely given extraordinary promise, but in the course of a very few months had achieved such results, as might well make the greatest powers of the peninsula tremble for their possessions. His precocious military talents, the early age at which he assumed the command of armies, as well as many peculiarities of his discipline and tactics, suggest some resemblance to the beginning of Napoleon's career.

His charac-
ter.

Unhappily, his brilliant fame is sullied by a recklessness of human life, the more odious in one too

²² Mémoires de Bayard, chap. 54. — Guicciardini, Istoria, tom. v. lib. 10, pp. 306-309. — Peter Martyr, epist. 483. — Brantôme, Vies des Hommes Illustres, disc. 24.

The best, that is, the most perspicuous and animated description of the fight of Ravenna, among contemporary writers, will be found in Guicciardini (*ubi supra*); among the modern, in Sismondi, (Répub-

liques Italiennes, tom. xiv. chap. 109.) an author, who has the rare merit of combining profound philosophical analysis with the superficial and picturesque graces of narrative.

²³ "Le foudre de l'Italie." (Gailard, Rivalité, tom. iv. p. 391.) — light authority, I acknowledge, even for a *sobriquet*.