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HISTORY
OF
FERDINAND
AND
ISABELLA

PRESCOTT

III

G. H. L.



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HISTORY

OF

THE REIGN OF

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

VOL. III.



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Alhambra y Generalife
MURA

*Cardinal Cisneros de Castile
Regent of Castile.*

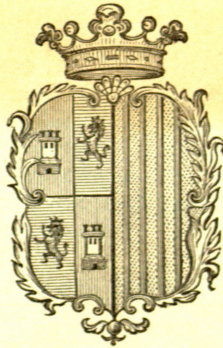
HISTORY
OF
THE REIGN OF
FERDINAND AND ISABELLA,
THE CATHOLIC.

BY WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.

Conjugio tali! *Que surgere regna*
Virgil. Æneid. iv. 47.
Crevere vires, fama que et imperi
Porrecta majestas ab Euro
Solis ad Occiduum cubile,
Horat. Carm. iv. 15.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

SECOND EDITION.



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1493—1517.

THE PERIOD WHEN, THE INTERIOR ORGANIZATION OF THE MON-
ARCHY HAVING BEEN COMPLETED, THE SPANISH NATION
ENTERED ON ITS SCHEMES OF DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST;
OR THE PERIOD ILLUSTRATING MORE PARTICULARLY THE
FOREIGN POLICY OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

(CONTINUED.)

PART SECOND.

CHAPTER X.

ITALIAN WARS. — PARTITION OF NAPLES. — GONSALVO
OVERRUNS CALABRIA.

1498 — 1502.

Louis XII.'s Designs on Italy. — Alarm of the Spanish Court. — Bold Conduct of its Minister at Rome. — Celebrated Partition of Naples. — Gonsalvo sails against the Turks. — Success and Cruelties of the French. — Gonsalvo invades Calabria. — He punishes a Mutiny. — His munificent Spirit. — He captures Tarento. — Seizes the Duke of Calabria.

DURING the last four years of our narrative, in which the unsettled state of the kingdom and the progress of foreign discovery appeared to demand the whole attention of the sovereigns, a most important revolution was going forward in the affairs of Italy. The death of Charles the Eighth would seem to have dissolved the relations recently arisen between that country and the rest of Europe, and to have restored it to its ancient independence. It might naturally have been expected that France, under her new monarch, who had reached a mature age, rendered still more mature by the lessons he had imbibed in the school of adversity, would feel the folly of reviving ambitious schemes, which had

CHAPTER
X.

PART
II.

cost so dear and ended so disastrously. Italy, too, it might have been presumed, lacerated and still bleeding at every pore, would have learned the fatal consequence of invoking foreign aid in her domestic quarrels, and of throwing open the gates to a torrent, sure to sweep down friend and foe indiscriminately in its progress. But experience, alas! did not bring wisdom, and passion triumphed as usual.

Louis XII.'s
designs on
Italy.

Louis the Twelfth, on ascending the throne, assumed the titles of Duke of Milan and King of Naples, thus unequivocally announcing his intention of asserting his claims, derived through the Visconti family, to the former, and through the Angevin dynasty, to the latter state. His aspiring temper was stimulated rather than satisfied by the martial renown he had acquired in the Italian wars; and he was urged on by the great body of the French chivalry, who, disgusted with a life of inaction, longed for a field where they might win new laurels, and indulge in the joyous license of military adventure.

Politics of
that country.

Unhappily, the court of France found ready instruments for its purpose in the profligate politicians of Italy. The Roman pontiff, in particular, Alexander the Sixth, whose criminal ambition assumes something respectable by contrast with the low vices in which he was habitually steeped, willingly lent himself to a monarch, who could so effectually serve his selfish schemes of building up the fortunes of his family. The ancient republic of Venice, departing from her usual sagacious policy, and yielding to her hatred of Lodovico Sforza,

and to the lust of territorial acquisition, consented to unite her arms with those of France against Milan, in consideration of a share (not the lion's share) of the spoils of victory. Florence, and many other inferior powers, whether from fear or weakness, or the shortsighted hope of assistance in their petty international feuds, consented either to throw their weight into the same scale, or to remain neutral.¹

CHAPTER
X.

Having thus secured himself from molestation in Italy, Louis the Twelfth entered into negotiations with such other European powers, as were most likely to interfere with his designs. The Emperor Maximilian, whose relations with Milan would most naturally have demanded his interposition, was deeply entangled in a war with the Swiss. The neutrality of Spain was secured by the treaty of Marcoussis, August 5th, 1498, which settled all the existing differences with that country. And a treaty with Savoy in the following year guaranteed a free passage through her mountain passes to the French army into Italy.²

Having completed these arrangements, Louis lost no time in mustering his forces, which, descending like a torrent on the fair plains of Lombardy, effected the conquest of the entire duchy in little more than a fortnight; and, although the prize was snatched for a moment from his grasp, yet French valor and Swiss perfidy soon restored it. The miserable Sforza, the dupe of arts which he had so

The French
conquer Mi-
lan.

1499.
Sept.

¹ Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 4, p. 214. ed. 1645. — Flassan, *Diplomatie Française*, tom. i. pp. 275, 277.

² Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iii. pp. 397-400. — Flassan, *Diplomatie Française*, tom. i. p. 279.

PART
II.

long practised, was transported into France, where he lingered out the remainder of his days in doleful captivity. He had first called the *barbarians* into Italy, and it was a righteous retribution which made him their earliest victim.³

Alarm of the
Spanish
court.

By the conquest of Milan, France now took her place among the Italian powers. A preponderating weight was thus thrown into the scale, which disturbed the ancient political balance, and which, if the projects on Naples should be realized, would wholly annihilate it. These consequences, to which the Italian states seemed strangely insensible, had long been foreseen by the sagacious eye of Ferdinand the Catholic, who watched the movements of his powerful neighbour with the deepest anxiety. He had endeavoured, before the invasion of Milan, to awaken the different governments in Italy to a sense of their danger, and to stir them up to some efficient combination against it.⁴ Both he and the queen had beheld with disquietude the increasing

³ Guicciardini, *Istoria*, lib. 4, pp. 250 - 252. — *Mémoires de La Trémoille*, chap. 19., apud Petitot, *Collection de Mémoires*, tom. xiv. — Buonaccorsi, *Diario de' Successi più Importanti*, (Firenza, 1568,) pp. 26 - 29.

⁴ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 3, cap. 31.

Martyr, in a letter written soon after Sforza's recovery of his capital, says that the Spanish sovereigns "could not conceal their joy at the event, such was their jealousy of France." (*Opus Epist.*, epist. 213.) The same sagacious writer, the distance of whose residence from Italy removed him from those political factions and preju-

dices, which clouded the optics of his countrymen, saw with deep regret their coalition with France, the fatal consequences of which he predicted in a letter to a friend in Venice, the former minister at the Spanish court. "The king of France," says he, "after he has dined with the duke of Milan, will come and sup with you." (*Epist.* 207.) Daru, on the authority of Burchard, refers this remarkable prediction, which time so fully verified, to Sforza, on his quitting his capital. (*Hist. de Venise*, tom. iii. p. 326, 2d ed.) Martyr's letter, however, is dated some months previously to that event.

corruptions of the papal court, and that shameless cupidity and lust of power, which made it the convenient tool of the French monarch.

CHAPTER
X.

By their orders, Garcilasso de la Vega, the Spanish ambassador, read a letter from his sovereigns in the presence of his Holiness, commenting on his scandalous immorality, his invasion of ecclesiastical rights appertaining to the Spanish crown, his schemes of selfish aggrandizement, and especially his avowed purpose of transferring his son, Cæsar Borgia, from a sacred to a secular dignity; a circumstance that must necessarily make him, from the manner in which it was to be conducted, the instrument of Louis the Twelfth.⁵

Remonstrance to the pope.
1498.

This unsavory rebuke, which probably lost nothing of its pungency from the tone in which it was delivered, so incensed the pope that he attempted to seize the paper and tear it in pieces, giving vent at the same time to the most indecent reproaches against the minister and his sovereigns. Garcilasso coolly waited till the storm had subsided, and then replied undauntedly, "That he had uttered no more than became a loyal subject of Castile; that he should never shrink from declaring freely what his sovereigns commanded, or what he conceived to be for the good of Christendom; and, if his Holiness were displeased with it, he could dismiss him

Holiness of Garcilasso de la Vega.

⁵ Louis XII., for the good offices of the pope in the affair of his divorce from the unfortunate Jeanne of France, promised the uncardinalled Cæsar Borgia the duchy of Valence in Dauphiny, with a rent of 20,000 livres, and a consid-

erable force to support him in his flagitious enterprises against the princes of Romagna. Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 4, p. 207.

— Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. xv. p. 275.

PART
II.

Negotiations
with Venice
and the em-
peror.

from his court, where he was convinced, indeed, his residence could be no longer useful."⁶

Ferdinand had no better fortune at Venice, where his negotiations were conducted by Lorenzo Suarez de la Vega, an adroit diplomatist, brother of Garcilasso.⁷ These negotiations were resumed after the occupation of Milan by the French, when the minister availed himself of the jealousy occasioned by that event to excite a determined resistance to the proposed aggression on Naples. But the republic was too sorely pressed by the Turkish war, — which Sforza, in the hope of creating a diversion in his own favor, had brought on his country, — to allow leisure for other operations. Nor did the Spanish court succeed any better at this crisis with the emperor Maximilian, whose magnificent pretensions were ridiculously contrasted with his limited authority, and still more limited revenues, so scanty, indeed, as to gain him the contemptuous epithet among the Italians of *pochi denari*, or "the Moneyless." He had conceived himself, indeed, greatly injured, both on the score of his imperial rights and his connexion with Sforza, by the conquest of Milan; but,

⁶ Zurita, Hist. del Rey Hernando, tom. i. lib. 3, cap. 33.

Garcilasso de la Vega seems to have possessed little of the courtly and politic address of a diplomatist. In a subsequent audience, which the pope gave him together with a special embassy from Castile, his blunt expostulation so much exasperated his Holiness, that the latter hinted it would not cost him much to have him thrown into the Tiber. The bold bearing of the

Castilian, however, appears to have had its effect; since we find the pope soon after revoking an offensive ecclesiastical provision he had made in Spain, taking occasion at the same time to eulogize the character of the Catholic sovereigns in full consistory. Ibid. lib. 3, cap. 33, 35.

⁷ Oviedo has made this cavalier the subject of one of his dialogues. Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 3, dial. 44.

with the levity and cupidity essential to his character, he suffered himself, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish court, to be bribed into a truce with King Louis, which gave the latter full scope for his meditated enterprise on Naples.⁸

CHAPTER
X.

Thus disembarassed of the most formidable means of annoyance, the French monarch went briskly forward with his preparations, the object of which he did not affect to conceal. Frederic, the unfortunate king of Naples, saw himself with dismay now menaced with the loss of empire, before he had time to taste the sweets of it. He knew not where to turn for refuge, in his desolate condition, from the impending storm. His treasury was drained, and his kingdom wasted, by the late war. His subjects, although attached to his person, were too familiar with revolutions to stake their lives or fortunes on the cast. His countrymen, the Italians, were in the interests of his enemy; and his nearest neighbour, the pope, had drawn from personal pique motives for the most deadly hostility.⁹ He had as little reliance on the king of Spain, his natural ally and kinsman, who, he well knew, had always regarded the crown of Naples as his own rightful inheritance. He resolved, therefore, to

Louis openly
menaces
Naples.

⁸ Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 3, cap. 38, 39. — Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, tom. iii. pp. 336, 339, 347. — Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, (Milano, 1820,) tom. xiv. pp. 9, 10. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 5, p. 260.

⁹ Alexander VI. had requested the hand of Carlotta, daughter of king Frederic, for his son, Caesar

Borgia; but this was a sacrifice, at which pride and parental affection alike revolted. The slight was not to be forgiven by the implacable Borgias. Comp. Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. 29, cap. 3. — Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 4, p. 223. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 3, cap. 22.

PART
II.

apply at once to the French monarch; and he endeavoured to propitiate him by the most humiliating concessions, — the offer of an annual tribute, and the surrender into his hands of some of the principal fortresses in the kingdom. Finding these advances coldly received, he invoked, in the extremity of his distress, the aid of the Turkish sultan, Bajazet, the terror of Christendom, requesting such supplies of troops as should enable him to make head against their common foe. This desperate step produced no other result than that of furnishing the enemies of the unhappy prince with a plausible ground of accusation against him, of which they did not fail to make good use.¹⁰

The Spanish government, in the mean time, made the most vivid remonstrances through its resident minister, or agents expressly accredited for the purpose, against the proposed expedition of Louis the Twelfth. It even went so far as to guaranty the faithful discharge of the tribute proffered by the king of Naples.¹¹ But the reckless ambition of the French monarch, overleaping the barriers of prudence, and indeed of common sense, disdained the fruits of conquest without the name.

Ferdinand now found himself apparently reduced to the alternative of abandoning the prize at once to the French king, or of making battle with him

Views of
Ferdinand.

¹⁰ Guicciardini, *Istoria*, tom. i. lib. 5, pp. 265, 266. — Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. 29, cap. 3. — Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, tom. i. lib. 3, cap. 40. — Giovio, *Vita Magni Gonsalvi*, lib. 1, p. 229. — Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, tom. iii. p. 338.

¹¹ Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 14, epist. 218.

in defence of his royal kinsman. The first of these measures, which would bring a restless and powerful rival on the borders of his Sicilian dominions, was not to be thought of for a moment. The latter, which pledged him a second time to the support of pretensions hostile to his own, was scarcely more palatable. A third expedient suggested itself; the partition of the kingdom, as hinted in the negotiations with Charles the Eighth,¹² by which means the Spanish government, if it could not rescue the whole prize from the grasp of Louis, would at least divide it with him.

Instructions were accordingly given to Gralla, the minister at the court of Paris, to sound the government on this head, bringing it forward as his own private suggestion. Care was taken at the same time to secure a party in the French councils to the interests of Ferdinand.¹³ The suggestions of the Spanish envoy received additional weight from the report of a considerable armament then equipping in the port of Malaga. Its ostensible purpose was to coöperate with the Venetians in the defence of their possessions in the Levant. Its main object, however, was to cover the coasts of Sicily in any event from the French, and to afford means for prompt action on any point where circumstances might require it. The fleet consisted of about sixty

¹² See Part II., Chapter 3, of this History.

¹³ According to Zurita, Ferdinand secured the services of Guillaume de Poitiers, lord of Clérieux and governor of Paris, by the promise of the city of Cotron, mort-

gaged to him in Italy. (Hist. del Rey Hernando, lib. 3, cap. 40.)

Comines calls the same nobleman "a good sort of a man, qui aisément croit, et pour especial *tels personages*," meaning King Ferdinand. Comines, Mémoires, liv. 8, chap. 23.